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# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

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The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is five dollars;

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\* Emeritus.

\* Died December 7, 1926.

# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—e. g., addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1899, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forestall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

---

\* At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1926, 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



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## OUR HAPPY NEW YEAR

WITH the rest of our fellow mortals, we of the American Peace Society, too, catch the glow of a happy new year. Readers of our December number must have been impressed by the letters from David Jayne Hill, Charles Franklin Thwing, Theodore E. Burton, Leo S. Rowe, David Starr Jordan, William H. P. Faunce, Wilbur F. Gordy, James Wilfred Garner, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Phillip Marshall Brown. They brought a Merry Christmas indeed. Now we have other letters. While they do not fail to "ring out the old," they certainly "ring in the new."

It is not necessary for us to tell our readers about James Brown Scott. For many years professor and lecturer on international law in many of our leading institutions of learning, he has served as legal adviser to our Department of State, as technical adviser in great international conferences, and as author of invaluable texts relating to international affairs. He is Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. All members of the American Peace Society will be deeply gratified by the following letter:

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL  
PEACE

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,

2 JACKSON PLACE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 17, 1926.

DR. ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,

*Secretary of the American Peace Society  
and Editor of the "Advocate of Peace,"  
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR DR. CALL: On the 8th of May, 1828, the American Peace Society was founded in

New York City by William Ladd, David Low Dodge, and other enlightened advocates of peace between nations. On the 8th of May, 1928, the American Peace Society will celebrate a hundred years of useful and, in many respects, distinguished achievements. To do this adequately, measures should be taken well in advance, in order that the William Ladds, the David Low Dodges, and the other advocates of peace between nations may be present, rejoicing in the results of a hundred years of unwavering devotion and confessing anew their faith in the necessity and the possibility of peace between nations.

You will, I hope, allow me to say—for I am writing this letter on my own initiative—how highly I value the services which the American Peace Society is from day to day rendering to the cause of peace, and the immense services which the Society has rendered throughout the century of its existence which is drawing to a close.

Because during the past twenty years I have been intimately associated with the American Peace Society, I know much, of my own personal knowledge, of its work, and I am familiar with its activities during the preceding years, from a careful study of them, and with the results which, in my opinion, seem to have been accomplished through the Society's efforts.

The story of modern arbitration cannot be told without constant reference to the American Peace Society. Every international conference meeting between wars for the preservation of peace, which so happily exists, such as the First and Second Hague Conferences, is a tribute to the foresight of William Ladd, who through many years, in an unbelieving world, specifically advocated such conferences and supplied them in advance with their programs. And the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is but the realization of William Ladd's proposal, urged from the very founding of the American

Peace Society in 1828, and especially in his epoch-making Essay.

There is, so far as I know, no peace society, nor, indeed, any other organization, which has had a more honorable history, and none which has had such influence in what practical people in this practical world of ours consider as practicable proposals for lessening the ills of war.

I cannot refrain from adding that the American Peace Society has been as vigorous, enlightened, and progressive in the last twenty years as during any period of its long history, and I am deeply impressed by the fact that in the last decade, during which I have most closely followed the activity of the Society, every plan of the Society itself, as well as every proposal in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, has proved to be in accord with the ultimate judgments of the Government of the United States.

In the hope that the friends of peace through reason and through workable institutions will join with you in making the hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society an international event worthy of its great and illustrious history, and confessing anew my faith in the Society and in the services which it can render in the century to come, I am, my dear Dr. Call,

Always sincerely yours,

JAMES BROWN SCOTT.

David Davis is an Attorney-at-Law in Cincinnati, Ohio. Under date of November 26, Mr. Davis wrote:

"In the early history of the human race, and for thousands of years afterwards, it was thirteen years of war for every one of peace. In the past 150 years it has changed around. It is now many years of peace for one of war; and one great factor, among the many factors, that has brought about such results is the untiring and humanitarian work of the American Peace Society, and particularly through the instrumentality of its useful and forceful publication, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, which disseminates and appropriately tells the story to the whole world.

"Every effort should be made to celebrate 1928, the 100th Anniversary of the American Peace Society, in a very energetic and appropriate manner, so that at

an early date all questions of differences and war may be settled by wisdom and arbitration."

Mr. W. O. Hart is an Attorney-at-Law in New Orleans, Louisiana. November 9, Mr. Hart wrote:

"In my opinion, the work of the American Peace Society was never more important than it is now. While we are practically enjoying universal peace, we must ever be on the alert for signs of disturbance. The work of the Society and its publication will tend to bring the people closer together and avoid the horrors of war. I hope the Association may long continue in its successful work."

Philander Priestley Claxton is one of America's best-known educators. At present superintendent of schools in Tulsa, Oklahoma, he has served as professor of education in a number of colleges. From 1911 to 1921 he was United States Commissioner of Education. He is the author of a number of school texts. December 1, 1926, he wrote:

"I am glad to know you are making an effort to enlist the co-operation of teachers, lawyers, and other professional men in the great work of peace through the American Peace Society.

"For almost a full hundred years the American Peace Society has worked persistently, consistently, and wisely for the promotion of international peace based on justice and recognition of national rights and international duties. As with all other agencies of its kind, it is impossible to calculate accurately the full results of its work, but they have been great and far reaching. No other agency has, I believe, done so much toward bringing about in America and all the world the present growing desire and passion for peace on such terms as will make possible effective co-operation of all peoples of the world in the promotion of civilization and of the higher interests of the human race. There is now in America no other organization through which those who are praying for the abolition of international war and the establishment of international peace may

co-operate more effectively. Through no other publication can they keep themselves so accurately informed and so sanely advised in regard to all matters pertaining to peace as through the Society's periodical, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*."

## HON. THEODORE E. BURTON

**R**EPRESENTATIVE THEODORE E. BURTON, of Ohio, is President of the American Peace Society. Monday, December 20, 1926, Mr. Burton received an ovation in the House of Representatives. The following from the *Congressional Record* of that date not only tells the story, but it is an informing picture, not only of Mr. Burton, but of the humanity at the heart of the Congress. The *Record* reads:

"Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Connecticut asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

"Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, today is an important day in the annals of Congress, because it marks the three-quarter-century birthday of one of our ablest, most respected, and most beloved colleagues, the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio. [Applause.]

"For more than a third of a century he has been a conspicuous figure in the life of this Republic. He first served in the House of Representatives in the Fifty-first Congress, and, with an intermission of only four years, continued to serve here with notable distinction until the end of the Sixtieth Congress. In 1909 he went to the United States Senate, where for six years he served with equal distinction. He then voluntarily retired from the Senate and for a number of years was an outstanding figure in the business life of the great metropolis of this country.

"When he reached the age at which most men who have been pre-eminently successful think of retiring from active business, Senator Burton retired, but not

to lapse into ease and idleness. Not Theodore E. Burton. It was then that he reached the decision to come back to the House of Representatives, where he had previously spent 16 delightful years in congenial public service, in order that he might devote the ripest and best years of his life to the service of his country here, in this body. So he sits among us now, honored, admired, beloved by us all, a veritable tower of strength in our midst. [Applause.]

"As he today passes the seventy-fifth milestone along the high road of a life, crowded with notable deeds of usefulness and crowned with the friendship and love of his fellows, we honor ourselves by pausing in our work to honor him. [Applause.]

"Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

"There was no objection.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee is recognized.

"Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Tilson] in extending to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Burton] congratulations upon his attaining his seventy-fifth birthday. For a long period of time the gentleman from Ohio has been recognized nationally and internationally as one of the eminent, outstanding figures of America. His character has always been such as to command the greatest respect, and his intellectuality has been of that quality which commanded admiration. It is with pleasure that I join in the words of congratulation extended to him. [Applause.]

"Mr. BURTON rose, and was greeted with applause.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

"Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker and fellow members of the House, I do not know what I can say to adequately express my thanks to Messrs. Tilson and Garrett for their kind words, and to you for this friendly demonstration. I am sure that I shall remember this occasion with the deepest gratitude until my latest hour.

It is the heart and not the head that is speaking now.

"You have surely disproved a prevalent impression that in the hurly-burly of public life appreciation is limited to a politician who is dead. I have lived a long while, and yet I cannot say that I have lived long enough. It is my earnest desire to tarry yet a while to see what shall happen in this wonderful age. The 75 years which I have witnessed are contemporaneous—we hardly realize it—with the political and material developments almost equaling all the years that preceded them; and what shall happen in the future? I should give thanks to Heaven every day that I have been preserved to this year in health and strength. Indeed, it seems to me that the qualities which we prize in health have been improved with the passing years. And I may say, in a lighter vein, What shall I be at 80, should nature keep me alive, if life is so full and joyous at only 75? If defeat or sickness or infirmity should detach me from this body and the public service, I know not where I should go, for my ambition is to serve the country which we all love so well.

"Let me express the wish, in closing, that irrespective of party affiliations we may engage in the work of this House now and at the beginning of the new year with a comradeship, with a friendship, with a co-operation which shall be worthy of the great task which we have to perform. [Applause.]

"Again I thank you. [Applause, the members rising.]"

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## PEACE REALITIES IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

**R**EADERS of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* are quite familiar with its often-repeated thesis that amid the efforts of the world to promote the cause of international peace, our own Union of free, sovereign, and independent States is a worthy and abiding reality. In taking this position we have never been oblivious to the realities in the British Common-

wealth, now more than ever a federation of free, sovereign, independent States also, successfully maintaining peace between themselves. The importance of that Union of States stands forth more conspicuously just now because of "The Report of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations," adopted in London by the Imperial Conference, November 19. Every person interested to set up substitutes for the processes of war will wish to familiarize himself with this most important report. For this reason we print elsewhere in these columns the entire document.

These conferences, held in 1887, 1897, and 1902 as "Colonial Conferences," in 1907 and 1911 as "Imperial Conferences," in 1917 and 1918 as "Imperial War Conferences," in 1921 as a "Premiers' Conference," returned in 1923 to the name "Imperial Conference." The conference in 1926 was thus the tenth of the series. The conferences have grown in importance. Because of their services in the war, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India sat at the table of the Peace Conference in Paris as equals of Great Britain. Today, with the addition of the Irish Free State, the British Commonwealth has seven representatives in the League of Nations. Thus it is inevitable as it is natural that there should be periodic conferences of all these States, with the addition of Newfoundland, for the promotion of their interests. Among the ministers and members of the Imperial Conference, beginning October 19 last, there were the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Prime Minister of Australia, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, the Prime Minister of Newfoundland, the President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State,

and the Secretary of State for India. It was these men who agreed upon principles to govern the relation of Great Britain and the Dominions in strict accord with the principles of equality, and who defined to the mutual satisfaction of all parties the relations of the British Commonwealth with foreign countries. It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of this conference.

The history of the British Empire has clearly demonstrated the futility of organizing States on a basis of inequality. British statesmen, especially since the American Revolution, have been quick to recognize the justice and inevitability of the growth toward equality of the parts of the Empire. In all matters affecting their own interests, the members of the British Commonwealth are now equal not only to each other, but to the Government in London. Another fact, corollary to the principle of equality, every self-governing member of the Empire is wholly free from any compulsion from the outside. The British Empire is in no sense a league to enforce peace. As a means of maintaining peace between the States of the Commonwealth, all principles of coercion have been definitely thrown into the discard. As a result—most interesting fact—all members of the Commonwealth feel that their rights are secure. In the language of the report, the conference has eliminated all thou-shalt-nots and placed its faith wholly upon “positive ideals,” such as free institutions and free co-operation. While every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, the conference adjourned with a unanimous feeling that no cause of importance to the Commonwealth was thereby in any sense imperiled.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, referring to this aspect of the report, said: “In emphasizing lib-

erty, unity has been assured.” Most of the newspapers commenting upon this aspect of the situation call attention to the apparently paradoxical truth that the more loosely knit the British Empire is, the more securely its parts seem bound together. That, as with our own American States, seems to be the fact.

We are inclined to the view that this report is a Declaration of Independence for the Dominions. True, the expression “British Empire” appears frequently in the report; but the phrase does not seem applicable to autonomous communities “equal in status and in no way subordinate one to the other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations;” to a Union of States where “every self-governing member of the Empire is now master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.” Furthermore, it will be noted that the governor generals of the Dominions, under the terms of this report, will no longer represent the British Government, but the Crown only.

This distinction between connection with the English King on the one hand and the authority of England’s Parliament on the other harks back to a very early agitation in Ireland, and continued through the American constitutional struggle. During that period both Ireland and America recognized their allegiance to the King of England; but both strenuously refused to recognize the right of the English Parliament to control them in any way. While the struggle in Ireland antedated that in America by nearly a century, the constitutional issue was the same in both instances. The issue was settled by revolution in America and by a long series of revolutions in Ireland. But, without revolution, Great Britain

and her Dominions have reached the goal contended for by Ireland as early as 1641 and by the American colonies through the middle years of the eighteenth century.

There can be no longer any doubt of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the British Dominions. Every treaty affecting in any way a Dominion will hereafter be signed not in London but by the Dominion itself. The conditions set forth in the report mark an epoch not only in the evolution of the British Empire, but a most important development in the law and relations of nations. We are not surprised that a document of these proportions should be called a new "Magna Carta," establishing the rights of the Dominions quite as the covenant of Runnymede guaranteed the rights of men.

If the recommendations of the report are ratified by the parliaments, it will not, of course, solve all of Britain's imperial problems. India will still long for the Dominion status enjoyed by Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Irish Free State. Ulster will be nettled by the autonomy of the Irish Free State. Domination remains the policy in Malaya, Nigeria, Kenya, the Sudan, not to mention other colonies, protectorates, and dependencies in various parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.

Furthermore, no one can foretell how the Dominions are to make use of their new status. It is probable that they will send ministers to Washington, as, indeed, Ireland and Canada have already done, and that Washington in turn will send ministers to the Dominions. It is reasonable to expect, with the development of commerce and population, that the spirit of independence within the various Dominions will increase rather than diminish.

The lesson of the Imperial Conference,

however, is clearly that the British Commonwealth is a society of free, sovereign, and independent nations. Furthermore, it is clear that these nations feel they have promoted not only their solidarity, but their security, not by threats of force, but by eliminating as between themselves every threat of compulsion by might of arms.

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### SABOTAGING THE HOPE IN GERMANY

THE impeccable diplomacy of Germany has been an outstanding international fact for some two years. The Republican forces of that country bent upon a new order, have not only dissipated the forces of monarchy which would return to the old order, they have won increasingly the confidence and respect of neighboring peoples. Disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles, Germany, for that reason, has not been unduly embarrassed by the erstwhile fears that have long influenced the policies of other nations. Unhampered by the suspicions and hatreds inevitable against a heavily armed State, her diplomats have found it possible to devote their time to bringing her back into the friendly society of nations. Their only handicap has been the suspicion that armaments were being manufactured and stored secretly, if not in Germany, in neighboring countries for German use.

Men in position to know, men not blinded by their optimism—some in France, some in England, a few in Italy—have from time to time warned their governments of this secret business. Indeed, some four years ago Dr. Ludwig Quidde, one-time professor in the University of Munich and member of the Reichstag, was put in jail for accusing the government with just this kind of underhandedness.

December 16, Philipp Scheidemann, head of the Social Democrats, openly attacked Defense Minister Gessler in the Reichstag, charging that a secret fund existed in the budget for the manufacture and hoarding of airplanes and arms in Russia; that the militaristic conditions in Germany "are rotten," and adding, "We might as well correct these conditions ourselves, as have the Allies act for us." At this point, according to Associated Press dispatches, the Nationalists shouted, "Traitor! Blackguard! . . . Why reveal these things to our enemies?" The next day Chancellor Marx and his bourgeois coalition cabinet resigned, following the passage of a motion of nonconfidence by the Reichstag. The vote was 249-171. The motion was introduced by Mr. Scheidemann.

Two things seem to be true: First, that there have been underhanded efforts by German militarists; second, that the overthrow of the Marx Cabinet is more political than important.

Before resigning, the Chancellor stated that the charges regarding the holding of arms and the illegal militaristic organizations referred to conditions which no longer exist. Whether or not this statement be true, we do not know. We do know that German traffic in arms interfered with the efforts to end the interallied military control of the Reich, and that the members of the Allied Council of Ambassadors were not satisfied with the assurances given by Germany in the premises. And yet, in our opinion, there is much less illegal manufacture of war material by German interests today than three, or even two, years ago. This statement seems to be substantiated by the fact that the foreign ministers of the leading powers have agreed that interallied control of armaments should cease in Germany on the 31st of this month, and that the whole matter be turned over to the

League of Nations for the investigation of German armaments whenever that should be considered necessary.

In all matters of international faith Germany is probably not entitled to a clean bill of health. It seems to be generally recognized, however, that for two years her representatives have made astonishingly few false steps. Hers has been a record of tact and sincerity, marked by faithful payments under the Dawes Plan; by high behavior at Locarno, and at Geneva last March under most difficult circumstances. The same was true at Geneva in September. The reaction by German opinion to Mr. Stressemann's conversations with Mr. Briand at Thoiry made in the main a happy impression throughout the world. German statesmen have been trying their hand at a kind of open diplomacy openly arrived at. They have profited by their recent policy of soft-pedaling their hymns of hate and by trying the ways of friendship and cooperation. Disinterested observers recently back from Germany tell us of the lessening of the revenge spirit—first toward Russia, then toward the United States, then England, and now, in a considerable degree, toward France. There remain strong antipathies toward Italy and Poland; but in the main Germany has returned to the sisterhood of nations because of a spreading faith, even among her former enemies, in the sincerity and friendliness of German policy, freed, as it seems, of all taint of military ambitions. This is and has been Germany's greatest hope.

Since this is Germany's greatest hope, it is easy to locate Germany's greatest enemy. That enemy, if such there be, is within her own gates. It is the group hanging on to the traditions of the old régime, who seem to believe that they serve Germany's interest by recreating, with stealth and secrecy, a fighting,

threatening, hate-breeding war machine. We believe there is such a group, and that it, rather than any force or agency from the outside, is sabotaging the great hope that has recently developed in the German Republic.

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### SENATOR WILLIAM B. McKINLEY

SENATOR WILLIAM B. McKINLEY, of Illinois, member of the Board of Directors and member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, died at Homelawn Sanitarium, Martinsville, Indiana, December 7, 1926. Death followed an illness of some six months of great suffering.

William Brown McKinley was born in Petersburg, Illinois, September 5, 1856, son of Rev. George and Hannah Finley McKinley. He married Kate Frisbee, of Chicago, February, 1881. Beginning in 1877, he was for the rest of his life a partner in the banking and mortgage loan business of J. B. & W. B. McKinley. Beginning in 1885, he played a conspicuous rôle in building and operating public utilities. He was a member of the 59th to the 62nd Congresses, 1905-1913, and of the 64th to 66th Congress, 1915 to 1921, when he was elected United States Senator. He was a Republican.

Possessor of many millions and supporter of many charities, Mr. McKinley was known and will be remembered for his countless friends, whom he won and retained by a remarkably unostentatious kindness. Someone has referred to his nature as "an inferiority complex." It was nothing of the sort. He knew his strength and used it fearlessly. He usually obtained what he wanted; but his wants never contemplated the injury of another. His was a beautiful soul.

The day following his death, the officers and Executive Committee of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union met in the office of Representative Martin Madden, of Illinois, and drafted a letter to Miss Julia Mattis, of Champaign, Illinois, niece of the Senator. The letter, signed by Representative Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, Representative Andrew J. Montague of Virginia, Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, Representative Wm. A. Oldfield of Arkansas, and Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, read as follows:

"Senator William B. McKinley served our American Group of the Interparliamentary Union for nearly eight years as its President. During this time he spent his strength unstintedly in the interest of a better understanding between lawmaking groups of the world. His unflinching generosity, untiring zeal, rare sagacity, unselfish devotion, and gentle charm won and retained the admiration and affection of parliamentarians everywhere. Legislative bodies around the world, our own included, are better because of the active life and effective labors of William B. McKinley.

"His death leaves with us all a deep and abiding sorrow. We extend to you and to the other members of his family our condolence and sympathy."

We who knew and loved this man, who traveled with him extensively in this country and abroad, who have been with him often in his home, would adopt as our tribute the words of this letter in all their fullness and simplicity.

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### EDWARD CUMMINGS

THE death of Edward Cummings, tragic in its suddenness, shocked all who knew him and his services in behalf of a better world. In reply to our request, Dr. Dennis P. Myers, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the World Peace Foundation, has written to us the following:



"Edward Cummings, General Secretary of World Peace Foundation, was instantly killed in an automobile accident at the grade crossing of Lakewood station, Ossipee, New Hampshire, on November 2. Mr. Cummings was one of the best-known and devoted peace workers in the United States. Chosen as one of the original trustees of World Peace Foundation at the time of its incorporation, in 1910, he soon became one of the most influential members of the board as chairman of the Executive Committee.

"In the midst of the World War, in June, 1916, when the policy of a peace organization was a peculiarly delicate matter to direct, his fellow members of the board of trustees requested him to take active executive charge of the Foundation. For the ten years he held that position the Foundation steadily widened and increased its influence.

"Mr. Cummings had the peace cause very deeply at heart. Starting his active career as the first teacher of sociology in the United States, he resigned from the faculty of Harvard University, after some ten years of service, to engage in practical sociological work as the assistant minister of Edward Everett Hale of the South Congregational (Unitarian) Society. As he used to say, the congregation expected weekly exercises on Sundays on how to live better lives, and the rest of the time expected its ministers to contribute toward establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth. For Mr. Cummings it was an ideal situation, and for 25 years he ministered to the spiritual requirements of his church members on the Sabbath and to the human needs of the community on week days. He approached the latter problem from its practical side and it was largely due to his sagacity that the charitable activities of Boston have for many years been among the best organized and most efficient of any metropolitan district.

"He early came to share Dr. Hale's passion for progress toward peace. He often said that he regarded his opportunity to serve that cause as the most precious of his life. With the passion to aid human improvement running like a golden thread through his life, few men have been so fortunate as to realize their ambition on progressively widening scales.

His first service to humanity was in the bounds of the newly created Toynbee Hall in London. Later his field of service was Boston, and the final decade of his life was devoted to a program which touches the whole world.

"A man of commanding presence and with a keen recognition of essential facts, the influence of Mr. Cummings was always thrown on the side of the progress that was certain rather than that which was only attractive and adventurous. It was that characteristic which made him effective in the peace movement. A quiet worker, not seeking publicity, only those who were privileged to be associated with him as a colleague can fully appreciate the loss which his untimely death has been to the cause to which he gave so large a part of his life."

THE promoter of peace is no longer confined to idealists removed from the practical affairs of life. The *Paris Herald*, known from one end of Europe to the other, recently ran an editorial which we are glad to reprint in its entirety. It reads as follows:

"In many ways war is proved to be the negation of reason; but there can scarcely be a more gripping proof of its fell folly than the vast number of people—particularly the fighting participants—whom it deprives of the clear use of their mental faculties. It is trite to assert that the riot of crime from which the world has been suffering for the last seven years is largely an effect of the horrible struggle of 1914-1918. War brings into activity the extreme evil propensities in human nature which the amenities of civilization had rendered in some degree and in most persons dormant. It hardens the heart to the shedding of blood; it begets a morbid interest, if not a delight, in cruelty; it dulls the sentiment of respect for proprietary and other individual rights; it coarsens and bestializes human nature. It transforms some very decent men into brutes. It changes others into lunatics. The record of the increase of insanity among American veterans of the World War is appalling. No wonder that veterans of other

armies, which were much longer under fire, in the hell of the trenches or the open shell-plowed field, have also exhibited a great moral and mental decadence. This aftermath of war—crime and brain illness—should furnish peace advocates with their most persuasive appeal to the instinct of self-preservation to the common sense and the humane sentiment of the nations.”

THE Christian Church recognizes, we hope, that it has occupied a rather equivocal position during and since the war. Whatever one's philosophical background may be, the plain teachings of Christianity are not consonant with the practices of war. In no sense can they be made such. One trouble with the churchmen, as we see it, is their readiness to be satisfied with phrases disassociated from definite action. We are not sure whether or not religion should be concerned with every possible concrete situation. Machines, railroads, building construction, the manufacture of cheese or whatnot, have to be carried on by men who know how. The same thing is true with the operation of international machinery. Religion is a very important factor in the aspiration and in the conduct of human beings; but, somewhere, in the conduct of practical affairs there comes a time when religion is one thing and the performance of the given task another. If teachers of religion wish to be of service in the international field, they should first inform themselves with some care, for our international affairs are conducted by men chosen for the purpose, men responsible often in highly complicated situations in which no uninformed person can intelligently take part. It is a deplorable fact that ministers actively interested in setting up a program for world justice, security in peace through a national policy of good will, arbitration and disarmament, and the abolition of aggressive war,

seem not yet to have heard of the efforts in our United States Congress, strictly in accord with American principles, to promote the cause of international justice by the further extension of international law.

COMPULSORY international acquiescence is as wild a dream as ever conceived by the mind of man, especially as a means of promoting peace between nations. If there is to be any internationalism worthy of the name, it must be voluntary rather than compulsory. We are glad to note that Mr. Sidney Webb has recently come to the defense of this view in an address before the Fabian Society in London. Mr. Webb went on to say: “We must get rid of the habit of thinking that what we have to do is to extend the League of Nations until we make it a real government, extending over all the earth, and that then we shall have done the trick. That is not the way it is going to happen at all. We shall get rid of war, not by directly providing against it, though that may be a little useful, but by substituting another set of ideas for the set of ideas of the people who go to war.” The League of Nations may go on thinking up voluntary international organizations concerned with commerce, the sciences, the arts, religion, the universities; but we agree with Mr. Webb that the world can only be unified on the basis of voluntary agreement. We are also inclined to agree with Mr. Webb when he went on to say:

“I notice that a great many people speak as if ‘the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World,’ means the smoothing out of all the differences between nations, so that there will be identity or some approach to it. Some even suggest an identical language. I hope we shall have many identical languages, but not the obliteration of all the charming varieties of speech, which add a great deal to the interest of life.

"The basis of the future organization of the world will be, not governmental or industrial, but the best form of equality; that is, the admission that each nation in something is superior to the rest, and the recognition by the whole that it is superior in that particular."

THE Council of the League of Nations has called an Economic Conference to meet May 4, 1927, at Geneva. Nations not members of the League will be invited. It now appears that the Disarmament Conference will not meet before 1928. An international conference on the private manufacture of arms is contemplated. Steps are being taken to build a giant wireless station at Geneva. The Council has authorized an international loan to the Free City of Dantzig. The main matter coming before the recent session of the Council, however, was the transferring of the control of German disarmament from the Interallied Military Commission to the League of Nations. The Foreign Policy Association of New York is our authority for the statement that the Council of Ambassadors has reported to Geneva that Germany is not completely disarmed. At the meeting of the Council of Ambassadors it was pointed out that the Königsberg fortifications and the export of half-finished potential war materials from Germany to Sweden, Russia, and China were some of the stumblingblocks. On December 12 the following agreement was reached:

1. Diplomatic negotiations will be continued before the Ambassadors' Conference on the questions of fortifications and war materials.

2. Pending a settlement, all work on the fortifications in question will cease.

3. The Interallied Commission of Control will withdraw from Germany on January 31, 1927, and as from that date Article 213 of the Treaty of Peace will

be applied in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Council of the League of Nations.

4. If on that date and contrary to expectations an amicable arrangement is not reached in regard to these questions, they will be brought before the League Council.

5. Each of the governments represented in the Ambassadors' Conference may attach to its embassy at Berlin a technical expert authorized to reach an agreement with competent German authorities in regard to all questions of execution respecting the settlements reached or to be reached.

H. J. RES. 221 is the House Joint Resolution to request the President of the United States to propose the calling of a Third Hague Conference for the codification of international law, a resolution already referred to more than once in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Whatever the situation abroad, this resolution should pass both the House of Representatives and the Senate without opposition. It has been favorably reported upon by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is known to have generous support among the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate. It is the one thing that our United States can do strictly in accord with our established practice in all matters relating to the future of international peace. It does no violence to our opposition to any permanent foreign alliance. It is the natural next step toward that day when international controversies shall be settled according to the principles of justice. Persons wishing to be informed of the case in support of this resolution need only to send a post-card request to the American Peace Society, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

# WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

## BRITISH IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

**T**HE British Imperial Conference concluded its labors on November 23, after five strenuous weeks. The conference discussed a large number of subjects, and upon most points of the discussion agreement was reached by the statesmen representing the various component parts of the British Commonwealth.

### ADDRESS TO THE KING

At the conclusion of its final meeting the conference agreed upon the following address to the King:

*To His Majesty the King, Emperor of India:*

We, the prime ministers and representatives of the governments of the British Empire, who have taken counsel together during the last few weeks, desire before we separate to express once again our fidelity and devotion to Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen.

We have found in all our deliberations a spirit of mutual good will and an earnest desire for co-operation in promoting the prosperity of the several parts of the Empire. The foundation of our work has been the sure knowledge that to each of us, as to all Your Majesty's subjects, the Crown is the abiding symbol and emblem of the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We pray that, under Divine Providence, Your Majesty may long be spared, with Her Majesty the Queen, to watch over the destinies of all the nations and peoples of your Empire.

### SUBJECTS DISCUSSED

The following is a summary of the main points in the various reports of the subcommittees which have been adopted and issued by the main conference:

#### Interimperial Relations

The conference adopted on November 19 the report of the interimperial relations committee. The committee defined

the relationship of Great Britain and the Dominions in these words: "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The equality of status was declared to be the root principle governing interimperial relations, but with the proviso that equality of status does not necessarily mean equality of function. The committee recommended a number of changes, mostly slight, designed to bring the existing practices into line with accepted theory. In the King's title "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" becomes "Great Britain, Ireland." Governors general are definitely declared to hold the same position in regard to public affairs in the Dominions that the King holds in Great Britain. Accordingly, the practice whereby the governor general is the formal official channel of communication between the Government of Great Britain and a Dominion is to cease. Direct communication between governments becomes the recognized rule.

#### Dominion Legislation

The conference recommends the British Government to set up an expert committee to examine the existing restrictions, formal or material, on Dominion legislation, and the best way of carrying out in practice the principle that each Dominion should be able to legislate extraterritorially in support of order and good government inside the Dominion. At the same time a subconference is to be set up to examine the merchant shipping acts in the light of the changes in the constitutional status of the Dominions since those laws were enacted and in the interests of uniformity of practice.

### Privy Council Appeals

No change has been recommended in the question of Privy Council appeals, but the committee recorded that it was the view of the British Government that questions of judicial appeals should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the part of the Empire primarily affected. Since all parts of the Empire are concerned, changes will only be made after general consultation and discussion.

### Foreign Relations

The resolutions of the 1923 Conference governing the negotiation of treaties and prescribing consultation of other parts of the Empire concerned by any government contemplating a treaty were supplemented. It was laid down that it rests with the government that is notified to put forward its criticisms; otherwise the contracting government may proceed with its treaty and assume the consent of the other parts of the Empire; but no imperial government can commit another government to active obligations.

All treaties with foreign powers are to be made in the name of the King, as the symbol of Empire unity, and signed by the plenipotentiaries for each part of the Empire that is binding itself to the treaty.

On the general conduct of foreign policy, the conference declared that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions can be committed to the acceptance of obligations except with the definite consent of their own governments. The conference welcomed the appointment of diplomatic representatives of Ireland and Canada to the United States of America.

### Consultation

The conference, fully recognizing that there is no substitute for face-to-face intercourse, recommended the development, both in London and the Dominion capitals, of a system of personal contact, leaving for later and local consideration the nature of the new arrangements, but adding the proviso that such new links are to be supplementary to the system of direct communication between governments.

### Foreign Affairs

The conference heard and discussed a long statement from the Foreign Secre-

tary, and special attention was paid to the position of Egypt and the future of the Suez Canal. The policy of the Locarno agreements was fully approved and its results noted with much satisfaction. It was agreed to take no steps at present towards accepting the League of Nations' proposals for compulsory arbitration in certain classes of dispute by the Permanent Court of International Justice.

### Mandates

A special committee of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa discussed proposed changes in the procedure of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations on which the opinions of mandatories had been asked. The committee disagreed with the proposal that petitioners against a mandatory should be heard in person at Geneva, and expressed the view that the Mandates Commission should not attempt a detailed and inquisitorial control, but should act as watchdog in case of grave abuses.

### Defense

The conference reaffirmed the resolutions of 1923, laying down the general principles of local defense and co-operation over communications, equality with the naval strength of any other power, and the importance of uniform development of air forces on uniform lines in the interest of joint operations. The conference laid special emphasis upon the necessity for creating and maintaining an adequate chain of air bases and refueling stations.

The interchange of officers and of complete air units was recommended. Special attention was drawn to the facilities offered by the Imperial Defense College in London.

### Imperial Communications

A special committee, under Mr. Amery, recorded its belief that a faster shipping service between Great Britain, India, and Australia could be brought about and recommended further investigation.

Changes are to be made in the composition of the Pacific Cable Board and rules are to be laid down for its guidance.

### Air Communications

The conference, after recording its satisfaction at the prospective regular service between Cairo and Karachi, recommended the holding of an Imperial Air Conference in 1928 or 1929, and noted with satisfaction Canada's invitation to hold it in Canada. The conference laid emphasis on the construction of mooring masts for airships and the preparation of meteorological surveys.

### Oversea Settlement

The conference declared its view that while it remains impracticable to promote mass movements of population, the policy of Empire-aided migration established in 1921 should lead to a steady increase in the numbers of suitable emigrants going to the places where population is most needed. Certain improvements in administrative machinery governing emigrants were reported.

### Research

The co-ordination of scientific research throughout the Empire was considered by a special subcommittee under Lord Balfour. The committee recommended the further creation of imperial bureaux such as already exist for entomology and tropical medicine. Periodic special conferences will provide the opportunities for creating new bodies of this kind. Institutions in touch with all the research work in progress are also needed to act as clearing houses, which need not necessarily be in Great Britain.

On the recruitment of research workers, the committee pointed out that definite programs of government research will give a stability and continuity of employment which is important if men of a high type are to be attracted to scientific work under governments. It is pointed out that the need will grow increasingly great as the backward parts of the Empire develop, while to employ men of inferior caliber will be to waste time, opportunity, and money. Great importance is attached to publicity, which will make known the scope and attractions of scientific work overseas. The policy of the Empire Marketing Board in regard to research was examined and approved.

### Forestry

Special attention was paid to forest policy and timber supply, in view of the growing world scarcity. The conference approved the proposal to hold the third Empire Forestry Conference in Australia and New Zealand in 1928.

### Films

No definite recommendations were made, but much emphasis was placed on the essential importance of high quality films being produced inside the Empire before definite government action was taken. The gravity of the problem and the various expedients open were pointed out to the respective governments. Attention was drawn to the special importance of the government's attitude in Great Britain, the largest producer and the largest market.

### Various

The conference expressed its appreciation of the work done by the Imperial Shipping Committee and the Imperial Economic Committee, and recommended their continuance on the present basis.

The conference also considered a number of points concerned with the more efficient collection of statistics of food-stuffs and wool.

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## REOPENING OF THE FRENCH CHAMBER

THE French Chamber of Deputies met on November 12, and the whole opening session was taken up by the 60 interpellations, of which notice had been given. Most of these interpellations related to the administrative reforms, some of them being aimed at their general principle, others at their local application. M. Poincaré moved that their discussion should be postponed until after the budget had been passed, pointing out that the budget was infinitely the most important thing with which the Chamber had to deal. The regulations allow each would-be interpellator five minutes in which to give his views as to the date for discussion. Twenty deputies made use of their right to speak, and some of them exceeded their time allowance, so that the whole

sitting was taken up in this way. M. Malvy suggested that one sitting a week should be set aside during the debate on the budget, for the discussion of matters of current interest, but M. Poincaré refused to consider this proposal. His motion was carried by 365 votes to 207.

The opposition was considerably larger than had been expected. Its size was no doubt due to the fact that the Socialist-Radicals had decided to back M. Malvy's proposal, and voted against the government when it was rejected by M. Poincaré. The Socialist group had held a meeting in the morning to discuss its tactics. It decided to make use of the budget debates to criticize severely certain parts of the government's financial program, but not to offer any obstruction.

#### Introduction of Administrative Reforms

In the meantime an important administrative reform in the direction of decentralization and deconcentration is being set on foot throughout the country by M. Albert Sarraut, Minister of the Interior.

In a decree published November 6 he pointed out that the methods of the year VIII are inappropriate to the present day. He described the attempts of decentralization which have been made in the past 30 years, and declared that his own object is to simplify, modernize, deconcentrate, and "place confidence in local liberties."

The decree increases the powers of departmental and communal bodies and transfers to the prefects and subprefects a number of powers hitherto belonging to the central administration. This will render it possible for many purely local questions to be settled on the spot without reference to Paris.

Further, departments are authorized to work together in the form of "syndicates," with their own legal personality and their own budgets, for the creation and administration of works interesting more than one of them. The idea is to encourage the formation of economic districts which will not be subject to the inconveniences and restrictions of the existing territorial districts.

As for the communes, the difficulty of giving them greater freedom in the management of their own affairs has hitherto

been the frequent unfitness of the mayor and the scarcity of competent clerks. But this state of things is improving, and it is believed that additional responsibility will have an educative effect on local bodies.

Another reform is contained in a decree by M. Louis Barthou, Minister of Justice. At certain intervals a judge of the departmental Court of Appeal will go on circuit in order to perform at those places where tribunals have been suppressed on grounds of economy all those functions which are within the legal competence of a judge sitting alone. The idea that justice should thus go out of its way to spare litigants time and money is, for France, more than a reorganization; it is a revolution.

No fewer than 3,504 municipal posts under the Prefecture of the Seine have been suppressed, including those of 1,250 octroi officials.

#### Dangers of the Rising Franc

Considerable apprehensions are aroused by the rapid rise of the value of the franc. The dangers of a too rapid recovery of the franc are being clearly pointed out by persons who cannot be regarded as specially interested. M. Chappedelaine, the *rapporteur* of the budget, devoted some space to them in his report. He wrote:

The too sudden revalorization of our currency would have the disadvantage of diminishing the purchases made from us by foreign countries and so producing an industrial crisis and unemployment. In this case the State would find itself deprived of part of its revenues and obliged at the same time to pay a dole to the victims of the crisis who were out of work. It would seem unwise to go below a rate at which the franc has maintained itself for a fairly long period. The best course would probably be to fix the legal rate of the currency rather above that level.

The results which M. Chappedelaine foresees are already beginning to be felt, albeit in a very slight degree. There is no sign yet of unemployment, but manufacturers are certainly being forced to cut their profits very fine. One proof of this is a marked restriction in the money market. This reveals itself in the general

fall of stocks and shares, which their owners are forced to realize for want of cash. Another sign can be traced in the trade returns for October. Actually these show a balance in value in favor of France, but this was not of much consequence, in view of the uncertain worth of the franc. What was more significant was that the amount in weight of imports of raw materials and exports of manufactured goods showed some falling off in comparison with the previous month. At the same time, imports of foodstuffs show an increase and exports of foodstuffs a reduction.

#### M. Loucheur's View

The apprehensions of industrial circles with regard to the future of the franc were expressed recently by M. Loucheur in a speech at Lille. M. Loucheur said:

Every one seems to be agreed that an end ought to be put as soon as possible to the general uncertainty in which we live today, and which is apt to encourage dangerous illusions. See what has happened for the last day or two, during which the rise of the franc has rejoiced some and terrified others. The volume of business has dwindled by half. The crisis is upon us. It can be prevented and it ought to be. Personally, I believe we can escape the "great penitence." The operation in prospect ought to be achieved without affecting our general prosperity, by maintaining for our working people the most favorable standard of life which they have enjoyed since the war and at the same time preserving for our industry the possibility to export, which is essential if the franc is to keep its new value.

This represents an economic view of the danger which arises from the sudden appreciation of the franc. Another aspect which is purely financial is pre-occupying business circles in Paris. Enormous purchases of francs were made on foreign account while the rate was rising. There is no reason to suppose that they were made for other than speculative purposes. Now speculators do not like to keep their money locked up for long. They are no doubt waiting for a favorable opportunity to sell again. The present upward movement of the franc, which is undoubtedly a phenomenon of home production, plays into their hands, for the

higher the rate rises, the greater will be their profits when they decide to get rid of their purchases. The risk for France is that this sudden unloading of francs may start a panic movement and send the rate down again to the level at which it was a couple of months ago, thus destroying most of the confidence which M. Poincaré's cautious policy has so far engendered.

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### PROGRAM OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

ON NOVEMBER 19 the Preparatory Committee for the World Economic Conference presented its report to the Council of the League. In the opinion of the committee, the progress made in financial stabilization and the general change in the economic position have created conditions which, in the opinion of the committee, make the spring of next year a suitable time for the holding of the conference. The committee suggests that the first meeting should take place on May 4.

It is suggested that the members of the conference should be appointed by governments, and that they should be chosen for their personal qualifications, and should not be spokesmen of official policies. All States occupying a position of importance in the economic life of the world, even non-members of the League, should be invited to select members. The committee recommends five members from each State, with the Council reserving the right to make a limited number of additional appointments, either directly or through appropriate organizations.

The committee states that the meeting of the conference must not be regarded as an isolated event, but a stage only in the continuous work of international collaboration in the economic sphere.

The committee contemplates that the analysis of the causes of the want of equilibrium which figure in the proposed agenda will cover discussions on such questions as the relative impoverishment of Europe and its effect on industry, commerce, and agriculture; the instability of the exchange value, or purchasing power, of currencies; and the inadequacy or high



cost of capital, resulting from insufficient savings. So, too, the proposed discussions upon the causes of the present difficulties in industry are expected to cover such questions as the abnormal increase of equipment in certain industries, the increase of cost prices resulting from the insufficiency and irregularity of demand, and the difficulty of adaptation to post-war conditions.

Financial questions have been included in the general part of the agenda and not added as a special group. There are two classes of questions to which the committee has given special prominence "because of their intrinsic importance and the public interest in them at the present time." These are questions of commercial and tariff policy and the proposals for international industrial agreements.

The report of the committee, together with the agenda given below, was approved by the Council at its December meeting. Geneva was chosen as the meeting place of the conference.

#### Agenda of the Conference

Following are the agenda of the forthcoming conference:

##### FIRST PART

#### I. *The World Economic Position:*

Principal features and problems as seen from the point of view of different countries.

Analysis of economic causes of the present commercial and industrial disequilibrium.

Economic tendencies which affect the peace of the world.

##### SECOND PART

#### I. *Commerce:*

##### 1. *Liberty of Trading:*

- (a) Import and export prohibitions and restrictions.
- (b) Limitation and regulation of commerce; monopolies.
- (c) Economic treatment of nationals and companies of one country duly admitted to the territory of another.

##### 2. *Customs Tariffs and Commercial Treaties:*

Obstacles to international trade arising from—

- (a) Form, level, and instability of import and export tariffs.
- (b) Customs nomenclature and classification.

##### 3. *Indirect methods of protecting national commerce and shipping:*

- (a) Subsidies, direct or indirect.
- (b) Dumping and anti-dumping legislation.
- (c) Discrimination arising from the treatment of transport.
- (d) Fiscal discrimination against foreign goods after importation.

##### 4. *Repercussion upon International Commerce of Reduced Purchasing Power:*

#### II. *Industry:*

1. Situation of principal industries (productive capacity, output, consumption, and employment).
2. Nature of present difficulties in industry; their industrial, commercial, and monetary causes.
3. Possibilities of action:
  - (a) Organization of production, including in particular industrial agreements; considered from the point of view of production, of the consumer, and of labor; their legal position; their connection with customs problems.
  - (b) Importance of collection and prompt exchange of statistical information with regard to industrial production.

#### *Agriculture:*

1. The present position of agriculture compared with pre-war conditions, in respect of production, consumption, stocks, prices, and free circulation of agricultural products.
2. Causes of present difficulties.
3. Possibilities of international action:
  - (a) Development and international collaboration of producers' and consumers' organizations, including the different systems of co-operative organization.
  - (b) Continuous exchange of adequate information concerning agricultural conditions, scientific and technical research, agricultural credit, etc.
  - (c) Development of the purchasing power of agricultural producers.

## CHINA AND THE POWERS

THE center of interest in China's relations with the outside world continues to be the attitude of the Peking Government to the treaties forced upon China by other powers during the past fifty years. Only the Belgian and the Japanese treaties are involved so far, but a whole series of other pacts are bound to be gradually drawn into the controversy.

### Chinese Note to Belgium

On November 19 the Chinese Foreign Office sent a note to the Belgian Minister pointing out that the issue between China and Belgium is not the technical interpretation of Article 46 of the Treaty of 1865 (which was denounced by China last April, though Belgium alone had the right of denunciation), but the application of the principle of equality of treatment, which cannot be made the subject of judicial inquiry. If there is to be an appeal to an international tribunal, it should be to the Assembly of the League in virtue of Article XI (which deals with circumstances affecting relations which threaten to disturb international peace), but the Chinese Government believes that it is most important in their common interests that both nations should promptly proceed to negotiate a new treaty on the basis of equality and mutuality.

### Japanese Reply to Peking

On November 10 the Japanese reply to the Chinese request for revision of the 1896 treaty, the decennial period of which expired on October 20, was delivered at the Waichiaopu (Foreign Office). The Chinese note of that date expresses the wish for a fundamental revision based on the principles of equality and reciprocity, as being of great importance to the future relations of the two countries, the revision to be effected within a prescribed period of six months. On the point of the time limit the note made the surprising threat that "if at the expiration of the said period no treaty is completed, the Chinese Government will be confronted with the necessity of determining and declaring its attitude vis-à-vis the existing treaties." It adds that the Chinese Government reserves all rights in this respect.

The first six paragraphs of the Japanese reply are worded with extreme moderation, but the seventh contains a sharp rebuke. In consenting to revision, the reply points out that Article 26 of the treaty limits revision to articles relating to tariffs and commerce, and that the Chinese presumption that entire treaties shall be subject to revision is neither contemplated nor sanctioned in any existing stipulations between Japan and China. While disclaiming, however, any desire to limit the scope of the negotiations, the Japanese Government, without prejudice to its legal position, is willing to consider sympathetically the wishes of the Chinese Government, confident that a sense of moderation will actuate the Chinese.

The note concludes by intimating that the attention of the Japanese Government had been arrested by the Chinese declaration on the subject of the time limit for the conclusion of a new treaty. It says:

The Japanese Government is unable to conceal a sense of disappointment at such terms. The reservation and implications involved in this paragraph do not seem entirely to accord with the spirit of mutual confidence and helpfulness which alone can insure the success of the proposed negotiations. At all events, the Japanese Government feels it due to frankness to state that its acceptance of the proposal of revision of the treaties is not to be construed as an acquiescence in any rights asserted in the Waichiaopu's communication.

Judging from the experience of the Belgians, next April is likely to be a difficult month for the Japanese.

### British Trade With China

The British Department of Overseas Trade has issued the report by Mr. A. H. George, acting commercial secretary, Shanghai, on the commercial, industrial, and economical situation in China to June 30, 1926.

Mr. George, in dealing with the subject of British trade with China, says 1925 will be remembered as the year of the anti-British boycott and its dire consequences to British trade. Imports into China from the British Empire (excluding Hongkong) dwindled from 197,270,000 taels in 1924 to 160,550,000 in

1925, while the British share of the carrying trade fell from 38.71 per cent in 1924 to 28.14. After relating the history of the origin and spread of the boycott and its accompaniment by violent propaganda, intimidation, and bribery, Mr. George says it is impossible to assess the precise damage caused by this agitation. He gives, however, some details of its widespread consequences.

He says:

The boycott rendered idle for four or five months over 100 British vessels engaged in the coastal and river trade and diverted large numbers of ocean-going vessels to Singapore, Manila, and Japan ports, owing to the impossibility of handling or landing cargo at Shanghai and other China ports. It put a stop for some four months to all work in British industrial concerns in Shanghai. . . . It caused grave losses to British firms in respect of goods ordered by Chinese customers on their own account, which they were unable to transship or deliver and on which heavy charges for storage, insurance, and interest had to be paid . . . and diverted orders for many commodities from the United Kingdom to the continent.

Native agents of foreign firms competing with British encouraged and subsidized the agitation, which was supported openly by the Chinese chambers of commerce and Chinese merchants and industrialists.

The boycott never obtained a strong footing in northern China and Manchuria, but in central and southern China it was most vigorous. It still persists in the south to some extent. Mr. George says "it is impossible to resist the conviction that the present anti-British bias is largely an artificial one, due entirely to the predominant part that Great Britain has hitherto played in foreign relations with China."

#### Disorders Created by the Militarists

Mr. George, in a general survey of the situation, states with regard to the disorder created by the militarists, it is only the Chinese genius for local self-government that saves the country from complete chaos. Though countless forms of local taxation are enforced in several provinces, the surprising fact remains that the revenues derived from legitimate

taxation exceeded all previous "records." This, Mr. George explains on the ground, first, that the disturbances are mostly local, affecting one and then another part of the country, and rarely involving the whole country at once; secondly, that a large proportion of the trade is carried on in and through the treaty ports where there is comparative stability, largely due to the presence of well-organized foreign settlements. Although a small fraction of the total native population resides in these ports, expert estimates have put the proportion of foreign imports consumed in them at between 35 and 50 per cent of the whole. Finally, Mr. George supposes that the present demand for foreign goods is in the nature of an irreducible minimum which local disorders cannot further affect.

In regard to the disorganization of and damage to the railways caused by the militarists, Mr. George quotes a foreign expert attached to the Chinese Ministry of Communications for an estimate of the value of goods lost to commerce through the inability in North China to transport them, between September, 1924, and December, 1925, as being little short of \$800,000,000.

## MILITARY CONTROL OF GERMANY

THE decision of the Council of the League of Nations, made at its December meeting, whereby the supervision of German disarmament will be placed on February 1 directly under the League, was preceded by long and strenuous negotiations. On the very eve of the Council meeting, important conversations took place between the British, French, Italian, Belgian, and German governments.

#### British "Minimum Program"

The initiative in these conversations came from the British side. A memorandum prepared by British military experts and containing the "minimum program" with which Germany should be asked to comply if she desires to see the Allied Military Commission of Control withdrawn from Berlin and replaced by a supervisory committee of the League of Nations, was drawn up and was com-

municated by Sir Austen Chamberlain about the middle of November to Paris, Rome, and Brussels. The points of the "minimum program" were:

(1) Subordination of the Commander in Chief of the Reichswehr to the authority of the Minister for Defense.

(2) Regularization of the question of recruiting and of the military associations.

(3) Control of the export of arms and munitions.

(4) Destruction of new fortifications on the eastern border of Germany.

In regard to the points 1 and 2, the view taken by the British military authorities was that Germany has already done much towards a satisfactory settlement, and that the growing national support for the policy of Herr Stresemann will do the rest. The third point was considered the most important and was really the touchstone of German willingness to apply the spirit of the Treaties of Locarno. The fourth point raised the question of the exact interpretation of the relevant clause of the Treaty of Versailles. The view taken in London was that it would be best left for the opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

#### French Attitude to the Question

In reply to this memorandum, M. Briand assured Sir Austin Chamberlain that the most conciliatory attitude towards Germany remained the guiding principle of his foreign policy, adding that nothing should be done to delay an amicable and final settlement of the disarmament problem. Nevertheless, he pointed out that the evacuation of the Cologne sector had been conceded to Herr Luther and Herr Stresemann in the hope of a swift compliance by the German Government with precisely those points mentioned in the British memorandum. M. Briand did not think that it would be useful in the long run for all the concessions to come from only one side. The Belgian and Italian attitude towards the British memorandum were favorable.

The crucial problem before the Allied government has not been the transformation of military control—that principle was already considered as accepted—but

the exact powers which shall be given to the organ of the League of Nations when it is constituted. The French desired a permanent commission, with the right of supervision at any time, this right to apply especially to the demilitarized zone of the Rhine. The British point of view was that this would be going beyond the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and that the powers of control of the League should become enforceable only in specific cases where a definite complaint is made by an interested power.

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#### RUSSIAN FOREIGN CREDITS

ACCORDING to *European Economic and Political Survey*, various credits have been granted to Soviet Russia in a number of European countries for the development of commerce and industry. These credits are of three kinds: (1) those obtained by Soviet banks abroad; (2) those granted directly by foreign banks; and (3) commercial credits granted by foreign clients.

The Soviet banks which are established abroad and which have secured credits for Russian trade are the following: At London, the Popular Bank of Moscow and the Bank of Russian Trade, Ltd. (Sovrabank), formerly Arcosbank; at Paris, Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord (acquired by the Banque pour le Commerce Etranger) and a branch of the Popular Bank of Moscow; at Riga, Bank Co-operation de Transit; at Constantinople, a branch of the Banque pour le Commerce Etranger de Moscou. Besides, three foreign banks are in close relations with the National Bank of Moscow; at Berlin, Garantie und Kredit Bank fur d'Osten (Garkrebo); at Stockholm, Svenska Economiactiebolaget; at Copenhagen, Det Viordisae Kreditactienselskab. In the Orient the Soviets possess the following financial establishments: At Teheran, the Russo-Persian Bank, with seven branches; at Kharbin, the Bank of the Far East and the Commercial and Industrial Bank of Mongolia.

Certain credits that were obtained in England were used for textile machinery. Their amount is not definitely known, but they are said to have run from three to

eighteen months. Some of them involved interest and commission payments amounting to as much as 25 per cent.

The credits secured in Czechoslovakia are estimated at seven million French francs, those obtained in Italy at about sixty million lire. The motives for the Italian advances have been partly political and partly economic. The economic reason has been that Italy wanted to secure Soviet wheat and scrap iron. It is reported, however, that Italy's experience has not been favorable, since Russia has not been able to deliver the wheat she promised and the deliveries of scrap iron have been small.

Small grants to Russia have also been made in Austria and in Scandinavia. Sweden is said to have been particularly well disposed towards the credits in the hope that she would get cereal supplies from Russia.

France, likewise, has accorded credits to Russia, some of which had a long-term character. They were especially large during the first half of 1925. The Soviet total purchases or orders in France for the period January to September, 1925, amounted to 254,958,800 francs. Of this amount 9.5 per cent was paid in advance on orders, 31.1 per cent was paid in cash, and 58.4 per cent was done on credit. During the first three months of the period January to September, 1925, credits of more than six months represented 1.5 per cent of the total sum of credits. During the next three months, 6 per cent of the total sum of credits were for periods longer than six months, and from July to September, 24.8 per cent of the credits granted ran for longer than six months. In September credits were granted to the amount of 14,250,000 francs for terms ranging from eleven to twenty-four months. The conditions of payment accepted by French houses have been generally from 10 to 15 per cent at the time of taking the order, 25 per cent on delivery, and the rest at varying periods.

By far the largest credits have been secured in Germany. Shortly after the conclusion of the commercial treaty last year, a bank credit of 75 million gold marks was given to the Soviets by a group of German financial institutions. Later,

another loan of about 20 million marks was made. Both of these loans involved short-term credits, and payment on them is said to have been received.

A few months ago the negotiations for financing industrial purchases in Germany by the Soviet Union were successfully completed. According to this agreement, the Reich and the State governments have undertaken a 60 per cent guarantee on deliveries of German goods on two- and four-year credits up to the total amount of 300 million marks. The Reich's share in the guarantee is 35 per cent and that of the various State 25 per cent. The remaining 40 per cent of the risk is taken by the firms. The initial risk—that is, 20 per cent of the price of the goods—rests on the producer or exporter. If the loss is more than 20 per cent of the sale price, but does not exceed 60 per cent, the guarantee of the Reich comes into operation. If the loss incurred is more than 80 per cent, the producer or exporter bears the risk. The guarantee applies only to transactions with the official Soviet organizations.

The total of the transactions made under the 300-million mark guarantee amounts now to 92.7 million marks. The contracts in certain of the industries amount to the following sums:

	Million Reichmarks
Machine tools .....	17.8
Motor machines .....	1.6
Machinery for forges and rolling mills..	8.4
Ore installations .....	19.3
Paper-mill machinery .....	3.6
Automobile industry .....	3.6
Products from forges and rolling mills..	1.3
Electrical industry .....	3.

Other transactions are being negotiated under the same scheme.

Repeated and insistent efforts have been made by friends of the Soviet regime in the British Parliament to induce the Department of Overseas Trade to extend to Russian trade the privileges of the Trade Facilities Act. Under this Act, the Treasury guarantees certain credits extended to foreign countries. However, up to now, the British Government has been adamant in refusing all requests for the application of the Act to Russian trade.

## BRITISH MEMORANDUM ON MANDATED TERRITORIES

ON NOVEMBER 19 the Secretariat of the League of Nations issued a memorandum recording the outspoken opinion of Great Britain—speaking in this matter also for the governments of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, which equally administer mandated territories—upon the compilation of the annual reports on the mandated territories and upon the hearing of petitioners in exceptional cases.

The memorandum of the British Foreign Office, dated November 8, opens with an expression of appreciation of the courtesy shown by the Council in affording an opportunity for the expression of views. It passes on to an examination of the theory and purpose of mandates and quotes extracts from the report of M. Hymans, who, in August, 1920, as rapporteur, explained the limits of administration and legislation intended for the mandatories. Commenting on M. Hymans's interpretation, the memorandum says the object of the report is to satisfy the Council as to the "moral and material situation of the inhabitants," but clearly the Council is not called upon, either by itself or through the Mandates Commission, to check and examine every detail of administration; neither can it have the means to discharge such a Herculean task. If it should have reason to suppose that the ideals expressed in Article 22 of the Covenant were not being realized, it would pursue its inquiries and make such recommendations as it thought proper for removing any particular abuses that might be revealed; but there is nothing to lead to the conclusion that it was ever intended that the mandatory governments should be called upon to submit annually for confirmation or criticism by the Council or the Permanent Mandates Commission all the details of its administration and legislative activities. On the contrary, M. Hymans's plan plainly excluded the idea of such a procedure. The memorandum proceeds:

In the light of these considerations, the mandatory governments of the British Em-

pire feel that both the proposals now put forward by the Mandates Commission are based upon a misconception of the duties and responsibilities of the commission and the Council. The theory that petitioners should have a means of making their grievances known is perfectly correct, but the commission's suggestion that a hearing should be given to the petitioners is, they submit, an incorrect and dangerous application of the theory. The view of His Majesty's Government is that there are the gravest objections to the grant of any form of audience by an advisory commission of the League to petitioners who either are themselves inhabitants of a territory administered by His Majesty's Government under mandate or are petitioners on behalf of inhabitants of such territories.

It is not clear why the Mandates Commission should be unable to form a definite opinion on the sole basis of written documents as to whether certain petitions are well founded or not. No such difficulty has been experienced in the Colonial Office, although every individual in the overseas territories has the right of petitioning on any question. This right of petition is constantly exercised, but, although the petitions, coming as they do from every quarter of the world, cover the widest possible range, it has never been found necessary to grant audiences to petitioners.

Moreover, it would appear that in any case in which, after examination of a written petition, the Mandates Commission finds itself unable to make a definite recommendation to the Council, its proper course would be to request the mandatory power concerned to furnish or to obtain from the petitioner such further information as it required. His Majesty's Government are confident that the mandatory would always be ready to reply fully.

Guided by the same principle, His Majesty's Government submits that the list of questions comprising, as it does, over 230, far exceeds what is necessary to the commission or what is compatible with the intentions of the Covenant and the rules approved by the Council. Among them are questions relating to points on which, according to British practice, itself the result of an unequalled experience in many different countries and conditions, the home government would not think it wise to interfere with a colonial administration. The mandatory governments of

the British Empire, and His Majesty's Government among them, have shown themselves anxious at all times to afford to the commission all the information that is material to the discharge of its responsible duties, but they submit that this purpose would be amply secured for the future if the list of questions were limited to its subheadings and the extreme minutiae under the subheadings were omitted.

The memorandum concludes with a repetition of the British Government's appreciation of the care, attention, and devotion which the Mandates Commission has brought to the discharge of its task and an expression of the hope that the commission will not see in these observations any unfriendly or depreciatory intention.

## CHINA AND WORLD PEACE

By DR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

The Chinese Minister to the United States

**A**BOUT fifty years ago Cyrus Hamlin, the first President of that famous American institution in Constantinople, Robert College, wrote a book entitled "Among the Turks," in which he commented on the then intensive campaign of falsification and malice which was being waged against the Turkish State and the Turkish people. He said:

A great association has been formed in England for the purpose of exposing all the faults of Turkey. The testimony is mainly from travelers. It is not necessary to emphasize the honesty or integrity of the writers or the purity of their motives, but it may be permitted to inquire whether any government could stand such an ordeal unharmed.

Suppose a great association should be formed in the United States, and money freely poured into its treasury, with the object of searching out all the atrocious murders and cases of poison in England. . . . Or, suppose such an association in England should expose all our Indian massacres, etc. Should we probably consider those engaged in such a work as actuated by a peculiarly Christian spirit? There would be some among us, doubtless, who would take that view, but would it be the national view? Would it work a grand reformation?

Dr. Hamlin deplored this unwise onslaught against a great nation which he could see would create a prejudice that could not be easily overcome and which in the end was sure to arouse international hatred and hostility. He said: "Whenever

I pick up a paper of Eastern news I pray, 'O, Lord, endow me with a suitable sense of unbelief!'"

Two years ago, Prof. Eliot Grinnell Mears, after living in Turkey as an American Government official, published a book entitled "Modern Turkey," to which Admiral Bristol, who is now the American High Commissioner in that country, wrote the foreword. In this foreword Admiral Bristol says:

It is appalling to know that a knowledge of the true situation has been deliberately suppressed by sentiment and censorship, and that the world in general has been led into accepting specially prepared literature as fact. Few foreigners, indeed, realize that in the Turkish Empire as it existed in 1914 the Arabs were as numerous as the Turks, that the Armenians formed less than 10 per cent of the total population, and that the Arab and Kurdish Mohammedans were hostile to the Turkish Mohammedans. . . . Unless the foreigner, whatever his nationality, approaches in a spirit of fair-minded studiousness the intricate overlapping questions of race, religion, and nationality in their peculiar Oriental setting, he must fail to grasp the distinction between fiction and reality, between things as he thinks they are and things as they really are.

I refer to these statements because they give point to a situation which now confronts my own country, China; for I note in the press and occasionally in the utterances of public men in this and other countries statements which cannot but create a

false impression of what is the condition of affairs in China. These statements, even when they do not misreport or magnify the facts, often present a distorted picture to the reader or hearer, because they do not take into due account the peculiarities of Chinese social, commercial, and political life—peculiarities which can be fully appreciated only by one who has an intimate knowledge of Chinese customs and life. And it does not need to be said that this intimate knowledge can be gained only as a result of a long and sympathetic study of China and of her problems. Thus, to give but a single illustration, the Chinese people, to an extent that is greater than in any other considerable group of civilized people, conduct their affairs of life without the guidance and control of political authority. They are predominantly an agricultural people, and they live for the most part in small villages. Socially and economically their wants are not many, and their relations with one another are simple and easily regulated. Furthermore, they are, by their social and ethical philosophies, habituated to the practice of adjusting their differences or controversies by informal or arbitral means. They thus are not constantly dependent, as are the peoples of the Western world, upon the agencies of government; nor obliged, except upon the rarest of occasions, to resort to the technical and mandatory processes of political laws. It therefore results that, when there is a failure of these governmental agencies and political laws to function efficiently, there is not in China that social and commercial disorganization and demoralization which necessarily is to be expected in the nations of the West, which are more highly industrialized and whose dominant ethical and political philosophies place so much greater reliance upon the exercise of governmental authority and the application of physical force.

I do not wish to be understood as saying that the people of China are not, at the present time, suffering from the civil strife which exists, within their borders, or from the lack of efficient controlling power upon the part of their civil authorities; but I do desire to be understood as saying that, taken as a whole, the social

and economic life of the Chinese people is proceeding without serious disturbance. This is conclusively shown by the fact that, during recent years and up to the very present time, China's foreign trade has increased rather than decreased, and that the notes of her largest public bank, the Bank of Communications, circulate everywhere, except in Manchuria, practically at par. Therefore, and this I emphasize, one cannot argue from what is to be expected to happen in American and European countries from a disturbance of political conditions to what will take place in China under similar disturbed conditions. And, even if this were not so, a very wrong impression of what is taking place in China is produced by simply describing the political and military difficulties with which my people are contending without, at the same time, describing the great, and, indeed, the almost miraculous, constructive forces that are operating in China in the field of education—forces which are modernizing pedagogical methods, spreading scientific truths, and rapidly creating an intelligent public opinion regarding not only matters political but also the other concerns of civilized life.

In one respect, however, the present situation is a serious one—one which has been described by some as the gravest which has existed since the so-called Boxer year of 1900. This serious aspect of affairs in China is the intense opposition which has grown up among my people to having their own affairs subject to foreign control, and their consequent determination to rid themselves, at the earliest possible moment, of the treaties which provide for that control.

It is unnecessary for me to point out that, serious as this situation is, it is by no means analogous to the Boxer movement of 1900. The present movement is a genuine nationalistic one and purely defensive in character. Its purpose is to secure a situation under which China will be allowed to live and develop according to the autonomous dictates of her own genius and her own national interest.

In 1900 the United States sought to meet in a just manner the exigencies and



potentialities of the situation by securing harmonious and enlightened action upon the part of all the foreign powers concerned. At that time the United States sent out to China as High Commissioner to negotiate peace with the Chinese Government, Mr. W. W. Rockhill. This was a most fortunate selection, for Mr. Rockhill was a man of great ability, a diplomat of experience, a statesman of vision, keen perception and sound judgment, and, above all, with a sympathetic understanding of the Chinese people and their civilization. The nations of the present day will be fortunate if they can secure and be guided by the advice of equally enlightened and competent agents.

I have been asked to state what China asks of the nations of the world. My answer can be summed up in one word—"justice." This idea of justice is contained in the precept of Confucius: "Do not to others what you would not wish them to do to yourself." China wishes to live in peace with the other powers and to maintain with them relations of friendship, good will and co-operation. But this desired and desirable régime cannot be secured and maintained until the Chinese people feel that their legitimate interests are being recognized and their sovereign rights respected by the other powers.

It was largely out of China's efforts to exclude the introduction of British Indian opium—that most pernicious drug—from her borders that the first war with Great Britain arose. As a result of her defeat in this war by Great Britain, onerous terms were imposed upon China, embodied in the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, which marked the beginning of the inroads upon China's autonomy and territorial integrity and which culminated seventy-three years later, in 1915, in the infamous Twenty-one Demands of Japan.

These treaty limitations upon China's freedom of action within her own territories have seriously interfered with her growth as a nation and as a sovereign, united people. The most serious of these restrictions have been the denial to China of the right to hold foreigners within her borders amenable to her own laws and courts and the requirement that China

shall not levy more than 5 per centum ad valorem duty upon exports and imports.

The jurisdictional immunity of foreigners from Chinese authority has been carried far beyond what was contemplated by China when she was constrained to agree to it and, indeed, far beyond what the treaty stipulations themselves provide. As this system of extraterritoriality, as it is called, actually operates, foreigners, in many cases, are able to commit offences with impunity, either because of the lack of foreign courts to punish them or because of the unfairness or laxity with which the foreign laws are applied by the consular courts. In fact, however, the system itself has inherent and ineradicable defects; it cannot operate satisfactorily or fail to impede China's effort to establish a strong and efficient public administration.

The commercial advantages derived by foreigners from their extraterritorial status are scarcely less irksome and irritating to the Chinese. Foreign business firms and business men, being freed from Chinese control or supervision, are enabled to do things which the Chinese firms and individuals are forbidden to do. For example, the foreign banks in China are at liberty, without consulting the Chinese Government, to establish branches in any of the Chinese treaty ports, and to issue their circulating notes without reference to Chinese laws. And, it may be here interjected, it is not long ago that a large foreign bank failed, leaving a large amount of notes in circulation which, of course, thus became irredeemable. Foreign insurance firms have also sprung up in China and are exempt from Chinese supervision or examination by the local authorities, as regards their operations and investments.

An economic advantage which, to a considerable extent, foreigners have claimed as accruing to themselves by reason of their extraterritorial status has been exemption from the local and excise taxes which the Chinese themselves have to pay.

The injustice to China and the detrimental economic and financial effects upon China of the limitation upon her right to

levy export and import dues I do not need to dwell upon, for they are obvious. In fact, I have never heard this limitation defended, if, indeed, it can be called a defense, except upon the ground that it is advantageous to the foreigners dealing with China. No one has ever been so bold as to assert that China does not suffer seriously from the limitation thus imposed upon her. Not only is she denied the opportunity to obtain a reasonable income from her customs dues, but she is prevented from protecting her own industries from foreign competition, or discouraging by high duties the use of articles the consumption of which by her own people she may wish to discourage. Thus not only is China's treasury denied an income which it should receive, but the normal and proper development of the economic life of her people is prevented.

I have spoken of but two of the impediments imposed upon China by the foreign powers and provided for in the unequal treaties which they have exacted of China. There are other and serious treaty restraints upon China's freedom of sovereign action which I have not time to mention. That, in the aggregate, these restraints operate powerfully to increase the difficulty of China's effort to place her new republican form of government upon a firm and unified and administratively efficient basis, there can be no doubt. Even those who may be disposed to minimize this effect must realize that when a task of great difficulty has to be performed a small additional impediment may be the final factor which causes failure. This is the truth which is contained in the familiar statement that it is the last straw which breaks the camel's back.

In truth, however, the foreign-imposed limitations upon China's freedom of action do more than add the last straw which renders too heavy to be successfully borne the burden of the governmental task which China is striving to accomplish. They constitute a substantially important part of that burden. As long as these limitations exist, not only will the Government of China be unable to secure an income adequate for its essential needs, but it will be unable to command from its own people that respect and support which

is indispensable for the maintenance of any popular form of political rule. An autocratic government may do without the respect and loyalty of its subjects, but a republican government, such as that which China is endeavoring to maintain, cannot operate efficiently, if, indeed, it can maintain its very existence, without this esteem and allegiance. And how can one expect the Chinese people to have a high regard for their own government when they see it impotent to compel obedience to its laws on the part of thousands of foreigners living within the territories over which that government claims jurisdiction, and unable to exercise rights the enjoyment of which by other national States are deemed inherent in their sovereignty?

The Chinese, then, in the demands which they are now making of the other powers, are asking for nothing more than simple justice—for the respect due them as a sovereign and civilized people.

At the twenty-first meeting of the Second International Opium Conference, held at Geneva two years ago, I urged upon the delegates of the other powers the necessity of taking steps at once to execute pledges made to China and to the world with reference to the control of the abuses of opium and other drugs, etc.—pledges solemnly made as long ago as 1912, at the International Conference at The Hague. I solemnly warned them of the serious effects that would result should they fail to do so. Unfortunately, they turned a deaf ear to my earnest appeal. What I then predicted would result in the Far East should the Opium Conference fail in its task has already become true.

I now urge that the powers should consider whether it will not be a wise as well as a just act upon their part to declare their unqualified willingness to terminate forthwith all the unequal treaties which they have with China, and thus surrender forever the superior position over the native Chinese which they now claim for their nationals in China. If this action is delayed, it should not cause surprise if the Chinese nation, following the recent example of Turkey, should, by their own unilateral act, declare these treaties at an end and justify this

action by referring to the inherent and inalienable right under international law of every sovereign State to release itself from obligations which, whatever may have been their operation at the time they were assumed or imposed, have come to endanger its existence or the attainment of its essential and legitimate national interests. Should the powers anticipate this action by themselves surrendering their special and unequal treaty rights, they may be sure that they will find China ready to enter into new reciprocal and equal treaty relations, under which peace will be rendered more secure and all will mutually benefit.

I venture to express the hope, should the other powers not decide in the immediate future to yield to the demands of China, that the United States will not be deterred from taking independent action to that end. America has ever been the champion of political liberty, and in the past, when China's sovereignty and territorial integrity have been especially threatened, she has not hesitated to take the lead in warding off the danger; and so, at the present time, she can gain additional prestige for herself by taking the lead, even though this may mean action independent upon her part, for securing to China the full enjoyment of her sovereign rights.

The Chinese people have that same desire and determination to establish and preserve their national existence that the other peoples of the world have, and when they deem the occasion appropriate they will take the necessary action to that end. The experience of the last eighty-five years convinces them that they cannot secure for themselves that combination of order and progress to which they are justly entitled so long as they are restrained and humiliated by the conditions which the existing unequal treaties impose. They are thus convinced of the essential justice of the demands which the patriotic Chinese are making, and they are ready to make such sacrifices as may be required in order that the satisfaction of these demands may be secured. As is well known to you all, during recent years, and especially during the last eighteen months, the feelings of the Chinese in these respects have become more articulate and more

emphatic in their manifestations. The handwriting is upon the wall and should be read, for surely it is a matter of portentous moment that a nation which includes within its members nearly a quarter of the entire human race should be convinced with practical unanimity that the treaties which determine its obligations as vis-à-vis the other powers are essentially unequal in character and offensive in their operation.

This is no place, even if it were proper for me to do so, to consider the specific legal and ethical grounds upon which a State is justified in terminating treaties which it has with other powers, or to point out the falsity of the fears which some persons have expressed as to the undesirable results to foreigners in China or to foreign trade with China that might follow should foreigners be deprived of their special and unequal rights and China be made fully mistress within her own household. These are matters of technical juristic right and of specific demonstrable fact with which I may wish to deal upon some future and more appropriate occasion.

Your readers are interested in the maintenance of peace, and therefore in the removal of the causes of international friction. My people also desire peace. They believe that the use of force is essentially irrational and brutalizing, and cannot of itself lead to a satisfactory solution of any question which contains ethical elements. But the Chinese by no means believe that the use of force is never justified or that peace at any price is to be desired. If an unjust situation is supported by force, it may have to be overthrown by force. As your great President, Abraham Lincoln, once said, "No question may be considered settled until it is settled right." The Chinese, with the strong moral sense which has been inculcated in them by the great philosophies of Confucius, Mencius, and Lao-tsze, have this same belief, and therefore they will not feel that the relations between China and the other powers have been placed upon a stable and permanent basis until these relations are of a fully reciprocal and equal basis.

Fortunately for the peace and security of the world, the peaceful development of

China and her millions is a certainty unless that development is deflected by foreign agencies into channels of militarism. The *Chinese* development of China, if I may put it that way, must make for peace if only because the whole Chinese culture rests on the power and appeal of moral force. The entire body of Confucian teaching centers around that conception. We hold material force so meanly that the soldier is the lowest member of our social

hierachy. And this Chinese valuation of the fighting man will remain unchanged as long as the Chinese people are allowed to progress and develop along the lines of their own national character. But there is a danger that foreign interference and foreign domination in Chinese internal affairs may prevent this. And it is against this danger that all allies of peace can be of such great service to China and to the future of humanity.

## “THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER”

### World Responsibility for the Drug Traffic

BY CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ

FOR thirty pieces of silver Judas Iscariot sold his Christ.

“Why not?” his friends argued. “If he had not done it, some one else probably would, and the silver is certainly very useful. As to the ethical side of the transaction, we admit that it does have its shady aspects. But, even though this Christ claimed to be a blessing sent from God, his ideas were but beautiful theories, too idealistic and abstract to function in this world. Think of all the good that Judas can do right now with thirty pieces of silver! Judas has the money; we have seen it. It is certainly better for a Jew to have it than a Pharisee, for instance.”

But Judas went and hanged himself!

Today many nations of the world are trafficking in opium and its derivatives, which destroy physically, mentally, and morally those persons who become addicted to its use.

“Give up our production?” says one European country. “Why, we are getting \$5,000,000 yearly from our opium. . . .”

“We need the money for rehabilitation. What would our people do for a living? Would you theorists have our little children starve?” pleads another nation.

“We cannot give up this revenue until we have other income to replace it,” declare others.

And a great many of them say: “We admit we do not like the opium traffic, but nothing can be done. The plans to control the production and manufacture of

drugs to the amount needed for medical use sound very well, but, after all, they are only beautiful theories, too ideal to apply to the opium trade.”

So an excuse for procrastination is sought, and finally there is discovered an “absolutely practical” reason for delay:

“If we give up poppy production and drug manufacture, China may raise poppies in large quantities and make large profits. There is no stable government there, and she might be most unscrupulous about the trade, *most unscrupulous, positively unethical! Anything might happen!*”

And, blinding themselves with their revenue, the nations responsible for the overproduction of opium and for its manufacture into excessive amounts of drugs not only betray each other, but are preparing themselves for suicide.

Opium obtained from the capsules of poppies is the most dangerous drug in the world—an increasing menace to civilization. Opium can be manufactured into drugs which may be used medicinally, but they are also used as “dope” by drug addicts. While production is largely confined to the Orient, abusive consumption of opium, or its derivatives, has spread over the universe in one form or another, being especially prevalent in the Orient, in Europe, and the United States.

The quantity of opium produced is reputed to be ten times greater than the amount required for medical and scien-

tific use, from which it appears that this overproduction is consumed in one form or another by drug addicts all over the world. What should have been a blessing is being changed into the world's curse.

Heroin, morphia, codein, and dionin are alkaloids educed from opium, which, because of their concentrated form, are much more dangerous in their effect than opium itself. Heroin and morphin most readily relieve pain and are mainly responsible for narcotic addiction. Because of its speedy habit-forming tendency, heroin has been universally condemned by physicians as unnecessary and undesirable for medical use. Codein and dionin have only slight habit-forming tendencies and their hold is much more easily broken, although they may be substituted by a habitué in the absence of the stronger drugs.

The danger of opium and its derivatives is that it destroys, physically, mentally, and morally, those persons who become addicted to its use. Through the use of narcotics a man may become a confirmed addict within a few days, and the habit has been considered practically incurable although a recent discovery awakens hope. Because the use of drugs destroys will power, the addict is invariably a potential, and usually an actual, criminal.

The opium traffic is not the peculiar sin of a single nation nor a group of nations. Responsibility for this trade is universal. Three classifications can be made of those nations most intimately concerned with the problem, each classification dealing with the principal countries involved:<sup>1</sup>

I. Opium-producing nations: Bulgaria, China, Egypt, Greece, India, Persia, Russia, Kingdom of the Serbs-Croats and Slovenes, and Turkey.

II. Drug-manufacturing countries: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, and the United States.

III. Nations with large economic interests in the opium traffic: Great Britain, Netherlands, Portugal, and Siam.

<sup>1</sup>This classification suggested by Quincy Wright, "The Opium Question," *Am. Jrn. Intern. Law*, April, 1924, p. 286, although the list is not identical.

The Asiatic dependencies, protectorates, mandates, etc., of European nations are understood to be included with the "mother" countries, except that the importance of India as a producing country seemed to warrant its separate mention in the above list. While it is possible to list some of these countries in more than one classification, I have adhered to the most obvious.

Granted that opium is valuable as a producer of revenue, beside this profitable income of a few countries should be placed some of the world's debits against the existing traffic:

#### Debit

1. Backwardness of the East.
2. Two opium wars.
3. An unknown number of addicts.
4. Famines in the producing countries. (Opium is grown on very rich soil, which could be utilized for food crops.)
5. Money expended for the drug. (Addicts will pay almost any price to obtain it.)
6. Money expended in attempted law enforcement.
7. Money expended for "cures." (Very few addicts have stayed "cured.")
8. Economic loss to the community of addicts' services. (Addicts are not producers, are more susceptible to disease, and live one-fourth as long as non-addicts.)
9. Economic loss to community for support of addict and his dependents.

#### Credit

Revenue of a few nations, amounting possibly to \$70,000,000 annually.

The wealth of a nation is determined by the quality of its citizens. The use of drugs destroys the citizen mentally, morally, and physically.

Closely bound up with the economic phase is, of course, the political one. There is the desperate struggle of certain European nations to hold in check their Asiatic subject peoples (one sometimes wonders if drugs are not looked upon as a helpful ally); there is the question of revenue for the maintenance of these subject countries; there is the existing chaos in China, brought about largely, in the opinion of many, by the degeneration of her people from the effects of the opium

which China has herself raised and from the foreign opium which has been forced upon her and by the still more insidious manufactured drugs, the latter all of foreign manufacture.

It has already been mentioned that the opium traffic precipitated two wars between Great Britain and China. So long as certain countries legally permit and even encourage opium production on a large scale, there is bound to be constant friction between the producing governments and those governments which have prohibitory laws, and, as a result of the enormous smuggling carried on by reckless individuals, grave international complications may result at any moment.

The opium traffic disregards the moral and humane issues! We might also disregard them in this article, for these issues are not necessary to our argument, even though they are great enough in themselves to furnish adequate reason for the immediate extermination of all surplus opium production and drug manufacture. Crime, disease, poverty, all have direct relations with the misuse of drugs. The enslavement of women for immoral purposes is intimately connected with the drug question. The great increase of crime in America and throughout the world is a direct result.

But the opium traffic concerns itself only with political and economic questions. The double-faced political policy regarding drug consumption now maintained by the Occident appears indicative of a desire on its part to continue indefinitely the subjugation and backwardness of the Orient because of the political and economic advantages thereby accruing to those western nations in a position to profit from this policy.

This double standard is, however, neither politically nor economically sound.

In the first place, history shows that no continued policy of suppression has succeeded. Rather, such a policy defeats itself. The white man today controls nearly half of Asia. But there are indications everywhere of increasing ferment and dissatisfaction; and attempts are being made by the various Asiatic nations to unite into a group, separate and distinct from Europe, having as its motive the doctrine of "Asia for the Asiatics."

The continued unethical practices of certain European nations in their eastern possessions will aid this oriental movement. Its hindrance would be accomplished only by the contentment of the Asiatic peoples now under European domination. To have contented subject peoples will necessitate a revision of European ethics in favor of such peoples. A change in the opium policy would be prominent in such a revision.

This double policy is financially unsound. Revenue derived from opium constitutes a considerable portion of the revenue from these European colonies, estimated, as has been before stated, at \$70,000,000 annually. Francis W. Cowan, chief of the Narcotic Division of Canada, has figured out that it costs Canada \$20,575,000 annually for 10,000 addicts.

According to the same way of figuring, it costs the United States, with its most conservative estimate of 110,000 addicts (other estimates are as high as one million), eleven times as much, or \$226,325,000. On this continent alone, then, the tribute to the poppy amounts to ..... \$246,900,000

Suppose we assume that Europe has one-third as many addicts as Canada and the United States, or 40,000, and estimate the cost of addiction there as one-half the cost (American money) in North America, thus allowing for the difference in the value of currency, wage scale, etc., and we have an estimated cost for Europe of ..... 41,150,000

This leaves all of South America, Central America, Africa, Asia, Australia, and the islands of the sea uncared for in our estimate. Their total cost we will roughly estimate as the same amount which we allowed for Europe, or ..... 41,150,000

The total annual outlay made necessary by the existing illicit opium traffic appears, therefore, to be not less than \$329,200,000

And probably these figures, used for illustration only, are not nearly as high as they should be.<sup>2</sup>

The rapid growth of the opium traffic with the resultant spread of the drug habit from the Orient to the Occident, combined with closer political and commercial relations of the West with the East, finally resulted in international conferences looking toward gradual control of the abuse of opium and its derivatives. In 1909 there was an international meeting to discuss the situation, and in 1912 an international conference adopted what is known as the International Opium Convention.

The contracting powers agreed to "control the production and distribution of raw opium . . . gradually and effectively to suppress the manufacture and trade in prepared opium (*i. e.*, opium suitable for consumption other than medical) . . . to limit exclusively to medical and legitimate purposes the manufacture, sale, and use" of medical opium, morphine, cocaine, heroin, and all new derivatives of these products "which may be shown, by scientific research generally recognized, to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill effects"; to prevent the smuggling of any of these products into China, and to communicate through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands laws and statistical information on the subject<sup>3</sup>.

Throughout the convention the principle was adopted of requiring the exporting country to restrict or prohibit the export of these products contrary to the laws of the importing country.

Other conferences were held attempting to facilitate ratification of the convention, and at the outbreak of the World War eleven countries had both signed and ratified the convention, while fourteen more had taken steps toward ratification.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur N. Smith, in the *Detroit Free Press*, figures the financial loss to the United States through petty larceny and begging by addicts as between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000 annually, and states that the cost of their apprehension, confinement, and care runs annually into many additional millions of dollars. Quoted by the *Literary Digest*, August 28, 1926, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wright, Q., "The Opium Question," *Am. Jnl. Interna. Law*, April, 1924, p. 283.

Nineteen other countries had signed, but not ratified, the convention. However, by a protocol drawn up at this conference it was provided that the convention should come into effect upon its ratification, regardless of the other powers.

The Hague Convention was loosely constructed and capable of various interpretations. The enactment of the various measures depended upon the individual legislation, but some of those countries which ratified the convention did not fulfill their obligations in this respect, while others fulfilled them but indifferently.

By the Treaty of Versailles the execution of The Hague Convention was transferred to the League of Nations, and the Fourth International Conference met at Geneva in 1924-25, upon invitation of the League.

The results were not what had been hoped for. The League had adopted the following resolutions prior to the conference as an interpretation of the intentions of the Convention of 1912:

1. If the purpose of The Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to the spirit and true intent, it must be recognized that the use of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes is an abuse and not legitimate.

2. In order to prevent the abuse of these products, it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-medical and non-scientific purposes.

Various methods of controlling the manufacture and distribution of drugs were discussed. The members of the American delegation were outstanding in their contention that, inasmuch as the control of manufacture and distribution had already been unsuccessfully attempted, the only way to effect suppression was by limiting production to the amount actually needed. Their idea was to do this gradually with the expectation of total prohibition of misuse of the drug at the end of a limited number of years, first suggested as ten and later increased to fifteen.

The powers directly concerned opposed this, and proposed an alternative by which this period of gradual limitation was to

begin at such time as the poppy-growing countries could insure effective prevention of smuggling of raw opium from their territories. The interpretation of this alternative is that the producing nations, outside of China, which are able to limit production will take no steps to do so, because China may not be able to control production and smuggling. Or, in other words, the powers having financial interests at stake make the unfortunate circumstances of one country their excuse for absolving themselves from the definite obligations to which they were in honor bound by their signing and ratification of The Hague Convention of 1912. The unqualified obligation is in this way transmuted into a conditional or contingent one.

The actual results of this conference do not appear very important. Its convention attempts to make the control and supervision of alkaloid manufacturing factories more efficient, to extend the system of import and export certificates, and arranges for the appointment of a "control board" of eight members as a "fact acquiring body."

I have referred to the general condemnation of heroin for medical use. On August 30, 1926, the United States delegation to the Interparliamentary Union at Geneva, Congressman Stephen H. Porter, heading the group, secured the unanimous passage of a resolution urging all governments to adopt repressive legislation.

Heroin is manufactured at the present time in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Japan, but is prohibited in the United States, where the bulk of the illicit traffic centers.

According to statistics submitted by Mr. Porter, 75 per cent of the crimes of violence on the part of gunmen are committed under the influence of heroin, which is taken in preference to morphine and cocaine because it destroys completely the sense of fear and inflates the personality.

Thirty-seven per cent of the prisoners at Atlanta are drug addicts, of whom 90 per cent are users of heroin. New York and Chicago appear to be the principal distributing stations.

The economic sacrifice involved is small,

since only fifteen pharmaceutical concerns in Europe are producing heroin (I have no statistics regarding Japan) and heroin constitutes but one-fifth of 1 per cent of their output. To manufacture this drug a plant costing \$1,000,000 is necessary, so, if the regular manufacture is prohibited by law, there is little danger of illicit manufacture.

Agitation for and adoption of repressive legislation in those countries where such factories exist is therefore the next step in the fight against the drug traffic.

Eventually, of course, the source of heroin and its kindred drugs must be controlled, and a gradual control of production is possible. A field of white poppies cannot be successfully concealed if national vigilance is alert, and such alertness will exist if national opinion is behind the reduction program. Education will rouse national opinion and public cooperation. A world organization for the purpose of spreading information as to the character and effects of narcotics has recently been created.

Not single nations, but the entire world, must co-operate against this deadly scourge. In order to reduce production to the amount actually needed for medical use, the expenditure of large sums of money will be less burdensome, in the long run, than the annual cost of the illicit opium traffic as it now exists. Possibly such expenditures could be invested in an international police system, which should have international powers. Boards of experts could be appointed to study the conditions in all producing countries, with a view to suggesting the substitution of crops in place of opium, and, if it is necessary to cover the economic transition from one crop to another, loan funds could be made available.

Eventually medical opium alone should be produced in such locations as are adjudged by a board of experts to be most conducive to growing the highest-grade opium, such opium to be grown under the government supervision of the country selected, subject to the approval of the League of Nations or an international board.

During the period of gradual suppression statistics should be accumulated and compiled so that the actual medical needs



of the world, with a fair emergency stock, may be determined. The place or places for manufacturing alkaloids from opium should be determined by this international board and manufacture and distribution be under their supervision. Distribution should be based on the statistics and emergency needs of any country as determined by the board, and strict reports should be made to this board of the use to which all alkaloids are put.

Meanwhile the use of raw opium in the Orient should continue, or be placed under, government monopoly, such monopoly to be stringent, and their revenue returns should reveal reductions consistent with decreasing *pari passu* production.

But to achieve a solution of this traffic three things must be put on the national

scrap heaps of all the countries involved:

First. Opium revenue.

Second. So-called "national patriotism" which seeks to defend immoral policies.

Third. National sensitiveness which resents criticism in any form.

The opium traffic is not a question of ideals, but of human necessity. Where no nation has clean hands it is folly to attempt to fix on one nation the final guilt. There must be international co-operation, and the price of co-operation is new definitions of honor and patriotism, a clear comprehension of the moral foundation of international questions, a new understanding of international responsibility, a vision of world brotherhood. "We must disenthral ourselves and then we shall save our country."

## PRESIDENT CALLES' PROPOSAL TO REGULATE ARTICLE 130 OF THE MEXICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1917

(A proposal to regulate Article 130 of the Mexican Constitution was set forth by President Plutarco Elias Calles, of the Mexican Republic, October 27, 1926. In an address to the citizens and members of the Chamber of Deputies, the President submitted a draft bill which was introduced in the Chamber November 5. Our readers are reminded that the Mexican Church Law issued by the President a few months ago was printed in the October number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.)

Article 130 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, herein referred to by President Calles, reads as follows:

The Federal authorities shall have power to exercise in matters of religious worship and outward ecclesiastical forms such intervention as by law authorized. All other officials shall act as auxiliaries to the Federal authorities.

The Congress shall not enact any laws establishing or forbidding any religion whatsoever.

Marriage is a civil contract. Marriage and all other acts relating to the civil status of individuals shall appertain to the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil authorities in the manner and form by law provided, and they shall have the force and validity given them by said laws.

A simple promise to tell the truth and to comply with obligations contracted shall sub-

ject the promisor, in the event of a breach, to the penalties established therefor by law.

The law recognizes no juridical personality in the religious institutions known as churches.

Ministers of religious creeds shall be considered as persons exercising a profession, and shall be directly subject to the laws enacted on the matter.

The State legislatures shall have the exclusive power of determining the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds, according to the needs of each locality. Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico.

No ministers of religious creeds shall, either in public or private meetings, or in acts of worship or religious propaganda, criticize the fundamental laws of the country, the authorities in particular, or the government in general; they shall have no vote, nor be eligible to office, nor shall they be entitled to assemble for political purposes.

Before dedicating new temples of worship for public use, permission shall be obtained from the Department of the Interior; the opinion of the governor of the respective State shall be previously heard on the subject. Every place of worship shall have a person charged with its care and maintenance, who shall be legally responsible for the faithful performance of the laws on re-

ligious observances within the said places of worships and for all the objects used for purposes of worship.

The caretaker of each place of public worship, together with ten citizens of the place, shall promptly advise the municipal authorities as to the person charged with the care of the said place of worship. The outgoing minister shall in every instance give notice of any change, for which purpose he shall be accompanied by the incoming minister and ten other citizens of the place. The municipal authorities, under penalty of dismissal and fine not exceeding 1,000 pesos for each breach, shall be responsible for the exact performance of this provision; they shall keep a register of the places of worship and another of the caretakers thereof, subject to the same penalty as above provided. The municipal authorities shall likewise give notice to the Department of the Interior, through the State governor, of any permission to open to the public use a new place of worship, as well as of any change in the caretakers. Gifts of personality may be received in the interior of places of public worship.

Under no conditions shall studies carried on in institutions devoted to the professional training of ministers of religious creeds be given credit or granted any other dispensation of privilege which shall have for its purpose the accrediting of the said studies in official institutions. Any authority violating this provision shall be punished criminally, and all such dispensation of privilege be null and void, and shall invalidate wholly and entirely the professional degree toward the obtaining of which the infraction of this provision may in any way have contributed.

No periodical publication which either by reason of its program, its title, or merely by its general tendencies is of a religious character, shall comment upon any political affairs of the nation, nor publish any information regarding the acts of the authorities or of private individuals, in so far as the latter have to do with public affairs.

Every kind of political association whose name shall bear any word or any indication relating to any religious belief is hereby strictly forbidden. No assemblies of any political character shall be held within places of public worship.

No minister of any religious creed may inherit, either on his own behalf or by means of a trustee or otherwise, any real property occupied by any association of religious propaganda or religious or charitable purposes. Ministers of religious creeds are incapable legally of inheriting from ministers of the same religious creed or from any private individual to whom they are not related by blood within the fourth degree.

All real and personal property pertaining to the clergy or to religious institutions shall be governed, in so far as their acquisition by

private parties is concerned, in conformity with Article 27 of this Constitution.

No trial by jury shall ever be granted for the infraction of any of the preceding provisions.—THE EDITORS.

### PRESIDENT CALLES' STATEMENT

Translated by William S. Montavon

Citizens, Members of the Chamber of Deputies

“**U**NDER authority of Fraction I of Article 71 of the Constitution of the United States of Mexico, I recommend to your honorable Chamber the enactment of a statute regulating Article 130 of the said Constitution.

“Long and painful experience has demonstrated that, in our country, it is necessary for the civil authority to intervene in the regulation of public worship and external discipline, for the purpose of preventing the frequent disturbances of public order which result from the intolerance and lack of culture of many of those who profess the different religious creeds, to protect the credulous and simple masses against the criminal suggestions by which audacious imposters excite the public mind and create obstacles for the government, and to put an end to the iniquitous exploitation of ingenuous souls who do not hesitate to divest themselves of their earthly goods in exchange for happiness promised to them in the life beyond the tomb.

“About the middle of the last century, civil authority in Mexico took the first step to regulate public worship, and Article 130 of the Political Constitution of 1917 is the outgrowth of that regulation. Unfortunately, the progressive provisions contained in this article could not at once be made operative, because no secondary law has been enacted providing penalties for infractors and clarifying certain vague concepts which appear in the fundamental law. No matter how good a law may be in itself, it is worthless so long as it may with impunity be disregarded; and nothing could be gained by attempting to enforce a law containing mandates which require to be regulated, until a regulatory law had been enacted. This is precisely the condition with regard to Article 130 of the Constitution.

“The bill herewith submitted for your

consideration supplies this deficiency and will go far in establishing the supremacy of the Constitution in matters relating to public worship and external discipline.

"Having in mind this purpose, each article of the bill submitted for your consideration provides a penalty for those who disregard the prohibitions contained in Article 130 referred to, as well as for those who fail to comply with the obligations prescribed by that article.

"The uncertainty which exists with regard to certain provisions of the law under consideration is removed and the bill establishes beyond doubt, what for the purpose of the law is meant by public cult, who, under the law, is to be considered as a minister of a cult, what is the significance and bearing of the comparison which the fundamental law makes between ministers of cults and other persons who exercise professions, and what publications are comprised in the classification 'Periodical publications of a confessional character,' which is used in the Constitution.

"The bill establishes a procedure both effective and practical for procuring full compliance by those in charge of churches, and by the committee of ten neighbors, provided for in paragraphs 10 and 11 of Article 130 of the Constitution, with the obligations imposed upon them by that article; for the invalidation of professional degrees awarded contrary to the provisions of paragraph 12 of that article, and for making effective the prohibition to inherit which is mentioned in paragraph 15 of the same article.

"The disregard which has been shown toward the provisions of the law with regard to civil registry justifies us in requiring that all ministers of cults refrain from the performance of all religious ceremonies related to acts which should be recorded in that registry unless it has been previously proved that the act has been inscribed in the registry.

"The fundamental law recognizes no personality whatever in religious groups known as churches, and therefore the government cannot recognize representatives of these groups, nor take cognizance of any hierarchy within them. It is, therefore, provided that in enforcing the laws and

other dispositions regarding worship and external discipline the authorities must deal directly with the ministers of cults or with those persons whom it deems necessary, without anyone being able to evade orders issued by the authorities on the plea that these did not reach him through the hierarchial channels established by any religion or sect. To make this provision effective, failure to comply with it is made subject to the same penalty as that provided in the code for the crime of disobedience to a legitimate mandate of a public authority.

"The Constitution prohibits any one not a Mexican by birth from exercising in Mexico the ministry of any cult; however, in view of the fact that there are in the country colonies of foreigners who do not speak Spanish and who at the present time do not have ministers of their respective cults who are Mexicans by birth, and that the members of these colonies may not be deprived of the right given to them by Article 24 of the Constitution, they are given the privilege which is provided for in Article 1 of the transitory clauses of the bill herewith submitted.

"Reasons of equity and high policy support the concession of the privilege granted by Article 19 of the bill to all who, acting in good faith, without opposition or resistance, subject themselves to the prescriptions of the Constitution and the other orders of public authority with regard to religious worship and external discipline.

"The bill ends with provisions regarding the judicial and administrative authorities whose duty it is to punish infractions against Article 130 of the Constitution, and quoting the Constitution, the bill orders that to persons indicted under these provisions there shall under no consideration be granted trial by jury.

"The honorable Assembly will not fail to understand the urgency which exists for the enactment of a law regulating Article 130 of the Constitution, in view of the fact that in this way alone can an end be put to the so-called religious problem.

"Therefore the Chief Executive permits himself to recommend to the honorable Congress of the Union that this bill be

given the preferential consideration which the urgency of the case requires."

#### A Bill Regulating Article 130 of the Federal Constitution

Art. 1. The Executive, acting through the Secretary of Gobernacion, shall exercise the matters of religious worship and external discipline the intervention which is conceded to him by this law.

Art. 2. Marriage is a civil contract. This and all other acts affecting the civil state of persons are under the exclusive jurisdiction of officials and public authorities of the civil order, acting within the laws, and shall have such binding form and validity as are attributed to them by the laws.

Only after the parties have complied with the laws regarding acts and contracts affecting the civil state may the minister of any cult celebrate the ceremonies prescribed by any religion or sect for acts of this nature, and then only in case that in the presence of said minister the interested parties prove, by showing the corresponding certificate or certificates, that they have complied with the requirements of the laws.

The minister of a cult who disobeys the foregoing provision shall be punished by a fine not to exceed one hundred pesos, and in case of insolvency by arrest not to exceed eight days, imposed by administrative action.

Art. 3. Those in charge of church buildings, as well as all officiating ministers, are obliged to report to the Secretary of Gobernacion in the Federal District and to the governors of the States and Territories in the other parts of the Republic, within five days, the celebration of religious rites which are related to the acts mentioned in the preceding article, setting forth whether the provisions of that article have been complied with.

If, at the expiration of this period, the report has not been made, this fact shall be sufficient reason for subjecting the person in charge of the church building and the minister of a cult who took part in the religious act to the penalties provided in the last paragraph of the preceding article.

Art. 4. A simple promise to tell the truth and to fulfill a contractual obliga-

tion makes the author of the promise, in case of failure to fulfill, liable to the penalties which are prescribed by the law.

Art. 5. The law recognizes no personality whatever in religious groups known as churches, and for this reason these groups have none of those rights which by the law are conferred upon juristic persons.

The government recognizes no hierarchy within the churches and in enforcing all regulations related to worship and external discipline deals directly with the ministers themselves or with such other persons as may be necessary.

The minister of a cult or any person who, on the plea that he cannot disregard the hierarchial procedure established in his religion or sect, or on any other plea, refuses to respect the laws or orders which may be issued by public authorities, with regard to religious worship or external discipline, shall be punished by the penalty prescribed in the Penal Code for the crime of disobedience to a legitimate mandate of a public authority.

Art. 6. Religious associations known as churches, irrespective of creed, can in no case have capacity to acquire, hold, or administer real estate nor loans secured by real estate; any real estate which they may at this time hold, whether in their own name or through an intermediary person, will pass to the dominion of the nation, and "popular action" is herewith conceded with regard to the denouncement of such property and courts competent to try such cases are authorized to adopt for this purpose the procedure prescribed by the law for the nationalization of property enacted July 12, 1859.\*

\* TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—The law of July 12, 1859, contains the following:

#### A LAW NATIONALIZING CHURCH PROPERTY

Art. 1. There shall pass to the dominion of the nation all property which the clergy, secular and regular, has been administering under different titles, regardless of whether it consists of land, rights or shares, or of the name under which it has been known or the use to which it has been devoted.

Art. 2. By special enactment the procedure will be prescribed which is to be followed in transferring to the nation all the property of which the preceding article treats.

The remaining articles, in all twenty-five,

Art. 7. Ministers of cults shall be considered to be persons exercising a profession and shall be directly subject to the laws which may be enacted with regard to these.

Ministers of cults shall be considered to be professionals whose services are rendered on behalf of the members of the religion or sect to which they belong; but because of the moral influence which they acquire over their followers through the exercise of their ministry, they are subject to the supervision of the public authorities and to the provisions of Article 130 of the Constitution, as well as to the provisions of this statute, and in no case shall they refuse to comply with these on the plea that they are protected by the provisions of Article 4 of the Constitution, which refers to professionals of other classes.

The exercise of the ministry of any cult does not confer any vested right, and at any time the law may change the number of ministers that will be permitted to practice, and this will not constitute any violation of acquired rights.

Art. 8. To exercise the ministry of any cult in Mexico, one must be a Mexican by birth.

For the purpose of this law any person will be held to exercise the ministry of a cult who performs any of the acts which the rules of each religious creed reserves to specified persons invested with sacerdotal character, whether this be temporary or permanent.

of this statute refer to the regulation of the secular clergy and the suppression of the regular clergy and of monastic orders.

STATUTE No. 54, JULY 13, 1859, REGULATING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW NATIONALIZING CHURCH PROPERTY

This law, in Articles 27 and 28, gives to persons who denounce church property clandestinely held the privilege of obtaining these at private sale, at which the price to be paid shall not exceed the assessed valuation, or in lieu of this a valuation based on the rental value.

Anyone who shall conceal property or funds belonging to churches, and of a kind which churches cannot acquire, hold, or administer, or any person who shall act as intermediary through whom churches acquire such property, shall be made to suffer the penalty provided by the Penal Code for such offences.

In the enforcement of this law, no distinction will be made between the ministers of a cult and those persons who, as delegates, before the public authorities, or before the ecclesiastical authorities in this country, represent the faithful belonging to the churches, or the supreme heads of these (churches), even though such delegates do not have sacerdotal character.

Any one offending against the first part of this article shall be punished in accordance with the provisions of the Penal Code.

Art. 9. The ministers of cults shall not at any gathering, public or private, organized as a meeting, nor in any act of religious worship or propaganda, make any criticism of the fundamental laws of the country, or of the authorities of the government, individually or in general, and they shall have no right to join associations which have political purposes.

Any one offending against this article shall be punished in accordance with the provisions of the Penal Code.

Art. 10. In order to dedicate to worship any building open to the public, authorization must be obtained from the Secretary of Gobernacion, who has authority to grant such permission after hearing the views of the governor of the State.

In every church building there must be a person in charge of the same, who will be responsible to the public authorities for compliance with the laws relating to cults and external discipline in the said church building, as well as for all the articles of equipment pertaining to the cult.

The person in charge of a church, together with ten neighbors, will, without delay, notify the municipal authority who is the person in charge of the church. The outgoing minister, accompanied by the incoming minister and the neighbors, will give notice of any change. Under penalty of dismissal from office and a fine of not to exceed one thousand pesos, the municipal authority will be responsible for the enforcement of this provision; under the same penalty, he will keep a registry of the churches and another of the persons in charge of them. The municipal authority, through the governor of the State, will notify the Secretary of Gover-

nacion of every permit granted for the opening to the public of a new church, and of any authorization for the change of the person in charge of a church.

When the Secretary of Gobernacion authorizes the opening of a new place of worship, he will at once advise the Secretary of the Treasury and the Department of Audits, in order that the place authorized be entered in the inventory of the properties of the nation and for whatever else may be required for the purposes of Fraction II of Article 27 of the Federal Constitution.

When it is a question of opening a new place of worship in the Federal District or Territories, the Secretary of Gobernacion may, if he deems it advisable, hear the opinion of the respective governor.

For the purpose of the law, by public worship is held to mean the practice of the religious ceremonies of any creed whatever at any place other than the intimacy of the home.

Art. 11. As a general rule, the persons in charge of a church shall be a minister of the cult which is to be practiced in the church. If, however, there should arise any difficulty in enforcing this provision, one of the most prominent from among the neighbors of the locality may be named to be in charge, provided the neighbor so named be a member of the religion or sect to the use of which the church is dedicated.

Persons in charge of churches must, in every case, be native-born Mexicans, and they will be responsible under the provisions of the Penal Code for the value of the property, real and personal, which they manage and which they receive on inventory.

Art. 12. The ten neighbors spoken of in paragraph 11 of Art. 130 of the Constitution must be Mexicans and must profess the religion or the sect to which the cult to be practiced in the church belongs.

In every case of the designation or of the change of the person in charge of a church, minutes shall be drawn up in duplicate, together with an inventory, also in duplicate, of everything belonging to the church, and one copy of the minutes and one copy of the inventory shall be forwarded to the Secretary of Gobernacion

at the time of filing with that authority the notice provided for in Article 130 already mentioned.

Failure to file this notice shall be punished within the limitation established in the Penal Code, and the Secretary of Gobernacion will order the church to be closed for all the time that the constitutional requirements are not complied with.

Art. 13. Any municipal authority who neglects to enforce the provisions of the preceding article shall suffer the penalty prescribed by paragraph 11 of Article 130 of the Constitution and by the pertinent provisions of the Penal Code. The same penalty shall be inflicted for failure to keep the registry of church buildings or that of persons in charge of them.

Art. 14. Within the church building, gifts consisting of personal property may be collected.

Whenever any gift of personal property thus collected is other than cash, notice must be given to the Secretary of Gobernacion in the Federal District and to the governors in the States and Territories for the purpose that the governors report the same to the said secretary in order that proper entry be made in the inventory and the property thus received be taken up by the proper administrative officers as among the personal property belonging to the nation. In the States and in the Federal Territories this notice shall be filed with the governors by the corresponding municipal authorities.

Persons in charge of churches who fail to file the notice ordered in the article shall be punished by fine of the second class or by proportional arrest.

Persons in charge of churches shall, in same form and under the same penalties for failure to comply, report every gift of money received which is made for the acquisition of furniture, ornaments, etc., or for repairs to the building.

Art. 15. Under no consideration shall validity be given, dispensation authorized, or other procedure whatever taken which has for its purpose the granting of validity in the official courses to studies made in establishments devoted to the professional training of ministers of cults. Any public authority disregarding this provision shall incur criminal responsibility and the dis-

pensation or procedure taken contrary to this law shall be null and void, as shall also be any professional title obtained in contravention of this provision.

Anyone found guilty of an offense under this provision shall be liable to the corresponding penalties prescribed in the Penal Code.

The judge convicting any person under this provision will, at the time the sentence takes effect, advise the Secretary of Gobernacion, which official will bring the facts to the knowledge of the Secretary of Public Education, who will adopt suitable rules and regulations for the execution of this article and have charge of their enforcement.

Art. 16. Periodical publications which, because of their policies or of their name, or simply of their ordinary tendencies, are of a confessional character, shall not comment on questions of national politics, nor publish news of the acts of the authorities of the country, or of private persons who are directly concerned with the functioning of the public institutions.

Any one found guilty of an offense under this provision shall be liable to the corresponding penalties prescribed by the Criminal Code.

The name "Periodical Publications of a Confessional Character" shall be held to comprise all manuscripts or printed matter and in general all periodicals, pamphlets, or hand-bills which are offered for sale, exhibited, or distributed in any manner, either to the general public or to persons affiliated with any specific religion or creed, and in which, by written word, by drawing, lithograph, photogravure, or rotograph, or by any means other than the spoken word, religious doctrines, openly or covertly, are spread or defended.

The circumstance that the publication in question does not appear in public with regularity shall not be held to be a reason for not imposing the corresponding penalties.

Art. 17. The formation of any political association, the name of which contains any word or indication by which the association is any way related to any religious creed, is strictly prohibited. Meetings of a political character may not be held in churches.

Persons guilty of an infraction of this article shall be liable to the penalties prescribed in the Penal Code; but this shall in no manner affect the validity of orders which may be issued suppressing the association or dissolving the meeting.

Art. 18. No minister of any cult, either directly or through an intermediate person, can inherit or receive, by any title, any real property occupied by an association devoted to religious propaganda or to the purposes of religion or benevolence.

Ministers of cults are by the law incompetent to be the beneficiaries of the will of other ministers of the same cult or of any private person with whom they are not related within the fourth degree.

In case of an offense against the first part of this article, the Department of Justice and its attorneys and the representatives of the Department of Welfare (Benevolencia) have the obligation, under penalty, for non-fulfillment of a reprimand, of a fine not exceeding one hundred pesos, or suspension for one month, or dismissal from office, to bring action before the courts demanding the setting aside of the heirship or the invalidation of the title under which the property is to be or has been conveyed.

In case the real property has been conveyed, the minister of a cult receiving it shall be obliged to restore it with all increment or interest accruing to it, and he, together with any person who may have acted as an intermediary in the transaction shall be condemned to pay a fine of one thousand pesos or of proportional arrest, and will, in addition, be responsible for all damages which may result from this action.

The Secretary of Gobernacion, through the Attorney General and the district attorney, who appear before the chancery courts, will be responsible for the prosecution of cases under the second part of this article which establishes the incompetency of a minister of a cult to inherit, and for any failure to perform his duty in this respect the district attorney will be punished by a reprimand, a fine not exceeding one hundred pesos, suspension for a period not exceeding one month, or dismissal from office.

Art. 19. Offenders against the pro-

visions of this law shall under no circumstances be granted a trial by jury.

Art. 20. Persons charged with crimes committed in this matter shall be tried before the federal courts.

Penalties to be imposed by administrative action for offenses in matters of cult in the federal district will be imposed by the Secretary of Gobernacion, in the capital cities of the States and Territories by the governors, and in other municipalities by the municipal presidents.

If any public employee or official is responsible, in the administration of his employment or office, for an offense in matters of cult, the penalty incurred shall be imposed by the Secretary of Gobernacion, acting through the officer immediately over the offender.

#### TRANSITORY ARTICLES

Art. 1. Colonies of aliens who do not speak Spanish, and who have no native-born minister of their cult to minister to their religious needs, may have recourse to

the Secretary of Gobernacion, making this fact known.

The said secretary, after making the necessary investigations, may grant a period, not to exceed six years, during which such colonies may engage the services of an alien minister of their cult; provided, however, that the colony engage itself, within this period, to provide to a native-born Mexican the professional training necessary for the exercise of the ministry of its cult, it being understood that at the end of this period, under no consideration, will anyone who is not a native-born Mexican be permitted to exercise the functions of a minister of a cult.

In such case the Secretary of Gobernacion will fix the number of alien ministers who, under the privilege granted by the foregoing paragraph, may exercise their ministry because the laws fixing the maximum number of ministers of cults do not apply in these cases, but refer exclusively to native-born ministers of cults.

Art. 2. This law will become effective fifteen days after its publication in the *Diario Oficial (Official Gazette)*.

## INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### STATUS OF THE DOMINIONS

#### Interimperial Relations

##### Text of Conference Report

The Report of the Committee on Interimperial Relations was adopted by the Imperial Conference in London on November 19. The text of the report is as follows:

##### I. Introduction

We were appointed at the meeting of the Imperial Conference on the 25th of October, 1926, to investigate all the questions on the agenda affecting interimperial relations. Our discussions on these questions have been long and intricate. We found on examination that they involved consideration of fundamental principles affecting the relations of

the various parts of the Empire *inter se*, as well as the relations of each part to foreign countries. For such examination the time at our disposal has been all too short. Yet we hope that we may have laid a foundation on which subsequent conferences may build.

##### II. Status of Great Britain and the Dominions

The committee are of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organization which now exists or has ever yet been tried.



There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development—we refer to the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A foreigner endeavoring to understand the true character of the British Empire by the aid of this formula alone would be tempted to think that it was devised rather to make mutual interference impossible than to make mutual co-operation easy.

Such a criticism, however, completely ignores the historic situation. The rapid evolution of the oversea Dominions during the last fifty years has involved many complicated adjustments of old political machinery to changing conditions. The tendency toward equality of status was both right and inevitable. Geographical and other conditions made this impossible of attainment by the way of federation. The only alternative was by the way of autonomy, and along this road it has been steadily sought. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.

But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects. Aspects of all these great themes have been discussed at the present conference; excellent results have been thereby obtained. And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperiled.

Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the

root principle governing our interimperial relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defense, we require also flexible machinery—machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world. This subject also has occupied our attention. The rest of this report will show how we have endeavored not only to state political theory but to apply it to our common needs.

### III. Special Position of India

It will be noted that in the previous paragraphs we have made no mention of India. Our reason for limiting their scope to Great Britain and the Dominions is that the position of India in the Empire is already defined by the Government of India Act, 1919. We would, nevertheless, recall that by Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, due recognition was given to the important position held by India in the British Commonwealth. Where, in this report, we have had occasion to consider the position of India, we have made particular reference to it.

### IV. Relations Between the Various Parts of the British Empire

Existing administrative, legislative, and judicial forms are admittedly not wholly in accord with the position as described in Section II of this report. This is inevitable, since most of these forms date back to a time well antecedent to the present stage of constitutional development. Our first task, then, was to examine these forms with special reference to any cases where the want of adaption of practice to principle caused, or might be thought to cause, inconvenience in the conduct of interimperial relations.

#### (a) *The Title of His Majesty the King*

The title of His Majesty the King is of special importance and concern to all parts of His Majesty's dominions. Twice within the last 50 years has the royal title been altered to suit changed conditions and constitutional developments.

The present title, which is that proclaimed under the Royal Titles Act of 1901, is as follows:

George V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

Some time before the conference met, it had been recognized that this form of title hardly accorded with the altered state of affairs arising from the establishment of the Irish Free State as a Dominion. It had further been ascertained that it would be in accordance with His Majesty's wishes that any recommendation for change should be submitted to him as the result of discussion at the conference. We are unanimously of opinion that a slight change is desirable, and we recommend that, subject to His Majesty's approval, the necessary legislative action should be taken to secure that His Majesty's title should henceforward read:

George V, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

*(b) Position of Governors General*

We proceeded to consider whether it was desirable formally to place on record a definition of the position held by the Governor General\* as His Majesty's representative in the Dominions. That position, though now generally well recognized, undoubtedly represents a development from an earlier stage when the Governor General was appointed solely on the advice of His Majesty's ministers in London and acted also as their representative.

In our opinion it is an essential consequence of the equality of status existing among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations that the Governor General of a Dominion is the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain, and that he is not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain or of any department of that government.

It seemed to us to follow that the practice whereby the Governor General of a Dominion is the formal official channel of communica-

\* The Governor of Newfoundland is in the same position as the Governor General of a Dominion.

tion between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and his governments in the Dominions might be regarded as no longer wholly in accordance with the constitutional position of the Governor General. It was thought that the recognized official channel of communication should be, in future, between government and government direct. The representatives of Great Britain readily recognized that the existing procedure might be open to criticism and accepted the proposed change in principle in relation to any of the Dominions which desired it. Details were left for settlement as soon as possible after the conference had completed its work, but it was recognized by the committee, as an essential feature of any change or development in the channels of communication, that a Governor General should be supplied with copies of all documents of importance and in general should be kept as fully informed as is His Majesty the King in Great Britain of Cabinet business and public affairs.

*(c) Operation of Dominion Legislation*

Our attention was also called to various points in connection with the operation of Dominion legislation, which, it was suggested, required clarification.

The particular points involved were:

(a) The present practice under which acts of the Dominion parliaments are sent each year to London, and it is intimated, through the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, that "His Majesty will not be advised to exercise his powers of disallowance" with regard to them.

(b) The reservation of Dominion legislation, in certain circumstances, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure which is signified on advice tendered by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

(c) The difference between the legislative competence of the Parliament at Westminster and of the Dominion parliaments in that acts passed by the latter operate, as a general rule, only within the territorial area of the Dominion concerned.

(d) The operation of legislation passed by the Parliament at Westminster in relation to the Dominions. In this connection special attention was called to such statutes as the Colonial Laws Validity Act. It was suggested that in future uniformity of legislation as between Great Britain and the Do-

minions could best be secured by the enactment of reciprocal statutes based upon consultation and agreement.

We gave these matters the best consideration possible in the limited time at our disposal, but came to the conclusion that the issues involved were so complex that there would be grave danger in attempting any immediate pronouncement other than a statement of certain principles which, in our opinion, underlie the whole question of the operation of Dominion legislation. We felt that, for the rest, it would be necessary to obtain expert guidance as a preliminary to further consideration by His Majesty's governments in Great Britain and the Dominions.

On the questions raised with regard to disallowance and reservation of Dominion legislation, it was explained by the Irish Free State representatives that they desired to elucidate the constitutional practice in relation to Canada, since it is provided by Article 2 of the articles of agreement for a treaty of 1921 that "the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada."

On this point we propose that it should be placed on record that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly provided for reservation, it is recognized that it is the right of the government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs. Consequently, it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the government of that Dominion.

The appropriate procedure with regard to projected legislation in one of the self-governing parts of the Empire which may affect the interests of other self-governing parts is previous consultation between His Majesty's ministers in the several parts concerned.

On the question raised with regard to the legislative competence of members of the British Commonwealth of Nations other than Great Britain, and in particular to the desirability of those members being enabled to legislate with extraterritorial effect, we think that it should similarly be placed on record that the constitutional practice is that legis-

lation by the Parliament at Westminster applying to a Dominion would only be passed with the consent of the Dominion concerned.

As already indicated, however, we are of opinion that there are points arising out of these considerations, and in the application of these general principles, which will require detailed examination, and we accordingly recommend that steps should be taken by Great Britain and the Dominions to set up a committee with terms of reference on the following lines:

To inquire into, report upon, and make recommendations concerning—

(i) Existing statutory provisions requiring reservation of Dominion legislation for the assent of His Majesty or authorizing the disallowance of such legislation.

(ii) (a) The present position as to the competence of Dominion parliaments to give their legislation extraterritorial operation.

(b) The practicability and most convenient method of giving effect to the principle that each Dominion Parliament should have power to give extraterritorial operation to its legislation in all cases where such operation is ancillary to provision for the peace, order, and good government of the Dominion.

(iii) The principles embodied in or underlying the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, and the extent to which any provisions of that act ought to be repealed, amended, or modified in the light of the existing relations between the various members of the British Commonwealth of Nations as described in this report.

#### (d) *Merchant Shipping Legislation*

Somewhat similar consideration to those set out above governed our attitude toward a similar, though a special, question raised in relation to merchant shipping legislation. On this subject it was pointed out that, while uniformity of administrative practice was desirable, and indeed essential, as regards the merchant shipping legislation of the various parts of the Empire, it was difficult to reconcile the application, in their present form, of certain provisions of the principal statute relating to merchant shipping, viz, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, more particularly clauses 735 and 736, with the constitutional status of the several members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In this case, also, we felt that although, in the evolution of the British Empire, certain inequalities had been allowed to remain as regards various questions of maritime affairs, it was essential in dealing with these inequalities to consider the practical aspects of

the matter. The difficulties in the way of introducing any immediate alterations in the merchant shipping code (which dealt, among other matters, with the registration of British ships all over the world) were fully appreciated and it was felt to be necessary, in any review of the position, to take into account such matters of general concern as the qualifications for registry as a British ship, the status of British ships in war, the work done by His Majesty's consuls in the interest of British shipping and seamen, and the question of naval courts at foreign ports to deal with crimes and offenses on British ships abroad.

We came finally to the conclusion that, following a precedent which had been found useful on previous occasions, the general question of merchant shipping legislation had best be remitted to a special subconference, which could meet most appropriately at the same time as the expert committee, to which reference is made above. We thought that this special subconference should be invited to advise on the following general lines:

To consider and report on the principles which should govern, in the general interests, the practice and legislation relating to merchant shipping in the various parts of the Empire, having regard to the change in constitutional status and general relations which has occurred since existing laws were enacted.

We took note that the representatives of India particularly desired that India, in view of the importance of her shipping interests, should be given an opportunity of being represented at the proposed subconference. We felt that the full representation of India on an equal footing with Great Britain and the Dominions would not only be welcomed, but could very properly be given, due regard being had to the special constitutional position of India as explained in Section III of this report.

(e) *Appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*

Another matter which we discussed, in which a general constitutional principle was raised, concerned the conditions governing appeals from judgments in the Dominion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. From these discussions it became clear that it was no part of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that questions

affecting judicial appeals should be determined otherwise than in accordance with the wishes of the part of the Empire primarily affected. It was, however, generally recognized that where changes in the existing system were proposed which, while primarily affecting one part, raised issues in which other parts were also concerned, such changes ought only to be carried out after consultation and discussion.

So far as the work of the committee was concerned, this general understanding expressed all that was required. The question of some immediate change in the present conditions governing appeals from the Irish Free State was not pressed in relation to the present conference, though it was made clear that the right was reserved to bring up the matter again at the next Imperial Conference for discussion in relation to the facts of this particular case.

#### V. Relations with Foreign Countries

From questions specially concerning the relations of the various parts of the British Empire with one another, we naturally turned to those affecting their relations with foreign countries. In the latter sphere, a beginning had been made toward making clear those relations by the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 on the subject of the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties. But it seemed desirable to examine the working of that resolution during the past three years and also to consider whether the principles laid down with regard to treaties could not be applied with advantage in a wider sphere.

(a) *Procedure in Relation to Treaties*

We appointed a special subcommittee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Justice of Canada (the Hon. E. Lapointe, K. C.) to consider the question of treaty procedure.

The subcommittee, on whose report the following paragraphs are based, found that the resolution of the conference of 1923 embodied on most points useful rules for the guidance of the government. As they became more thoroughly understood and established, they would prove effective in practice.

Some phases of treaty procedure were examined, however, in greater detail in the light of experience in order to consider to what extent the resolution of 1923 might with advantage be supplemented.

*Negotiation:*

It was agreed in 1923 that any of the governments of the Empire contemplating the negotiation of a treaty should give due consideration to its possible effect upon other governments and should take steps to inform governments likely to be interested of its intention.

This rule should be understood as applying to any negotiations which any government intends to conduct, so as to leave it to the other governments to say whether they are likely to be interested.

When a government has received information of the intention of any other government to conduct negotiations, it is incumbent upon it to indicate its attitude with reasonable promptitude. So long as the initiating government receives no adverse comments and so long as its policy involves no active obligations on the part of the other governments, it may proceed on the assumption that its policy is generally acceptable. It must, however, before taking any steps which might involve the other governments in any active obligations, obtain their definite assent.

Where by the nature of the treaty it is desirable that it should be ratified on behalf of all the governments of the Empire, the initiating government may assume that a government which has had full opportunity of indicating its attitude and has made no adverse comments will concur in the ratification of the treaty. In the case of a government that prefers not to concur in the ratification of a treaty unless it has been signed by a plenipotentiary authorized to act on its behalf, it will advise the appointment of a plenipotentiary so to act.

*Form of Treaty:*

Some treaties begin with a list of the contracting countries and not with a list of heads of States. In the case of treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, adherence to the wording of the annex to the Covenant for the purpose of describing the contracting party has led to the use in the preamble of the term "British Empire," with an enumeration of the Dominions and India if parties to the convention, but without any mention of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the colonies and protectorates. These are only included by virtue of their being covered by the term "British Empire." This practice, while suggesting that the Dominions and

India are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question, tends to obscurity and misunderstanding and is generally unsatisfactory.

As a means of overcoming this difficulty it is recommended that all treaties (other than agreements between governments), whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not, should be made in the name of heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of any or all of the governments of the Empire, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is signed should be grouped together in the following order: Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India. A specimen form of treaty as recommended is attached as an appendix to the committee's report.

In the case of a treaty applying to only one part of the Empire it should be stated to be made by the King on behalf of that part.

The making of the treaty in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire will render superfluous the inclusion of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the question was discussed at the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925, and that the legal committee of that conference laid it down that the principle to which the foregoing sentence gives expression underlies all international conventions.

In the case of some international agreements the governments of different parts of the Empire may be willing to apply between themselves some of the provisions as an administrative measure. In this case they should state the extent to which and the terms on which such provisions are to apply. Where international agreements are to be applied between different parts of the Empire, the form of a treaty between heads of States should be avoided.

*Full Powers:*

The plenipotentiaries for the various British units should have full powers, issued in each case by the King on the advice of the

government concerned, indicating and corresponding to the part of the Empire for which they are to sign. It will frequently be found convenient, particularly where there are some parts of the Empire on which it is not contemplated that active obligations will be imposed, but where the position of the British subjects belonging to these parts will be affected, for such government to advise the issue of full powers on their behalf to the plenipotentiary appointed to act on behalf of the government or governments mainly concerned. In other cases provision might be made for accession by other parts of the Empire at a later date.

#### *Signature:*

In the cases where the names of countries are appended to the signatures in a treaty, the different parts of the Empire should be designated in the same manner as is proposed in regard to the list of plenipotentiaries in the preamble to the treaty. The signatures of the plenipotentiaries of the various parts of the Empire should be grouped together in the same order as is proposed above.

The signature of a treaty on behalf of a part of the Empire should cover territories for which a mandate has been given to that part of the Empire, unless the contrary is stated at the time of the signature.

#### *Coming into Force of Multilateral Treaties:*

In general, treaties contain a ratification clause and a provision that the treaty will come into force on the deposit of a certain number of ratifications. The question has sometimes arisen in connection with treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League whether, for the purpose of making up the number of ratifications necessary to bring the treaty into force, ratifications on behalf of different parts of the Empire which are separate members of the League should be counted as separate ratifications. In order to avoid any difficulty in future, it is recommended that when it is thought necessary that a treaty should contain a clause of this character, it should take the form of a provision that the treaty should come into force when it has been ratified on behalf of so many separate members of the League.

We think that some convenient opportunity should be taken of explaining to the other members of the League the changes which it is desired to make in the form of treaties and the reasons for which they are desired.

We would also recommend that the various governments of the Empire should make it an instruction to their representatives at international conferences to be held in future that they should use their best endeavors to secure that effect is given to the recommendations contained in the foregoing paragraphs.

#### *(b) Representation at International Conferences*

We also studied, in the light of the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923, to which reference has already been made, the question of the representation of the different parts of the Empire at international conferences. The conclusions which we reached may be summarized as follows:

1. No difficulty arises as regards representation at conferences convened by, or under the auspices of the League of Nations. In the case of such conferences all members of the League are invited, and if they attend are represented separately by separate delegations. Co-operation is ensured by the application of paragraph I. 1 (c) of the treaty resolution of 1923.

2. As regards international conferences summoned by foreign governments, no rule of universal application can be laid down, since the nature of the representation must, in part, depend on the form of invitation issued by the convening government.

(a) In conferences of a technical character, it is usual and always desirable that the different parts of the Empire should (if they wish to participate) be represented separately by separate delegations, and where necessary efforts should be made to secure invitations which will render such representation possible.

(b) Conferences of a political character called by a foreign government must be considered on the special circumstances of each individual case.

It is for each part of the Empire to decide whether its particular interests are so involved, especially having regard to the active obligations likely to be imposed by any resulting treaty, that it desires to be represented at the conference, or whether it is content to leave the negotiation in the hands of the part or parts of the Empire more directly concerned and to accept the result.

If a government desires to participate in the conclusion of a treaty, the method by which representation will be secured is a matter to be arranged with the other govern-

ments of the Empire in the light of the invitation which has been received.

Where more than one part of the Empire desires to be represented, three methods of representation are possible:

(i) By means of a common plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries, the issue of full powers to whom should be on the advice of all parts of the Empire participating.

(ii) By a single British Empire delegation composed of separate representatives of such parts of the Empire as are participating in the conference. This was the form of representation employed at the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921.

(iii) By separate delegations representing each part of the Empire participating in the conference. If, as a result of consultation, this third method is desired, an effort must be made to ensure that the form of invitation from the convening government will make this method of representation possible.

Certain non-technical treaties should, from their nature, be concluded in a form which will render them binding upon all parts of the Empire, and for this purpose should be ratified with the concurrence of all the governments. It is for each government to decide to what extent its concurrence in the ratification will be facilitated by its participation in the conclusion of the treaty, as, for instance, by the appointment of a common plenipotentiary. Any question as to whether the nature of the treaty is such that its ratification should be concurred in by all parts of the Empire is a matter for discussion and agreement between the governments.

#### (c) *General Conduct of Foreign Policy*

We went on to examine the possibility of applying the principles underlying the treaty resolution of the 1923 conference to matters arising in the conduct of foreign affairs generally. It was frankly recognized that in this sphere, as in the sphere of defense, the major share of responsibility rests now, and must for some time continue to rest, with His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. Nevertheless, practically all the Dominions are engaged to some extent, and some to a considerable extent, in the conduct of foreign relations, particularly those with foreign countries on their borders. A particular instance of this is the growing work in connection with the relations between Canada and the United States of America, which has led to the necessity for the appointment of a

minister plenipotentiary to represent the Canadian Government in Washington. We felt that the governing consideration underlying all discussions of this problem must be that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own governments. In the light of this governing consideration, the committee agreed that the general principle expressed in relation to treaty negotiations in Section V (a) of this report, which is indeed already to a large extent in force, might usefully be adopted as a guide by the governments concerned in future in all negotiations affecting foreign relations falling within their respective spheres.

#### (d) *Issue of Exequaturs to Foreign Consuls in the Dominions*

A question was raised with regard to the practice regarding the issue of exequaturs to consuls in the Dominions. The general practice hitherto, in the case of all appointments of consuls de carrière in any part of the British Empire, has been that the foreign government concerned notifies His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, through the diplomatic channel, of the proposed appointment and that, provided that it is clear that the person concerned is, in fact, a consul de carrière, steps have been taken, without further formality, for the issue of His Majesty's exequatur. In the case of consuls other than those de carrière, it has been customary for some time past to consult the Dominion Government concerned before the issue of the exequatur.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs informed us that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accepted the suggestion that in future any application by a foreign government for the issue of an exequatur to any person who was to act as consul in a Dominion should be referred to the Dominion Government concerned for consideration and that, if the Dominion Government agreed to the issue of the exequatur, it would be sent to them for counter-signature by a Dominion minister. Instructions to this effect had indeed already been given.

#### (e) *Channel of Communication between Dominion Governments and Foreign Governments*

We took note of a development of special interest which had occurred since the Im-

perial Conference last met, viz, the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary to represent the interests of the Irish Free State in Washington, which was now about to be followed by the appointment of a diplomatic representative of Canada. We felt that most fruitful results could be anticipated from the co-operation of His Majesty's representatives in the United States of America, already initiated, and now further to be developed. In cases other than those where Dominion ministers were accredited to the heads of foreign States, it was agreed to be very desirable that the existing diplomatic channels should continue to be used, as between the Dominion governments and foreign governments, in matters of general and political concern.

#### VI. System of Communication and Consultation

Sessions of the Imperial Conference at which the prime ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions are all able to be present cannot, from the nature of things, take place very frequently. The system of communication and consultation between conferences becomes therefore of special importance. We reviewed the position now reached in this respect with special reference to the desirability of arranging that closer personal touch should be established between Great Britain and the Dominions and the Dominions *inter se*. Such contact alone can convey an impression of the atmosphere in which official correspondence is conducted. Development, in this respect, seems particularly necessary in relation to matters of major importance in foreign affairs where expedition is often essential, and urgent decision necessary. A special aspect of the question of consultation which we considered was that concerning the representation of Great Britain in the Dominions. By reason of his constitutional position, as explained in Section IV (b) of this report, the Governor General is no longer the representative of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. There is no one therefore in the Dominion capitals in a position to represent with authority the views of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

We summed up our conclusions in the following resolution, which is submitted for the consideration of the conference:

The governments represented at the Imperial Conference are impressed with the desirability of developing a system of personal

contact, both in London and in the Dominion capitals, to supplement the present system of intercommunication and the reciprocal supply of information on affairs requiring joint consideration. The manner in which any new system is to be worked out is a matter for consideration and settlement between His Majesty's governments in Great Britain and the Dominions, with due regard to the circumstances of each particular part of the Empire, it being understood that any new arrangements should be supplementary to, and not in replacement of; the system of direct communication from government to government and the special arrangements which have been in force since 1918 for communications between prime ministers.

#### VII. Particular Aspects of Foreign Relations Discussed by Committee

It was found convenient that certain aspects of foreign relations on matters outstanding at the time of the conference should be referred to us, since they could be considered in greater detail and more informally than at meetings of the full conference.

##### (a) *Compulsory Arbitration in International Disputes*

One question which we studied was that of arbitration in international disputes, with special reference to the question of acceptance of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, providing for the compulsory submission of certain classes of cases to the court. On this matter we decided to submit no resolution to the conference, but, while the members of the committee were unanimous in favoring the widest possible extension of the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, the feeling was that it was at present premature to accept the obligations under the article in question. A general understanding was reached that none of the governments represented at the Imperial Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the permanent court without bringing up the matter for further discussion.

##### (b) *Adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol Establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

Connected with the question last mentioned, was that of adherence of the United States of America to the protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The special conditions upon which the



United States desired to become a party to the protocol had been discussed at a special conference held in Geneva in September, 1926, to which all the governments represented at the Imperial Conference had sent representatives. We ascertained that each of these governments was in accord with the conclusions reached by the special conference and with the action which that conference recommended.

(c) *The Policy of Locarno*

The Imperial Conference was fortunate in meeting at a time just after the ratifications of the Locarno Treaty of Mutual Guarantees had been exchanged on the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. It was therefore possible to envisage the results which the Locarno policy had achieved already, and to forecast to some extent the further results which it was hoped to secure. These were explained and discussed. It then became clear that, from the standpoint of all the Dominions and of India, there was complete approval of the manner in which the negotiations had been conducted and brought to so successful a conclusion.

Our final and unanimous conclusion was to recommend to the conference the adoption of the following resolution:

The conference has heard with satisfaction the statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with regard to the efforts made to ensure peace in Europe, culminating in the agreements of Locarno; and congratulates His Majesty's Government in Great Britain on its share in this successful contribution toward the promotion of the peace of the world.

APPENDIX

See Section V (a)

Specimen Form of Treaty

The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King (here insert His Majesty's full title), His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, &c., &c.,

Desiring.....

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President.....

His Majesty the King (title as above):

for Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League (of Nations).....AB,  
for the Dominion of Canada.....CD,  
for the Commonwealth of Australia..EF,

for the Dominion of New Zealand...GH,  
for the Union of South Africa.....IJ,  
for the Irish Free State.....KL,  
for India .....MN,

.....  
who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

.....  
In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

AB .....  
CD .....  
EF .....  
GH .....  
IJ .....  
KL .....  
MN .....

(or if the territory for which each plenipotentiary signs is to be specified:

(for Great Britain, &c.).....AB,  
(for Canada) .....CD,  
(for Australia) .....EF,  
(for New Zealand) .....GH,  
(for South Africa) .....IJ,  
(for the Irish Free State).....KL,  
(for India) .....MN.

PACT FOR THE RETURN TO CHINA OF THE MIXED COURT

Article I. (1) The Kiangsu Provincial Government in place of the mixed court, in the international settlement at Shanghai, will establish the Shanghai provisional court. With the exception of cases which, in accordance with the treaties, involve the right of consular jurisdiction, all civil and criminal cases in the settlement shall be dealt with by the said provisional court.

(2) All laws, including laws of procedure, and ordinances applicable at the present time in other Chinese courts, as well as those that may be duly enacted and promulgated in the future, shall be applicable in the provisional court, due account being taken of the terms of the present agreement and of such established rules of procedure of the mixed court as shall hereafter be agreed upon.

(3) In criminal cases which directly affect the peace and order of the international settlement, including contraventions of the land regulations and by-laws of the international settlement, and in all criminal cases in which the accused is in the employ of a foreigner having extraterritorial rights, the senior consul may appoint a deputy to sit with the judge to watch the proceedings. But the concurrence of the deputy shall not be necessary for the validity of the judgment, though

he shall have the right to record his objections. He shall not, however, put any questions to the witnesses or prisoners without the consent of the judge.

#### Orders to be Signed by Judge

(4) All summonses, warrants, and orders of the court shall be valid after they have been signed by a judge. All such summonses, warrants, and orders shall be numbered for record by the chief clerk before service. When the summons, warrant, or order is to be executed on premises occupied by a foreigner having extraterritorial rights, the consul or other appropriate official of the power concerned shall, on presentation, affix his counter-signature without delay.

(5) In cases in which a foreigner having extraterritorial rights or the Shanghai municipal council, is the plaintiff in a civil action, or in criminal cases in which a foreigner having extraterritorial rights is the complainant, the consul of the nationality concerned or the senior consul may send an official to sit jointly with the judge in accordance with the provisions of the treaties.

(6) A court of appeal shall be established in connection with the provisional court to deal with criminal cases which directly affect the peace and order of the international settlement and with mixed criminal cases. The president of the provisional court shall act concurrently as the president of the court of appeal. No appeal shall be allowed in cases in which the penalty is below the maximum imprisonment of the fifth degree nor in cases under the land regulations and by-laws of the international settlement. In all cases in which a senior consul's deputy sat in the original hearing a different deputy shall sit in the appeal, appointed in the same way and having the same rights as the original deputy. In the same way a different consular official shall sit in the appeal in mixed criminal cases.

#### Appointment of Judges

(7) The president and judges of the provisional court as well as the judges of the court of appeal shall be appointed by the Kiangsu Provisional Government.

Article II. In cases involving imprisonment for ten years or more, and in cases involving the death penalty, the provisional court shall report the same to the Kiangsu Provincial Government for approval. In cases in which the provincial government refuses that approval, the provincial government shall give

its reasons and order the provisional court to rehear the case and again submit the judgment to the provincial government. All criminal cases in which the infliction of the death penalty has been approved shall be remitted to the Chinese authorities outside the settlement for the execution of such penalty. Inquests and autopsies (Chien Yen) in the settlement shall be held jointly by the judges of the provisional court and the deputies appointed by the senior consul.

#### Prison Regulations

Article III. The prisons attached to the provisional court, with the exception of the house of detention for civil cases and the women's prison, which are to be separately provided for, shall be under the charge of the municipal police specially detailed for the purpose, but they shall be operated as far as practicable in conformity with the Chinese prison regulations and subject to the supervision of the court. The president of the court shall appoint a visiting committee, which shall include a deputy of the senior consul, to make investigations from time to time, and if it is considered that there are any respects in which the control over the prisoners is unsatisfactory, the same shall be reported to the court; whereupon the municipal police shall be charged by the court to make the necessary rectification, which the said police shall carry out without delay.

Article IV. All summonses, warrants, and orders issued by the court shall be executed by the judicial police, who shall be detailed for this duty by the municipal police and be directly responsible to the court in the execution of their duties as judicial police. The municipal police shall render full and prompt assistance in such matters as may be requested of or intrusted to them by the court, and when the municipal police arrest any person, he shall, within twenty-four hours, exclusive of holidays, be sent to the court to be dealt with, failing which he shall be released.

#### Appeals Made to Commission

Article V. In all mixed civil cases where there has been a consular official sitting jointly with a judge, the appeal shall be made to the office of the commissioner for foreign affairs, acting with the consul concerned, according to the treaties, but such cases may be turned over to the provisional court for retrial by a different judge, the

original consular official being also changed. In the event of a disagreement between the commissioner for foreign affairs and the consul in respect of the appeal, in a case which has been retried, the judgment given at the retrial shall stand.

Article VI. The financial affairs and such administrative work of the court as shall be determined by a joint commission shall be intrusted to a chief clerk, who shall be recommended by the senior consul and appointed by the provincial government on receipt of a petition from the court. He shall be subject to the supervision and orders of the president of the court and shall have charge of the staff and exercise proper supervision over the court finances. If the chief clerk is found to be incompetent or remiss in his duty, the president of the court may reprimand him and, if necessary, remove him from office with the consent of the senior consul.

#### Duration of Pact

Article VII. The foregoing six articles, forming the provisional agreement for the rendition of the mixed court to the Kiangsu Provincial Government, shall be in force for three years, dating from the day on which the mixed court is handed over. Within this period the Chinese Central Government may at any time negotiate with the foreign ministers concerned, in Peking, for a final settlement, which if agreed upon between the Chinese Central Government and the said foreign ministers, shall replace the present provisional agreement. If at the end of three years no final settlement has been reached in Peking, the present provisional agreement shall continue to be in force for another three years. At the end of the first three years, however, the Kiangsu Provisional Government may propose any modification of the present agreement, provided that notice is given six months before the expiration of the first three years.

Article VIII. The present provisional agreement shall in no way bind the Chinese Central Government in any future discussion between it and the foreign governments with regard to the abolition of extraterritoriality.

Article IX. The date on which the rendition of the mixed court shall take place under the above provisional agreement shall be fixed by an exchange of notes, to take place between the representative of the Kiangsu Provisional Government and the senior consul.

Signed at Shanghai, in the Province of Kiangsu, Republic of China, on the 31st day of August, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six, being the 24th day of the seventh month of the fifteenth year of the Chinese Republic.

## TACNA-ARICA

The following is the text of a memorandum delivered by the Secretary of State to the governments of Chile and Peru on Tuesday, November 30, 1926:

The Tacna-Arica controversy has engaged my closest attention ever since I assumed the duties of Secretary of State. All of my predecessors in this office during the past 40 years have followed with the deepest interest the varying phases of the problem, and several Secretaries, particularly my immediate predecessor, Mr. Hughes, have been intimately concerned, as I have been, with the task of contributing, if possible, to its solution. It is, I know, fully appreciated, not only by the parties themselves, but by the world at large, that the Government of the United States never has had, nor can have, any motive or interest in relation to the matter other than that of a friendly adviser to both parties, anxious to do what it can to enable them to escape from the unfortunate situation in which they find themselves. This spirit, combined with an abiding faith in the sincerity of the contestants, has guided every step taken by my government. I have at all times endeavored conscientiously to observe the strictest neutrality, and have, I think, been able to arrive at a sympathetic appreciation of the respective points of view which have been presented.

In the present state of the controversy I am persuaded that it may be helpful to the parties if I outline candidly certain observations and conclusions which I have formed as the result of my experience with the matter during the past year and a half.

1. The numerous efforts which have been made since the Treaty of Ancon to effect a solution within the scope and intent of the treaty itself, whether by direct negotiations between Chile and Peru, or as contemplated by arbitration and plebiscite, have been thus far unproductive.

2. The recent negotiations for settlement outside the treaty, with the aid of the good offices of the United States, have unquestionably served to explore the possibilities of adjustment and define the positions of the principals. Representatives of the two governments have explained their respective attitudes to me with the utmost frankness, and I am convinced that there is a sincere desire on both sides to arrive at a final and constructive adjustment.

3. We are obviously dealing with a question which turns upon a point of national honor. Now, national honor is a very real thing, and in this particular case it is perfectly

clear that national susceptibilities in this regard are peculiarly sensitive in both countries and must be fully protected. I see no reason why this cannot be done. It is my conviction that this problem should be, and can be, definitely solved without the slightest sacrifice of national honor and dignity or injury to national susceptibilities on either side. On the contrary, nothing could possibly rebound so much to the honor and dignity of Chile and Peru as a high-minded settlement of this controversy, so as to permit them to stand before the world as friends unembarrassed by any serious differences between them.

4. I have studied with the greatest care the various types of solution which have been advanced throughout the negotiations, and I have patiently listened to the views which have been so freely expressed by the representatives of the contending powers. Leaving out of consideration the attempt to carry out the unfulfilled provisions of the Treaty of Ancon, it would appear that from the nature of the case there are but three ways to deal with the disputed territory: You can assign it all to one of the contestants; you can divide it between them on some basis to be defined, or you can effect some arrangement whereby neither contestant shall get any of the territory. These three general types comprise an exclusive classification of the logically possible ways to dispose of the *res*. I think it may fairly be said that the first of them, namely, delivery of the disputed territory in its entirety to one or the other of the parties, has virtually ceased to be regarded as a practical solution by anybody who really hopes for a permanent settlement.

The second method, that of division, has also seemed to me to recede further and further into the background. The parties have not been able to find any formula or basis either of straight division or of division, coupled with a "corridor" feature or a "free city" device, which is acceptable to both of them. The prospect of success by following this path is not encouraging. Apparently no scheme of division, however ingeniously worked out, has yet been able to overcome the stubborn fact that neither of the governments considers that it can afford to make an adjustment which involves making substantial concessions to the other. The essential elements of compromise in the true meaning of the term are lacking. We may as well face the issue squarely, and recognize that division of this territory between Chile and Peru on any basis of agreement presents almost insuperable difficulties so long as each applies to every arrangement suggested the test of whether it may conceivably enable the other to claim a moral victory. I am not criticising this attitude; I only state it as a fact which militates powerfully against a territorial compromise.

There remains the possibility of some arrangement by which neither contestant shall face the possibility of giving up anything to the other. Manifestly a solution of that character would possess the distinct advantage

of eliminating all apprehensions arising from a comparison of relative territorial benefits secured. It would involve a joint, as distinguished from a mutual, sacrifice, and would rest fundamentally upon the realization that in all the circumstances neither country can expect to receive any substantial part of this long disputed area, and at the same time enjoy the security and satisfaction accruing from a complete adjustment which they themselves, as well as the rest of the world, could regard as permanent. Concerning myself with the practical aspects of the problem, and conceiving it to be my duty to find, if I can, a plan which both governments can afford to accept in the names of the peoples to whom they are responsible, I have come to regard this third method as one meeting the more vital conditions and offering decided advantages from the point of view of permanent peace. I am moved to this conclusion principally because such a formula does not call for a moral surrender, or anything that can be so construed, by one country to the other.

5. In the course of the negotiations I have suggested for consideration, in one form or another, all three of these logically possible types of solution. On no one of them have the ideas of Chile and Peru converged. I have suggested various combinations, such as division of territory with the "corridor" feature and the "free city" device annexed. Interesting discussions of details as to boundaries, etc., have ensued, but these discussions have led to no conclusion. I have also suggested the neutralization of the territory, but this has not been received with favor by both parties.

To recapitulate: The proceedings under Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon have not been successful. The parties have not agreed upon any division of the territory upon any basis whatever. They have not agreed to neutralization of the whole or of any part of the territory. No suggestion which has been put forward has proved acceptable to both Chile and Peru. What remains?

Notwithstanding the fact that an agreement has thus far not been obtained, and in the light of all that has taken place, I feel bound to consider what step it may lie in my power now to take in the pursuit of a friendly and disinterested effort to assist the parties, and after mature reflection I have decided to outline and place before the two governments a plan which, in my judgment, is worthy of their earnest attention. I venture to express the sincere hope that they will adopt it. This plan calls for the co-operation of a third power, Bolivia, which has not yet appeared in any of the negotiations, at least so far as my government is concerned. While the attitude of Bolivia has not been ascertained, save that her aspiration to secure access to the Pacific is common knowledge, it seems reasonable to assume that Bolivia, by virtue of her geographical situation, is the one outside power which would be primarily interested in acquiring, by purchase or otherwise, the subject matter of the pending controversy. With this preface let me now de-

fine the concrete suggestion which I have in mind:

a. The republics of Chile and Peru, either by joint or by several instruments freely and voluntarily executed, to cede to the Republic of Bolivia, in perpetuity, all right, title, and interest which either may have in the provinces of Tacna and Arica; the cession to be made subject to appropriate guaranties for the protection and preservation, without discrimination, of the personal and property rights of all of the inhabitants of the provinces of whatever nationality.

b. As an integral part of the transaction, provision to be made for adequate compensation to be given by the Republic of Bolivia for said cession, including public works, railways, and improvements in the territory transferred, and taking into account the present value of all such public works, railways, and improvements made by both Chile and Peru during the periods when they have respectively been in control and occupation of the territory; such compensation to be determined in direct negotiations participated in by Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, it being understood that the Secretary of State will place at the disposal of the three governments his good offices, if they are required, either to promote an agreement or to fix the character and amount of compensation in case it should prove impracticable to determine the same in the tripartite negotiation.

c. Chile and Peru to agree in direct negotiation upon the equitable apportionment between them of any cash compensation which may be provided for, it being here also understood that the Secretary of State will place at their disposal his good offices if required to assist them in making the apportionment, and that he will himself undertake to apportion the compensation if asked to do so by both Chile and Peru.

d. The promontory known as the Morro of Arica, with boundaries appropriately defined, to be reserved from the transfer to Bolivia and to be placed under the control and jurisdiction of an international commission, which shall be charged with maintaining it as an international memorial to the valor of both Chile and Peru, with the suggestion that there be erected on the morro a lighthouse, or monument, to commemorate the friendly settlement of the Tacna-Arica question.

e. Simultaneously with the completion of the foregoing arrangement, or as soon thereafter as may be practicable, suitable treaties of friendship to be entered into between Chile and Peru covering the resumption of diplomatic and consular relations, commerce, navigation, and all other matters necessary to re-establish normal and friendly intercourse between the two countries.

f. The territory now comprised in the provinces of Tacna and Arica to be, by agreement between Peru, Chile, and Bolivia, perpetually demilitarized in the fullest sense of that term.

g. The city of Arica, by appropriate agreement among the three powers, to be made forever a free port, and adequate provision to

be made insuring that no discriminatory rates or charges, as among the three countries, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, shall be made with respect to the port, or to the railroad, or to any other means of communication within the said territory now comprising the provinces of Tacna and Arica.

6. In submitting this plan I have not undertaken to do more than sketch its broad outlines. The details should, in my judgment, present no serious difficulties. The main advantages which this type of solution has over others which have been considered need little emphasis.

a. It furnishes a substitute for the unfulfilled provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon, and thus forever disposes of the controversy which has existed ever since that treaty was signed.

b. It is a clean, simple solution, free from obvious complicating factors attendant upon other plans.

c. It is comprehensive and definitive, leaving no room whatever for claims and disputes and maneuvers for revision of territorial dispositions.

d. It can injure no national susceptibilities, either Chilean or Peruvian. Neither country makes any concession to the other, and the moral positions of both, so far as the original controversy is concerned, are left intact.

e. It takes into account the continental interest in the controversy and embodies a settlement which South America, as a whole, could welcome as one insuring permanent peace and stability.

(Signed) FRANK B. KELLOGG,  
*Secretary of State.*

Washington, November 30, 1926.

## News in Brief

AN INTERNATIONAL RAG-PICKERS' ASSOCIATION has met in Paris to draw up regulations for controlling international trade. It follows somewhat the plan of the British rubber and the Brazilian coffee producers. American industry imports rags in great quantity for raw material. During the first eight months of 1926 we imported from Germany alone 46,250 tons for use in paper mills.

THE JOINT BOARD OF ENGINEERS of the St. Lawrence Waterway Project, of which Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, is chairman, issued a report early in December. The report proposes two plans for an ocean-going ship canal from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. They also provide for the

development of water power. Recognizing the principle that the interests of navigation on the St. Lawrence are paramount, the plans do not, it is stated, interfere with the flow of the river for power generation.

SWEDEN AND HOLLAND have concluded an air-traffic convention. Under its terms freedom of passage is allowed in each country. Certain types of cargo, such as explosives and some gases are, however, forbidden.

AN ITALO-GERMAN AGREEMENT has finally been reached, amicably settling the long-disputed questions of properties belonging to German subjects in the provinces annexed by Italy.

THE THIRD PACIFIC SCIENCE CONGRESS, held in Tokyo in November, organized a permanent Pacific Science Association before its adjournment. Its purposes are stated as the promotion of co-operation in the study of scientific problems relating to the Pacific and the promotion of the feeling of brotherhood among scientists of the Pacific countries. Among the members of the association are the National Research Councils of the United States, Australia, and Canada, the French Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society of Great Britain, and societies in Holland, New Zealand, Japan, China, Russia, Hawaii, the Philippines, and the East Indies.

THE UNIVERSITY AFLOAT, comprising 600 professors and students, reached Japan and was welcomed with ceremonies, November 5, 6, 7, at Tokyo and Kamakura.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY HAS PLANNED a Spanish-American house to serve as a center of Spanish culture in the United States. It will be the headquarters of the *Instituto de las Españas*, which has some 200 branches in the United States, and aims to foster the study of Spanish and Portuguese.

NEARLY FORTY FOREIGN LANGUAGE DAILIES, in twenty-three different languages, and a total of 193 foreign publications come from the presses of New York City every month. A country-wide survey shows that there were 1,323 foreign publications in the United States in 1917. With immigration reduced, however, the number dropped in 1926 to 1,160. Editors say that instinctively foreigners trust their own tongue and respond more readily to information about the new land in their own papers. Many foreign-language

papers are now running a little English with the other language.

THE CHINA INSTITUTE IN AMERICA was established at the regular meeting of the Board of Trustees of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, in Peking, February 26-28, 1926. The institute plans various methods of furthering closer relations between the culture of China and America. Among them is the building up of a library of reference on China in this country and the providing of American and Chinese speakers on China's national life. Dr. P. W. Kuo, Vice-President of the World Federation of Education Associations, was elected director of the institute.

THE TWELVE GREATEST WORLD HEROES have been voted upon by thousands of high-school pupils in this and over thirty foreign countries. The result has been announced by the World Federation of Education Associations. The list, in the order of number of votes, is as follows: Louis Pasteur, Abraham Lincoln, Christopher Columbus, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Woodrow Wilson, Florence Nightingale, Joan of Arc, Socrates, Johannes Gutenberg, David Livingstone, and George Stephenson.

THE NEW LIBRARY of the Imperial University of Tokyo will be completed and restocked by January, 1928, according to Dr. M. Anesaki, special director for this work. The original library was burned at the time of the earthquake, September, 1923. The rebuilding was made possible at this early time by the gift of \$2,000,000 by John Rockefeller, Jr. Gifts of 1,000 large cases of books have been received and purchases have been made so that the library already numbers about the same as when it was destroyed.

A PAN-PACIFIC WOMAN'S CONFERENCE will be held in Honolulu in 1928. The following are some of the subjects to be discussed: Health, education, psychology, international disputes, women in industry, women in government, charities and corrections.

AN "EDUCATIONAL BAEDeker" is being prepared by Prof. Pierre Bovet, president of the International Bureau of Education recently established at Geneva. The purpose of this guidebook will be to aid those who want to visit the interesting educational experiments and international schools of Europe. Pro-

fessor Bovet is himself head of an international school at 4 Rue Charles Bonnet, Geneva, Switzerland.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING IN COLLEGES has been opposed by the following churches: Presbyterian General Assembly, Northern Baptist Convention, Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Southern California Congregational Conference, and the Oregon Synod of the Presbyterian Church. It has also been opposed by regional conferences of the Y. M. C. A. at Estes Park and the Y. W. C. A.

THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT has admitted to representation in the Royal Academy the Catalan, Basque and the Galician languages. Their functions in the Academy will be the same as those of the representatives of the Spanish (Castilian) language—that is, to preserve these languages in their purity.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A CANADIAN MINISTER to Washington may, it is hoped, result in the inclusion of Canada in the Pan American Union. A chair was originally made for Canada similar to those designed for the other American countries and is now in storage in the Pan American Building. The close relations with Great Britain, however, has heretofore prevented the admission of Canada.

THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT BUILDING at the Sesquicentennial Exposition received the grand prize for a "really distinguished exhibit."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BUDGET calls for \$4,729,738.17 from the 56 member nations; \$270,134.68 is for the building fund annuity.

OBLIGATORY ARBITRATION to be provided for by a series of treaties with all nations is the objective of a new organization calling itself the American Arbitration Crusade. It will send out, if requested, form letters to be sent to the President; it will prepare draft treaties, and it promises to assist in many ways a campaign of advertising to popularize the idea of such treaties before next Independence Day.

MOTOR BUSES ACROSS THE SAHARA DESERT is the goal of the French National Touring Office. Regular bus lines are planned from Algiers to Tamanrasset by 1927. They are

to be continued to Timbuktu in 1928. Cars with caterpillar tread will be used on the sands.

THE TOTAL LOSSES OF THE UNITED STATES in the World War, men in action and from wounds received in action, amount to 50,510, according to the final checking of the Department of War. There were also 182,674 individuals treated for non-mortal wounds. Casualties in the Navy and Marine Corps are not included.

A CHAIR OF AMERICAN HISTORY, civilization, and letters has been founded at the Sorbonne, Paris, by Mr. Kohns, former President of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation.

SHERIFF JOHN C. SANDEES, of Marshall, Texas, has received a bronze medal from the Texas interracial committee for dispersing, by an appeal, all but thirteen members of a threatening lynching mob of two hundred, and arresting and jailing the unlucky thirteen. Three other Texan officials were awarded medals for notable diligence in protecting prisoners from lynching.

WOMEN'S VEILS, which even Angora left alone last year when it prohibited the fez, have now been abolished by the Province of Trebizond, one of the bulwarks of the old régime. The Provincial Council proclaims that the veil is unhygienic and deprives a woman of the right to earn a living. It also provides a means of disguise for persons trying to escape the police. Therefore it is forbidden.

NINE NATIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS held a Second Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, in Washington, December 5-10.

SINCE SEPTEMBER, 1919, more than 500,000 beneficiaries have been admitted to Veteran Bureau hospitals.

THE ERECTION OF A LIGHTHOUSE, to be a memorial to Christopher Columbus, at Santo Domingo, was the subject of a concurrent resolution submitted to the House of Representatives December 10 by Mr. Davila, of Porto Rico. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED Fascist trade unions in Italy must subscribe to a \$2,000,000,000 loan that Mussolini is try-

ing to float. For this end employers are ordered to advance the money to the workers and deduct it from their wages afterward.

JAPAN WILL BEGIN IN 1928 the construction of a railway tunnel between the islands of Kyushu and Hinsku which was postponed because of the earthquake of 1923. It is hoped to save, because of the tunnel, about 70 yen a ton on freight and 45 minutes in time. The project will not be completed until 1933.

THE INTERNATIONAL FAR EAST TRAFFIC CONFERENCE was held in Berlin October 22 to November 18. The delegates unanimously approved a scheme for the establishment of a through route between western Europe and the Far East.

THE PROGRAM OF THE ZAIMIS MINISTRY of Greece announces its policy as a pacific foreign policy, adhesion to the disarmament proposals of the League of Nations, and the exclusion of the army from politics.

THE EXHIBIT ON FRIENDSHIP between Nations at the Sesqui-centennial was awarded a grand prize by the International Jury of Awards for its "force of message and meritorious arrangement."

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR 1925 has been divided between Charles G. Dawes, Vice-President of the United States, and Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The prize for 1926 has been divided between Aristide Briand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Gustav Stresemann, Germany's Foreign Minister.

MR. ELIHU ROOT HAS BEEN GRANTED the Woodrow Wilson Foundation award of \$25,000 for the year 1926 for his work in the formation of the World Court. It was largely the work of Mr. Root which solved the question of the method of selecting the judges for that tribunal.

THE PREPARATION COMMITTEE for the Economic Conference has had two meetings. At its first session, in April, a list of required material was made. This material was then collected and a second meeting was held November 15-22, at which a program was drawn up, the procedure of the conference settled, and the date tentatively fixed for May 4, 1927. The program is divided in two parts—a general discussion of the present economic situation and special treatment of

definite international problems, seen in their most acute form in Europe, in which practical results may be hoped for.

A PROFESSORSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS has been established in connection with the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*, in Berlin, by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. James T. Shotwell, a trustee and director of the Department of Economics and History of the Endowment, will be the first incumbent. He sails for Germany in January.

THE NATIONAL BANK OF GREECE began payments on November 3 to refugees entitled to compensation for their property abandoned in Turkey.

A PROTOCOL DETERMINING THE GRECO-TURKISH BOUNDARY has been drawn up by an international commission and signed in Athens.

THE ITALIAN CABINET, on November 5, determined to pursue measures to safeguard the Fascist régime. They include the suppression *sine die* of all newspapers opposed to Fascismo and the dissolution of all societies or organizations with anti-Fascist aims.

DR. C. T. LORAM, OF PRETORIA, British Commissioner for Native Affairs in the South African Union, has recently been in this country studying the problem of racial adjustment. He finds that American negroes have made remarkable advance in education and economic competence. He says, "we have been watching your interracial movement with the greatest interest and have already made considerable progress in reorganizing our work for the natives in a similar way, having set up interracial councils in fourteen of the principal South African centers."

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS convened in its forty-third session on December 6, at Geneva.

GERMANY, THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTER STRESEMANN, signed the protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice on December 10.

NIKOLA P. PACHITCH, the "Grand Old Man" of Yugoslavia, died, December 10, at the age of 80 years.



THE GOVERNMENT OF SOVIET RUSSIA has landed fifty colonists on Wrangel Island with the expectation of making the island the administrative base for the Russian polar region and also an aviation base. Situated about 600 miles from Nome, Alaska, it affords the shortest route between Russia, Japan, China, and the United States. There are no high mountains along this route and during six months of the year flyers would have constant daylight. Wrangel Island will also be an important commercial and industrial station because of its fish, furs, and valuable ores.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ESSAYS ON NATIONALISM. By *Carlton J. H. Hayes*. Pp. 279. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$3.00.

THE MENACE OF NATIONALISM IN EDUCATION. By *Jonathan French Scott*. Pp. 223, index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926.

The word "nationalism" seems nowadays to be full of dynamite for one-half of the public; and at the sound of internationalism the other half starts and bristles. The former section seems to be instantly gassed by the idea of buccaneer or pirate; the latter by lurid memories of the Bolshevik revolution in all its horrors. In each case thought seems paralyzed.

Before considering the two books listed above it will be well to forget all the automatic ideas connected with the words "nationalism" and "internationalism" and allow the authors to make their own definitions.

Professor Hayes, of Columbia University, chooses, among the various possible definitions, that which calls nationalism a "condition of mind among members of a nationality . . . in which loyalty to the idea or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties, and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its 'mission' are integral parts." This is what most folk mean by "patriotism."

Professor Hayes does not try to show that this nationalism is wrong and should be done

away. He takes it merely as a fact growing naturally out of the historic past. It is here and it has its value; but it also has dangers. He feels that these dangers are particularly to the fore since the war. The burden of the book is the mapping of a safe channel; charting the shoals and reefs for a careful pilot. This is not at all a sensational business. It is mere common sense.

When he speaks of internationalism, he definitely presupposes normal patriotism, but adds to it the idea of such kindly and intelligent co-operation between States as that which now exists between families in a village.

We in the United States have already begun this type of internationalism through the Telegraph Union, entered in 1875; the Postal Union, in 1878; the international copyright and patent agreements, the Red Cross organization, the Pan-American Union, and many others.

The author dwells very emphatically upon the careless and often jingoistic teaching which is sometimes to be seen in our public schools. He feels that children should be led to true patriotism, devotion to the homeland, indeed, but also and particularly to appreciation of other lands.

On this point Dr. Scott, of England, follows the same theory, and illustrates the work now done with many citations and references to schoolbooks used in England, France, Germany, and the United States.

He assumes that patriotism is necessary in each land, but that true patriotism has nothing to fear from the truth; that we must distinguish between "a true, quiet, self-sacrificing love of country and that blatant egotistical nationalism" which is an offense to neighbor nations.

The author has produced a scholarly text in which he fairly balances the two tendencies as reflected in the textbooks of each nation. He also traces the historical basis for any excessive nationalism, and indicates the means by which it may be robbed of its dangers.

His conclusion is in the spirit of good pedagogy. "There need be no didactic attempt," he says, "to make children love their neighbors as themselves. It will be enough to stimulate the imagination, to awaken romantic interest in other lands and other peoples. Sympathy with these people will follow as a matter of course."

PAN-EUROPE. By *Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi*. Pp. 215. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926. Price, \$2.50.

This little book by the founder of the Pan-European movement appeared originally in Vienna in the spring of 1923. The publication of its translation into English has been most opportunely timed to the first Pan-European conference, held in Vienna early in October.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi believes that "two burning problems weigh upon the European continent: the social question and the European question—the reckoning between the classes and the reckoning between the States." In his opinion the social question dominates at the present time the thought and policy of Europe, putting the European question in the background, and yet it is upon the solution of this latter question that hang the destinies of Europe.

Being a crusading reformer, the author is firmly convinced that there is one, and only one, effectual solution of the European question. It is the creation of a Pan-Europe, which, in his definition, signifies "self-help through the consolidation of Europe into an *ad hoc* politico-economic federation."

In successive chapters of his book Count Coudenhove-Kalergi discusses the relation of Europe to the rest of the world, the frontiers of Europe, and the specific problems presented to Europe by England, Russia, America, and the League of Nations. Taking up, after that, the political heritage of the World War, he arrives at the question of nationalism as it is interpreted for themselves by the countries of present-day Europe, and brings his reader finally to the development of his Pan-European idea.

One may agree or disagree with the efficacy of the author's cure for the ills of Europe. But one cannot deny the fact that his idea is engaging the attention of many serious European thinkers, as is evidenced by the success of the Vienna conference. And certainly no one can read his interestingly written book without finding in it much that is stimulating and thought-provoking.

FROM DAWES TO LOCARNO. By *George Glasgow*. Harper & Bro., 1926. Pp. 186. Index. Price, \$2.50.

"Being a critical record of an important achievement in European diplomacy, 1924, 1925." Thus the subtitle explains the purpose of the book. But in the preface the

author elaborates still further. He admits that, in a sense, he is posing the Locarno statesmen on a pedestal. But he goes on to say, "The object of this book is twofold: in the first place, to record the stages in the diplomacy which led to Locarno, and, in the second place, to throw a strong light on the pedestal, so that the grateful peoples can see to it that their governments do not climb down."

There is often something inimitably deft and sure in the Englishman's grasp of international affairs, and in his power of disentangling related events. In this Mr. Glasgow is the peer of most British authors.

The book represents, of course, but one branch of English political thought; it is staunchly pacifist in trend. Biting irony, which does not quite degenerate to bitterness, characterizes his allusions to the power and the stupidity of the *bourgeoisie*; Bolshevism and Fascism, however, suffer equally at his hands.

The whole summary of the steps leading to the Locarno agreements is brilliant, and the analysis of the actual accomplishments of the treaties is hopeful while inexorably logical. It all leads up to a chapter on "The future," in which Mr. Glasgow pleads for a policy of compulsory, universal arbitration.

The texts of the German proposal, the French reply, and the completed Locarno protocols are given in appendices.

RAINBOW COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

By *Wallace Thompson*, F. R. G. S. E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1926. Pp. 264. Index. Price, \$5.00.

This book, while replete with facts, statistics and other information, smacks a bit too much of the college lecture hall. Personally we prefer a little more intimate sense of countries in which we travel. It probably cannot be attained through the car window, nor from guide books, nor documents.

However, to the seeker of information, accurate and significant, about Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador and Guatemala this will prove a useful and readable book. There is an end-paper map, and photographic illustrations, not beautiful but factual, abound. Agriculture, finance, politics, railroads and commerce are all discussed under their several heads.

The beauties of the land, the colorful life, and the ways of thought are all analytically considered.

It is, perhaps, as good a book as could be written by one who is, however, unconsciously, always alien to that which he describes.

OUR TIMES: THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1925.—THE TURN OF THE CENTURY. By *Mark Sullivan*. Pp. 609 index. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926. Price, \$5.00.

Mr. Sullivan has apparently discovered a new way to write history. He goes out as a reporter, gathers his facts and pictures and arranges them in a manner easy to read. Seldom does he express an opinion or a criticism, and if one feels a superior amusement over the "golden nineties," the "electric nineties," or the "moulting nineties," as you will, it is due more to that human tendency to laugh at what is only recently out of style than to any ridicule injected by Mr. Sullivan.

At all events, our recent past is made interesting and the chronicle is full. We were then, as we are now, a growing and a groping people. Today's songs will soon be quite as banal, today's amusements possibly more vapid, than the sentimentalities and stiff conventions of the nineties, yet it is something that we can see ourselves as a maturing people.

The first volume begins with the last decade of the nineteenth century and closes with 1903. Other volumes are to follow. This one is a book easy to dip into anywhere, but more difficult to lay down.

All the names and events which found place in the headlines of those years are reviewed for us—the popular songs, the plays and operas, the religious movements, the pugilists also. There was then the keen good-humored satire of Mr. Dooley, following Mark Twain and preceding Will Rogers. May their tribe increase! Telephones and early automobiles, even fashions in dress, are shown in description and picture. One sees how the "Gibson girl" and the "Gibson man" affected the carriage of a generation of youth.

Without the help of much comment, all these can be fitted into the story of our development by the thoughtful reader. Meanwhile he will probably be vastly entertained.

A QUAKER ADVENTURE. By *A. Ruth Frye*. Pp. 389, index. Nisbit & Co., Ltd., London, 1926. Price 10/6.

It was a remarkable work, that of the Friends during the war; and it did not stop

with the peace treaty. The quiet, efficient labors for reconstruction went on for nine years, until, indeed, they could be relinquished to Red Cross or other local organizations able to continue the work till no longer needed.

This volume, in its Quaker gray, is a book conceived in the spirit of thoroughness and constitutes a valuable record of the war period.

It is divided into parts dealing with rescue and reconstruction work in France, in Holland and Belgium, in Serbia, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Germany. It chronicles the work of English and American Friends. While statistics are not avoided, the narrative, as a whole, is much more human and personal than any strictly scientific report could be.

The style of the telling is of that admirable sort which attracts no attention to itself, but which places no obstacle in the way of the running mind—simple, natural, and expressive.

The record is one not only of medical and famine relief, but of building, agriculture, industry; of clothing and teaching, for the assistance of refugees and other sufferers. After the first days of the war with their "bewildering novelty, uncertainty, and horror," the work became ever better organized; it never lost its element of Christian mercy and brotherhood.

Sad as the record is, because of its background, it is cheerier reading than most histories of the period, because it shows in action the spirit of neighborliness, which must one day succeed the wild insanities of war.

LABELS. By *A. Hamilton Gibbs*. Pp. 295. Little, Brown Co., Boston, 1926. Price, \$2.00.

Major Gibbs, whose two brothers, Philip Gibbs and Cosmo Hamilton, are both novelists of distinction, produced his first real novel last year. "Soundings" was a story of the war and was a "best-seller" in the United States, which is Major Gibbs' adopted country, for the year 1925.

"Labels" is not only a well-told story, but is a thought-provoking book. It comes straight from the author's war experience and the long, deep thoughts which followed.

It is the tale of three English young people, two brothers and a sister, who have

taken the war variously. Dick, the eldest, won his D. S. O. He emerged, however, with profound questions stirring in his mind and an overwhelming sense of responsibility for his dead comrades and the whole social structure. Madge, a V. A. D., came out of her hospital experience in France restless, insolent, and determined to squeeze every possible joy out of the rest of life; to forget the bestiality of what she had seen. Tom, the youngest brother, a conscientious objector, came out of his prison camp starved in body, but steady in mind, determined to make his own way in England in spite of the ball and chain of his reputation as a "Conchy." Dick does not quite agree with Tom, but admires him and questions the validity of the labels bestowed upon them all by English society—the "D. S. O." the "V. A. D.," the "Conchy," and even, perhaps especially, that of his father, who was knighted and passes as a patriot. Sir Thomas, still cocksure about most things, is annoyed by Dick's deep probings, rasped by Madge's insouciance, and so affronted by Tom's ideas that he turns him summarily out of the family. Sir Thomas is keenly analyzed by the author and is shown to be rather more of a coward than a "patriot," but, withal, rather pathetic.

Delineated in quite another manner, but always acting true to form, is the mother. No one of them all quite gets into her mind. One almost believes that the author does not quite understand her; yet, through some subtle intuition, he has pictured her exquisitely. She loves and understands them all, but cannot dominate any of them. Her attempts to rescue situations are scarcely ever successful; yet she is, one finds on second thought, strong through her very gentleness and tenderness and her capacity for pain—another type which the war has hurt and wrongly labeled.

This enumeration of characters suggests the problems of the situation, to which answers are not yet. It is an outstanding book, however, of after-war adjustments, of the mental upheavals seething like molten lava, and of the difference between the atmosphere in England and in relatively untouched America.

THE BEST LETTERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

By *J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton*, editor. Pp. 300, index. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1926. Price, \$2.00.

This selection of Thomas Jefferson's personal letters brings into focus most of the vital questions rife during the early days of the Republic. They range, in date, from July, 1776, to February, 1825. At the close the editor has included the strong and simple epitaph written by Jefferson for his own tombstone: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, Of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, And Father of the University of Virginia."

In the letters one finds delightful revelations of Jefferson's personality—his tolerance, warmth, and fidelity to friends. He clearly enunciates his convictions on matters political, educational, and religious.

A great Republican, radical indeed for his times, Jefferson was ahead of his time in many ways; he was a firm believer in his young country and its Constitution.

Alongside his titanic intellectual battles for political freedom run his efforts to preserve religious liberty, not alone in the Virginia legislature. In several personal letters he urges youth to put aside all prejudice and to examine religious dogmas with open mind and alert intelligence. Epigram is rare with Jefferson, but in this connection he used a wise and quotable sentence. "You are answerable," he wrote to Peter Carr, "not for the rightness, but the uprightness, of the decision."

His delineation of the personality and character of George Washington is probably one of the best that has been written. The lucid quality of Jefferson's mind, combined with his thirty years of intimate association with his fellow-Virginian, make this appraisal authentic. He was, of course, critical of any pomp in the government or social life of the nation, but his appraisal of the character of Washington seems just and generous, as it was sincere.

Other letters throw light on other questions which are still subjects of controversy. One is the composition of Washington's farewell address; another the differences with Adams. He discusses the question whether or not States can be brought to the bar of the government as defendants, and many other matters of keen dispute.

Though a small book, it is closely packed with interesting and enlightening points upon the questions discussed in that crucial period of our history.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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Founded 1828 from Societies some of which began in 1815.

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes **ADVOCATE OF PEACE**, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

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The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is five dollars;

Sustaining Membership, ten dollars;

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# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—*e. g.*, addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1899, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forestall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

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\* At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1926, 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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## OUR DUTY TO CHINA

**T**HE situation in China is the most important international fact today. Our Policy toward that country should be clearly defined and publicly advertised. We are not disturbed by the threat of a possible alliance of Japan, Russia, and China for the control of the Pacific. And yet the possibilities of such a thing, not to mention anything of duty, may well lead us to act promptly to avoid it. We regret the silence of our Government upon this matter. Every principle of humanity and self-interest requires that our government should prove to China the continuance of our friendship. Representative Porter, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, has offered a resolution looking to the revision of all treaties between the United States and China. The resolution would request President Coolidge to enter into negotiations with the Republic of China for the purpose of placing the treaties relating to tariffs, extraterritoriality, and any other matters in controversy between China and the United States, upon an equal and reciprocal basis. This is a wise resolution and should be passed. If some such thing is not done, China, in her present temper, may denounce all the treaties.

We cannot afford the appearance of abridging the sovereignty of China. Mr. Kellogg has recently said publicly that the United States do not wish to control, by treaty or otherwise, the internal policies of China, to fix its tariffs, or to establish or administer courts. If that be true, our

course is perfectly clear. We need not do such things. Under the terms of the nine-power treaty, we agree to respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China and to aid her to develop and maintain an effective and stable government. The Porter resolution shows the way. There is no justice in treating China in an unequal or non-reciprocal manner, to impose restraints upon her for our own advantage. In the language of the resolution, "international good will and the preservation of peace can be secured only when nations deal justly with one another upon a basis of respect and the mutuality of interests." The resolution contains this paragraph:

"In order to maintain peace and concord among the nations of the Pacific and among those having substantial interests therein, and to prevent the 400,000,000 of the Chinese from abandoning their traditional doctrines of reason and justice for those of militarism, it is necessary that existing misunderstanding and grounds for grievance upon the part of the Chinese people should be removed."

The resolution then reviews the initiative taken by the United States in the past "for the just treatment of China," including the establishment of the "open door" principle, the remitting of the Boxer indemnities, and the calling of the Washington Conference, "one of the primary purposes of which was to correct violations of China's sovereign rights."

Then, declaring that "general experience has demonstrated the impossibility of

obtaining adequate concerted action upon the part of the powers whose policies diverge," the resolution warns that as result the situation in China "has become progressively worse, so that there is now indication that China, impatient at further delay, will exercise her sovereign right to denounce, by unilateral action, the treaties which, in her opinion, so grievously oppress her."

Stating that it is in conformity with the traditional policy and practice of the United States to take action independent of that of other powers when it is deemed just and expedient, the resolution says:

"The United States of America should now free itself from entangling relations with other powers whose interests and policies are not identical with those of the United States, especially such as are concerned with the traffic in opium; the occupation of important and strategic ports of China; the exercise of political jurisdiction in connection with railway concessions, and, in general, the sanction of measures which infringe upon China's sovereignty and administrative integrity."

Finally, declaring that if the situation in China is not promptly dealt with upon a basis of justice and equity, it will endanger the peace of the world, the resolution, as laid before the House, would provide, with the Senate concurring:

"That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, respectfully requested forthwith to enter into negotiations with the duly accredited agents of the Government of China, authorized to speak for the entire people of China, with a view to the negotiation and the drafting of a treaty or of treaties between the United States of America and the Republic of China, which shall take the place of the treaties now in force between the two countries, which provide for the exercise in China of American extraterritorial or jurisdictional rights or limit her full autonomy with reference to the levying of customs dues or other taxes, or of such other treaty provisions as may be found to

be unequal or non-reciprocal in character, to the end that henceforth the treaty relations between the two countries shall be upon a wholly equal and reciprocal basis, and will be such as will in no way offend the sovereign dignity of either of the parties or place obstacles in the way of realization by either of them of their several national aspirations or the maintenance by them of their several legitimate domestic policies."

If we can maintain diplomatic relations with China, we can take action to carry out the spirit of this resolution. It should be done.

---

## BACK-SEAT DRIVING ON THE INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY

OUR men whom we have chosen to drive our car of State must envy the gentleman of San Francisco who the other day was granted a divorce because his wife was a chronic "back-seat driver." The granting of a divorce for such a reason furnishes food for reflection. The back-seat driver is under the law a person, an individual, a legal entity with the constitutional rights of the rest of us. Such a person is beyond the power of Congress to regulate, because the first amendment of our Constitution forbids Congress to make any law abridging the freedom of speech. If, riding in the back seat of an automobile, he—there is a possibility that it may be a woman—goes on to say, "Not so fast"; "Look out"; "Is your emergency brake on?" "Don't turn so abruptly"; "is the oil"; "There is a cop"; "Don't you know the traffic rules?" or the like, Congress might investigate such a case; it could not "abridge" such talk. And yet California has a driver who got a divorce because of it. Here, surely, is something for President Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg to take notice of and, perhaps, to comfort themselves with; for these gentlemen, it

must be confessed, have had their share of back-seat drivers.

It matters not how crowded the international traffic may be, there is always the back-seat driver who knows very well that whatever way the chauffeur turns, shifts the gears, uses the brake, manipulates the horn, or adjusts the lights, he is wrong. The back-seat driver must everlastingly talk, advise, find fault, and admonish. Most of his outbursts are spontaneous reactions of his reflexes only. The less he knows about a car, the worse he is. He functions only with his spinal cord. He may be a nice person with a through-ticket to Heaven; but to the responsible driver he is a nuisance, usually doing more damage than good.

Thus we are confronted with the question of how, in a democracy, people should behave when their government is confronted with a delicate international situation.

On theoretical grounds, every man jack of us, every jack out of doors has the right in America to shout his head off when the Executive branch of our Government is trying to compose an international dispute, however ticklish it may be. During the delicate controversy between our Government and Nicaragua, nearly every man jack of us has done exactly that thing. This office has been choked with letters, petitions, newspaper clippings, arguments in various forms, urging this old Society to "stop our going to war with Nicaragua or Mexico."

On practical grounds, these persons may become and often are nuisances. They don't help; they harm. When representatives of the French Government had come to an agreement with representatives of our Government on the terms of the French debt; when the terms were known to be acceptable to our own Congress, and it was only a matter of winning the votes of the French Chamber; and when all

other negotiations between this country and France depended upon a settlement—when, in short, our political car of State was going along pretty well, it was a fine time for the rest of us in the back seat to keep quiet. It remains to be seen whether or not some of the back-seat drivers have ditched our program of accord with France.

Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg have never had the remotest idea of leading the United States into a war with any other nation, much less Mexico or Nicaragua. It is true that they are confronted with a most delicate situation in each of those countries. The more delicate it becomes, the more careful the rest of us should be. It is proper to advise the President or the Secretary of State, particularly if it be privately done; but when the crisis is on, it is usually poor sense to hold mass meetings, write articles in the paper, and behave otherwise as if we wish to serve notice to foreign peoples with whom we are in controversy that we of this country are not behind our Government. The old days of trying to promote international peace by throwing stones at our Government, especially when our Government is trying as best it can to handle a delicate international situation, should remain among our memories of the past. If we are to achieve international peace, it must at the last be done with advice and consent of our Government. Much more than charity, peace begins at home.

If the day is fair, the road clear, and everybody good-natured, the back-seat driver can say almost anything he wishes; but if a storm is on, darkness descending, the traffic crowded, it is a good plan to leave the driver alone. He may get us into trouble; but, speaking generally, he is less liable to do so in a time of crisis if, after we have put him at the wheel, we let him do the driving.

Of course, we know that metaphors walk

best on one leg, that drivers have to be regulated, that a mad driver may have to be throttled. This is no plea that we should make our chauffeurs judges, juries, and sole high executioners, along every highway and in their own right. They have got to be trained, and watched, if need be, on occasion fired or shut up. But at the moment when our very lives are in their hands, cars are traveling fast in every direction, the pavements slippery, and guns going off, then usually is a very good time for all in the back seat to speak very, very softly, if at all.

There is another thing about this trying to drive a car through fire and flood by a general debate. If we are ever going to establish peace between nations, it will have to be provided for with the co-operation of all *in time of peace*. The problem of the peace workers is to set up, when men can think calmly and justly, adequate means of adjustment, and to develop the intelligence and the desire to make use of them, so that blow-outs and head-on collisions here and there will be less frequent. Constructive peace work is prophylactic. This is how any rational democratic control of foreign policies gets in its work.

If, for example, in our controversies with Mexico or Nicaragua, there were a body of clearly defined rules, duly established and agreed to in time of peace, by which we could measure our differences, and if in case of controversy over the meaning of one or more of the rules there were an authority to tell us what the rules really are, then there would be nothing for us peace workers to do except to stand by the rules. Since our chauffeur would be familiar with the rules, about all we would have to do in congested traffic would be to keep fairly quiet.

We are not trying here to pass upon the equity in our disputes with Mexico and Nicaragua. We confess we do not

know enough to do that. We believe in the high-minded intentions of both Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg. We believe, further, that they are possessed of the facts. In times of peace we shall try to lead them and others to bend every effort to organize a law-governed world, so that our future disputes with the Mexicos and the Nicaraguas of some later day may find wide open ways for adjustment without any foolish talk of war.

We are for special schools to teach back-seat drivers how and where to make use of their rights under our free institutions.

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## THE COURSE OF JUSTICE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

SINCE there can be no peace between nations except it be based upon justice, the issues between this country and Nicaragua, as between this country and Mexico, stand in need of examination in the light of that justice.

Justice depends upon the facts and the law. As to the facts, our two best-informed men, we dare to believe, are naturally our President and our Secretary of State. All of the documents are in their hands. As far as the rest of us are concerned, we are informed at best only partially. President Coolidge's statement of facts, supplemented by a memorandum by Secretary Kellogg, appears elsewhere in these columns. From what we know of our Government and of its troubles with Central America, on the principle that swapping horses while crossing a stream is precarious business, we are quite willing to trust it to work out its case and to see that justice prevails.

We do not believe that there is any danger of war between this country and Nicaragua or between this country and Mexico, unless uninformed and overemotional persons lose their heads completely.

The possibilities of direct negotiation through diplomatic channels are not yet exhausted. If the processes of diplomacy fail, there remain other and well-known methods of settlement. For example, one or more friendly nations might be asked to exercise their good offices. This request might come from the United States, or Nicaragua, or Mexico, or of wholly disinterested parties. Again, one or more nations not parties to the dispute might, upon their own initiative, offer to mediate in the premises. Again, while among our score of treaties calling for commissions of inquiry in cases of certain disputes, there is none between this country and Mexico, the principle is there and can be applied if the governments desire. Again, it is possible to set up a council of conciliation for the purpose of arriving at a basis for settlement. Again, the parties in dispute may ask a disinterested third power to examine the issues and to hand down an opinion. Again, issues may be settled by the well-known processes of arbitration, as before the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Finally, upon the agreements of the parties, the issues might be declared juridical and referred to a court of law for judicial settlement in accord with the rules of law and equity. With all of these possibilities before us, any talk of war between this country and any Central American State seems quite beside the mark.

It is here proper to recall that there is a Court of International Justice in Central America quite competent, under the Treaty of 1923, to hear and to decide cases between any two Central American States. Since our own Government has nominated members of the panel of judges of that court, it is reasonable to assume that we might refer a case, in which we are a party, to that court. The processes of justice have an open road in Central America.

Our Government will not ignore these processes. The chief purpose of political institutions is to see that justice prevails; not only as a matter of general principle, but in concrete situations. This is not news to Mr. Coolidge or to Mr. Kellogg.

A just policy for us to pursue toward any foreign State is not difficult to define. In all matters which do not concern our legal rights, we should leave foreign nations alone. We have no business to dictate the internal affairs of any other government. Under the law, every government is a free sovereign, and independent being. If, in the exercise of its freedom, sovereignty, or independence, it interferes with the freedom, sovereignty, or independence of another power, an issue is drawn. The issue being drawn, the problem is to arrive at a settlement. With all the experience of the centuries, it ought not to be necessary for civilized nations, faced with a clear-cut issue, to resort to arms.

The trouble with our dispute with our Central American friends is that the issue is not clearly drawn. Good men and true do not agree upon the merits of our own case. There is a difference of opinion even upon the facts. Some of our leaders believe that our intervention in Nicaragua is necessary because of our Monroe Doctrine; others that this is not so. Some say that we have forced a loan upon Nicaragua against the wishes of 80 per cent of the people of that country; others that this is not so. Some say that the present President of Nicaragua, Mr. Diaz, was as much to blame for the coup d'état which we refused to recognize as was Mr. Chamorro; others that this is not so. Some say that Mr. Diaz, elected President by the Congress of Nicaragua, the Congress interpreting its own rights under its own Constitution, is the lawful President of Nicaragua, and that we were quite right in recognizing him as such—a position

supported by the fact that every other government having diplomatic relations with Nicaragua has recognized Mr. Diaz, with the exception of Costa Rico and Mexico; others claim that Mr. Sacasa is the lawful President of Nicaragua, because he was chosen Vice-President by a popular election in 1925 by 48,400 votes, as against 28,700 vote for Mr. Chamorro; and, because upon the resignation of Mr. Solorzano as President, Mr. Sacasa was the lawful successor to the office, notwithstanding the fact that he had fled the country. Some say that the vast majority of the people of Nicaragua are opposed to the present régime; others that this is not so. Some say that our marines are needed in Nicaragua to defend our citizens and their property; indeed, that England, Belgium, and Italy have asked us to protect their citizens and the property rights of their nationals; others, that the thing for us to do is to recognize Sacasa and to get out of Nicaragua. Some say that we should ask Mr. Diaz to give the people of Nicaragua a chance to elect a President; others that this is none of our business. Some say that we are exploiting Nicaragua; others, that with our co-operation the railroad has gone back into the hands of Nicaragua, the bank has been turned over to the State, and that the national indebtedness has been reduced from thirty million to six million dollars. Some say that the Republic of Mexico is furnishing arms and ammunition for the purpose of overthrowing the government in Nicaragua; others, that we are furnishing arms and ammunition for the purpose of maintaining that government. Some say that there is an organized movement centering in Mexico to set up a Bolshevik control of this hemisphere; others, that this is simply a bad dream. Some say that we are interested in controlling Nicaragua because of oil; others, that oil has never been discovered in Nicaragua. And so the differences run

on. But this is enough to show that the situation is too complicated to be settled in public debate.

We undoubtedly have duties toward Central American States because of their nearness to us and to the Panama Canal—duties we would not think of in the case of nations farther removed. Indeed, these neighbors frequently call upon us to render assistance, to help them develop their resources, to improve their fiscal systems, to overcome other conditions of instability. To take a phrase from a message of President Taft sent to the Senate on June 8, 1911, there is no defense for a policy of "listless indifference" toward these matters. President Taft felt it to be wrong "to view unconcernedly" the whole region in fomentations of turbulence, irresponsibly contracting debts that by their own exertions they would never be able to pay. He disliked to be required, as in several instances in the past, to land our armed forces for the protection of American citizens and their interests from violence and for the enforcement of "the humane provisions of international law, for the observance of which, in the region concerned, this Government, whether rightfully or wrongfully, is held responsible by the world."

So, however we start out in our search for a right course, we find ourselves faced with the ever-present need, the supreme task for statesmen, the establishment, by mutual agreement of all, of those principles of law without which the ways of justice are irrevocably closed. The course of justice in Central America hangs upon the wisdom of our statesmen, backed by the enlightened opinion of the rest of us, codified and made tangible in time of peace.

There is evidence that this fundamental principle in our foreign policy needs re-emphasis, especially just now. What our Government thinks it necessary to do in

Mexico and Nicaragua at this moment should not blind us to this most fundamental of all our policies. For reasons differently interpreted, the immediate policies of our Government, particularly in South America, seem to be rather generally condemned. In the absence of general principles of law generally accepted by all American States, whatever we do in concrete situations will invariably lead us into trouble.

Mr. Borah suggests that the controversy in reference to land in Mexico should be submitted to arbitration. On the floor of the Senate he has urged that we inaugurate a campaign of peace, abolish the idea of force, try friendly relations, seek to establish amity, seek to get in touch with the masses—with the people themselves—and in this way establish a policy in Central America which will protect our interests and insure respect for our rights. But that language is not enough. What is done must be done collectively, by instructed delegates from all the republics of this hemisphere, with the understanding that what they do shall be ratified by the respective governments. Laws thus established and ratified will then become the rules of the game for every one of the players. That is American policy. That is the only way we can hope to establish any abiding peace in this hemisphere.

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### PERU'S REFUSAL

JANUARY 12, 1927, the Peruvian Government delivered to Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State, a memorandum in which our Secretary is informed that his proposal, far from simplifying the solution, complicates it; that Peru can only renew its friendship with Chile when the latter shows herself disposed to return to Peru the territories of Tacna and Arica, and that the Peruvian Foreign Office cannot accept Mr. Kellogg's proposal of the

30th of November last. In such a situation it would appear that all our efforts to compose the dispute under the terms of the protocol of July 20, 1922, submitting the controversies between Peru and Chile to the President of the United States, have come to naught.

We hope that this is not the fact. From this distance we have dared to believe that Mr. Kellogg's plan of turning the disputed territory over to Bolivia for compensation, thus giving to Bolivia a seaport, would be found to be acceptable to all parties. Bolivia and Chile had agreed to the proposal in principle. Thus, our Government, the Bolivian Government, and the Chilean Government were friendly. It only remained for Peru to accept the plan to settle this dispute, lasting uncomfortably for over forty years.

Our approval or disapproval of Peru's refusal must depend upon the reasons which Peru has given for her course. What are those reasons? From a study of the memorandum we shall try to summarize them.

There is no precedent in international history for such a procedure. There is no reason why a third State should profit because of the controversies between two others. The failure to carry out the plebiscite, according to the Plebiscitary Commission headed by General Lassiter, to General Pershing and the American legal advisers, was due to the attitude of Chile. Therefore, under the third clause of the Treaty of Ancon, Tacna and Arica are still provinces of Peru. Tacna and Arica, a part of the national heart, cannot be transferred to a third power in times of peace without impairing the national honor. To give up its rights in Tacna and Arica for pecuniary gain would be an outrage. Peru has substantially agreed, without violence to her rights, to turn over to Bolivia the zone to the south of Azapa as a Bolivian seaport. Chile has manifested her willingness to restore to Peru nearly

all the province of Tacna. Mr. Kellogg's proposal does not provide for a mutual sacrifice for the reason that the territories of Tacna and Arica belong to Peru and not to Chile; therefore, to turn them over to Bolivia would carry with it no sacrifice on the part of Chile whatsoever; indeed, quite the contrary, for Chile would receive from Bolivia compensation for territory belonging to Peru. To turn Tacna-Arica over to Bolivia without a plebiscite would do violence to the principle of self-determination. Because of historical and sentimental reasons, Peru cannot consent to hand the Morro over to any other country; the heroism of the Peruvians, Bolognesi and Alfonso Ugarte, makes this impossible. The demilitarization of the territory of Tacna-Arica, proposed by Mr. Kellogg, is secondary to that justice without which nothing lasting can be given. Peru's case closes with these words: "Peru has accepted the partial or complete internationalization of the provinces, has accepted their division, giving Bolivia gratuitously an outlet to the shore and an inlet capable of being converted into a large and suitable port. Finally, it is disposed to listen to all suggestions for settlement, but under the condition that the towns of Tacna and Arica be returned to it, the latter with its port and Morro. Peru cannot accept, even at the risk of running counter to its traditional policy of deference to the United States of America, a solution which carries with it the forsaking of its citizens, which is what it would amount to if they are left in the state of subjugation and shame in which they live today."

So here they are—sentiment, self-interest, legal principles, and argument, albeit a bit repetitious and sometimes tenuous. The conclusion must be that Peru is standing on her dignity and, in a measure at least, on her rights. Her refusal is final. We may take it or leave it.

There is one hopeful fact in the case. The work of our State Department and of

our Commission has not all been thrown away. A great deal of chaff has been separated from the wheat. The grist is simpler and clearer. We know now many things which can't be done. It may be that internationalization of the disputed area may be the solution.

Another fact stands out. Our Government has not given up. President Coolidge is still arbiter. Our Government is going patiently on, trying as best it can to get the case settled.

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### THE WAY OUT FOR AMERICAN STATES

**A**MID all our devisive counsels, intol-  
erances, and wild talk about war, we have failed to note at this writing any evidence that the press or even our statesmen have any consciousness of one most encouraging fact, namely, that competent men are about to address themselves again to finding a way out for our American States in all matters relating to war and peace. These men are to meet during the last ten days of March in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, guests of the Uruguayan Society of International Law. Still more important, beginning April 16, the Commission of Jurists, made up of two delegates from each of the twenty-one American republics, all with plenipotentiary powers, will meet in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, for the purpose of agreeing to treaties providing for the codification of private and public international law for the Western Hemisphere. It is strange that so little is being said about these very important matters.

Perhaps the reason lies in a general feeling of hopelessness. More than at any time since the fifties of the last century, our public opinion is ragged and distraught. As Ralph Waldo Emerson's brother once put it, "The nap is worn off the world." More than at any time within



a generation, life is looked upon as a senseless enigma. If any ideal culture must be founded on exact knowledge, the hope for any such culture is thought to be very dim. Most of our cultures are believed to be founded on error, ignorance, folly, superstition, and romance. The world is having a hard time to develop any international culture based upon justice. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect any great international culture, in which all people will think alike. Speaking before the Fabian Society recently, Mr. Shaw visualized a Labor House of Commons, "in which there might be a few Liberals left, just as there are a few bison left in Yellowstone Park, as samples." What would happen when Parliament became predominately Labor? As is his wont, Shaw has an answer. He says: "The whole House of Commons would instantly split up into so many warring, jarring, irreconcilable groups that presently it would be absolutely necessary to get rid of the House of Commons, even at the cost of bringing in a dictator or going back to capitalism." So there we are. Civilization is a hopeless enigma.

It is not that our age is inactive. We are all very nervously at something. We don't seem to know where we are going, but we are on the way. Our prevailing disease, automobilitis, our latest form of social neurasthenia, is a case in point. By moving rapidly from one place to another, we conclude that we are taking part in a social progress. We seem to have little interest in meditation, in unforced observation, without which there is little reality in life. We are going, and that is enough. Waldo Frank has recently complained that in our attempts thus to vault the present, we never find time to dwell in our moments; and thus "life becomes a succession of zeros."

In our personal relations, much less in our international adjustments, we seem to have little vision of the optimum condi-

tions for living the good life. Under our present arrangements, neither our minds nor our bodies can function at their best. Bertrand Russell has recently measured character in terms of vitality, courage, sensitiveness, and intelligence; and yet cruelty, exploitation, ignorance, and divisions are peculiarly characteristic of our day. We are so beset with our little interests that we find practically no time to promote the prime essentials, such as kindness, beauty, art, science, and justice, particularly in the international field.

Stuart Chase has recently pointed out that the South Sea islanders knew both the laws of diet and heliotherapy, and in consequence their bodies were the despair of the early missionaries. He finds, however, that tin cans, white sugar, black pants, and fire water are lessening this despair.

If, like Will Rogers, we could only know what we read in the papers, the joy of living would be very, very small; for, from what we see in the press, our social chaos is quite complete. Our America is hated all over the world. Pan-Americanism is dead. We are not in this; we are in that. "Jerusalem hath grievously sinned; therefore she is become as an unclean thing." A new book of Lamentations is being written under our very eyes.

In such a situation it is comforting to be able to call attention to what is going on in the American Institute of International Law and with the Commission of Jurists.

The American Institute of International Law was founded on Columbus Day, October 12, 1912. Upon its own private initiative it held its first session in the City of Washington during the latter days of 1915 and the early days of 1916. Again upon its private initiative, it held its second session in the City of Havana, Cuba, in the month of January, 1917. Late in 1924 and early in 1925 it held its third session in the City of Lima, Peru, upon the official request of the Pan American

Union, for the purpose of drafting projects for the codification of international law. This was pursuant to a resolution adopted at the Fifth International Conference of American States, held in Santiago, Chile, in April, 1923. This in turn grew out of a convention establishing an international law commission, adopted at the Third International Conference of American States, held in Rio de Janeiro in August, 1906, and backed by a resolution of the Advisory Committee of Jurists meeting at The Hague in 1920. At the meeting of the American Institute of International Law in Lima, thirty projects were drafted, agreed to, and submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, March 2, 1925, by Charles Evans Hughes, at that time Secretary of State for the United States. This means that the projects were presented to the various governments of the Western Hemisphere, excepting Canada. These thirty projects, covering a wide field, relate only to private international law.

In the meantime Mr. Justice Bustamante, of Cuba, member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague and an active member of the American Institute of International Law, has presented an elaborate series of projects looking toward the codification of private international law, also for the Western Hemisphere. Later another draft code has been submitted by representatives of Uruguay. All three—the thirty projects adopted at Lima, the projects submitted by Mr. Justice Bustamante, and the Uruguayan draft code—and perhaps other projects will be submitted, studied, and discussed at the meeting of the American Institute in Montevideo.

The meeting in Montevideo comes at a most happy time, for many of the delegates to that meeting will also be delegates to the official Conference of the Commission of Jurists in Rio de Janeiro. This is

true of our own members of the Commission, Prof. Jesse S. Reeves, of the University of Michigan, and James Brown Scott, President of the American Institute.

In the light of these facts, and of the further fact that our own Congress is about to consider a resolution looking toward the call of a general international conference at The Hague for the codification of international law, and of one other fact, namely, that the European Institute of International Law is to meet in Washington in the month of October, 1927, it would seem time for the press, for our social workers, for our Congress, and leaders generally to wake up to the solid work now going on in the interest of a law-governed world, especially for our hemisphere.

Speaking editorially, January 5, the *London Times* takes occasion to say: "It is becoming more difficult even for cynics to maintain that a juridical system can never be substituted for a system of force." The substitution of a juridical system for the war system is what is going on right here and now. That is the way out of the war maze as conceived by the republics of our side of the world. It is the most hopeful fact of our time.

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**H**UMAN life in its highest ranges is a quest for reality. Since the World War, the search for what is true and genuine, for what is actually worthwhile and real, has been greater, probably, than during the first decade of our century. It is probable that the grim realities of the war strengthened this desire to see through our shams, our taboos, our pretenses, to that which is sincere and ultimate. More, perhaps, than ever before, we, especially our young men and women, are questioning our older shibboleths and inquiring at first hand the meaning of life, the make-up of reality.

Among us there is a sharp distinction between the piety of one type and the

rationalism of another. At the conference of the National Council of Students Christian Associations at Milwaukee, December 28 to January 1, these two types were clearly marked. One of the delegates, who specializes in political economy in one of our leading universities, came back with the feeling that the conference was "too pious." He regrets that many of the delegates seem to have no doubts about our orthodoxy, about the conception of God as an old man with whiskers; that they have so little sense of the scientific approach to human problems; that they have to offer nothing constructive or specific; that they are too contented with their personal God, and look with too much assurance to prayer, meditation, and the singing of religious songs as ways of arriving at truth.

Here, surely, are two types of mind. In the differences between them, is there any such thing as reality?

A short time ago Dr. Allan Craig, of Chicago, delivered an address before the American College of Surgeons in the city of Quebec. In that address he attempted to analyze the worth of a man. He went on to point out that the churches of today must come out of the clouds; that the people of today are not irreligious; but he believes "our young people are not interested in fundamentalism or the higher criticism. They care little about Lot's pillar-of-salt wife or Jonah's escape from the interior of the whale." And yet, he went on to argue, the miracle of human life cannot be explained on materialistic grounds. The person who cannot visualize anything in life except what he sees in a test tube or under a microscope is to be pitied. The doctor said: "Consider the average one - hundred - fifty - pound man from his chemical values. He contains lime enough to whitewash a fair-sized chicken coop; sugar enough to fill a small shaker; iron to make a ten-penny nail;

and the rest, water. The total value of these ingredients is 98 cents, or 60 cents a hundredweight on the hoof. Yet the insurance companies place the economic value of man at \$5,000. How do they account for the difference of \$4,999.02?" The answer, says the distinguished surgeon, must be in the value of the spirit within the man.

Reality, therefore, some 99.9 per cent of it, must have something to do with the human spirit, whatever that is.

January 10, Dr. Gustav Stresemann, German Foreign Minister, expressed the view that "singing societies aided in effecting German unity as much as the victory of armies and the negotiations of diplomats." The minister believes that the German soul cannot exist without its folklore and fairy tales, and he went on to predict that the nation will begin to progress anew only when the people learn again to enjoy the care-free life characteristic of former days, and when industry, trade, and science, each in its proper niche, are made means to an end instead of ends in themselves.

Thus, industry, trade, and science are not reality; they are only means to reality. Song, folklore, fairy tales, matters of the spirit, they are reality.

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**T**HE Britten-Gillette resolution, known as H. J. 254 and S. J. 107, calls for the extension of the metric system in our country. We are in favor of this bill. Metric standards, like our currency, are on the decimal ratio, and therefore much simpler than our present system of measurements. Some forty countries of the world have adopted this system. Advocates of decimal metric weights and measures for the United States are increasingly active. They hope to have it in general use in merchandising throughout the United States following the year 1935.

All the American republics except the United States are already under the metric basis in merchandising. Because

of its simplicity and universality, we should extend its use in this country with all reasonable dispatch.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### BRITISH POLICY IN CHINA

**A**FTER bearing the brunt of the Chinese Nationalists' hostility for eighteen months, Great Britain made, last December, a sensational move. On December 16 the British Foreign Office sent a memorandum to the Washington Treaty Powers, in which certain definite proposals were made for dealing with the matters covered by the treaty. Although the text of the memorandum was not made public until December 27, its principal contents were fairly generally known and aroused a great deal of discussion in all the countries concerned.

#### British Memorandum to the Powers

The British note opens with the expression of the growing anxiety with which the British Government have for some years past been watching the situation in China. The Washington proposals are recalled and the reasons given why the British Government consider that the situation has entirely changed between 1921-22 and 1926. The most notable change has been the emergence of a powerful Nationalist movement. Failure to meet it with sympathy and understanding would not respond to the real intentions of the Powers toward China.

The British Government would like the Powers jointly to declare their readiness to negotiate on treaty revision as soon as the Chinese themselves have constituted a government with authority to negotiate, and their intention to pursue a constructive policy in the spirit of the Washington Conference, but developed and adapted to the altered circumstances of the present time.

The idea should be abandoned that the

economic and political development of China can only be secured under foreign tutelage. The Powers should announce their readiness to recognize the right of China to tariff autonomy as soon as she herself has settled and promulgated a new national tariff. They should modify their traditional attitude of rigid insistence on the strict letter of treaty rights and admit the essential justice of the Chinese claim for treaty revision. It would be wise to abandon the policy of ineffective protest over minor matters, reserving protest—which should then be made effective by united action—for cases where vital interests were at stake.

#### Washington Surtax to Be Granted

There follows the proposal for the unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes. The Tariff Conference which was proposed at Washington only met in October, 1925, and then failed to reach any conclusions. The Powers had not been satisfied with the assurances which the Chinese delegation offered as to the uses to which they would put the revenue derived from the increased surtaxes. They had wished to ensure more foreign control and the application of a great part of the proceeds to the liquidation of the unsecured debt.

From the very outset the British Government had been opposed to the question of the unsecured debt being dealt with by the Tariff Conference. At Washington the intention had been to relax, not to tighten, foreign control. Today debt consolidation could only enable the faction which happened to be in power in Peking to resort to ruinous and unproductive borrowing. It was obvious that China would not now consent to any extension of

foreign control either for debt consolidation or for the abolition of *likin*. The levy of the surtaxes should be forthwith authorized without any attempt to exact guarantees or conditions. It would be for the competent Chinese authorities to decide all questions as to the disposition and banking of these additional revenues.

The British Government had only with great reluctance joined in the protest against the action of the Cantonese in actually levying the surtaxes. The British Government had only joined with the other Powers for the sake of maintaining solidarity with them, but they were not satisfied that it was the right policy for the present situation. They hoped that the authorization of the immediate levy of the Washington surtaxes throughout China would provide a basis for regularizing the position at Canton.

The basic facts of the situation were that the treaties were in many respects out of date, that there was internal disunion in China and external difficulty in obtaining the unanimous concurrence of the Powers. His Majesty's Government attached the greatest importance to the sanctity of treaties, but they believed that this principle might best be maintained by a sympathetic adjustment of treaty rights to the equitable claims of the Chinese.

#### Note to United States Government

In addition to this memorandum the British Foreign Office has also made public the text of a memorandum addressed to the United States Government on May 28, 1926, in response to certain inquiries from the American Embassy in London as to the British attitude toward the Tariff Conference. The British Government assured the United States that they had no intention of breaking up the Tariff Conference, but expressed the fear that a deadlock might be reached over the question of the unsecured debt. British policy in China was briefly indicated on the lines of the subsequent major memorandum now published. Confidence was expressed that a policy "so closely in accord with the friendship and generosity always displayed by the United States of America toward the people of China will receive the full

and cordial support of the United States Government."

It may be noted that nothing is said in either memorandum as to the possibility of single-handed action by Great Britain in China, nor is there any reference to the Bolshevik influence in the Canton movement.

#### Proposals Unacceptable to Nationalists

Even before the text of the proposals was made public, they were roundly condemned by the leaders of the Nationalist movement as a sinister scheme to furnish additional revenues for the militarists and as an attempt to postpone the day of reckoning. The *People's Tribune*, of Peking, said:

We state categorically, on behalf of the Nationalist movement, that the proposals, although termed the most liberal that have hitherto been proposed, are utterly unacceptable.

If this is the best Great Britain has to offer we can understand perfectly well that the British Foreign Office feels it necessary to rush all the naval forces it can spare from its other fields of imperialistic exploitation to that which it seems determined to retain and expand at any cost here in China. The net result of the new offer will only be to intensify the already bitter attitude of our people toward their relentless imperialist foe.

The wildest speeches in denunciation of the British proposals were made by Jacob Borodin, the agent of the Third International, who is acting as the chief adviser to the Cantonese Government.

#### Soviet Adviser to the Cantonese

Borodin is well known to the police of many countries. Prior to his activities in the Far East, his work was principally in Mexico, the United States, and Great Britain. On August 29, 1922, he was sentenced in Glasgow to six months' imprisonment and recommended for deportation. He was arrested under the name of George Brown.

The Procurator-Fiscal told the court that Brown, whose alias was given as Borodin, was regarded by the Intelligence Department as a most dangerous person. He

was one of the "underground" agents of the Communist International, and was sent to foster sedition. It was not known how Brown came to be in the country, but there was no reasonable doubt that he had been smuggled in. He had formerly been there for six weeks, but on this occasion he had only been in Glasgow one day when he was caught. The accused man claimed at the time to be a Yugoslav, and then changed to Mexican and Austrian nationality. Eventually, at the request of the Soviet representative's legal agents, he was deported straight to Petrograd.

Brown, *alias* Borodin, is in reality Michael Grusenberg, and is possibly of Lettish origin. He was first heard of in connection with Communist activities in 1919, when he was sent to Spain for Communist propaganda by the Communist International. In 1920 he was in Mexico, where he acquired a national passport, which he used to enter the United States, where he became known to the State Department as a prominent agitator. In 1922 he landed illegally in Great Britain with a mission from the Communist International. His instructions were: (1) to act as adviser to the British Communist Party; (2) to prepare a financial plan for Communist propaganda in the country and to report on the requirements of the movement; and (3) to direct the drawing up of a tactical scheme by the British Communist Party according to instructions from Moscow.

He was instrumental in getting a number of delegates to the Blackpool Conference to institute a minority movement in the Miners' Federation, with a view to affiliation with the Red Labor I. U. He was in touch on this subject with Mr. Cook, the secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

#### Soviet Policy in China

At the end of December there took place in Moscow several joint sittings of high officials of the Soviet Foreign Commissariat, with delegates of the Communist International, the Chinese delegate, Tan Ping-siang, and other Chinese specialists, with the object of devising plans of agitation to counteract the effect of the "new British policy in China," as indicated in

the British memorandum to the Powers.

The decisions taken at these meetings were followed by instructions to all the Soviet agents in China to keep in the forefront of their program a demand for the removal of all foreign land and sea forces from China and to make it clear that unless this demand were complied with the Canton Government would refuse to be responsible for the safety of foreign citizens.

In a leading article the *Izvestia*, the official Soviet newspaper, declares that Mr. Lampson, the British Minister, arrived in China with a "long queue of cruisers and destroyers." These, with other foreign forces, it says, must be removed immediately. It adds that if the British bourgeoisie has not lost entirely its power to understand the meaning of facts, it will comply with this demand, which has been made by the Chinese at numerous mass meetings and by the Chinese press.

#### Belgian Attitude

On December 22, in the Belgian Chamber, a Communist deputy interpellated the government on the steps it intends to take to establish normal relations between China and Belgium, following the abrogation of the Commercial Treaty of 1865. He introduced a motion demanding that the government should open negotiations with Canton, as the British and Japanese governments had done.

M. Vandervelde, the Foreign Minister, in his reply, stated that the government did not share the suspicions current in many quarters with regard to the Canton Government. The latter was represented in the Anglo-French press as a mere offshoot (*filiale*) of the Soviet Republics. "I see in it, on the contrary," he said, "the expansion of a great national movement, which the Bolsheviks are supporting, as they support all movements of the kind in Asia, but they did not take the initiative in it and are far from having control of it."

Speaking of the privileges of extraterritoriality, M. Vandervelde said:

We are convinced that, in view of the present state of Chinese justice, the sudden suppression of consular jurisdiction would be harmful not only to foreigners but also to the Chinese who treat with them. It would

therefore be desirable to arrange for a transition period, but in the matter of principle the provisions of the American-Chinese Treaty might be taken as a guide. In view of the Chinese claims it was necessary to follow a policy of conciliation and understanding.

M. Vandervelde continued:

I had the opportunity during my stay at Geneva of discussing these questions with the representatives of the Great Powers most directly interested in Chinese affairs. They all expressed their aversion from repeating what was done at the time of the Boxers and from the pursuance of a policy of military intervention, which would be not only unjust and odious, but in the present state of affairs certainly end in failure. . . . We have since received news that the British Chargé d'Affaires has communicated to the representatives of the Treaty Powers in Peking a memorandum defining the policy which Great Britain suggests should be followed in China. This document has been communicated to us. I am unable at present to give particulars of its substance, but the principles it puts forward, the policy it proposes, and the measures of immediate application it suggests give evidence of a breadth of view, a spirit of peace and conciliation, and a desire to meet the national aspirations of the Chinese people which cannot be sufficiently admired and approved. The British Empire appeals for the solidarity of the other Powers not in order to enforce the maintenance of the treaties, which have served their term, but in order to revise, readjust, and adapt them to the just demands of a people which desires to be treated as an equal and sovereign people. I have the impression and conviction that this appeal will be heard.

In the international sphere we can see no future in China, but in a sincere co-operation between races equally and legitimately jealous for their dignity and their rights.

The Chamber rejected the Communist motion, and adopted almost unanimously a motion expressing confidence in the action of the government.

#### French Attitude

A semi-official statement issued in Paris on December 28 with regard to M. Briand's communication to the Cabinet on the British memorandum on China says that he "secured approval of the attitude which

the French Government intends to follow in its relations with China." Steps have been taken to make known the French point of view "officially and in all clearness." For the moment France does not intend to depart from the attitude of observation and expectation which she has observed since the beginning of the conflict which divides China. The semi-official statement continues:

On December 18 the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking handed, without warning, to the Ministers of the Powers signatory to the Washington Treaty a memorandum suggesting the publication of a joint statement defining the basis of a constructive policy in regard to China. All the Ministers were agreed that such a step could not be taken until a direct agreement had been reached between London and the other governments. Without resorting to such negotiations, the British Foreign Office on Christmas Day issued to the press its memorandum, which it communicated simultaneously to the interested Powers. By this procedure the British Government, of its own accord, abandoned its own proposal for a collective declaration. In effect, in French opinion, such a statement is not necessary. Our liberal traditions are too well known to the Chinese people to make it doubt that France will not always participate in measures intended to facilitate its evolution. That is so true that our country continues to enjoy in the South, as well as in the North, a special moral prestige. It was the same when there were incidents at Shanghai and Canton, where the interests of France were always respected.

Also, until the issue of the conflict the French Government intends to abstain from all interference in the domestic policy of China. The recognition of the Government of Canton, independent of the regular Government in Peking, would sanction a secession State in China, and would disturb both North and South, as each would strive for the control of the whole of China.

The violation of China's unity would have a deep and lasting effect on the whole Chinese nation, as the latter is fundamentally attached to the respect of its political unity. The French Government considers that it is inopportune to discuss the rights of foreigners over the heads of the rival Chinese governments, and that it would be wiser to let matters take their course until the time comes

when negotiations can usefully be entered into with authorities really representative of the Chinese people. At the present time France will generously do her best to improve relations between China and the foreign nations.

#### Italian Attitude

The Italian Government's reply to the British memorandum concerning China was delivered on December 30, to the British Ambassador, Sir Ronald Graham. Although the text of the Italian reply has not yet been made public, it is stated that it practically amounts to a favorable reception of the British Government's view on the present situation in China.

The Italian Government has, it is understood, examined very carefully all the points raised by the British Government, whose anxieties it shares. Italy has always abstained from mixing herself up with the internal struggles of China, and the Italian Government affirms again its determination to follow in the future the same policy. At the same time it recognizes that since the Washington Conference of 1922 the situation has changed, and that this fact may also suggest to the interested Powers a reconsideration of their conduct in respect of China.

The Italian Government, however, insists on the necessity for a "general agreement" among all the Powers concerned, which should be concluded in the same spirit which enabled the Powers to reach agreement at Washington. Italy reserves the right to communicate at a later date its opinion as regards the future policy to be followed by the Powers. This policy, it holds, should be guided by a most benevolent spirit toward China.

### NEW EMPEROR OF JAPAN

**E**MPEROR YOSHIHITO, of Japan, 122d of the Imperial line, died last Christmas Day at the Imperial Villa at Hayama. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Prince Regent Hirohito, who thus ascended the most ancient throne remaining in the world.

#### The New Emperor

The new Emperor was born on April 29, 1901, and was appointed Crown

Prince on September 9, 1912. His early education he received at the Peers' School in Tokyo, where he studied until his 18th year.

His further education was then entrusted to specially selected tutors, under the general direction of Admiral Count Togo, as Lord Tutor. In 1916 he was commissioned in both the army and the navy, and was successively promoted to lieutenant-colonel and captain. Owing to the delicate health of his father, the Crown Prince was early called upon to officiate as the Emperor's deputy on important State occasions, while on his visits to hospitals, factories, and other institutions he displayed a practical knowledge and interest which aroused the admiration of his future subjects.

#### The Foreign Tour

The most striking event of his life was undoubtedly his foreign tour in 1921. It may be said to have marked the beginning of a new epoch in Japanese history, for there was no previous record of either an Emperor of Japan or his heir leaving their own land, and it therefore constituted a complete break with immemorial tradition.

Before the Prince began his journey, it was understood that he was about to be betrothed to the Princess Nagako, eldest daughter of General Prince Kuni. This alliance also represented a break with tradition, inasmuch as for many centuries the five foremost Kugé, or ancient courtier families, possessed the right, acquired originally for political purposes, of marrying their daughters into the Imperial line. Powerful political influences opposed the betrothal, but aroused a remarkable outburst of popular indignation, which was only allayed by an official announcement that the marriage would be celebrated on the Crown Prince's return.

Setting out on March 3, 1921, the Crown Prince visited Hong-kong, Singapore, Colombo, Port Said, Cairo, Malta, and Gibraltar on the voyage to Portsmouth, where he was received by the Prince of Wales. The program of his visit was carefully arranged that he might see as much as possible of every side of British national life. Thus, in addition to



the customary State banquet and reception at Guildhall, he had much sight-seeing in London; he saw Eton and Oxford and Cambridge and Edinburgh Universities, he visited Aldershot and Sandhurst, he witnessed a display by the R. A. F., he went to Scotland and caught salmon in the Highlands, and he also saw in Manchester an example of a great industrial city. During the visit he was made by the King an honorary general in the army, an honor which gave him particular gratification.

In a farewell message he recapitulated in the most cordial terms the impressions which he had received of British national life, and made graceful acknowledgement of the welcome and hospitality of the British people. The Crown Prince reached Tokyo on his return in September.

#### Regent for Five Years

In November, 1921, the Prince was formally constituted Regent, and in September, 1922, his betrothal to Princess Nagako took place as arranged, but on account of the great earthquake the marriage was not celebrated till January 24, 1924. An attempt was made on the Crown Prince's life in December, 1923, when a student fired a pistol at him, but only succeeded in slightly wounding a Court official.

The new Emperor is modest, gentle, and even retiring by nature. He has most conscientiously prepared himself for those high responsibilities of which, at least on the ceremonial side, he has already had some years' experience. In private life he is bright and cheery, faithful in his friendships, and unreservedly loyal to his trusted advisers. He is a thorough sportsman, a good horseman, and an expert swordsman. In wrestling, which may be regarded as the national sport of Japan, he is keenly interested, and is a competent judge of the chief exponents. Nor must it be forgotten that he was the first member of the Imperial family to make the ascent of Fujiyama, the highest mountain in Japan. This he did in July, 1923, much to the delight of the nation in general, who welcomed this fresh departure from tradition.

#### Lover of Peace and Simplicity

The new Emperor is a lover of peace and simplicity. It is a custom in Japan

that every year at the New Year the Emperor invites his subjects, without distinction of rank or age, to send in poems on a given subject, and Japanese all over the world respond eagerly. In 1922, when the subject given was "Kyokkoh-Shoh-Ha," which means Rising Sun Shining on the Waves, the then Crown Prince contributed a poem, of which the following is a literal translation:—

How vast is the boundless Main  
Perfumed by the morning sun—  
Fresh as primeval Dawn  
And still as the new-born Earth!  
O would that men, too, were at peace!

In his first formal audience the new Emperor read an Imperial Rescript in which he exhorted the government and Court officials to guide their actions in accordance with certain principles, of which the most noteworthy were the encouragement of originality instead of a blind imitation, and simplicity instead of vain display.

## WORLD TRADE PROBLEMS

AT THE last meeting of the Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, Sir Alan Anderson, acting president, gave a summary of the economic conditions in the countries which are members of the chamber. In the course of his address, which was based on the reports of the national committees of the chamber, he said:

Interesting in themselves, these reports, read one after the other, illuminate the problem of world trade. To move goods, men, and ideas is to civilize. We claim for the trade between nations that it is the sovereign agent to improve the lot of mankind, and that it does not deserve to be barred out as it is today. We say that the first of trade barriers is the lack of a stable token with which to trade, and the next the rivalry of one State against another which bars trade and so damages every one. Our national committees report facts as they see them. They state no policy, but together they prove, or seem to me to prove, that we are right when we urge that nations must pull down their barriers before trade can revive.

I propose to refer to a few of the reports

which relate particularly to our inquiry into trade barriers and to inflation as the first barrier. The prosperity shown by the United States of America, whose currency is stable and whose wide territory has no internal barriers, contrasts with the reports from Europe, which is divided by 28 frontiers and pervaded with inflation. The report from Greece, as a typical country of depreciating currency, contrasts with Norway, whose currency has risen in value faster than was desired. Spain seems to be taking less part in world trade, and Austria desires, but finds it difficult, to trade with her neighbors. Look at the order of stability which I have given. The United States comes first—in fact, the table is really based on the United States, as the dollar was based on gold throughout the period. In prosperity also it stands alone. During all the years of distress in Europe the sun has shone steadily in the U. S. A. In Europe many countries are stable in trade and finance, but the general report is depression, poor export, and under-employment. The most glittering trade pictures come, as one would expect, from the countries whose currency has been falling and whose prices have accordingly risen. In Greece, for example, all savings, capital, and debts expressed in drachmæ have dwindled fast. The business and finances of Greece have been considerably affected by the great problem of settling her refugees—a piece of constructive work which ought to yield good results in the future. Almost the only countries of Europe in which men are fully employed owe their brisk trade to the same trouble of inflation. France, Italy, Belgium, have long ago seen the dangers of inflation. They still enjoy some of the false prosperity which marks the disease, but their reports speak more of anxiety and effort to stabilize than of what their exporters and shipowners gain by the fall of the currency. This council can do no more, and certainly will do no less, than to express the anxious hope that Belgium and the other great nations in the same difficulty will succeed in stabilizing their currency without delay.

What inflation does to trade and employment is confirmed in a most striking way by Norway. There the opposite cause produces the contrary effect. The krona has risen in value from 32.54 to the pound sterling in September, 1924, to 22.50 in 1926. Luckily, though a currency may drop in value to zero, it can scarcely rise beyond a fixed point,

and the embarrassment of Norway, acute and real though it has been, is finite and seems already to be near its end. From Germany we receive an interesting statement of convalescence after inflation. The patient suffers, but is better than he was. The English coal strike has given a fillip to some trades—coal and iron have done well, but there is not enough work to go round and hostile tariffs hamper export and recovery. Apparently between the first and last States of Germany there is a scientific distinction, but no great practical difference.

England—another patient which had some recovery to make last year—seemed early this year to have reached stability of price and to have regained her power to compete freely in the world's market. All trade indications were distinctly better. Unfortunately, a coal strike which continues and a general strike which was quickly suppressed by the general public have inflicted serious losses. I should, perhaps, note that the distress in the coal-mining business in England is partly—perhaps largely—due to instable currencies elsewhere. The price of coal has been depressed below its real cost in the world's market by competition which was only possible through inflation. The British coal strike echoes through the reports of the national committees—coal, iron, and ships are in demand all over the world. Our reports show clearly that trade must be welcome if it is to expand. From every quarter we hear how international trade, well established, specialized, and beneficial to buyer as well as to seller, is checked in order that each State may make everything for itself and sell freely to its neighbor, but never buy.

In these reports we see two areas, one on each side of the Atlantic. In size, population, range of produce and climate, skill, enterprise, and industry neither area has any particular reason to envy the other. One area has one stable currency and no internal barriers to trade. The other has many currencies, not all stable, and 28 customs barriers which grow while goods are on order. Which of these two areas ought to be prosperous? Which is prosperous? I once read a story of a man who was cast into a noisome dungeon and kept there without food or water. At last, being worn out by suffering, he opened the window and stepped out. When, I wonder, will Europe have suffered enough to open its window and step out from its trade barriers?

Sir Alan Anderson arranged the nations in order of stability of currency as follows: United States (1), Austria (2), Hungary (3), Finland (4), Germany (5), Czechoslovakia (6), Bulgaria (7), Portugal (8), Holland (9), Canada (10), Great Britain (11), Sweden (12), Switzerland (13), Yugoslavia (14), Uruguay (15), Rumania (16), Spain (17), Italy (18), Japan (19), Norway (20), Denmark (21), Greece (22), Brazil (23), Poland (24), Belgium (25), and France (26).

#### Advantages of World Trusts

The council then registered its approval of a report of the obstacles to international trade which will be submitted by Sir Arthur Balfour to the International Economic Conference to be convened by the League of Nations. The report gives a catalogue of the reforms which, in the view of the international business world, must be effected in international relations if general economic chaos is to be avoided.

It advocates a number of measures which would simplify international travel and transport, such as the unification of laws with regard to foreigners, abolition of visas, and free trade in raw materials. It contains a strong protest against tariff barriers and condemns ad valorem duties. The most interesting passage in the report is that in which it states its unqualified approval of international trusts. "These agreements," it says, "should be of service to industry by eliminating competition, to labor by ensuring it regular employment, and to the consumer by diminishing the cost of production and reducing sale prices." The International Chamber of Commerce proposes to collect and classify information on all international trusts and will study their objects and their effect on prices.

#### The Bankers' Manifesto

Finally the council took note of the bankers' manifesto, which has been signed by a large number of its members, and passed a resolution fully approving of its principles and stating that it represented the views of the international business world.

## MOSCOW AND THE BRITISH STRIKE

AT THE last plenary session of the Moscow Trades Union Council, President Tomsky, of the Red Trade Union International, delivered a speech dealing with the British general strike. The leader of the Communist labor movement repeated in his speech the accusations contained in the telegram that he sent to the trades union congress at Bournemouth and attempted to justify them. The chief offense charged against the General Council is that it did not make use of the general strike in May to produce a revolution. Every other charge, whether of treachery, betrayal, or incompetence, arises from the General Council's disavowal of revolutionary purpose.

#### Defense of Russian Interference

Tomsky's language was comparatively mild when he spoke of "muddle-headed leaders," their lack of enthusiasm for the strike, and its "shameful" ending. According to him, the General Council should have accepted the class battle along the whole front and have "led the British working class to victory, possibly at the cost of great suffering and great privations." In his opinion, the general strike could have been continued "for weeks." He was scornful of "an economic attack on capital unaccompanied by a political offensive," though he admitted that "a final victorious fight" against capitalism was impossible "in England under the rule of the conservative government." He made a comparison between the crime of Cain and that of the General Council. What the congress should have asked the General Council was, he said, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel? General Council, what hast thou so far done for the support of the miners? Why are they isolated and in what way dost thou propose to the English workers to help them?" He defended the "interference" of the Russian unions, and added:

Voices will perhaps be raised maintaining, according to the old stock phrase, that what is good for Russia is not suitable for the English. Why should the method of brotherly help which the workers of the Soviet Union practice be the right thing in Russia and not

in England or Germany? . . . I believe it is because they have corrupt leaders (cheers) whose actions are not guided by the will to unite the workers and to develop class solidarity, but whose policy is directed toward dividing the workers according to nations, unions, occupations, &c., and because they all cast sheep's eyes at the employers. That is why our methods do not suit them.

#### Attack on Parliamentary Methods

Tomsky ridiculed parliamentary methods and the references in the presidential address of Mr. A. Pugh to political action. The address is described as "pitiful doddering." He asks if Mr. Pugh's tone was worthy of a leader of the labor movement. "Can such leaders lead the workers to victory? No; they are incapable of it." But Tomsky is, nevertheless, extremely anxious to preserve the Anglo-Russian committee. He avows his reasons. He wants the joint committee to be an instrument of the revolutionary class war and will not be satisfied with it until it is. Addressing his unsought advice to the British trade union movement, he said: "We have seen in our country during the revolution that not bulletins, but machine-guns, had to be put in action." Again, he said that "the idea which should lie at the base of [trade union] unity should be the idea of the necessity of revolutionary class war for the final emancipation of the working class."

We have sometimes called a spade a spade [he said] instead of disguising it under a more pleasing name. We called treachery treachery and not "an unfortunate mistake"; we called cowards cowards and not "persons lacking decision of character." Perhaps this is one of our faults; but the alliance between the proletariat of the two countries has shown that the workers of the Soviet union can be relied upon to help in a fight, and if anyone is capable of fighting and fighting ruthlessly it is the Russian worker. . . . The Russian workers are prepared for every sacrifice in order to bring about a real and complete emancipation of their class brothers, not in 300 years and not through ballot papers, but by active revolutionary class struggle.

The Bolshevik idea of "interference" by British trade unionists in Soviet affairs

is something very different from the right of "interference" which Tomsky claims in reference to British affairs. At the recent meeting of the Anglo-Russian committee the British representatives asked the Russians to dissociate themselves from the abusive manifesto issued by the executive of the Red Trade Union International. They declined, and what Tomsky said in explaining the refusal is important. He described the British demand as being "that a resolution framed by the supreme body of our trade union movement be revoked." This is virtually an admission that the Russian unions are subservient to the Red International, and not, at least, semi-independent, as the apologists for the Anglo-Russian committee have frequently urged. He said, besides, that "we were right in rejecting this proposal, for we cannot and will not renounce our right to criticism."

#### RUSSIAN MUNITIONS FOR GERMANY

THE overthrow of the Marx Government in Germany on the ground that it was countenancing schemes for manufacturing and storing arms in Russia for the use of Germany has led to several important revelations bearing on the question. Perhaps the most interesting of these revelations have been made by a correspondent to the *Deutsche Militärkorrespondenz*. They are concerned with the military understanding between the German Ministry of War and the Russian Government.

#### Gun-running Between Germany and Russia

It is impossible to estimate how much gun-running there has been between Germany and Russia. The amount of war material actually transferred from Russian to German soil is probably small, but the following details show what was planned and what high hopes the agents of neo-German militarism entertained.

The Reichswehr maintains a number of former officers as its confidential agents in Russia. On January 7, 1925, one of these agents sent a report to the German Ministry of War. This report stated that the standardized production of heavy guns could be counted on in April, 1925. By

the end of August the Ministry of War could count on the delivery of 600 field guns. The gun-carriages were already being manufactured. Later on there would be delivery of ten-point-fives. These guns would be in the hands of the Reichswehr at the end of the year.

A second report was made to the Ministry of War on March 2, 1925. It stated that 40,000 rifles and carbines were ready for the Reichswehr and were stored at a "familiar spot."

A third letter announced that a number of battleplanes had been completed, but that they had all "been absorbed" by the Soviet Government. The completion of some howitzers and anti-tank guns was announced a little later on. By the end of 1925 the Ministry felt that it could count on equipment for 35 divisions of infantry and 14 divisions of cavalry.

#### Problem of Delivery

There were long discussions as to how all this war material was to be dispatched to Germany. The Russians said that in case of war German armies were to overrun Poland and then receive the war material made in Russia. The Reichswehr, however, reckoned with strong Polish resistance, and proposed that Russian war material should be stored in arsenals at Russian ports ready for transport. Rifles were to be packed in cases of 24 each, together with one bayonet and a thousand rounds of ammunition per rifle. The machine-guns were to be packed one in a case, together with 10,000 rounds of ammunition. Pillau and Stettin were to be the ports of destination. The Russians agreed to this plan.

If a state of "threatening war danger" were proclaimed, then the battleplanes stationed in Russia were to fly to Germany, "whatever the political situation might be," and the transport of war material by sea was to begin.

From these details it would appear that conversations took place between the Russian and German General Staffs. The Russians had nothing to lose and everything to gain. Should they be involved in war they would, besides their own war material, have war material manufactured by themselves, but at the expense of the entirely unwitting German taxpayer, and

with the help of German armament firms. If Russia were to be involved in war the German army or German Ministry of War would attempt to involve Germany in war with Poland. If this attempt were successful Germany would then receive the arms provided for her, and with these she would no doubt be able to assert herself in other directions as well.

#### VON TIRPITZ AND LICHNOWSKY

THE recent publication by Admiral von Tirpitz of his latest book, "Germany's Impotence in the World War," has brought upon the former commander-in-chief of the German navy a large number of reproofs for the manner in which he handled some of the material contained in the book. Apart from the general controversy as to his use of certain official documents, objection has been raised by Herr von Gwinner, former general manager of the Deutsche Bank, to the publication in the book of an incomplete, and consequently misleading, version of a conversation which he had in August, 1914, with Admiral von Capelle.

Following this, on November 7, the *Berliner Tageblatt* published an open letter to Admiral von Tirpitz from Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, protesting against the unauthorized publication by the Admiral of a confidential letter he received from the Prince in 1914. Prince Lichnowsky writes:

Your Excellency has done me the honor of making public in your book which has just been published a confidential letter addressed to you on December 26, 1914. I have not the slightest reason for repudiating the view I then expressed, that we should not succeed in "dictating peace," and that in consequence our aim must be to achieve a peace of understanding by way of England. I expressed this view throughout the war, unfortunately without success, in opposition to Your Excellency as well as to most of the politicians and soldiers, and events have proved me to have been only too right.

Grand Admiral von Tirpitz published this and other documents to demonstrate the opposition he encountered in pressing

his view that the submarine campaign should have been started with full intensity from the beginning. Prince Lichnowsky continues:

It has hitherto been customary not to publish letters of either an official or a business nature without the consent of the sender, and I should have given my approval with especial pleasure, although I should naturally have desired the removal, as out of place, of ironical comment on a diplomatist who was also a friend.

After referring to disparaging remarks on his (Prince Lichnowsky's) judgment and capacity contained in a letter from Admiral von Tirpitz to Admiral von Capelle, also published in the book, the Prince writes:

I am naturally far from regarding the confidence which I placed in Your Excellency on various occasions as one of the reasons for the charge of lack of judgment. The complete coincidence of our views concerning the leading statesmen in the Wilhelmstrasse and their policy before the outbreak of war tended to bring us together. We also shared the conviction that our fleet was not to blame for England's participation in the war; that, apart from the naval question and the violation of Belgian neutrality, England would never have permitted a second Sedan, and I have always reported in this sense, without, it must be admitted, being believed at the Foreign Office. The recently published letters and diaries of Queen Victoria in the seventies have fully confirmed my thesis.

If, in spite of this, I had hopes at the last moment that England would adopt a waiting attitude, it was in view of the British Government's undoubted desire for peace and the much-divided feeling within the Cabinet.

In conclusion, Prince Lichnowsky says:

Your Excellency will nevertheless admit that my verdict on the course of the war, on the necessity of a peace of understanding, and especially on the effects of the unrestricted submarine campaign, proved more accurate than the program of the "Fatherland Party," which led us to the Peace of Versailles.

## INTERNATIONAL POLICE CONFERENCE

AT THE end of September and the beginning of October an International Police Congress was held in Berlin. The congress was attended by representatives of twenty countries. Its purpose was to carry on the development of international co-operation in the prevention and detection of crime by an exchange of experiences and the unification of practice. It served the secondary, but perhaps even more useful, purpose of bringing together those engaged in their several countries in the same fields of criminology.

The chairman of the International Congress was the Vienna Police President, Dr. Schober. His long connection with the international side of police work was a guarantee that the congress would be kept to realities. This proved to be the case. It ignored such dreams as the creation of an international criminal police force, and it rejected all unsystematic treatment of questions, eliminating everything that did not promise to lead to some sort of practical usefulness. Even then the range was sufficiently wide, as the final list of the resolutions adopted by the congress went to show.

Among the countries represented at the congress were Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Hungary. Miss Allen (representing the women police of Great Britain) and representatives of the Irish Free State, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland, Yugoslavia, Sweden, and China also attended the conference.

### Varied Nature of Discussion

The mere list of papers discussed at the congress gives some idea of the wide range of interests considered. They roughly fell into the criminal, the political, and the technical, though they overlapped a good deal and an exact grouping was out of the question. Dr. Schulz, of Vienna, delivered an address on various aspects of thumb-prints. Among the papers dealing directly with crime was one by Dr. Veters, of Vienna, on check forgery, in which a number of interesting examples were given to illustrate on the one hand

the danger of forgeries and on the other the need of international co-operation in combating the forgers. There was discussion in connection with the falsification of currency and bank notes, which, since the war, has assumed such dimensions that M. Briand was recently constrained to make representations to the League on this matter. The congress, at the instance of M. Keffer, passed a resolution welcoming the establishment of an international bureau under the League, and declared its readiness to place its experience at the disposal of the League.

Another paper, which may be regarded as coming into this section, was "The combating of alcoholism by police care," read by Dr. Brandl, of Vienna, who demonstrated the means by which the Vienna police sought to guide the persistent "drunk" into the right path by means of 14 centers established in the city for the purpose, with striking effects on the curve of convictions for drunkenness. Dr. Weiss, of the Berlin police, speaking on the methods of the German police in dealing with crime arising out of alcoholism, cocaine, and morphia, emphasized the need for more exact statistics on the relation of alcohol to criminality.

Finally, the congress, inspired by the precept and example of Miss Allen, recommended the question of women police to the attention of all governments and police authorities without further committing itself. It is evident that the experience of London is being attentively watched in all continental police circles. Already in various States of Germany women police are either already instituted or are in contemplation. For this the good work of the women police during the occupation of Cologne is mainly responsible. On the strength of it, according to an authoritative statement, the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine has continually impressed upon the German police authorities the necessity of a similar force, not to augment the regular police, but to assist them in their dealings with offenses against women and children.

The above summary does not exhaust the work of the congress. The president, at its conclusion, repeated what he had insisted upon in his opening speech, that

the first need in police work was to approach the criminal with human understanding, for which a very special type of man was required.

## FRANCE AND THE VATICAN

THE relations between France and the Vatican, which became rather strained in 1924 and 1925 under the Herriot régime, have been tending toward greater and greater amicability under his successors, and have lately taken a decided turn in the direction of reconciliation. For the past few months some rather curious utterances have issued forth from the Vatican concerning the duties of Catholics in France in regard of religion and politics. It is quite likely that as a result of these instructions from Rome it may become possible for the French Catholics to unite under the present Republican régime, gain more electoral power, and thus strengthen the conservative parties in France.

### Pope's Speech in Secret Consistory

One of the latest of the Vatican utterances in this vein was contained in a speech made by the Pope in a secret consistory in Rome. As reported in the press, the gist of the Pope's general observations was that French Catholics should unite on religious grounds for Church purposes, upholding the Church's divine rights, Christian marriage and education, and family life, "the holiest and most fundamental liberties." They should join in demonstrations more and more imposing, should encourage religious and social culture and charity, and help in the popularization of Catholic conceptions of the fundamental liberties. This unity should no longer be disturbed by purely political differences, which should not continue to divide French Catholics.

The most striking passage relating to these differences is one expressing disapproval of the "Action Française," the French Royalist newspaper. "It is not permitted to Catholics," said the Pope, "to support, favor, or read newspapers directed by men who have published works censurable with regard to Catholic doc-

trine and morality, and whose articles and announcements not seldom present for their readers, especially young men, a real peril." And again: "It is not permitted to Catholics to adhere and co-operate in a program and a school which puts politics before religion." The Pope carefully adds that it is open to everybody to preserve liberty of political ideals.

#### Papal Nuncio's Address in Paris

At the same time considerable interest has been aroused by the address delivered at President Doumergue's New Year reception of the Diplomatic Corps by Monsignor Maglione, the Papal Nuncio. Speaking in the name of his colleagues, of whom he is the *doyen*, and obviously under the instructions of the Holy See, Monsignor Maglione proclaimed the Pope's approval of the policy pursued by France which has resulted in the pacts of Locarno and the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations. It is a remarkable testimonial for M. Briand.

In the course of his speech to M. Doumergue, the Papal Nuncio, having expressed the sympathy and satisfaction felt by the governments with the efforts achieved by France for the pacification of the peoples, said:

We are certain that your government will pursue this work, which is worthy of the traditions of your country, of its noble soul and its great heart. The full confidence which we had in you already has been more than once confirmed by the plans which your Minister for Foreign Affairs set forth, rather more than three months ago, to the representatives of a very great number of nations. No one can recall without emotion the speech which he delivered on that occasion. His words, eloquent and deeply felt as they were, expressed the yearning of the peoples for that *rapprochement* and spiritual brotherliness which will place them in a position to heal their wounds and will lead them in quite peaceful rivalry towards ever greater moral, economic, and social progress.

In this beneficent work France may be assured of the active and loyal co-operation of our governments, and in particular—if I may say so—of that which has never ceased to call, with a father's tenderness and in the name of the Prince of Peace, for the disarmament of minds.

God grant that soon and in all truth we may be able to apply also to the relations which shall exist between the members of the great human family the words of the Scriptures recalled with joy at this season by our Liturgy: "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

#### SOUTH AFRICA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

PERHAPS the most important practical consequence of the last British Imperial Conference has been the fact that it has apparently put an end to all agitation in the Union of South Africa for separation from the Empire. The Prime Minister of the Union, General Hertzog, went to London a staunch supporter of South African separation, for which he had agitated for almost a whole decade and which had been the platform on which he had been chosen to the Premiership. He returned to Cape Town an enthusiastic supporter of the new relationship within the Commonwealth defined by the reports of the Conference.

#### South Africa Safe in the Empire

Addressing a monster meeting at Paarl on December 14, General Hertzog declared that it was hardly believable that the struggle for full, unbounded liberty for South Africa as a people was over, yet it was so, and they must simply accept this for the future.

Referring to the report on Inter-Imperial Relations adopted by the Imperial Conference, he said no declaration could be devised by which the country's liberty in a most unlimited manner could be so clearly demonstrated as was done in the document as it stood. No one need bother in future about South Africa breaking away from the Empire. As a result of the work of the Imperial Conference, the old Empire no longer existed.

The old Empire was a dominating State under which South Africa and the other Dominions had to, and did, submit for years. All that remained was a free alliance of England and the six Dominions, co-operating as friends and, so to speak, forming their own League of Nations. The will binding them thereto was their own will, and if tomorrow they wanted to get out they would go out. When they



spoke of the Empire today it meant the name given to seven Free States, all freely co-operating in so far as they wanted to do so and as long as they wanted to do so. The Englishman need not fear that they would say farewell to the Empire, because it was in their interests not to do so. He felt that if the old Empire had been persisted with there would have been a probability of its going to pieces.

#### General Smuts Thanks the Premier

An interesting reaction to General Hertzog's declaration came from General Smuts, who was the present Premier's predecessor in office and his most determined opponent on the question of separation. Speaking at the Dingaan day celebration at Paardekraal, General Smuts said that their forefathers had assembled on that spot in 1880 to take up weapons for independence, and now, after 46 years, they themselves were assembled as a people who had found their freedom once more. He rejoiced that the Prime Minister, after participating in the Im-

perial Conference, had returned with a new language, expressing new thoughts.

General Smuts continued:

He has come back saying that those things which divided us in the past are dead and buried, and that now we can leave this great question that has divided us and devote ourselves to the future. For this I am deeply thankful in my heart to General Hertzog. I publicly express my thanks to General Hertzog.

I am only sorry that General Botha is not present to join in the rejoicings of the people and witness the fruit of the tree which he planted. The policy of conciliation has triumphed. I am only sorry that our late leader is not here to see the results of his life's labour.

In conclusion, General Smuts warned the people that they had undertaken a tremendous responsibility, and he emphasized the fact that the time for "talking big" was past, and that the moment for "big action" had arrived.

## LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR

By DR. ANTE TRESICH PAVICHICH

Minister of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes

IS THE outlawry of war possible by decisions of parliaments, by covenants among nations, and by philanthropic propaganda? Is the future evolution of humanity subject to an unchangeable determinism, as Lucretius Carus says: *Prima descendit ab origine mundi, causarum series, atque omnia fata laborant?* Is the human will free; and, if so, has it any influence upon the social and political evolution of mankind, and in what measure?

The most ancient evolutionist and most profound philosopher, Heraclitus, says: "War is the father of all things." Geology, paleontology, embryology, history, sociology, and other sciences confirm his teaching. It seems that the principle that "force goes before right" has ruled the world since the beginning of life upon our planet. The Drawinian "struggle for life" is written not only in every geologi-

cal stratification, but in the most ancient implements of human hands. *Mors tua vita mea* sums up in four words the history of life on earth.

This is a terrible truth, before which the reason stands perplexed and profoundly melancholy, asking why it was necessary that it should be so; why, when the First Cause created the planetary system and life on earth, it gave predomination upon it to all kinds of teratologic *monstra*—pterodactyls, megatheria, ichthyosaurians, dinosaurians, tigers, lions, eagles, and tyrants? This is a very profound question, but it belongs to the realm of metaphysics, and we have no time for such speculations. We can only say with Marcus Aurelius, "O Universe, all that is convenient to thee is convenient to me." And Aischilos says that Prometheus has planted "blind hopes" in the human heart. I think that they are not totally blind.

The same profound philosopher, Heracitus, said: "All is flowing" (developing); and this axiom, even more than the first one, is confirmed by all the sciences. Truth itself is eternally developing and never remains the same; so that the sentence "War is the father of all things" will, in the far future of humanity, mean "Discussion is the father of all things," and the phrase "force goes before right" will mean that intelligence is the strongest of all forces, dominates everything and makes all physical forces its slaves. All the ancient rights must yield to intelligence, because intelligence is the mother of all liberty and of all morality and is continually increasing. We have, however, no time to inquire why it was necessary that brute force, the struggle for life, cannibalism, and the war of all against all should dominate the earth for millions of years. The only important question for us is as to when force will cease to reign and abdicate in favor of intelligence and morality.

In order to decide this question, it is necessary to investigate the existence of life through the ages and to study written history. Written history, in comparison with the unwritten one of geology, paleontology, anthropology, embryology, etc., is a baby science—at most, six or seven thousand years old. We must choose from its teachings only the axioms we need for the end we have in view—the discovery of when war will cease on earth. When we do so we will find that war has created civilization and the first principles of international law, and that war will ultimately be the very father of eternal peace. War, by promoting innumerable branches of human industry, will so exercise and sharpen human intelligence that it will in the end destroy itself, because intelligence, increasing in geometric ratio, will become self-sufficient, and the wars of the future will be decided by the pure and pacific means of reason and love. We need not, for our purpose, study all the laws of historic and social evolution. It will suffice to investigate four or five of them.

1. Brute force is everywhere yielding to intelligence.

2. The evolution of humanity shows clearly that its ultimate aim is the simplification of tongues, nationalities, and States.

3. The simplification of tongues, nationalities, and States in the ratio of its progress makes war more costly and more difficult.

4. Evolution tends to create geographical, ethnographical, and political units.

5. The earth being a geographical unit, its ultimate tendency must be the formation of a unique State of the whole of humanity.

I have no time to demonstrate these laws and must ask that they be accepted as already demonstrated. Those laws presuppose a teleological or finalistic tendency in the universe, with at the same time human responsibility or liberty, which grows stronger in the ratio that the intellectual force attains preponderance over the brute instincts. The more intelligence, the more liberty and morality; the less intelligence and morality, the more subjection to the brute instincts, to passion, and to tyrannical will.

In prehistoric times there was an everlasting war of all against all, of wild beasts against man, and *vice versa*, and of man against man. With the foundation of the first society, the war of men against men ceased—at least within the boundaries of their community. The desire of conquest and glory caused wars, but produced bigger States and more peace. The great conquerors and founders of great States were the blind instruments of a finalistic evolution toward peace without any personal merit, and who remained responsible before history for their crimes, because they made war for the pure desire of conquest, power, riches, and glory, without any intention of preparing the way for eternal peace. We find the first pacific ideas in the sacred books of the Hindus. In Greece, Socrates was the first cosmopolitan. Alexander the Great was only a *tumidissimum animal*, as Seneca calls him, but his victories extended Greek civilization to the Orient. The Kings Agys and Cleomenes of Sparta, who were inspired by the ideas of Plato, were the first victims of the love of liberty and fraternity. The Roman Empire was the first conscious attempt to create a universal State. It was created by a war lasting four or five centuries. It cost more blood to the Roman nation than to the peoples subjected to the Roman law. It destroyed innumerable kingdoms and tongues, but it brought the *pax Romana*

and civilization wherever the Roman eagle extended its victorious wings. War made Rome, and Rome gave civil laws to the world and the majestic tongue which is still spoken by two hundred million people. Had Rome not conquered all the countries around the Mediterranean, there would have been a continuous war of little States, one against the other, without any possibility of creating a higher civilization. Rome accomplished the most honorable task in the history of mankind by leading it to civilization and to progress toward eternal peace.

I will not speak of the formation of modern States, which confirms the law of the simplification of tongues and the formation of ethnographical and political units out of geographic ones. I will take only one example to demonstrate this law.

Three centuries ago, on the territory of the North American continent, there lived many wild tribes, speaking different tongues and making altogether not more than some hundred thousand inhabitants. This was due to the fact that they were everlastingly at war with each other. This life had lasted for thousands of years without creating even the most primitive civilization. They built no city, no single temple or house. The only exception was in South Mexico. Then came the European invasion. Three great nations struggled for predominance—the English, the French, and the Spaniards. Today only one tongue is spoken from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Seeing the immense progress, the enormous riches, the *pax Americana*, I see no reason to shed tears for the almost complete disappearance of the Indians. Where some hundred thousand men formerly lived in eternal warfare, over a hundred million civilized people today live in peace and plenty. I see the same phenomenon in Australia, in Siberia, and in North and South Africa.

Small peoples and small, poor tongues, incapable of creating great civilizations, disappear to make room for great nations and great civilizations. This process of simplification of States and tongues, this creating of political and ethnographical units out of geographical ones, is not finished; it is still in the process of evolution. The great question is whether more war will be necessary to accomplish this unifi-

cation, or whether humanity will find other and more humane means of accomplishing it. The United States, for instance, was not formed solely by war. She purchased Louisiana from France and Alaska from Russia, and money is incomparably cheaper than human blood. But the law that on geographical units ethnographical and political must be formed is still not completely accomplished in America as it is, for example, in England, in Italy, in France, in Germany, etc. In Europe there are still some anomalies, as, for instance, on the Iberian Peninsula. As a consequence, these anomalies have been reproduced in South America. But the evolution of human society has time enough to reach the ideal of the Cosmopolis of Socrates, the Civitas Dei of St. Augustine, the Città del Sole of Campanella, the Utopia of Thomas More. The dreams of the ancient philosophers are growing to be realities in the current of time. But just for this very reason that certain geographic units have not yet become ethnographic State units, I do not yet see the haven of eternal peace. There will be other wars until the fittest finally triumph over the unfit and the feeble, and until the latter see that they must resign themselves to their fate and be content to be absorbed in the greater races, destined to dominate the earth and form the society of nations. But no one renounces his liberty or his individuality without a most desperate struggle. That is the most fundamental law of nature, for nations as well as for men.

There are great peoples which have very ancient civilizations, but which are incapable of further progress, as, for instance, China. One of the principal causes of China's stagnation is that she was never able to impose one tongue where she imposed her central power. The reason for this failure was the fact that she was not able to find a phonetical script which she could have imposed on all her subjects, but had to impose her will through other symbolical signs. There are also other reasons for the stagnation of China, but there is not time to discuss them. China is being torn asunder by everlasting civil war, and no one can foresee how the tragic struggle will finish. Only the jealousies of the great powers permit China to exist

and to continue in this state of civil war, just as the jealousies of the same powers kept Turkey in existence for two centuries. But I see no benefit to humanity in such conservation. In the same way I would not regret the complete disappearance of the Maoris in New Zealand or the Kaffirs, Suahels, Tuaregs, etc., in Africa. To me, it is clear that the white, the Aryan race, mixed with some Celtic, Semitic, Mongoloid, and other bloods, is predestined to rule the world. The Anglo-Saxon race has made the greatest progress and has imposed its tongue and its domination on a large part of the world. The Russians have occupied half of Europe and Asia. This, I think, is for the good of humanity and for progress toward eternal peace. The Latin nations have occupied South America and North Africa, and it is well that they have done so.

The Germans and the Italians are claiming their place in the sun, and they need this for their surplus population. The peace of the world will depend on the direction they choose for this. A mistake in the choice of direction could be fatal to them. But there are still other causes of friction big with the possibility of future wars. The most dangerous points are the unnatural boundary of western Russia, the situation in Hungary, the Straits, South Tyrol (or North Adige), the Adriatic, the question of predominance in the Mediterranean, Egypt, Abyssinia, the Pan-Islam danger, Persia, India, and especially China, and the question of predominance in the Far East and in the Pacific.

Such questions cannot be solved by the League of Nations, by the World Court, or by arbitration tribunals, because such tribunals never take into consideration the justice of the laws of evolution, but listen only to the arguments of human intelligence and interests. This is why they are not fitted for such a high task. There is a great transcendental immanent justice in process of evolution which will regulate all these questions for the good of humanity.

The League of Nations is the first plausible attempt to bring about eternal peace. In the history of humanity the name of Woodrow Wilson will always be remembered with respect and gratitude, because

he was the first to try to realize the dream of his noble line of predecessors who preached the city of God on earth. The League of Nations will remain for a long time as merely the first essay of a federation of all the States for the banishing of war; but it has already rendered and will continue to render good service to humanity. The Locarno Agreement, if sincere, is certainly one of the noblest contributions to the peace and progress of Europe and the world. But the League of Nations was born with many defects, because it could not be born strong and healthy in our time. It was born prematurely. As long as Russia and the United States are not members of the League, it can only have a precarious existence. I have no right to demand why the United States will not enter the League and shall not do so, but I am certain that both the United States and Russia will enter the League when the right time comes. I do not think that complete disarmament is possible until all the States enter the League as full-fledged members, not only of the Assembly, but also of the Council. The League has no executive power and can only protect its members morally. The small States, which are not permanent members of the Council, cannot have complete confidence in it.

A partial and limited disarmament will always have only a partial success. Only a complete disarmament of all the nations and their federation can assure eternal peace. If any power refuses total disarmament, there will always be danger of war.

Who today are the most fervent apostles of disarmament? In the first place, the Central Powers and their allies. It is not necessary to discuss why. They are already disarmed. Germany has the most highly developed industry in the world. She could in a very short time create great armies recruited from the gymnastic societies she possesses, all trained for war. The same can be said of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, though on a smaller scale.

England and the United States preach an almost complete disarmament on land. Why? Because no danger threatens either England or the United States from the land side. But ask them to disarm completely at sea and they will remain deaf to all arguments, and with reason, if

they desire to maintain their predominant position in the world. France often declares that she will not disarm, nor can she. If she should do so she would lose all the fruits of her victory and of her immense sacrifices, unique in human history. For the same reason, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (popularly known as Yugoslavia) cannot disarm. As long as the League of Nations has no means of imposing her sanctions upon the disturbers of the public peace, it would be suicidal for us to disarm. We suffer continuously from incursions of armed bands on our territory. Imagine what would happen if we did not possess an efficient army. To disarm would for us be equivalent to renouncing all the benefits of our sacrifices in the World War. Incidentally, I may point out that the statistics of the number killed in the World War laid before the Institute of Politics is quite erroneous, as far as Serbia is concerned. The total killed is given as 545,000, whereas I know positively that the losses were at least ten times that figure—greater, in fact, in proportion to her population than those of any other State. If peace has been maintained in Europe for the last seven years, it is mainly because we have an efficient army.

This army is not so great as hostile propaganda, accusing us of imperialism, tries to make people believe. It is composed of only 120,000 officers and men, but is well trained and strong enough to check every attempt to break the peace on our frontiers. We have, however, no imperialistic aims. We are certain that the laws of historic evolution, as exposed above, will exercise pacifically their influence on the Balkans. Greece is a geographic unit and has nothing to fear from our armies.

Bulgaria speaks almost the same tongue as we do. The ethnographic unification of the Balkans was accomplished in the ninth century, when the Bulgarian nation accepted the Yugoslav tongue. I firmly believe that the progress of civilization will lead to the confederation of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia. This will be an immense step toward the lasting peace of the world.

We cannot possibly disarm, however, under existing conditions, because we are

an agricultural country, without any iron industry and with all other industries in a completely rudimentary condition. We have no arms factories, so that we cannot construct a cannon or make a rifle or manufacture a tank, an automobile, or a locomotive. Our railroads are not sufficient either for our economic needs or for our national defense. We need roads and we must create innumerable branches of industry, to insure the existence of our State and the defense of its frontiers. We have, it is true, immense natural resources, but, without capital and other means to develop them, they will remain for a long time without fructifying.

On the sea we are virtually completely disarmed. We have not a single submarine for the defense of our coasts, not to speak of cruisers or battleships. Greece, a pigmy at sea as compared with the great powers, is nevertheless a giant as compared with us. We have no docks for naval construction. Our coast is open to any enemy that should be tempted to disembark troops there. We have no naval bases and nothing to defend our coasts except a few old Austrian cannon at the Boka Kotorska. No one, therefore, who really desires that we should maintain the autonomy and the integrity of our country could ask us to reduce our defensive forces.

The distinguished chairman of the Section for the Limitation of Armaments, Dr. Reeves, in his recent exposé of the question, showed great erudition regarding questions treating of the right of war and peace and regarding armaments and war guilt. I beg him to permit me only one observation and to correct me if I am wrong. He declared that a State cannot commit a crime; that only private citizens can commit a crime, and then only because, offending the law, they offend the State.

It may be that Dr. Reeves is right, from the point of view of jurisprudence. The crux of this question is the conflict between natural law and human political law. Who makes laws? Either single men or groups of men, or parliaments, all subject to error and mistakes. Millions of laws have been promulgated which today are totally forgotten. We see every day dictators and parliaments promul-

gate laws which tomorrow will be the object of sarcasm for newspaper writers. This question has been treated in magisterial fashion by Sophocles in his "Antigone." I never hesitated an instant to whom to give my sympathy, between Creon and Antigone, between the King, the chief of the State, and the oppressed natural law. Men and their laws come and disappear like an autumnal fog; the natural laws remain eternal.

When the Athenians, without plausible reason, looted the city of Oropos, the Roman Senate cited them to justify their action. They sent three ambassadors, among them the chief of the Third Academy, Carneades, who was famous for being able to speak, pro or con, upon any question. He knew the Roman slogan, *Salus reipublicæ suprema lex*, and he hoped, by invoking this argument, to justify the Athenians who had destroyed Oropos, because this destruction seemed necessary for the existence of their city, to induce the Roman Senate to absolve them. The most intransigent opponent of the Athenians was Cato, who despised Carneades, as an advocate able to defend with the same ability a just or an unjust cause. It was, however, the same Cato who on returning his mission to Africa exhibited to the Senate a bunch of magnificent figs and used them as a factor in support of his favorite slogan, *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*. Both the arguments of Carneades and the figs of Cato are wrong. The very principle, *salus patræ suprema lex*, is absolutely wrong before the tribunal of objective human reason, which says *Fiat justitia pereat mundum*. There is something higher than the authority of the State, and States have committed innumerable crimes in human history.

Permit me to say some words of the last and greatest crime. On July 28, 1914, some young people in a state of exaltation, who imagined themselves to be Harmodios and Aristogitons, or Milosh Obilishs, decided to kill in Sarajevo the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria. They imagined that in so doing they would deliver the whole Yugoslav nation from the Austrian yoke. All were ready to sacrifice their lives for the liberty and union of their race. They

were only eighteen years old. If they had asked M. Pashitch, the Serbian Prime Minister, whether they should carry out their purpose he would certainly have told them that the means they had chosen would not lead to the liberation of the Jugoslavs from the Austrian yoke, but would, on the contrary, give Austria a pretext to invade and conquer Serbia. He would have condemned their act as a crime.

But unhappily everything took place as the young men had planned. They were all punished with death, or, what is worse, were tortured to death in Austrian prisons. Serbia was utterly unprepared for war with Austria and was completely exhausted by the wars of 1912 and 1913 against Turkey and Bulgaria. I had the honor of speaking with M. Pashitch some months before the murder of Sarajevo and we discussed the question of war with Austria, because that power had, in less than a year, sent three ultimatums to Serbia. I therefore decided to accuse Austria in her own Parliament, of which I was then a member, of trying to provoke a war with Serbia and warned her not to do so, because it "would cause a European conflagration in which Austria had nothing to win and everything to lose." I cite my very words.

M. Pashitch told me that Serbia was totally unprepared for war with Austria, and that it was absolutely necessary to avoid it as long as possible, because Russia also was very poorly prepared for war.

Now M. Pashitch is accused of having had knowledge of the plot and of having done nothing to prevent the attentate of Sarajevo. M. Pashitch has categorically denied this, but certain German newspapers have falsified the significance of his words and interpreted them in just the contrary sense, in order to throw the responsibility of the war upon Serbia.

The murder in Sarajevo was for Austria and Germany only a welcome and long-sought pretext for declaring war on Serbia for the conquest of the whole Balkan Peninsula, in order to open up the route for the German people to Asia Minor, to Bagdad, and to India. There was at that time in Vienna an old man of whom the future historians will speak with horror and reprobation. He and his counsellors,

with the previous approval of the German Emperor, decided to send an ultimatum to Serbia, such as she could not accept without losing her autonomy. They would thus have their war, would cover themselves with glory, and would conquer rich territories. So they had their war, caused the death of over eight million human beings, and wounded and mutilated over thirty-seven million more.

Shall I now consider as criminals the reckless young men of Sarajevo, who only wished to liberate their nation from a foreign yoke and absolve the Emperors Francis Joseph and William the Second, who wished to cover themselves with glory and subjugate a foreign race, because they

are not, as sovereigns of States, responsible to any tribunal? No! I am of opinion that Grotius was right when he made no distinction between legally guilty and morally guilty, because for human reason there is, in the final analysis, only one guilt, the moral guilt, the crime against nature, without distinction as to whether it is committed by a sovereign, by his ministers, by the State, or by a private citizen.

By absolving such very high and very conscient criminals we will not prepare the way to the eternal peace, but rather for a continuation of war and the degradation of humanity.

## THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

### An Abridged Catechism

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THE corporation known as the *American Peace Society* is largely supported by gifts from men and women interested in its work. Persons concerned to find whether or not they should contribute to its service are entitled to know what the Society is, what it does, who have been and are back of it, what particular tasks it is qualified to undertake, its financial situation, its plans for extension, and its immediate needs. These are the inquiries most often received at the Society's headquarters. Each major question, with its briefest possible answer, follows.

#### The Society

##### 1. What is the American Peace Society?

*Answer.* The American Peace Society is a corporation devoted to scientific research and education in behalf of a better international understanding. For this reason contributors to its work deduct the amounts of their gifts from their income tax returns.

##### 2. When and where was it incorporated?

*Answer.* It was incorporated in 1848 in the city of Boston, and under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

3. How much property is the American Peace Society legally entitled to hold?

*Answer.* Under the General Act of the

Massachusetts Legislature (Revised Laws of Massachusetts, 1902, Vol. 2, Chap. 125, Section 8) the American Peace Society is entitled to hold property to the amount of \$1,500,000 without any change in its charter.

4. When, where, and by whom was the American Peace Society founded?

*Answer.* The American Peace Society was founded May 8, 1828, in the home of William Low Dodge, New York City, upon the initiative of William Ladd, a graduate of Harvard College and a resident of Minot, Maine.

5. Where has the Society had its headquarters?

*Answer.* After some years in the city of New York, it moved to Hartford, Connecticut, and then to Boston, Massachusetts, where it maintained its headquarters for seventy-five years. In 1911 the headquarters were moved to its present suite, in the Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

6. Upon what foundations, if any, was the American Peace Society organized?

*Answer.* It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—was founded by David Low Dodge in 1815.

7. *What today are the purposes of the American Peace Society?*

*Answer.* The aims of the American Peace Society are:

To promote international peace through justice; to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of adjusting differences among nations to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world;

To continue and to extend the circulation of its periodical, to enlarge its services as an international peace research organization, both in the interest of that better understanding between peoples, without which there can be no constructive effort in behalf of such purposes.

#### Its Principles

8. *What in general is the nature of its principles?*

*Answer.* As to political theory:

For nearly one hundred years the American Peace Society has adopted the political theories consonant with American practice. These theories have been set forth in the Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations, adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its first session in the city of Washington, January 6, 1916; and in 1917 by the Recommendations of Havana, also adopted by the American Institute of International Law in the city of Havana, Cuba, January 23, 1917. In May, 1923, the Society adopted the following self-explanatory resolutions:

"Whereas war as a method of settling international disputes has been again revealed to us not only in its uncivilized ruthlessness, but in all its inadequacy and futility;

"Whereas the World War has left the nations for the most part estranged, each striving in uncoordinated ways to improve the international economic and political distress;

"Whereas it is the ideal of all civilized States that 'Justice is the great end of man on earth';

"Whereas, the supreme indictment of the war system lies in the fact that wars may be won and justice defeated;

"Whereas, as between man and man, so between State and State, there can be no abiding or desirable peace except a peace of justice:

*"Resolved,* That we urge upon press, pulpit, and platform, upon Congress, the President of the United States, and all well-disposed people everywhere, that they make every possible effort:

"(a) To bring about at the earliest practicable moment a conference of all the nations for the restatement, amendment, reconciliation, and declaration of international law.

"(b) To extend to those international disputes not capable of solution through the ordinary channels of diplomacy the application of the long-established processes of good offices, mediation, commissions of inquiry, councils of conciliation, and arbitration.

"(c) To promote an independent International Court of Justice, to which all civilized States shall of right have direct access, to the end that justiciable disputes may be settled in accordance with the principles of law and equity."

November 30, 1925, the American Peace Society adopted a series of statements which it calls "*The Foundations of Peace Between Nations.*" These statements are as follows:

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence



and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States:

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(a) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting

under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(b) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.

*Answer.* As to the Society's past:

Up to the rumblings of the World War, the peace movement of America was almost exclusively the American Peace Society and its work. The story of that work would fill many volumes. It is set forth with some detail in "*Our Country and World Peace*" by Arthur Deerin Call, especially in the first chapter.

William Ladd was the first to urge a Congress and High Court of Nations.

#### Its Backers

9. *Who were some of the men behind the Society in the early days of its work?*

*Answer.* From the outset, men responsible for the work of the Society have been classed among the leaders of our country. Beside the founder of the Society, William Ladd, successful both as a sea captain and farmer, as a writer and public speaker of marked ability, there were on the Board of Directors at the very beginning of the Society such men as Simon Greenleaf, of Portland, Maine; Governor John T. Gilman, of New Hampshire; Noah Worcester, D. D., John Tappan, and Dudley A. Tyng, of Massachusetts; Moses Brown, and Nicholas I. Brown, prominently associated with the founding of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island; William B. Green, Oliver D. Cook, and George Benson, of Connecticut; Eleazer Lord, Anson G. Phelps, Robert C. Sedgwick, W. W. Russell, and Dudley W. Chester, of New York City; Alexander Henry and Jared Raustone, lawyers of Philadelphia; and Dr. Stephen S. Cleveland, of Cincinnati.

Some of the men who urged the form-

ing of this National Peace Society were: Lyman Beecher, Edward Beecher, William Jenks, Warren Fay, Asa Rand, Joy H. Fairchild, Howard Malcolm, Lucius Bolles, James B. Knowles.

William Ellery Channing, of Boston, was actively associated with the American Peace Society for many years, and from its beginning. Ralph Waldo Emerson was long a member of its Board of Directors and of its Executive Committee. George C. Beckwith, D. D., Howard C. Dunham, Thomas C. Upham, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Amasa Walker, Francis Wayland, President of Brown University; Joseph E. Worcester, J. H. Gallaudet, Samuel Greele, Lewis T. Stoddard, Titus Coan, S. V. S. Wilder, Esq., of New York; Thomas S. Grimke, of South Carolina; Rev. Charles Lowell, of Boston; Stephen Longfellow, of Portland, Maine; Melvin Copeland, Francis Fellowes, William Watson, Thomas Vose, Charles Sumner, Lewis T. Stoddard, John Owens, Edward Noyes, Thomas Thompson, Jr., Rowland B. Howard, James F. Miles, Julia Ward Howe, John Greenleaf Whittier, are some of the persons who served, most of them through many years, as officers and supporters of the early American Peace Society. Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D., was secretary of the Society and editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* during the last 22 years of his life.

10. *Who have been Presidents of the Society?*

*Answer.* Since David Low Dodge, of New York City, presided at the First Annual Meeting of this Society, in 1829, the presidents of the society have been: Rev. John Codman, Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1830-1831; Hon. S. V. S. Wilder, New York City, 1831-1837; William Ladd, founder of this Society, 1838-1840; Samuel S. Coues, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1841-1846; Anson G. Phelps, New York City, 1847; Hon. William Jay, New York, 1848-1858; Dr. Francis Wayland, Providence, Rhode Island, 1859-1861; Dr. Howard Malcolm, Boston, 1862-1872; Hon. Edward S. Tobey, Boston, 1873-1891; Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Boston, 1892-1810; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1911-1915; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, New York City, 1916; Hon. James L. Slayden, San

Antonio, Texas, 1917-1920; Hon. Andrew Jackson Montague, Richmond, Virginia, 1820-1924; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1925-19—.

11. *What other leaders of thought have helped?*

*Answer.* Others associated with various phases of the Society's activities have been Elihu Burritt, one time Secretary of the Society, and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*; Joseph Story, William Wirt, John C. Calhoun, Phillips Brooks, Edward Everett Hale, Josiah Quincy, Andrew Carnegie, and others. Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay on "War," and Charles Sumner's Oration on "The War System and the Commonwealth of Nations," were addresses at annual meetings of the American Peace Society.

#### The Society's Qualifications

12. *What is the nature of the Society's work at present?*

*Answer.* The work of the American Peace Society today is concentrated primarily in its library, its publications, and its magazine, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

13. *What evidence is there that the Society's magazine is needed?*

*Answer.* The Society has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Ten years ago the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* contained twenty-four pages without cover. Today it contains sixty-four pages and cover. Its views and articles are reproduced, sometimes *in extenso*, in publications, not only of our own country, but in Europe and in the Far East. It is subscribed for by many libraries. Furthermore, recognition of its services come often to the headquarters in the form of letters, some of which have appeared from time to time in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* (see the numbers for December, 1926, and January, 1927).

14. *Who are officially responsible for the American Peace Society today?*

*Answer:*

#### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.; member of the Foreign Debt Funding Commission.

Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, Washington, D. C.

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Hon. Theodore E. Burton

Dr. Arthur Deerin Call

Dr. Thomas E. Green

Dr. David Jayne Hill

Walter A. Morgan, D. D.

George Maurice Morris

Henry C. Morris

Theodore Stanfield

Hon. Henry W. Temple

Dr. Geo. W. White

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President: Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Washington, D. C.

Secretary: Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer: George W. White, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents: Hon. David Jayne Hill, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Palo Alto, Cal.

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Dr. James Brown Scott, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Ruth H. Spray, Denver, Colo.

Senator Thomas Sterling, Washington, D. C.

\* Pres. C. F. Thwing, Cleveland, Ohio.

15. *What plan has the Society for its next work?*

*Answer.* It plans to improve the quality and expand the circulation of its magazine.

16. *What specific lines, if any, will the further development of the work take?*

*Answer.* Four important pieces of work are waiting to be done.

(1) To compile and publish a history of the peace movement, including a study of the more important international disputes which have been settled, however, without resort to war.

(2) To compile and publish the causes which, according to both sides, have led to the major wars, particularly since the discovery of America.

(3) To compile and publish an account of the rise of international law as it relates to war and peace.

(4) To compile and publish from time to time authoritative and interpretive analyses of current international events affecting war and peace.

17. *What additional organization must the American Peace Society have in order to accomplish these ends?*

*Answer.* There are needed at once five separate departments, properly staffed.

(1) A department for the United States.

\* Emeritus.

- (2) A department for Latin America.
- (3) A department for the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- (4) A department for Continental Europe.
- (5) A department for the Far East.

18. *How could these departments be best manned?*

*Answer.* It is believed that each of these departments could adequately be maintained by employment on a part time basis of experts known to be available in Washington.

**Its Financial Situation**

19. *What have been the expenditures of the Society for three typical years of the recent past?*

*Answer.* The expenditures of the Society for the year 1920-1921, 1924-1925, and 1925-1926 have been as follows:

(Year 1920-1921)

Department of Home Office:

Salaries—Secretary, Editor, Assistant Editor, Clerks and Office Secretary .....	\$10,934.35
Office rent .....	1,519.50
Telephone .....	95.40
Postage, telegrams, and express .....	171.02
Office supplies .....	593.13
Library .....	121.14
Miscellaneous, including repairs .....	1,213.13
Subvention to New Hampshire Peace Society....	50.00

\$14,497.67

Department of Field Work:

Travelling expenses .....	182.82
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Department of Publications:

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE....	\$6,664.47
Printing pamphlets .....	297.92
Printing, miscellaneous..	130.00

7,092.39

\$21,772.88

(Year 1924 to 1925)

Department of Home Office:

Salaries of Secretary, Editor, Assistant Editor, office secretary...	\$10,500.00
Salaries—clerks, librarian, extra help .....	845.02
Office rent .....	1,683.00
Postage, express, telegrams, etc. ....	386.01

Office supplies .....	282.96
Office equipment .....	89.35
Telephone .....	106.44
Library .....	94.03
Newspapers and periodicals .....	108.35
Letter service, mimeographing, etc. ....	363.50
Advertising .....	98.40
Annual meeting .....	100.00
Entertainment .....	196.88
Books and pamphlets....	25.05
Reporting convention ...	43.50
Miscellaneous, repairs, deposit box, membership in learned societies, towel service, etc. ....	125.81

15,048.30

Department of Field Work:

Subvention to New Hampshire Peace Society ...	\$50.00
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Travel expenses:

Secretary's expense account .....	153.12
Representative to Europe	1,200.00
Representative to Wilhamstown .....	100.00

1,503.12

Department of Publications:

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE ...	\$7,766.53
Printing and distribution of pamphlets ...	3,342.48
Printing for Interparliamentary Union .....	15.00
Miscellaneous printing—envelopes, cards, etc. ...	185.50

11,309.56

\$27,860.98

(Year 1925-1926)

Department of Home Office:

Salaries—Secretary, Editor, Assistant Editor, Office Secretary .....	\$10,500.00
Salaries—clerks .....	1,029.29
Office rent .....	1,683.00
Postage, express, telegrams, etc. ....	225.49
Office supplies .....	95.32
Office equipment .....	207.29
Telephone .....	117.69
Library .....	168.96
Newspapers and periodicals .....	130.23
Letter service, mimeographing, etc. ....	687.92
Advertising .....	28.80
Annual meeting .....	26.25
Books and pamphlets ...	26.22

Entertainment .....	80.00	
Miscellaneous .....	72.45	
	<hr/>	\$15,078.91

Department of Field Work :

Subvention to Bureau International de la Paix.	\$50.00	
Travel expense .....	70.00	
	<hr/>	120.00

Department of Publications :

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE .....	\$7,839.28	
Printing and distribution of pamphlets .....	525.77	
Miscellaneous printing—envelopes, cards, etc.	250.50	
	<hr/>	8,615.55
		<hr/>
		\$23,814.46

20. *In order to meet the requirements of the Society what budget is proposed?*

*Answer.* Based upon the annual financial experiences of the Society during the last six years, the needs of the Society for the next few years could be met by the following annual budget:

Department of Home Office :

Salaries—		
Secretary and Editor..	\$7,200.00	
Associate Editor .....	6,000.00	
Business manager .....	6,000.00	
Office secretaries .....	3,300.00	
	<hr/>	\$22,500.00

Salaries—Editors of the five special research departments at \$1,500 each .....	7,500.00
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Salaries—clerks .....	1,300.00
Office rent .....	1,683.00
Postage, express, telegrams, etc. ....	450.00
Office supplies .....	500.00
Office equipment .....	300.00
Telephone .....	120.00
Library .....	175.00
Newspapers and periodicals .....	150.00
Letter service, mimeographing, etc. ..	1,000.00
Advertising .....	50.00
Annual meeting .....	50.00
Books and pamphlets .....	50.00
Entertainment .....	100.00
Miscellaneous .....	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$36,028.00

Department of Field Work :

Traveling expenses .....	\$1,200.00
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Department of Publications :

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE, pamphlets, and miscellaneous .....	12,772.00
	<hr/>
	\$50,000.00

21. *What is the least amount the Society can operate under for a year?*

*Answer.* In the last annual report of the Board of Directors, President Burton pointed out that a budget of \$25,000 is the least the Society can continue to operate under.

22. *Why not continue to operate under that amount?*

*Answer.* In the language of Theodore Roosevelt, "To stand still, is to go backwards."

Reasons for a Three-year Program

23. *What then is the financial need?*

*Answer.* From the budget just proposed it will be clear that if the American Peace Society is to render its full measure of service, it must be financed with an income of not less than \$50,000 annually

24. *Is there any special financial need that is immediate, and if so, why?*

*Answer.* Yes. The report of the Society's Treasurer for the year ending April 30, 1926, shows expense and operating disbursements of approximately \$24,000. On the income side, the figures total about \$27,000.

While the items of expenditure might be kept approximately the same for the next few years, there will doubtless be material changes in the receipts. The income shown in the last annual report will be reduced by about \$7,500, due to the fact that the subvention from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace will not be renewed. Thus, drawing on our principal to meet operating expenses, there will be a falling off in the interest income from the Reserve Fund Investments. The last report by the Treasurer shows that, in spite of the strictest economy, the Reserve Fund had been depleted by about \$6,000 to meet current expenditures. His report also shows the market value of the securities remaining in the Reserve Fund to be about \$17,000. Unless the income of the Society is increased, it will be necessary to draw still more upon the Reserve Fund for about \$13,000 to meet budget requirements for the next year.

25. *Is there any definite plan for raising the necessary income of \$50,000 a year?*

*Answer.* The necessary revenue can be obtained (1) by a much larger membership, (2) by an endowment, (3) by a combination of membership and endowment. It is believed that the combination method is preferable.

26. *Is there any reason, other than already stated, for needing \$50,000 a year?*

*Answer.* Yes. With that amount the Society could function free from influences of ephemeral creeds and politics. Furthermore, the greater effectiveness of the Society's work could be extended to a larger membership well distributed, especially among the various economic groups of our country.

27. *Is it expected to tax the now limited income of the Society for the purpose of increasing the members, and acquiring the endowment?*

*Answer.* No. Without special effort it is unreasonable to expect that the Society's income will be materially raised through new members. It is not reasonable to expect the needed revenue at once through any unsolicited endowment. It seems necessary, therefore, to work out some plan whereby the new members and the endowment may be provided without taxing the regular income.

28. *What is the experience of other organizations in such matters?*

*Answer.* There are other virile organizations, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Geographic Society, financed entirely through membership. In the beginning, however, they are usually financed by means of a special fund. This tides the organization over its unproductive membership period. It is believed that this familiar special fund plan—an expense budget for raising the endowment and increasing the members—could best be followed by the American Peace Society.

29. *Over what period of time would it be necessary to carry on this special work of development?*

*Answer.* After a careful study of the problem, taking into consideration the past experiences of the Society and its present financial status, it is intended that a special three-year campaign be launched: first, to increase the revenue producing membership; second, to acquire an endowment.

30. *What immediate additional amount is needed to carry on this three-year program?*

*Answer.* "An Annual Managerial Budget" of \$15,000 for two years, it has been carefully determined, will be necessary.

#### Work of the Business Manager

31. *With this thirty thousand dollars in sight, what is the first thing proposed?*

*Answer.* The step has been taken. Mr. Lacey C. Zapf, for six years Secretary of the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, favorably known in business and professional circles throughout the country, successful in raising large sums of money for organization purposes, has been duly elected as Business Manager in charge of the Membership and Endowment Division. That his work may be consistent with the policies of the Society, he will function under the general supervision of the Society's general Secretary, with the full co-operation of the officers of the Society.

32. *What will be Mr. Zapf's special task?*

*Answer.* While the work of his Division will relate to a larger revenue-producing membership, the raising of the endowment will be the principal part of his labors.

33. *What is the immediate goal of this Division?*

*Answer.* While the gifts and contributions to the Society during the past few years have averaged about \$8,000, it is believed that with a well planned effort this character of income could be normally increased to \$10,000 for the first year and \$20,000 for the second.

34. *What special reason, if any, is there for an endowment at this time?*

*Answer.* Since 1928 will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Society, it seems fair to ask that an endowment should be established in honor of that event and sufficient in amount to place the Society on a self-sustaining basis.

35. *Is it proper to ask how the new Business Manager is going about his business?*

*Answer.* Quite so. His work for members will be divided into two parts. First for new members, second for renewals. He will conduct a mail and personal solicitation campaign.

36. *What is the main hope of any such procedure?*

*Answer.* The co-operation of the present membership.

37. *Has your Business Manager submitted any details relative to his work? If so, would it be proper to ask for an outline of his plans?*

*Answer.* Again, quite so. Mr. Zapf proposes:

(1) During the first year, special membership letters, over the signature of the President, will go to a carefully selected list of 50,000 prospects. This letter will be accompanied by an appropriate form briefly setting forth what the American Peace Society is, what it does, and the advantages to be derived through membership support.

(2) During the second year this mailing will be increased to 100,000 prospects, including those who should be followed up after the first year campaign. At the beginning of the third year the prospects will be culled down to a preferred list of about 50,000 on which efforts will be concentrated.

38. *Where are you to get "prospects" for such a campaign?*

*Answer.* The prospects for these campaigns will be obtained from lists, some of which are already available to us. These will include names now on the lists of our Society; names of educators, clergymen, and other professional men, such as lawyers, doctors and bankers. There are many business men known to be interested in foreign affairs to whom the work of the Society will be found to be of value. Since the Society operates with no purpose of profit to itself, many lists of names it is hoped will be found available.

39. *What percentage of returns is it reasonable to expect?*

*Answer.* The experience of the Society during the past few months of experimental membership work has shown an average return of 4 per cent in actual members secured from the groups approached. This result was obtained without the use of such impelling sales material as the Society now has in the form of commendatory letters, and its appeal based on the 1928 anniversary celebration.

For the purposes of this new financing campaign, it has been decided that a very conservative return of two per cent be used for the first and second year and a four per cent return for the third year.

40. *What does this mean in terms of money?*

*Answer.* The membership return for the first year should be at least \$5,000. It has been determined that the membership letters will cost about 10 cents each, in addition to the amount that will necessarily be contributed from the overhead salaries of the General Secretary, the manager of the Division, the clerks and stenographers, rent, etc. This estimate of 10 cents covers the items of postage, stationery, printing, etc.

In order that there may not be any financial burden imposed upon the Society for the service of the magazine—ADVOCATE OF PEACE—to each member, the Membership Division will be charged with \$1 for each new member.

An allowance of 25 per cent loss for non-renewals for the second and third years will be made. A deduction of 10 per cent will be made for the first year members that may fail to renew in the third year.

41. *What will be the budget for this special drive for the first year?*

*Answer.* An estimated budget for the proposed plan follows:

<b>Income:</b>	
Subvention .....	\$15,000
New Members—mall campaign (1,000, at \$5) .....	5,000
(2 per cent return on 50,000 prospects, at \$5)	
100 contributing members, at \$25	2,500
50 sustaining members, at \$10..	500
<b>Total income.....</b>	<b>\$23,000</b>
<b>Outgo:</b>	
Manager .....	\$6,000
50,000 membership letters, at 10.4 cents each .....	5,200
Clerk-stenographer .....	1,800
Travel .....	1,000
Magazine*—copy for each mem- ber, at \$1.....	500
Incidentals and margin for error	500
<b>Total outgo.....</b>	<b>\$15,000</b>
<b>Excess of income over outgo.....</b>	<b>\$8,000</b>

\*Average six issues for first-year members.

42. For the second year?

Answer.

Income:	
Subvention .....	\$15,000
Renewals of first-year members—25 per cent loss for non-renewals .....	3,750
New members—2 per cent returns on 100,000 prospects, at \$5 each .....	10,000
100 contributing members, at \$25 .....	2,500
50 sustaining members, at \$10 .....	500
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$31,750</b>
Outgo:	
Manager .....	8,000
100,000 membership letters, at 10.4 cents each .....	10,400
Clerk-stenographer .....	2,000
Travel .....	1,200
Magazine*—copy for each new member, at \$1 each .....	1,750
Incidentals and margin for error .....	500
<b>Total outgo .....</b>	<b>\$23,850</b>
Excess of income over outgo .....	\$7,900
Surplus from first year .....	8,000
<b>Accumulated surplus .....</b>	<b>\$15,900</b>

43. And the third year?

Answer.

Income:	
Renewals of first-year members—10 per cent loss for non-renewals .....	\$3,375
Renewal of second-year members—25 per cent loss for non-renewals .....	7,500
New members—4 per cent return on 50,000 prospects, at \$5 each .....	10,000
100 contributing members, at \$25 .....	2,500
50 sustaining members, at \$10 .....	500
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$23,875</b>
Outgo:	
Manager .....	8,000
50,000 membership letters, at 10.4 cents .....	5,200
Clerk-stenographer .....	2,000
Travel .....	1,200
Magazine*—Copy for each member, at \$1 each .....	3,175
Incidentals and margin for error .....	500
<b>Total outgo .....</b>	<b>\$20,075</b>
Excess of income over outgo .....	\$3,800
Surplus from second year .....	15,900
<b>Accumulated surplus .....</b>	<b>\$19,700</b>

44. What are the inferences from these figures?

Answer. If the proposed plan should work out, the Society would have, at the end of the three-year period, an income of \$23,625 per annum from new memberships alone and a surplus of \$19,700 after discharging all obligations incident to the drive. If the plan should fail by 50 per cent, the Society would be in a much stronger financial position at the end of the period than it is now.

45. What will be the bases of appeal?

Answer. The program of the American Peace Society gives a background for membership work that is quite unusual. The broad points of argument for sales material are:

(1) The general swing of public opinion back to sane thought on the question of peaceful settlement of international disputes.

(2) Anniversary of one hundred years of usefulness to be celebrated in 1928.

(3) Sponsoring the movement for the Third Hague Conference for the Codification of International Law.

(4) Record of accomplishments.

(5) Prominent men associated with the Society now and in the past.

(6) Purposes of the Society.

(7) Advocate of Peace.

(8) Interparliamentary Union.

(9) The need for enlightenment in this field.

(10) The Society is a going and vigorous concern.

46. Are there any possible by-products of such a campaign?

Answer. It is thought that there are. For example: (1) Adequate office space for the Society may be donated for a period of five years, or until such time as it may have its own quarters. This would effect a saving of about \$8,000 over the period of five years.

(2) To increase the circulation of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE would add to its value as an advertising medium for educational publications, for biographies, and for a classified list of schools and colleges.

(3) A larger library would develop with the need.



(4) An illustrated *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* would become a possibility.

(5) Other efforts for promoting a better international understanding would naturally develop.

#### Conclusion

47. *Please summarize the case for this extension.*

*Answer.* (1) Because the purposes of the American Peace Society are, in matters of international policy, the purposes of our United States;

(2) Because the principles advocated by the Society are historically consonant with the aspirations of our people;

(3) Because of the distinguished labors of the Society;

(4) Because it is the privilege of this generation to honor the services of the great men who have given, some of them, their very lives, to this Society;

(5) Because of the men laboring today in its behalf;

(6) Because the world needs this service;

(7) Because May 8, 1928, will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Society's labors;

It is not unreasonable to ask for an immediate subvention of \$30,000 to enable the American Peace Society to carry out its three-year program and thus to place itself on a self-sustaining basis.

## INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND NICARAGUA

#### THE MESSAGE

The full text of President Coolidge's message to Congress, January 10, on the Nicaraguan situation follows:

#### *To the Congress of the United States:*

While conditions in Nicaragua and the action of this government pertaining thereto have in general been made public, I think the time has arrived for me officially to inform the Congress more in detail of the events leading up to the present disturbances and conditions which seriously threaten American lives and property, endanger the stability of all Central America, and put in jeopardy the rights granted by Nicaragua to the United States for the construction of a canal.

It is well known that in 1912 the United States intervened in Nicaragua with a large force and put down a revolution, and that from that time to 1925 a legation guard of American marines was, with the consent of the Nicaraguan Government, kept in Managua to protect American lives and property. In 1923 representatives of the five Central American countries, namely, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador, at the invitation of the United States,

met in Washington and entered into a series of treaties. These treaties dealt with limitation of armament, a Central American tribunal for arbitration, and the general subject of peace and amity. The treaty last referred to specifically provides in Article II that the governments of the contracting parties will not recognize any other government which may come into power in any of the five republics through a *coup d'etat* or revolution and disqualifies the leaders of such *coup d'etat* or revolution from assuming the Presidency or Vice-Presidency.

#### Quotes Article of Treaty Which Affects Situation

Article II is as follows:

Desiring to make secure in the republics of Central America the benefits which are derived from the maintenance of free institutions and to contribute at the same time toward strengthening their stability and the prestige with which they should be surrounded, they declare that every act, disposition or measure which alters the constitutional organization in any of them is to be deemed a menace to the peace of said republics, whether it proceed from any public power or from the private citizens.

Consequently, the governments of the contracting parties will not recognize any other government which may come into power in any of the five republics through a *coup d'etat* or a revolution against a recognized government, so long as the freely elected repre-

representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganized the country. And even in such a case they obligate themselves not to acknowledge the recognition if any of the persons elected as President, Vice-President, or chief of state designate should fall under any of the following heads:

1. If he should be the leader or one of the leaders of a *coup d'etat* or revolution, or through blood relationship or marriage, be an ascendant or descendant or brother of such leader or leaders.

2. If he should have been a secretary of state or should have held some high military command during the accomplishment of the *coup d'etat*, the revolution, or while the election was being carried on, or if he should have held this office or command within the six months preceding the *coup d'etat*, revolution, or the election.

Furthermore, in no case shall recognition be accorded to a government which arises from election to power of a citizen expressly and unquestionably disqualified by the constitution of his country as eligible to election as President, Vice-President or chief of state designate.

#### Moral Obligation Felt by United States

The United States was not a party to this treaty, but it was made in Washington under the auspices of the Secretary of State, and this government has felt a moral obligation to apply its principles in order to encourage the Central American States in their efforts to prevent revolution and disorder. The treaty, it may be noted in passing, was signed on behalf of Nicaragua by Emiliano Chamorro himself, who afterward assumed the Presidency in violation thereof and thereby contributed to the creation of the present difficulty.

In October, 1924, an election was held in Nicaragua for President, Vice-President and members of the Congress. This resulted in the election of a coalition ticket, embracing Conservatives and Liberals. Carlos Solorzano, a Conservative Republican, was elected President and Juan B. Sacasa, a Liberal, was elected Vice-President. This government was recognized by the other Central American countries and by the United States.

It had been the intention of the United States to withdraw the marines immediately after this election and notice was given of the intention to withdraw them in January, 1925. At the request of the President of Nicaragua this time was extended to September 1, 1925. Pursuant to this determination and notice the marines were withdrawn in August, 1925, and it appeared at that time as though tranquillity in Nicaragua was as-

ured. Within two months, however, further disturbances broke out between the supporters of General Chamorro and the supporters of the President, culminating in the seizure of the Loma, a fortress dominating the city of Managua. Once in possession of the Loma, General Chamorro dictated an agreement which President Solorzano signed the next day.

According to the terms of this agreement the President agreed to substitute supporters of General Chamorro for certain members of his Cabinet, to pay General Chamorro \$10,000 for the expenses of the uprising and to grant amnesty to all those who participated in it. Vice-President Sacasa thereupon left the country. In the meantime General Chamorro, who, while he had not actually taken over the office of President, was able to dictate his will to the actual executive, brought about the expulsion from the Congress of eighteen members, on the ground that their election had been fraudulent, and caused to be put in their places candidates who had been defeated at the election of 1924. Having thus gained the control of Congress he caused himself to be appointed by the Congress as designate on January 16, 1926.

#### United States Refused to Recognize Chamorro as President

On January 16, 1926, Solorzano resigned as President and immediately General Chamorro took office. The four Central American countries and the United States refused to recognize him as President. On January 22 the Secretary of State addressed to the Nicaraguan representative in Washington the following letter:

*Dear Doctor Castrillo:*

In your communication of the 19th instant addressed to the Secretary of State you advise that President Solorzano, having resigned his office, Gen. Emiliano Chamorro took charge of the executive power on January 17.

The hope expressed in your letter that the relations which have been close and cordial for so many years between Nicaragua and the United States will continue to grow stronger has been noted with pleasure. The Government and people of the United States have feelings of sincerest friendship for Nicaragua, and the people of Nicaragua and the Government of the United States will, of course, continue to maintain the most friendly relations with the people of Nicaragua. This government has felt privileged to be able to be of assistance in the past, at their request, not only to Nicaragua but to all countries of Central America, more especially during the conference on Central

American affairs, which resulted in the signing of a general treaty of peace and amity on February 7, 1923, between the five republics of Central America.

The object of the Central American countries with which the United States was heartily in accord, was to promote constitutional governments and orderly procedure in Central America and those governments agreed upon a joint course of action with regard to the non-recognition of governments coming into office through coup d'etat or revolution. The United States has adopted the principles of that treaty as its policy in the future recognition of Central American governments as it feels that by so doing it can best show its friendly disposition towards and its desire to be helpful to the republics of Central America.

It is therefore with regret that I have to inform you that the government of the United States has not recognized and will not recognize as the Government of Nicaragua the régime now headed by General Chamorro, as the latter was duly advised on several occasions by the American Minister after General Chamorro had taken charge of the Citadel at Managua on October 25 last. This action is, I am happy to learn, in accord with that taken by all the governments that signed with Nicaragua the treaty of 1923.

#### United States Repeatedly Asked for Protection

Notwithstanding the refusal of this Government and of the other Central American governments to recognize him, General Chamorro continued to exercise the functions of President until October 30, 1926. In the meantime, a revolution broke out in May on the east coast in the neighborhood of Bluefields and was speedily suppressed by the troops of General Chamorro. However, it again broke out with considerable more violence. The second attempt was attended with some success and practically all of the east coast of Nicaragua fell into the hands of the revolutionists. Throughout these events Sacasa was at no time in the country, having remained in Mexico and Guatemala during this period.

Repeated requests were made of the United States for protection, especially on the east coast, and, on August 24, 1926, the Secretary of State addressed to the Secretary of the Navy the following communication:

I have the honor to suggest that war vessels of the special service squadron proceed as soon as possible to the Nicaraguan ports of Corinto and Bluefields for the protection of American and foreign lives and property in case that threatened emergencies materialize. The American charge d'affaires at Managua has informed the department that he

considers the presence of war vessels at these ports desirable, and the American consul at Bluefields has reported that a warship is urgently needed to protect life and property at that port. An attack on the Bluff and Bluefields is expected momentarily.

#### Admiral Latimer Declared Bluefields Neutral Zone

Accordingly, the Navy Department ordered Admiral Latimer, in command of the special service squadron, to proceed to Bluefields. Upon arriving there he found it necessary for the adequate protection of American lives and property to declare Bluefields a neutral zone. This was done with the consent of both factions, afterwards, on October 26, 1926, reduced to a written agreement, which is still in force. In October, 1926, the good offices of the United States were sought by both parties for the purpose of effecting a settlement of the conflict.

Admiral Latimer, commanding the special service squadron, brought about an armistice to permit of a conference being held between the delegates of the two factions. The armistice was originally for fifteen days and was later extended for fifteen days more. At the request of both parties marines were landed at Corinto to establish a neutral zone in which the conference could be held. Dr. Sacasa was invited to attend this conference, but refrained from doing so and remained in Guatemala City. The United States Government did not participate in the conference except to provide a neutral chairman; it simply offered its good offices to make the conference possible and arranged a neutral zone at Corinto at the request of both parties during the time the conference was held. I understand that at this conference General Chamorro offered to resign and permit the congress to elect a new designate to assume the Presidency. The conference led to no result, since just at the time when it seemed as though some compromise agreement would be reached the representatives of Dr. Sacasa suddenly broke off negotiations.

According to our reports, the Sacasa delegates on this occasion stated freely that to accept any government other than one presided over by Dr. Sacasa himself would be a breach of faith with their Mexican allies. Hostilities were resumed on October 30, 1926. On the same date General Chamorro formally turned over the executive power to Sebastian Uriza, who had been appointed designate by

the Congress controlled by General Chamorro. The United States Government refused to recognize Señor Uriza, on the ground that his assumption of the Presidency had no constitutional basis.

Uriza thereupon convoked Congress in extraordinary session, and the entire eighteen members who had been expelled during the Chamorro régime were notified to resume their seats. The Congress, which met in extraordinary session on November 10, had, therefore, substantially the same membership as when first convened following the election of 1924. This Congress, whose acts may be considered as constitutional, designated Señor Adolfo Diaz as first designate. At this session of Congress fifty-three members were present out of a total membership of sixty-seven, of whom forty-four voted for Diaz and two for Solorzano. The balance abstained from voting. On November 11 Señor Uriza turned over the executive power to Diaz, who was inaugurated on the 14th.

The Nicaraguan Constitution provides in Article 106 that in the absence of the President and Vice-President the Congress shall designate one of its members to complete the unexpired term of President. As President Solorzano had resigned and was then residing in California, and as the Vice-President, Doctor Sacasa, was in Guatemala, having been out of the country since November, 1925, the action of Congress in designating Señor Diaz was perfectly legal and in accordance with the Constitution. Therefore, the United States Government on November 17 extended recognition to Señor Diaz.

#### Diaz Requested U. S. to Protect Lives and Property

Following his assumption of office, President Diaz, in the following note, dated November 15, 1926, requested the assistance of the United States Government to protect American and foreign lives and property:

Upon assuming the Presidency I found the republic in a very difficult situation because of the attitude assumed without motive by the Government of Mexico in open hostility to Nicaragua. It must be clear to you that, given the forces which that government disposes of, its elements of attack are irresistible for this feeble and small nation. This condition places in imminent risk the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua, and, consequently, the continental equilibrium on which the Pan-Americanism is founded which the United States has fostered with such lofty spirit.

Naturally the emergency resulting from these conditions places in peril the interests of American citizens and other foreigners residing in our territory and renders it impossible for a government so rudely attacked to protect them as is its duty and as it desires.

For these reasons, and appreciating the friendly disposition of the United States toward weak republics, and the intentions which your government has always manifested for the protection of the sovereignty and independence of all the countries of America, by morally supporting legitimate governments in order to enable them to afford a tranquil field of labor for foreigners, which is needed for the stimulation of the growth of the prosperity of these countries, I address myself to you in order that, with the same good will with which you have aided in Nicaraguan reconciliation, you may solicit for my government, and in my name, the support of the Department of State in order to reach a solution in the present crisis and avoid further hostilities and invasions on the part of the Government of Mexico.

I desire to manifest to you at the same time that whatever may be the means chosen by the Department of State, they will meet with the approval of my absolute confidence in the high spirit of justice of the Government of the United States.

#### U. S. Informed of Aid Given Revolutionists by Mexico

Immediately following the inauguration of President Diaz and frequently since that date he has appealed to the United States for support, has informed this government of the aid which Mexico is giving to the revolutionists and has stated he was unable solely because of the aid given by Mexico to the revolutionists to protect the lives and property of American citizens and other foreigners. When negotiations leading up to the Corinto conference began I immediately placed an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to Nicaragua. The Department of State notified the other Central American states, to wit: Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador and Guatemala, and they assured the department they would cooperate in this measure. So far as known, they have done so. The State Department also notified the Mexican Government of this embargo and informally suggested to that government like action. The Mexican Government did not adopt the suggestion to put on an embargo, but informed the American Ambassador at Mexico City that in the absence of manufacturing plants in Mexico for the making of arms and ammunition the matter had little practical importance.

As a matter of fact, I have the most conclusive evidence that arms and munitions in large quantities have been on several occasions since August, 1926, shipped to the revolutionists in Nicaragua. Boats carrying these munitions have been fitted out in Mexican ports, and some of the munitions bear evidence of having belonged to the Mexican government. It also appears that the ships were fitted out with the full knowledge of and, in some cases, with the encouragement of Mexican officials and were, in one instance at least, commanded by a Mexican naval reserve officer. At the end of November, after spending some time in Mexico City, Dr. Sacasa went back to Nicaragua, landing at Puerto Cabezas, near Bragman's Bluff. He immediately placed himself at the head of the insurrection and declared himself President of Nicaragua. He has never been recognized by any of the Central American republics, nor by any other government, with the exception of Mexico, which recognized him immediately.

As arms and munitions in large quantities were reaching the revolutionists, I deemed it unfair to prevent the recognized government from purchasing arms abroad, and, accordingly, the Secretary of State has notified the Diaz Government that licenses would be issued for the export of arms and munitions purchased in this country. It would be thoroughly inconsistent for this country not to support the government recognized by it while the revolutionists were receiving arms and munitions from abroad.

#### Other Nationals Have Asked for U. S. Protection

During the last two months the Government of the United States has received repeated requests from various American citizens, both directly and through our consuls and legation, for the protection of their lives and property. The Government of the United States has also received requests from the British chargé at Managua and from the Italian Ambassador at Washington for the protection of their respective nationals. Pursuant to such requests Admiral Latimer, in charge of the special service squadron, has not only maintained the neutral zone at Bluefields, under the agreement of both parties, but has landed forces at Puerto Cabezas and Rio Grande and established neutral zones at these points, where considerable numbers

of Americans live and are engaged in carrying on various industries. He has also been authorized to establish such other neutral zones as are necessary for the purposes above mentioned.

For many years numerous Americans have been living in Nicaragua, developing its industries and carrying on business. At the present time there are large investments in lumbering, mining, coffee growing, banana culture, shipping and also in general mercantile and other collateral business. All these people and these industries have been encouraged by the Nicaraguan Government. That government has at all times owed them protection, but the United States has occasionally been obliged to send naval forces for their proper protection. In the present crisis such forces are requested by the Nicaraguan Government, which protests to the United States its inability to protect these interests and states that any measures which the United States deems appropriate for their protection will be satisfactory to the Nicaraguan Government.

#### U. S. Granted Rights to Build and Operate Canal

In addition to these industries now in existence, the Government of Nicaragua, by a treaty entered into on the 5th day of August, 1914, granted in perpetuity to the United States the exclusive proprietary rights necessary and convenient for the construction, operation and maintenance of an oceanic canal. Articles I and II of said treaty are as follows:

Article I. The Government of Nicaragua grants in perpetuity to the Government of the United States, forever free from all taxation or other public charge, the exclusive proprietary rights necessary and convenient for the construction, operation and maintenance of an interoceanic canal by way of the San Juan river and the Great Lake of Nicaragua, or by ways of any route over Nicaraguan territory, the details of the terms upon which such canal shall be constructed, operated and maintained to be agreed to by the two governments whenever the Government of the United States shall notify the Government of Nicaragua of its desire or intention to construct such canal.

Article II. To enable the Government of the United States to protect the Panama Canal and the proprietary rights granted to the Government of the United States by the foregoing article, and also to enable the Government of the United States to take any measure necessary to the ends contemplated

herein, the Government of Nicaragua hereby leases for a term of ninety-nine years to the Government of the United States the islands in the Caribbean sea known as Great Corn Island and Little Corn Island; and the Government of Nicaragua further grants to the Government of the United States for a like period of ninety-nine years the right to establish, operate and maintain a naval base at such place on the territory of Nicaragua bordering upon the Gulf of Fonseca as the Government of the United States may select. The Government of the United States shall have the option of renewing for a further term of ninety-nine years the above leases and grants upon the expiration of their respective terms, it being expressly agreed that the territory hereby leased and the naval base which may be maintained under the grant aforesaid shall be subject exclusively to the laws and sovereign authority of the United States during the terms of such lease and grant and of any renewal or renewals thereof.

#### U. S. Paid \$3,000,000 for Canal Rights

The consideration paid by the United States to Nicaragua was the sum of \$3,000,000. At the time of the payment of this money a financial plan was drawn up between the Nicaraguan Government and its creditors which provided for the consolidation of Nicaragua's obligations. At that time the bondholders holding the Nicaraguan external debt consented to a reduction in interest from six to five per cent providing the service of this loan was handled through the American collector of customs, and at the same time a series of internal guaranteed customs bonds amounting to \$3,774,000 was issued by the Nicaraguan Government to pay off the claims which had arisen against it because of revolutionary disturbances from 1909 to 1912. The other outstanding external bonds, amounting on February 1, 1926, to about £772,000, are held in Great Britain. Of the guaranteed customs bonds, \$2,867,000 were on February 1, 1926, still in circulation, and of these about \$1,000,000 were held by Nicaraguans, \$1,000,000 by American citizens and the balance by nationals of other countries. The bonds held in the United States are held by the public in general circulation and, so far as the department knows, no American bankers are directly interested in the Nicaraguan indebtedness.

This financial plan was adopted by an act of the Congress of Nicaragua on August 31, 1917. The National Bank of Nicaragua was made the depository of all government revenues. The internal revenues were, as hereto-

fore, to be collected by the government. Collection of the internal revenue, however, was to be taken over by the Collector General of Customs, an American citizen appointed by the Nicaraguan Government and approved by the Secretary of State of the United States, if the product should average less than \$60,000 a month for three consecutive months. This has never yet been necessary. The proceeds of the customs revenues were to be applied, first, to the payment of such sums as might be agreed upon in the contemplated contracts for the service of the foreign loan, the internal loan and claims against the Nicaraguan Government. From the balance of the revenue \$80,000 a month was to be used for the ordinary budget expenses and an additional \$15,000 for extraordinary expenses.

#### Finances of Nicaragua Have Been Rehabilitated

Under the financial plan the finances of Nicaragua have been rehabilitated in a very satisfactory manner. Of the \$3,744,000 of internal customs bonds issued in 1917, about \$900,000 have been paid. Of the external debt, bonds issued in 1909 amounting to £1,250,000, there now remain only about £770,000. The total public debt of Nicaragua has been reduced from about \$22,000,000 in 1917 to \$6,625,203 at the beginning of 1926. Furthermore, the country in time of peace has ample revenues for its ordinary budget expenses and a surplus which has been used in extensive public improvements. The Nicaraguan National Bank and the National Railroad, controlling interests in which were formerly owned by American bankers, were repurchased by the Nicaraguan Government in 1920 and 1924, and are now wholly owned by that government.

There is no question that if the revolution continues America investments and business interests in Nicaragua will be very seriously affected, if not destroyed. The currency, which is now at par, will be inflated. American as well as foreign bondholders will undoubtedly look to the United States for the protection of their interests.

It is true the United States did not establish the financial plan by any treaty, but it nevertheless did aid through diplomatic channels and advise in the negotiation and establishment of this plan for the financial rehabilitation of Nicaragua.

### U. S. Policy in Situation Explained by Facts

Manifestly the relation of this Government to the Nicaraguan situation, and its policy in the existing emergency, are determined by the facts which I have described. The proprietary rights of the United States in the Nicaraguan canal route, with the necessary implications growing out of it affecting the Panama Canal, together with the obligations flowing from the investments of all classes of our citizens in Nicaragua, place us in a position of peculiar responsibility.

I am sure it is not the desire of the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua or of any other Central American republic. Nevertheless, it must be said that we have a very definite and special interest in the maintenance of order and good government in Nicaragua at the present time, and that the stability, prosperity and independence of all Central America countries can never be a matter of indifference to us.

The United States cannot, therefore, fail to view with deep concern any serious threat to stability and constitutional government in Nicaragua tending toward anarchy and jeopardizing American interests, especially if such state of affairs is contributed to or brought about by outside influences or by any foreign power. It has always been and remains the policy of the United States in such circumstances to take the steps that may be necessary for the preservation and protection of the lives, the property and the interests of its citizens and of this government itself. In this respect I propose to follow the path of my predecessors.

Consequently, I have deemed it my duty to use the powers committed to me to insure the adequate protection of all American interests in Nicaragua, whether they be endangered by internal strife or by outside interference in the affairs of that republic.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

## SECRETARY KELLOGG ON BOLSHEVISM IN MEXICO AND LATIN AMERICA

Submitted to Committee on Foreign  
Relations of the Senate,  
January 13

The Bolshevik leaders have had very definite ideas with respect to the rôle which

Mexico and Latin America are to play in their general program of world revolution.

They have set up as one of their fundamental tasks the destruction of what they term American imperialism as a necessary prerequisite to the successful development of the international revolutionary movement in the New World. The propagation of Communist ideas and principles in the various countries of Latin America is considered secondary to the carrying on of propaganda against the aims and policies of the United States. Thus Latin America and Mexico are conceived as a base for activity against the United States.

### Communists in U. S. Given Instructions

Communists in the United States have been repeatedly instructed to devote special attention to the struggle against "American imperialism" in Latin America, and to the organization of resistance to the United States. Bolshevik aims in this respect were succinctly set forth in a resolution of the third Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions, July 8-22, 1924, as follows. It was resolved:

. . . 4. To unite the national struggle against American imperialism in individual countries in a general movement on a scale of the whole American continent, embracing the workers of all countries of Latin America and the revolutionary forces of the United States. Mexico is a natural connecting link between the movement of the United States of North America and Latin America; therefore Mexico must be the center of union.

. . . 7. In the name of the Trade Union Educational League of the United States, to appeal to the toilers of Latin America with a call to create a united front against American imperialism. . . .

### Fight Against Imperialism Most Important Task

Similarly, a representative of the American Communist party, speaking at the sixth session of the enlarged executive committee of the Communist International on February 4, 1926, declared:

The last and most important task of our party is the fight against imperialism. The Communist party of America must become the defender of the oppressed peoples of Latin America. The time is not long distant when Latin America will become the China of the Far West and Mexico the Canton of Latin America.

In the theses approved at the sixth session of the enlarged executive committee of the

Communist International it is stated with respect to Latin America:

Latin America also can and must become a basis of support of the liberation movement against imperialism (against the imperialism of the United States). In the present state of things the nations living in Latin America are as a majority oppressed nations which soon or late will be drawn into the struggle against the imperialism of the United States.

#### Anti-American Activities Claim Attention

During the past few years the Bolshevik leaders have been giving more and more attention to anti-American activities in Mexico and Latin America. The Communists in the United States have been criticized for not displaying sufficient energy in this sphere. Very specific instructions in this regard were issued to the Communists in the United States in the "resolution of the American question" adopted at the fifth enlarged plenary session of the executive committee of the Communist International at Moscow on March 15, 1926. It pointed out:

To the American Communist party the tremendous importance which the labor movement (and the movement for independence) is assuming in the countries of South America. There is no doubt that in the future struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of the bourgeoisie of the United States the working class and the peasantry of Latin America will play a tremendous rôle. The American Communist party must not be a party of self-centered interests, but must become a party which understands how to raise the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the whole movement for freedom which is directed against the imperialists of the United States. Moreover, it is necessary that the Workers' (Communist) party maintain the closest contact with the labor movement in the colonies of Cuba, the Philippines, etc., and support them in their fight against American imperialism.

In view of this the executive committee of the Communist International instructs the central committee of the American Communist party to devote the most serious attention to the tasks cited and, above all, to appoint an earnest group of party workers to participate in the current work in Latin America in agreement with the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International.

#### American Communists Organize to Act

In accordance with Moscow's instructions, the American Communists during the last two years have been placing special emphasis on their anti-American work in Mex-

ico and Latin America. Considerable attention was given to this matter at the fourth convention of the Workers' (Communist) party in Chicago August 21-30, 1925. A special organization, known as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, has been created by the American Communists to carry out the instructions of Moscow in the matter of organizing Latin America against the United States. The following is taken from a report on "anti-imperialist work" delivered at the fourth national convention referred to above:

. . . The outstanding feature of our work against American imperialism is that it has entered the field of active practical cooperation with the oppressed peoples of American imperialism, the most important step in this connection being the successful organization of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

In January of this year (1925) a subcommittee was elected by the central executive committee, which assumed charge of all the anti-imperialist activities of the party. This committee prepared material for campaigns, furnished articles on imperialism for the party press, drew up manifestoes and leaflets, and was the medium through which the party cooperated with anti-imperialist organizations in Latin America. Manifestoes were issued to the Cuban Labor Congress held at Havana, to the International Marine Transport Workers' convention held at New Orleans, several manifestoes to the Mexican workers and to the Filipinos, a special May Day manifesto to the workers of Latin America, a manifesto in connection with the Tacna-Arica affair, and other manifestoes and leaflets which will be referred to later on.

Direct contact with Mexico was maintained throughout the period, through the visits of Comrades Johnstone, Gomez and Lovestone to Mexico and through steady correspondence. Comrade Wagenknecht visited the Philippines and established connections there. Correspondence connections were also established, with greater or less success, with practically every country in Latin America, as well as with Hawaii and the Philippines. Through our activities five Filipino delegates were secured for the international transport conference in Canton, for which our party was commended by the Communist International.

#### Campaign against Labor Imperialism

Our party has carried on a consistent campaign, both in this country and in Latin America, against the "labor imperialism" of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor. Comrade Johnstone attended the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor at Mexico City, in November of last year (1924), and cooperated with the Mexican party in its strategy in connection with this convention.



Comrade Gomez was sent to Mexico in April of this year (1925) and attended the convention of the Communist party of Mexico as fraternal delegate from our party. During his visit plans for joint action of the Mexican, Central American and United States parties against imperialist policies of the Pan-American Federation of Labor were adopted.

Our party was largely instrumental in the establishment of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. . . . The league is a nonpartisan international organization, admitting to affiliation all groups in the Americas willing to take up the fight against American imperialism. It aims to give driving force and centralized expression to the national liberation movements in Latin America, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, etc., in alliance with the movement of this country.

The All-America Anti-Imperialist League has a special secretariat located in Mexico City, under whose supervision the monthly Spanish language organ of the league, which has now published five issues, is edited, as well as special manifestoes, leaflets, etc. Our party has contributed toward defraying the expenses of the monthly magazine, *El Libertador*, and toward other expenses of the Mexico City secretariat, but lack of funds has made it impossible to give adequate support in this respect.

A regular section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League has been formed in Cuba, with Julio Antonio Mella as secretary, and is extremely active, holding massmeetings, lectures, etc. Labor, peasant and student organizations in Costa Rica, Panama, Salvador and Peru have affiliated with the league, but no regular sections have been formed in those countries as yet. Contracts have been established with some of the foremost intellectuals of Latin America, who are supporting the league and writing for its monthly organ. . . . Tentative plans are already being laid, also at the suggestion of our party, for an All-America Anti-Imperialist Congress to be held at Buenos Aires some time next year.

#### To Demand U. S. Withdraw Its Armed Forces

The fourth convention listed among the concrete tasks of the party:

To carry on a systematic and active agitation against American imperialism, particularly in Latin America. To demand the withdrawal of American armed forces from foreign lands. . . .

To give active support to the activities of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

The same convention adopted a lengthy resolution with respect to the struggle against American imperialism. This resolution pointed out that "there is sufficient homogeneity to permit the building of a powerful continental movement of workers

and farmers against American imperialism, and sufficient resentment due to the occupation of the Central American and Caribbean countries, the sustaining of autocracies, such as those of Venezuela and Peru, by United States aid, the interference in the internal affairs of all of the countries, the system of financial and military advisers, the monopolistic Monroe Doctrine and the robbery of the tremendous natural resources of Latin America."

The resolution declared that there were "millions groaning under the American imperialist rule" in the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Haiti, etc., and that it was the task of the Communists to give active support to the anti-American movements in the various countries in Latin America. The resolution continues:

42. There is a strong tradition of Latin-American solidarity which is a historic force for the unification of the anti-imperialist movements of the various Latin-American countries. This will be an important weapon in the struggle against Wall Street. The All-America Anti-Imperialist League was created as the expression of the liberating movement of all the exploited peoples of the Continent. The Workers' party took part in the creation. Represented in the league are also the Communist parties of Mexico, Central America and South America, as well as student groups, labor organizations, peasant leagues and national societies in various countries.

43. For us the league constitutes an organizational expression of our determination to fight side by side with the exploited peoples of America's colonies and semi-colonies. While we strive to make the groups affiliated to the All-America Anti-Imperialist League recognize in the Communists and the Communists International the leaders of the world struggle against imperialism, we must work conscientiously to build up the league itself, to push it into activity, and to make of it a powerful driving force for the overthrow of American imperialism.

#### Concrete Program of Joint Action

44. The following is our concrete program of joint action with the exploited peoples for the struggle against American imperialism:

(a) Expose the purpose and methods of American imperialism everywhere.

(b) Demand independence for all American colonies and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Latin America, Chinese and other foreign soil.

(c) Actively support Latin-American strikes against American concerns.

(d) Ideological and practical struggle against the doctrine of Pan-Americanism.

(e) Expose and struggle against the so-

called Pan-American Federation of Labor as an agency of American imperialism and the Mexican and American parties shall work out joint plans for exposing the true character of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and propagate the idea of the formation of a Latin-American labor federation with anti-imperialist tendencies.

(f) Interchange of delegates at conventions and close co-operation with the Communist parties of Latin America and fraternal relations with the parties of the Far East.

(g) Help build the All-American Anti-Imperialist League into a powerful organization for the overthrow of American imperialism.

(h) Immediately strive to build up sections of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League in parts of the United States through affiliation of resident organizations of Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese, etc.

(i) Support the proposed plan of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League for an All-American conference against imperialism.

(j) The *Machete*, organ of the Mexican Communist party, and *El Libertador*, organ of the Anti-Imperialist League (published in Mexico), should be circulated among the Spanish-speaking workers of the United States.

#### Resolution Divulges Activities and Plans

The activities and plans of the American Communists as regards the organization of opposition to the United States in Mexico and Latin America are summed up admirably in a resolution passed by the central executive committee of the Workers (Communist) party on November 12, 1926. This resolution reads as follows:

The tasks of our party at the present time, as set forth in the resolution of the political committee, are those presented by the conditions of imperialism. American imperialism is able to win over large sections of the American workers by sharing with them a small part of super profits and continues to extend its hegemony in foreign fields. However, the steady expansion of American capitalism upon an imperialist basis is accompanied by the enormous extension of the vulnerable surface which it presents to attack. Recent months have furnished striking evidence of the widespread movement for Latin-American unity against Wall Street. We cite particularly the present attitude of the Calles Government in Mexico—its general Latin-Americanism, its policy in Central America, its tendency toward co-operation with the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, and the decision of President Calles to send a personal representative to the Brussels World Conference against imperialism.

The committee has repeatedly indicated that a basic task of any party situated in an imperialist country is to stimulate and give

aid to the nationalist and national revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the heel of imperialism. This, together with the work among the American masses, forms the basis of our party work. While our party has made considerable progress in anti-imperialist work, it is still far from a proper realization of the importance of this work. A far greater proportion of the party's resources must be utilized in anti-imperialist activities. District executive committees must have standing subcommittees on anti-imperialist activity, and these must be directed by capable comrades. The party machinery on a district, as well as a national, scale must be drawn into this work.

The anti-imperialist work has been greatly hampered by lack of sufficient comrades. The party must take measures to create and train a corps of comrades engaged directly in anti-imperialist work.

In spite of many handicaps, we have done much to build the All-American Anti-Imperialist League into an organization engaged in actual struggle against imperialism. We have carried on systematic work inside of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and have achieved some valuable results there. We have participated in work against United States imperialism in a number of Latin American countries, notably Mexico, Porto Rico, Cuba, Panama, and Peru. We have also established some contact with the Philippine independence movement, although we have yet to establish our own nucleus there.

The main task for the period immediately ahead is the building of a substantial section of the A. A. A. I. L. (All-American Anti-Imperialist League) in the United States itself. This will be accomplished through the affiliation of groups organized around specific issues, such as hands-off-Mexico committees, etc. The Workers' (Communist) party must remain the central factor in the United States section of the A. A. A. I. L., grouping around itself as closely as possible other working-class organizations.

The significance of Mexico in the eyes of the so-called Soviet Government is revealed in the following extract from the report of Chitcherin, made at the third session of the Union Central Executive Committee in March, 1925:

Resumption of diplomatic relations with Mexico: In America, in this manner, we still stand before a question mark. But in this time we have succeeded in re-establishing diplomatic relations, which give us a political base in the new continent with the neighbor of the United States, Mexico. The Mexican Government is based on the right trade unions and the radical small bourgeoisie. The Soviet Republic is extraordinarily pop-

ular in Mexico. Our plenipotentiary representative, Pestkovsky, met in Mexico the most enthusiastic reception, receiving constantly from all sides expressions of the most friendly, even enthusiastic, attitude toward the Soviet Republic. Mexico gives us thus a very convenient political base in America for the development of our further ties.

As respects relations between the Soviet Legation in Mexico City and Communist activities being carried on in Mexico there is the following evidence:

1. Statement by Mexican Labor Deputy Ricardo Trevino in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies on September 9, 1925:

I cannot say which are the better elements, whether ours or the reds or those whom the Russian Minister brought. And on this point I must say that there are documents in which it is established that certain red and Communist elements receive money from the said Minister and from the Communists at Moscow in order to work along Communist lines in Mexico against the United States, whereby they would provoke an international conflict.

#### Mexican Labor Federation to Soviet Minister

2. Communication addressed to the Soviet Minister by the central committee of the Mexican Federation of Labor by direction of the seventh congress of that organization:

"To the Minister of Russia in Mexico City: . . . On the other hand, there was also considered by the convention the report referring to the fact that in the diplomatic mission in your charge moral and economic support is lent to so-called Communist radical groups, the enemies of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of our government.

"This Central Committee was ordered by the convention to inform you in your character as representative of Russia in Mexico that the Mexican labor movement represented by this confederation maintains the principle that the workers of each country must be organized in accordance with their opinions and necessities, and that no nation has the right to impose nor to lay down for another the doctrine which must control its activities."

3. Resolution adopted March 6, 1926, at the seventh annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor:

" . . . 3. That a courteous invitation be extended by the Central Committee to the diplomatic representative of Russia accredited to Mexico, so that his office may abstain from lending moral and economic support to the so-called radical group, enemies of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the government."

## PRESIDENT DIAZ'S CASE

January 8, President Diaz, of Nicaragua, radioed to the *New York Times* his case, as follows:

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA, January 8.—I am happy to give a statement, as requested, for your universally known and respected newspaper.

My attitude toward the Sacasa forces is that maintained by the Conservatives at the peace conference held at Corinto on the U. S. S. *Denver*, October 16 to 24, under the auspices of the American chargé d'affaires, Mr. Lawrence Dennis. At that time the Conservatives proposed the constitutional reorganization of the government on the basis of a Conservative President, naming me as their candidate, and of a national government with Liberal participation in all departments.

The Liberals insisted on our turning over the power either to Doctor Sacasa or a third minor party candidate of their choice. We could not meet this demand, but were disposed to make concessions along all lines short of actual relinquishment of the executive power.

Inasmuch as the Conservatives are a majority of the people, and have full control of the country, with the exception of a few sparsely settled regions on the Atlantic coast, the Liberals would no doubt have abandoned their sporadic movements and accepted our peace proposals had it not been for the assurances of Mexican support for further revolutions, which they used as a threat at the conference.

#### His Claims to the Presidency

After failing to induce the Liberals to join us in the constitutional reorganization of the government, the Conservative majority in the national congress, elected in the regular elections of 1924, with the Conservative President Solorzano in a constitutional manner, called me to exercise the presidency during the unexpired portion of the term ending December, 1928, of former President Solorzano, who resigned in January, 1926.

My designation for the presidency thus effected the constitutional reorganization of the government in accordance with the Central American treaties, with the result that the United States and the principal nations of Europe, as England, France, Italy, and

Spain, also El Salvador and Honduras, at once recognized my government as the constitutional Government of Nicaragua.

The Liberals, however, taking another view of the issue of constitutionality, brought Doctor Sacasa to Puerto Cabezas under the ægis of the Mexican Government, which furnished almost exclusively the funds and arms, also a considerable military contingent of Mexican leaders for the Sacasa Government.

For us, as for the United States, the question of constitutionality has been satisfactorily settled. There remains the problem of reconciliation with the Liberals. For its solution my government holds out a standing invitation to conference and cooperation. Up to now they have preferred the armed aid of Mexico.

The espousal by the Mexican Government of the lost cause of a political minority in Nicaragua presents a problem which transcends the bounds of local politics and interests. We, the Conservatives, feel that Nicaraguan Liberals in soliciting and obtaining the aid of the Mexican Government have committed a grave offense against the sovereignty, independence, and best interests of Nicaragua. Frankly, we Conservatives do not want to be Mexicanized. We believe that, any assertion of Doctor Sacasa or the Liberals to the contrary notwithstanding, no unsuccessful political minority out of office could have itself violently placed in power by Mexico without later becoming the tool of the Mexican Government, to which it would owe its triumph.

#### "Proofs" of Mexican Intervention

This Mexican armed intervention, of which both the American and Nicaraguan governments have irrefutable proofs, has, without attaining as yet its ultimate object, created a situation in which my government felt no humiliation in admitting that it could not guarantee the safety of life and property.

Obviously, if the Mexican Government elects and is permitted to pour money, arms, and men into a small country like mine to enable an unsuccessful minority to make war on the constitutional government, that government can not answer for the consequences for foreign lives in its territory.

So penetrated with the logic of this situation were the British and Italian, as well as other foreign representatives in Managua, that after learning from me the limit of our

means for assuring order against Mexican invasion they went to the American minister forthwith to make representations in behalf of their menaced nationals.

This situation, and the preference felt by the Conservatives for American aid to Mexican domination, constitute the justification of my appeal to the United States Government to take necessary measures for the protection of American and foreign lives and interests in Nicaragua, and for the safeguarding of our national independence against Mexican intervention.

The Conservatives realize that Nicaragua is small and weak. In difficult situation such as that of the moment we solicit frankly the aid of the United States in an open and legal manner, while our Liberal adversaries seek the sinister help of Mexico in the form of filibustering expeditions. We feel that our country needs capital, just as the United States required European capital 50 years ago to build its railways. We understand that. We find that capital on fair terms in the United States, but not in Mexico, which is wholly dependent on foreign capital.

#### Trusts Us—Fears Mexico

We need the cooperation and aid of foreign experts and enterprise for our financial, economical, and cultural development. For these elements, unlike the Liberals, we do not look to Mexico, now in a state of chaos, but to the United States, the foremost nation of the world. We have concrete proof in the withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua in 1925, in American policy in Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and elsewhere, that the national sovereignty and best interests of small Latin-American countries are secure whenever any one of them finds it necessary in a difficult moment to seek the friendly aid of the United States. We have no such grounds for confidence in Mexico.

I believe the prospects of an early and just peace excellent. Of course, such a friendly agreement is only possible if and when our Liberal adversaries in arms reach the conclusion that they can not be placed in power by their Mexican supporters.

I may add that the majority of the Liberals in the interior, who are feeling the effects of the civil war and are not drawing official salaries from Mexican funds as members of the Sacasa government, earnestly desire peace.

Yesterday I transmitted a telegram signed

by a group of such Liberals, indicating this feeling, to Doctor Sacasa. Most of the Liberals in the interior disapprove of and fear Mexican intervention, realizing what its triumph would mean for Nicaraguan prosperity, liberty, religious freedom, and future progress.

ADOLFO DIAZ.

## JUAN BANTISTA SACASA'S CASE

As Liberal Claimant to the Presidency  
of Nicaragua, Printed in the  
New York "Times,"  
January 10

PUERTA CABEZAS, NICARAGUA, January 9.—I gladly reply to your radiogram. For better comprehension of the Nicaraguan problem and in order that the American people may be fully informed, I will make a fair and brief narration of the facts.

On January 1, 1925, Señor Carlos Solorzano and the undersigned took the oath of office as president and vice president, respectively, in conformity with the popular election of the previous year.

On the 25th of October of the same year General Chamorro took hold of the Managua fortress through treason, which act determined the resignation of President Solorzano.

The Nicaraguan constitution establishes that in case of the absolute or temporary absence of the president the executive power goes into the hands of the vice president, but Chamorro persecuted me, employing violence to the point of obliging me to leave the country and having himself elected president by a discredited congress; that is, with the omission of Liberal representatives.

### Not Recognized by Latin Republics

Central American governments in compliance with the Washington treaty of 1923 expressly declared nonrecognition of the Chamorro government, and the American Government, guarantor of said compact, declared through Secretary of State Kellogg and the American legation in Nicaragua they qualified the Nicaraguan case as a question of principle and not of persons, that from the 25th of October he considered the constitutional order disturbed by the subversive movement headed by Chamorro and that the

Washington treaties, which guaranteed peace in Central America would be faithfully upheld.

After some months Chamorro, finding it impossible to obtain American recognition and popular Nicaraguan acceptance, handed his power to Señor Sebastian Uriza, who in turn resigned the same favor to Señor Adolfo Diaz.

The presidencies of Chamorro, Uriza, and Diaz are equally vitiated. Neither stands on a constitutional basis. Moreover, the Washington compacts, sponsored by the United States, oblige the Central American signatory States to nonrecognition of a government that originates from a *coup d'état* or revolution against a recognized government, and these conventions are the same Secretary Kellogg affirmed would be observed, sponsored as they were by his Government.

### Links Diaz to Coup D'Etat

Nevertheless, Diaz has not only been recognized, but supported efficaciously, notwithstanding his being one of the principal organizers of said *coup d'état*.

Guatemala and Costa Rica remain faithful to the compacts, refusing to recognize Diaz, but the State Department in spite of its precise declaration it had made that the case was a question of principles and not of persons has recognized him.

Diaz lacks constitutional support and the Washington compacts invalidate him, having as his only support influential New York bankers connected with a group of Nicaraguan traders.

The responsibility of intervention affects the prestige of the American Government, while the yield of such intervention favors the exploiters.

During the whole of Diaz's former administration a body of American marines remained at Managua protecting his unpopularity. Today there are again at Managua American forces to protect him against the people.

In compliance with my duty, after exhausting all pacific means during the long negotiations in Washington and Central America and a fruitless peace conference at Corinto, while we fruitlessly proposed to submit our civil discord to the arbitration of Washington and of the Central American governments, I landed at Puerto Cabezas, organizing my cabinet for the reestablishing of con-

stitutional order interrupted by Chamorro and Diaz.

But the movements of my government are daily obstructed by the American forces.

#### Assails Methods of Marines

On December 23 marines were landed at Rio Grande and Puerto Cabezas. Here I was notified to disarm my guard after surrounding the government building, menacing the same with cannons ashore and by the ships *Denver* and *Cleveland*. The alternative was to deliver my arms or abandon the town.

My government remains here disarmed in order to signify by its presence its right and possession.

Hostility is manifest. My government is impeded in collecting imports on timber in places under its control, which in no way affects the American Government or its creditors, since said imports are not comprehended in the financial plan.

I am obstructed in providing combustibles, and even provisions. Indeed, an unheard-of act!

The auxiliary schooner *Albert*, my only means of communication, was ordered away and a censorship established against me, thus leaving me isolated from my army and the world.

Latterly, through the noble efforts of the American press, the censorship has been removed.

The neutral zones established have only served to protect Diaz and are hostile to my government.

Today I received advice from Rio Grande that a detachment of marines threw into the river about 2,000,000 cartridges exclusively our property, thus depriving us of important values with the purpose, undoubtedly, of weakening my army. Such a proceeding has no precedent between nations at peace.

#### Points to His Two Victories

However, in spite of all these obstacles, which favor Diaz, our forces continue advancing, having obtained, first at Pearl Lagoon and then in the interior, two great victories that cost Diaz about 1,500 guns, 500,000 cartridges, and two strong columns of his army were almost totally destroyed.

There has been a manifest determination to accuse me of nourishing designs of changing the social order in a common campaign with Mexico. Said propaganda denounces

my wicked intentions and seems simply absurd to those acquainted with my antecedents and ideas.

In regards to our armament, we purchased it in the United States previous to the embargo there and after from wherever we could get it, without compromising any nation or government.

#### No Threat to Control Rights

Allusion has been made latterly to American canal interests in order to explain the landing of forces, while in no manner are such interests menaced. I have declared that my government is a government of order and of respect for international agreements. The same statement has repeatedly been made by the Liberal Party that supports me, especially in reference to the canal.

There being no just cause for the landing of forces, apparent reasons are alleged. There is no record in Nicaraguan history of any offense against an American diplomat, not even during anomalous times. The Nicaraguan people are civilized, respect the rights of others, and demand their own rights.

As a continental nation and by the fundamental principles of humanity and democracy nourished by the United States, this nation is highly regarded by Nicaraguans. Misgivings are born from banking exploitations that utilize national diplomacy for their own profits.

My earnest desire is for cooperation and open friendship with the United States—a political and honest commercial friendship that will benefit both Nicaragua and the United States. Thus American continental prestige will grow; otherwise it will be feared, but not loved. I still trust that President Coolidge will do justice to Nicaragua.

## News in Brief

THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY, known as the Lausanne Treaty, was rejected by the Senate January 18, failing by six votes to attain the required two-thirds majority. Senator King, leader of

the opposition, stated that the treaty was opposed on three major grounds: failure to provide for the fulfillment of the Wilson awards to Armenia, guarantees for protection of non-Moslems in Turkey, and recognition by Turkey of American nationality of former subjects of Turkey.

TWENTY MEMBERS OF THE YUGOSLAV PARLIAMENT visited Prague in January to confer with Czechoslovak members of Parliament in an interparliamentary committee on cultural and economic matters.

THE AUSTRIAN CABINET COUNCIL has decided to require no passport visas from countries which require none from Austrian citizens.

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR 1925, awarded to Vice-President Dawes, has been given by the recipient to the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.

BRAZIL'S NEW PRESIDENT, Mr. Washington Luis, signed, on January 10, a decree establishing the method of procedure for the stabilization of the Brazilian currency. This was in accordance with a law, passed some time ago, which had never been put into effect. It establishes the milreis at 12½ cents and provides for a bond issue.

THE GOVERNMENT OF HAITI is organizing courses of study in agriculture and domestic, medical, and sanitary subjects, to be broadcast by radio. The language used is to be Creole French, the announcer to be always the same person, so the country people can become used to his voice, and government-installed receiving stations with loud speakers are to be put in many small villages.

GUATEMALA ELECTED DR. LAZARO CHACON PRESIDENT of the Republic on December 16. He takes office on March 15.

SALVADOR'S NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT, Pio Romero-Brosque, was the sole candidate for the office. Gustavo Vides was elected Vice-President.

THE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES from Cuba, who presented his credentials on December 16, is an Italian by birth. He went to Cuba at the time of the Cuban revolution and took part in the war for independence.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW will meet in Montevideo, the first session

to be held March 21. The first session of the Commission of Jurists will be in Rio April 16.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CHILD CONGRESS, which was to have met in Havana in February, has been postponed until December on account of the damage done in Havana by the hurricane.

FRANCE AND MEXICO HAVE AGREED on an arbitrator in the claims arising from the Mexican revolutionary period. France stipulated that he should not be a Latin American. After six months' deliberations, the two governments have agreed upon the eminent sociologist and internationalist, Mr. J. Wyholm, of Sweden.

POSTPONEMENT OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE, but increased autonomy for the islands, was urged by Col. Carmi Thompson in his report to President Coolidge, submitted to Congress December 22. The establishment of an independent government department to administer the islands and other overseas territory was one of the recommendations of the report. Colonel Thompson gave his time and paid his own expenses in the investigation of the Philippine situation, which he has recently concluded.

TWENTY-SEVEN LYNCHINGS HAD BEEN PERPETRATED in the United States in 1926 up to November 11, according to a report recently issued by the Federal Council of Churches. In the whole of 1925 there were only 18; in 1924, 15. The Council calls upon the churches to redouble their efforts to put down this blot on American justice.

THE THIRD PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS OF ARCHITECTS will be held in Buenos Aires, July 1 to 10, 1927, under the auspices of His Excellency the President of Argentina, the secretaries of the departments of Public Works, Public Instruction, and Foreign Relations, the mayor of the city, and other officials.

MEN IN THE UNITED STATES who served in the World War will receive more money from the Veterans' Bureau in the next twenty years than is represented by the entire allied debt to this country, according to a statement by Brigadier General Frank T. Hines.

IN A REVIEW OF THE EVENTS OF 1926 in Europe, which was published in the *Matin*,

Paris, Aristide Briand said: "While certain preoccupying indications must be watched with the greatest attention, I believe that peace is taking root more and more deeply among all peoples. Whatever may be done to disturb our public opinion, the French people are clearly on the path to peace."

THE SECOND BIENNIAL MEETING of the World Federation of Education Associations will be held in Toronto, Canada, August 7-12, 1927.

GERMANY HAS CONVERTED some of her war tanks into tractors for use in cutting cane on sugar plantations in Java.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE INSTITUTE of International Relations for the Pacific Coast was held December 5-12 in the famous Mission Inn of Riverside, California. The institute is to follow lines similar to those followed by the Institute of Politics at Williamsontown, Massachusetts.

THE IMMIGRANTS TO BE ADMITTED to this country after July next will be reduced in number to 11,126. Before April 1 the President fixes the quota for each European country on the basis of the national origin of immigrants now in this country, instead of the foreign-born population in 1890. Under the new law the quota for Great Britain and northern Ireland would be increased; also that of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. The immigrants from the Irish Free State, Germany, Italy, and Poland would be considerably reduced. All countries would be permitted a minimum quota of 100.

CAPTAIN FRANK T. EVANS, son of Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans, who was naval leader in the war with Spain, has been decorated by the King of Spain. Captain Evans' ship, the *Pittsburgh*, recently won the battle efficiency pennant of the cruiser class. It was the flagship of American forces in Europe from June, 1924, until July, 1926.

THE NEGRO JOURNAL, "OPPORTUNITY", published in New York, has offered for the third time prizes amounting to \$1,000 for literary, pictorial, and musical compositions by negroes. The competition opened October 1, 1926, and closes February 28, 1927.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE and the World Alliance for Promoting International

Friendship through the Churches have a joint commission on the education of children on the subject of peace. Its objects, according to a recent report, are, among other things, to consider the best methods of presenting only the truth about other nations, and to prevent the unfair use of history for propaganda. The encouragement of sympathetic study of foreign countries is another of the objectives of the commission.

GERMANY CONTINUES TO DELIVER NITROGEN as part of her reparations payments to France.

MR. SILAS H. STRAWN, who served as special commissioner to China with Minister McMurray, who was chairman of the International Commission on Extraterritoriality Jurisdiction and delegate to the Special Conference on Chinese Customs, states that the troubles of China are internal and not external. The present anti-foreign agitation is stirred up for internal political purposes.

A PENDING TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES and Panama binds the Republic of Panama to co-operate in defense of the Canal Zone. There is much opposition to this treaty in Europe, where it is considered a violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to which Panama is a signatory.

THE HISTORIC ARCHIVES OF CASTÉLE at Simancas, where are most of the documents relating to the early middle ages in Spain, will soon be made accessible to foreign students. The archives are in an ancient twelfth-century castle. The municipality has now agreed to build a residence for investigators and to establish an automobile road from Valladolid. Simancas will then become one of the most important historic centers in Europe, because of the wealth of documents stored in the old castle.

PERU HAS CREATED A PERMANENT COMMISSION for the study and eradication of malaria.

THE SHANGHAI PROVISIONAL COURT formally replaced the former mixed court on January 1. This was in accordance with an agreement between Chinese and foreign authorities reached in September, 1926.

THE JAPANESE EMPEROR YOSHIOHITO died in Tokyo December 25, 1926. The new



Mikado, Hirohito, ascended the throne on December 28. He is the one hundred twenty-third Emperor of Japan, and announces his policy to be one of harmony and peaceful relations at home and abroad.

THE SECOND ORIENTAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE was held in Tokyo in November. Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara, in an address at his reception to the delegates, voiced Japan's longing to co-operate with other nations in a warfare against pain and disaster instead of against men.

THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC HAS RECEIVED 400,000 refugees from Armenian provinces in Turkey since the war. Dr. Nansen states that 15,000 other refugees in Greece and Constantinople wish to go to Armenia, and that 10,000 more should be transported from Syria. Unfortunately, the republic is not really independent, being one of three members of the Trans-Caucasian federation which acknowledges the overlordship of Russia. But it is a refuge which thousands of scattered Armenians would be glad to reach.

THREE RED CROSS CONFERENCES took place in 1926—one in Washington, one in Tokyo, and one in Oslo. The occurrence of serious disasters in many countries and prompt relief by national societies demonstrated that it is, above all, to the Red Cross that the nations look in time of calamity.

TREE SEEDS FROM THE DOUGLAS FIR forests of the United States, amounting to several hundred pounds, have been sent to France, Belgium, and Great Britain to reforest the battlefields. The American Tree Association, which sends the seeds, calls them an evidence of good will.

THE AÉRIAL TOUR OF UNITED STATES army hydroplanes, which got away December 20, expects to touch every Central and South American country except British Honduras and Ecuador, and to make several stops in the larger countries. One of the objects of the trip is to cement closer friendship between American countries.

THE ISSUE OF JANUARY 15 OF UNIVERSAL a paper of Mexico, advocated the submission to arbitration of disputes between

foreigners and Mexico over the rights of aliens as affected by the new Mexican laws.

A TRADE AND CONSULAR CENTER for Spanish-speaking peoples of Europe, Central America, South America and the Philippines will be established in the Grand Central Palace and the Park Lexington Building, New York City, which have just been purchased by a group of Spanish and American business men incorporated as the Casa de Las Espanas, Inc.

EXPORTS FROM FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES in 1926 showed a decrease from the 1925 figures, according to a statement issued by the Department of Commerce.

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT has agreed, in principle, with the Italian proposal that Fiume should henceforth be the chief port for Hungarian trade. Premier Bethlen, of Hungary, expects to visit Italy in February, to settle by direct negotiation several pressing economic problems affecting Hungary's outlet to the Adriatic.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE LAW AND PROCEDURE OF INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNALS. By *Jackson H. Ralston*. Pp. 512 and index. Stanford University Press, California, 1926. Price, \$5.00.

This book is a revision of one published by Mr. Ralston in 1910, under the title "International Arbitral Law and Procedure." Much water has gone under the mill since 1910, and the story of international tribunals is a wider one than that of the first decade of the century.

The Permanent Court of International Justice has been established. Arbitral tribunals between the United States and Great Britain, the Mixed Commission between the United States and Germany, and other commissions, including the Mixed Claims Commission between the United States and Mexico, have begun to function since 1910.

Therefore a book which aims, as does this one, to give a résumé of the views of arbitra-

tors on certain international questions and the practice of international courts has a richer fund of material from which to collect its data.

Mr. Ralston has adhered substantially to the outline of his previous book, enlarging and rewriting a good deal of the material. Certain additions have been made. The chapter on government has been expanded to two chapters. The appendix contains valuable new material in the statute of the Permanent Court of Justice and the rules of the court.

It should be noted that the index is of particular excellence.

Mr. Ralston is peculiarly well fitted to write upon his subject because of his experience. He was American agent in the Pious Fund case; umpire of the Venezuelan Claims Commission; editor of "Venezuelan Arbitrations, 1903," and "French-Venezuelan Mixed Claims Commission of 1902." His book, distinctive in its field, is indispensable to every careful student of international processes.

THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE. SOME OPINIONS ON INTERNATIONAL GRATITUDE. Selected, with Foreword, by *James Brown Scott*. Pp. 175. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1926. Price, \$2.75.

Dr. Scott's intimate knowledge of the diplomatic history of the United States is one of many reasons why he is particularly well qualified to select pertinent documents and essays on the topic of his book. Another reason, possibly even more vital to the subject, is his familiarity with France, her point of view, and with her language. Indeed, Dr. Scott's book of 1924, *Le Français Langue Diplomatique Moderne*, written in French, was crowned by the French Academy and given the gold medal of the French language, a signal honor.

The present book, now being translated into French, was published on the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. It treats of our early relations with France and the assistance she rendered the struggling colonies.

After a foreword, illuminating and graceful, the compiler adds the material clauses of the Declaration of Independence, two treaties with France of 1778, the contracts of 1782 and 1783 for the repayment of loans made by France, and the treaty with Great Britain of 1783, acknowledging our inde-

pendence. Then comes the body of the book. It consists of extracts from historical articles by Jared Sparks and letters by George Sumner and others, which were written in the first instance for foreign journals, run later, in translation, in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., in 1847, and here reprinted.

These extracts from the best authorities of their day review the whole of our relations with France before and during the Revolution in America; they show, without bias, how the independence of the American colonies was really made secure by the aid of our first and only ally, France.

The book is good history and interesting reading; it also throws no little light on the general question of international debts and international gratitude. The book is a contribution to a better international understanding.

PATHS TO WORLD PEACE. By *Bolton C. Waller*. Pp. 224 and index. George, Allen & Unwin Co., London, 1926. Price, 5s. net.

It is not by accident that the writer of this book uses the plural number in his title. He does not believe that there is any single, direct road to world peace. Since the causes of war are so many and so varied, they must be adjusted, one by one, and by methods often widely different. Yet the belief that war can be overcome is, he thinks, now, for the first time in the world's history, a general and increasing doctrine. Therefore some, at least, of the ways to approach peace can be mapped.

Before outlining the best approaches toward peace, Mr. Waller discusses non-resistance, which he calls "Pacifism." He criticises it, not as wrong, but as ineffective, as unconstructive. How to translate good-will into appropriate political action is the main problem.

Education and the promotion of good-will, though needful, are not enough. Mr. Waller's next step is to transmute the word peace into "human well-being," to which peace is but a means and a by-product. Prevention of war is vital, but a harmonious world society is its end and purpose. Here he reaches the League of Nations, and the remainder of the book is an analysis and critique upon it.

The questions the league has to consider are many and of overwhelming difficulty. Stability for the moment, without sacrificing liberty and flexibility, are its great task.

To meet its obligations the League should, thinks Mr. Waller, be considerably made over.

Here the author takes into consideration the criticisms, particularly American criticisms, of the League. He does not give enough weight to the possibility of international justice as a real foundation, nor see how that has been worked out in the United States. Codification of international law seems to him so difficult as to lie far in the future.

Yet he does see many gaps in the League's efficiency and makes various suggestions for its improvement. Most important among them is the idea of a subdivision of League members into regional groups to consider regional questions; where pressure is to be brought upon recalcitrant States, this, too, should be regional to win support. This arrangement would substitute understood and clear-cut obligations in place of vague, far-reaching ones.

The Council and Assembly of the League would then consider only questions of worldwide import, matters which ought to be handled by the League itself. There would be some danger of intergroup rivalries in such an organization of nations, but with a well-organized central body he thinks that danger would be forestalled.

Mr. Waller has the well-known European obsession for coercive measures and magnifies, even beyond its merits, political action in place of judicial procedure; but it is evident that the school of thought most prevalent in America has modified this European cast of mind.

The book is a hopeful analysis of the whole question of the League's further efficiency and very well worth careful study.

MAN AND HIS FELLOWS. By *Ernest M. Hopkins*. Pp. 92. Princeton University Press, 1926. Price, \$1.50.

President Hopkins, of Dartmouth College, gave these three lectures in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, 1925, under the Henry La Barre Jayne Foundation. In them he surveys the trend of present civilization, particularly in the United States, and points out certain principles and policies which should take the place of slogans in our daily life—social, industrial, and civic.

There is a chatty, rambling style to the lectures which makes them less easy to follow in print than if they had more closely

followed an essay outline. Nevertheless, from a mind of the caliber of President Hopkins, the leisurely manner of a soliloquy has a special charm.

One who longs to formulate a philosophy for these days will do well to study these addresses.

DISRAELI, ALIEN PATRIOT. By *E. L. Raymond*. Pp. 346. George H. Doran Co., New York, 1926.

This is a book to be read slowly and carefully. The life of Disraeli cannot be understood, scarcely even followed at all, without a clear knowledge of English politics during his lifetime. The story brings in such other prominent figures as Peel, Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone. It was the time of the Crimean War, of the "No Popery" slogan, and of crucial moments in the omnipresent Irish question. Therefore Mr. Raymond's book is really a history of English politics from about 1830 to Disraeli's death, in 1881. Yet these events are viewed consistently, as they related to the Jewish-English politician, who understood England so much better than England understood him.

Disraeli, with all his apparent inconsistencies, is made entirely logical under the author's treatment. The book is not a eulogy; but its subject is judged, as he should be, in his character as Jew, an Oriental—English sincerely, but only by adoption. He is judged especially as a genius whose loyalties are to other standards than those of the typical British mind. Thus is explained much apparent opportunism and many superficial insincerities without damage to the integrity of Mr. Disraeli.

Mr. Raymond frequently pauses in the rush of events to illuminate the course of Disraeli by the political, religious, and social views expressed in his novels, many of which were probably somewhat biographical.

One lays the book down with a clear impression that the Jewish Prime Minister, though sometimes a comedian and frequently out of taste, was, nevertheless, an unmistakable genius and a practical statesman, who served England as well as she would let him serve her.

EAST WIND. By *Amy Lowell*. Pp. 240. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1926. Price, \$2.25.

East Wind is the second of three volumes of poems left by Miss Lowell when she died. "What's o'Clock," published in 1925, contained some poems and lines as beautiful and meaningful as any that Amy Lowell has written. This second book, as the name indicates, is somber, even to bleakness. There is no poem in it so jocund, so responsive to nature as is "Purple Grackles," in the first volume. Nothing comparable to the thoughtful, but tender agnosticism of "Evelyn Ray;" no single line to compare with, "The silver-slipped moon treads the blue tiles of the sky."

East Wind is a collection of poem narratives told in the rambling, even drawing fashion of the New England countryside. Each tale is of some morbid thing, however. There is real understanding of the sort of reaction which the stern, repressed moralist makes to dark events outside the commonplace; real sympathy with the type to be found in our northern hill country.

Yet there is too much grayness in the collection. There is, also, in that same people, a delicate appreciation of loveliness which should have been presented to make a complete picture. Miss Lowell was never insignificant; but this whole book lacks distinction because of its unrelieved atmosphere of gloom, its too little contrast. East Winds are not so constant, even in the land of grim repressions.

WORLD WAR DEBT SETTLEMENTS. By *Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolosky*. Pp. 448 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$2.

This publication, by two experts of the Institute of Economics, has the double advantage of simple clarity of expression and a basis of scientific knowledge.

The first seven chapters are, with a few changes in arrangement, substantially as they were printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for March, April, May, June and August, under the title "The Problem of International Debts." To these are added chapters on the Extent of American Cancellation, Changing Policies, and Issues in Suspense.

The discussion of the foregoing problems fills about one-third of the book; the remaining two-thirds are appendices, containing reparations documents, United States

debt settlements, and British debt settlements.

With its index, the volume is a really invaluable tool for any student of economic and financial adjustments between nations since the war.

BY THE CITY OF THE LONG SAND; A TALE OF NEW CHINA. By *Alice Tisdale Hobart*. Pp. 329. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$3.50.

Here is a book in which China is the background, the atmosphere in which a domestically-minded woman lives her drama. She is the wife of an agent of a great American oil company, a man who has served his apprenticeship before his marriage, and now husband and wife together call upon their inherited pioneer spirit as their company drops them here and there on the frontiers of modern trade.

In a civilization old, devious and oriental, the pair must pursue the methods of a western commerce to the satisfaction of the "tall New York skyscraper" which sends them out and provides their brass-tagged beds and tables.

All this calls for a very special brand of loyalty, and a vision wide enough to see the romance of foreign trade. So, for her husband and all their chance visitors, the woman organizes, over and over, according to an American ideal, her little make-shift homes, and loves each one. She feels herself a needed cog in the vast machine of commerce, and visualizes all the little lamps of China, kept alight through the business efficiency, acumen, and integrity of the oil company of America.

The bleak plains of Manchuria first claim the couple, then with little warning they go to other frontier trading posts, until at last, after nine years, they are sent far up the Yangtse River to a great house, where they remain for three years. This is Changsa, in Hunan, the "City of the Long Sand."

There they experience vividly the perils of the river, perils of flood, perils of drought. War sweeps across their little island colony. There are student uprisings. And all through there is the fatalistic background of China, inscrutable and ancient, but with modernism in its more sinister aspects rending the old civilization.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

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Annual Membership is five dollars;

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\* Emeritus.

# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—e. g., addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1899, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forestall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

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\* At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1926, 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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3

## RETURNING TO REALITIES

**M**EMBERS of the American Peace Society, and others interested, apparently wish to be kept informed of the Society's plans to commemorate its one hundredth anniversary May 8, 1928. It is evident, therefore, that we shall have to devote a portion of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* each month to the plans for this commemoration, as they may develop. Since Mr. Lacey C. Zapf took on his duties as business manager, January 15, things have begun to move.

We are discovering evidences of interest in our work, some of them from sources we had not suspected. There are, for example, business men, members of our government, lawyers, professors, whose words of encouragement tend to show that the plans already started are headed in the right direction.

Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, writing under date of January 18, was kind enough to say: "I am sure that the Association will approach this problem with sane and constructive methods."

Rowland W. Boyden, unofficial observer for the United States on the Reparations Commission, wrote: "I have great sympathy with the Society's purposes."

C. D. Allin, Professor of Political Science in the University of Minnesota, wrote under date of December 31: "You have made your magazine one of the most authoritative sources of material on world questions."

Herbert S. Houston, President of the Cosmos Newspaper Syndicate of New York, wrote under date of January 19: "The American Peace Society has a great history, and I am sure it will go on making great history."

Mr. George F. Cahill, manufacturer of flood-light projectors, New York, has subscribed to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for a number of his friends. To each he wrote a personal letter, from one of which we take this sentence: "While, I suppose, you are oversupplied with periodicals on foreign affairs and peace subjects, I feel certain if you can catch a little time to look over the *ADVOCATE* that you will find it informing and satisfying to your sense of the realities and possibilities in this great field."

Dr. Frank W. Collier, Professor of Philosophy in the American University, referring to a recent article in this magazine, said: "Thank you for the privilege of reading this article. I am going to lend it to some of my friends to read. It will do them good."

John L. Harvey, attorney of Waltham, Massachusetts, recently wrote a letter in which he said of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*: "The fact that I do not always agree with it does not interfere with my believing it to be the most useful to the great cause of any of the periodicals that come to my attention."

Senator George H. Moses, of New Hampshire, writing under date of February 14, said: "The centennial anniversary which

the American Peace Society is to celebrate in May (1928) is an occasion which should be of special interest to New Hampshire, in view of the fact that my State was the birthplace of William Ladd." Senator Moses was kind enough to enclose a list of ten prominent persons in his State who he thought might be interested.

Senator James E. Watson, of Indiana, under date of February 16, wrote: "If the object is to promote those friendly and Christian sentiments that ultimately will lead to peace, why, of course, I am decidedly in favor of it and shall do anything and everything in my power to aid you in your enterprise."

Hon. Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor in the Cabinet of President Taft, under date of January 27, writes: "I am a subscriber of your publication and, indeed, try in many ways to keep in touch with the movement."

Hon. William A. Oldfield, member of Congress and Democratic whip, wrote under date of February 17: "I think the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society is an important occasion."

Hon. Cordell Hull, member of Congress from Tennessee, formerly Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, under date of January 26, wrote: "I have an excellent opinion of your organization and its objectives."

H. H. Raymond, head of the Atlantic Gulf and West Indies Steamship Lines, writing under date of February 4, closed his letter with the words: "Anything that I can do to assist you in making a success of your work will be cheerfully done."

Among the officials in various chambers of commerce, William F. Saunders, Secretary of the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, wrote under date of February 3: "I am very much interested

in the American Peace Society and its work." Edwin B. Lord, manager of the Jersey City Chamber of Commerce, wrote under date of February 8: "Be assured that we will be very glad to do whatever we can to further the interests of your organization." And under date of February 2, Mr. Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., secretary of the Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce, wrote: "If at any time I can be of service to you in connection with your work with the *American Peace Society*, please do not hesitate to let me know."

As a part of the program, President Theodore E. Burton is already asking men of position and influence for advice. He is also writing to key men in each of the forty-eight States with the view that they become officially aligned with the Society's labors.

Letters are being sent to presidents of historical societies of various States, to patriotic organizations, to commercial and trade bodies, for suggestions and lists of persons to be invited to the Centennial Conference.

These facts, picked somewhat at random, will be of interest especially to the members of the *American Peace Society*. Undoubtedly they will lead them to send to the Washington office their own suggestions relative to the nature of next year's gathering. They will wish to nominate persons for members of the Society, and to suggest the names of others to invite. The members of the American Peace Society, acquainted as they are with the purposes and traditions, are the hope—by all means, the outstanding hope—of those laboring as best they can to realize something especially worthy when men and women shall meet fittingly to commemorate the heroic struggle of a century.

## LACEY C. ZAPF, BUSINESS MANAGER

It is fitting that the members of the American Peace Society should know more of Mr. Lacey C. Zapf, our new Business Manager, in charge of the Membership and Endowment Division. Mr. Zapf, forty-three years of age, is married and a father of two children, nine and seventeen years of age. He graduated from De Pauw University in 1905, and later from Hiron's Practical Business College. He pursued courses in George Washington University, specializing in foreign trade, international and maritime law. He is a graduate of Georgetown Law School of Georgetown University. He has had eight years of newspaper work, four years in the manufacturing field, and since 1913 he has been a member of the Bar of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. He has done special legal work for the Department of Commerce and has served as Special Assistant to the Director of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. He was Administrative Officer of the War Trade Board during the early part of the World War. He helped to organize the Tanners' Council of America, after which he took charge of the Eastern District as General Agent of the Council. He then became Assistant Director of the Bureau of Research, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, where he handled the foreign trade work of the chamber. He was Executive officer of the International Trade Conference in 1919. During 1919 and 1920 he was Secretary of the Permanent Organization Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce. He was Secretary of the American Delegation to the organization meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce, Paris, in 1920. From 1920 to 1926 he was Secretary of the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce. He has traveled extensively abroad.

## IS IT SO BAD?

**I**N a recent address, the President of one of our leading universities, after expressing his concern for his country and lauding the spirit of Locarno, said: "Unhappily, the policies as to international affairs—or perhaps the lack of policies—that have been pursued by our government since the Armistice have made this nation of ours a dangerous derelict adrift on the high seas of international intercourse and lying straight across the path of every ship that sails laden with the precious cargo of international friendship and concord."

Is it as bad as that? We think not.

It is not fair to accuse the United States of having no policies since the Armistice. We have had a positive policy toward the League of Nations. That policy has been twofold: First, not to sign the Covenant; second, to co-operate with agencies of the League as may seem to us wise, in concrete situations as they arise.

These policies were clearly defined in the United States Senate, beginning July 10, 1919, and lasting with some interruptions until March 19, 1920. It was the policy of the Senate that we should enter the League, but with the understanding that should we wish to withdraw we would be the sole judge as to whether or not we had fulfilled our obligations under the terms of the Covenant; with the understanding that we decline to agree to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of another power by force of arms, except upon action of our Congress in every case; that we accept no mandates for the control of new territory except by action of Congress; that we reserve for ourselves the right to decide whether or not a given question is a matter of domestic jurisdiction; that we refuse to imperil our Monroe Doctrine; that we withhold our assent to the transfer of certain German rights to Japan; that no person shall represent us

abroad save by act of Congress providing for his appointment and defining his powers; that the Reparations Commission shall not interfere with reports between the United States and Germany save with the approval of Congress; that we assume no financial obligations under the Covenant, outside our regular dues, save by act of Congress; that the League shall take no steps toward the limitation of armaments in the United States save with the advice and consent of Congress; that we reserve the right to permit nationals of a covenant-breaking State to continue their relations with nationals of the United States; that we refuse to approve any act of the League illegal under the laws of our United States; that we withhold our assent to that portion of the Treaty of Versailles relating to international problems of labor, save by act of Congress; that we have equal voting power with every other member of the League. We added the hope that Ireland should be admitted to the League. These so-called "reservations" represent positive policies of the Senate seven years ago. It is probable that they are still vital in the conduct of our foreign affairs. Since these policies did not meet with the approval of the friends of the League, President Harding was elected upon a platform opposed to our entrance into the League. The same is true of President Coolidge. We have always found it difficult to understand the objections to these reservations. They are quite reasonable, wholly germane, and vital to our democratic control of foreign policies. The point here is, however, it is not just to accuse our government with "a lack of policies."

Furthermore, it has been our policy to co-operate with the League. The Covenant of the League went into force January 10, 1920, at 4:15 p. m. Four days later President Wilson convoked the Council of the League, and on November 15 of that year he convoked the Assembly of the League.

Very early in the history of the League our State Department appointed a jurist to sit with the League Commission to settle the Aaland Islands dispute. It has had unofficial representatives at a number of conferences held under the auspices of the League; for example, at the Brussels International Financial Conference in 1920, at the Conference on Transit and Communication, Geneva, and at the Conference on Customs Formalities in 1923. Our State Department communicates all treaties to the League of Nations for registration. Our government is associated with the International Hydrographic Bureau now under the League. It was represented on the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments; it is still working with that commission. It sent a delegation to the International Conference on Traffic in Arms in 1925. Our government sent a delegate in 1923 to the Conference on Obscene Publications; to the Opium Conference in 1923, 1924, 1925; to the Conference on Women and Children in 1923, 1925. Dr. Cumming, our government's health officer, and others among our health experts, are working with health agencies of the League. Thus, again, we have had rather clear-cut policies toward the League of Nations.

We have definite policies in other respects. Recalling that we were looked upon, when lending money to our associates in the war, as "saviors of the world," we are now asking our debtors to pay something on account. We played a part in the war, borrowed no money from other governments, and now, having increased our national debt from one to twenty-five billions, we are asking for no reparations and demanding no territory. It is our policy to be lenient. We have demanded nothing from other governments which they are unwilling to grant. We have canceled large amounts due to us under contracts as clearly and mutually acceptable as ever a

contract has been. We kept an army in Germany upon the request of our associates and under an agreement that the expense would be met out of the first installments from reparations. When, instead, some of our associates collected and divided the money, it has been our policy to accept the situation. Since, under the Dawes Plan, some of our debtors are being paid by Germany, it has been our policy to suggest that we be paid something on account. It has been our policy to ask for equal commercial rights in former enemy territories taken over by our associates. It has been our policy toward the League's Permanent Court of International Justice not to scrap principles found to have been essential to our success as a union of free, sovereign, independent States. It has been our policy to favor the independence of China. It has been our policy to negotiate a treaty for the protection of our canal and the independence of Panama, and to stand for popular government in Central America. It has been our policy to do everything in our power to limit competition in arms, and to make sacrifices in behalf of such a policy. We stand for the equality of States before the law, for the extension of that law, and for the processes of justice. We refuse to whittle away our influence by signing a contract to preserve the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and to take sides in the many vexatious issues facing the newly created governments of Europe. It is our policy to keep our democratic control of our foreign relations. We propose to stand by our tried principles of political science and constitutional law. We still believe that a compact to keep the peace is stronger and more promising than a compact to enforce peace.

We have not forsaken our faith in recurring conferences for the upbuilding of international law, and in a free, universal, Permanent Court of International Justice, adjudicating disputes between the States

of the world as does the Supreme Court of the United States in disputes between States of our Union.

In the light of these facts, there may be nations wandering as dangerous derelicts "adrift on the high seas of international intercourse and lying straight across the path of every ship that sails laden with the precious cargo of international friendship and concord." We fail to see, however, how it can be justly charged that among them floats the United States of America.

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### INTERNATIONAL WORK FOR HEALTH

WORK to promote the health of us human beings affects us where we live. It is to us of primary importance. That this work is going on concerns us all. That it is being pushed on an international plane is of the greatest interest. For these reasons Surgeon General Cumming, of the United States Public Health Service, Director of the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, is a very interesting man. When he speaks upon his work he draws the attention of us all. In a recent interview he said: "However difficult it may be to secure satisfactory international agreement in other fields, it is, by comparison, a relatively simple matter for the health authorities of the nations of the world to act in harmony in matters of health and sanitation." In his interview, the doctor granted that there are difficulties, particularly as to the bodies to carry out the obligations mutually agreed upon. There are three outstanding official international health organizations: The International Office of Public Hygiene, with headquarters at Paris, first to enter the field; the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, with headquarters in the Pan-American Union at Washington, especially concerned with health problems of the American republics; and, lately, the Health Committee

of the League of Nations, with headquarters at Geneva. The Pan-American Sanitary Bureau is on an equal footing with the Health Section of the League of Nations, in so far as their relations with the International Sanitary Office are concerned. Since the last International Sanitary Conference held in Paris last June, efforts are being made to bring about a closer and more effective co-operation and to avoid duplication of effort.

Among the basic principles agreed upon by the sixty nations represented in these three international bodies, it has been agreed that prompt notification shall be given by each of the signatory powers of the "first cases" of plague, such as yellow fever or cholera, as it appears in the territory of any of these nations. This is true for epidemics of smallpox and typhus fever. Such notifications are reciprocal. It is planned to have them reach the chief health authorities of all the nations concerned with the utmost dispatch. In this way it is hoped to prevent the spread of these diseases by the way of commerce or otherwise. The notifications are made by telegraph or radio. In order to avoid duplication and expense, it is proposed that the International Office of Paris, the Health Section of the League, and the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau act as central agencies for the dissemination of these reports.

From Dr. Cumming's statement it is clear that careful and scientific thought is being brought to bear upon this business. The first reports are to be followed by information giving in detail the progress of the outbreak, the extension of the disease to other districts, if such occur, and the measures which are being taken to control the disease and to prevent its spread. When the disease has been exterminated or placed under sanitary control, so that it is no longer a menace to other countries, notification follows.

It appears that provision is made for the preparation, publication, and distribution of annual summaries of the health activities of the signatory powers. These summaries are intended to give detailed information upon sanitary and health conditions in the reporting countries. It is planned further to issue and exchange reports of progress in research, in health administration, and in methods for the control and eradication of disease.

Undoubtedly, Surgeon General Cumming is justified in the statement that "the time has passed when measures for the control of the spread of disease from one country to another may be limited to quarantine and inspection at ports of entry. Disease does not recognize international boundaries and is not concerned with international policy; disease is most effectively controlled in the places where it exists."

This worldwide effort to control disease and to exterminate it wherever possible is an encouragement to us all. Whatever one may think of "Pope's Essay on Man," it contains many a nugget of truth; for example:

"Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,  
Lie in three words—health, peace, and competence."

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### THE LITTLE ENTENTE

**T**HE Little Entente, made up of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, is in the main the achievement of Dr. Benesh, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia. Due somewhat to the advances of Italy toward Rumania and Hungary, and somewhat to other causes, difficulties and misunderstandings have arisen among the members of the alliance. It is reported that Rumania is not as friendly as formerly. Government crises in Yugoslavia have tended to distract the

attention of that country from her relations with her collaborators.

The fifth cabinet of M. Uzunovich lasted but four days. The two government parties in Yugoslavia—the Radicals and the Radich—find it difficult to do anything together. Yugoslavia seems to be suffering from politics-itis. The problem in Yugoslavia seems to demand a new election without too much interference from the officials in power. In the presence of such a situation, there seems to be little time in Yugoslavia for attention to the Little Entente.

It is demonstrable that the Little Entente has served as an agency for the promotion of order in Central Europe. Dr. Soucek, editor of the *Central European Observer*, points out that, as an instrument of good order in Central Europe, as an alliance originally to prevent Hungary from violating the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the Entente has been one of the most influential factors in the pacification of Central Europe. It is interesting to note that Bucharest, Belgrade, and Prague have recently reaffirmed their faith in the Little Entente. The Bucharest press has greeted the recent treaty between France and Rumania as increasing the value of the Little Entente. Every time it is charged that there are strained relations within the ranks of the Little Entente, it is officially denied in all three capitals. Dr. Benesh goes so far as to say that there are no misunderstandings among the members of the alliance.

It ought not to be necessary to point out, however, that the ways of all alliances are always difficult and often dangerous. To continue an alliance beyond the immediate needs that seem to make it necessary is to perpetuate a danger. This is not offered as advice to our friends of Central Europe. It is simply to remind them of a fact.

## TRUTH IN HISTORY

**H**ISTORY, as it is taught in the schools of various countries, is, beyond any doubt, one of the most potent influences for good or for evil in the moulding of international understanding and peace. The touchstone of whether history as taught is an influence for good or for evil is very largely in the amount of truth it tells about the particular epoch or series of events which it discusses. The article by Professor Lawrence, appearing elsewhere in this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, calls attention to the paramount importance of this question and makes some pertinent suggestions in connection with it.

We are glad to publish this article, because we believe that the subject with which it deals deserves serious and whole-hearted consideration. But there is one point on which we would venture to dissent from the author, and that is the emphasis he places upon the question of the reconsideration of the guilt for the World War, which has become a fashionable pastime with some historians during the past two or three years.

It is most important, of course, that we have at our disposal as much evidence as possible dealing with the circumstances which brought the world to the cataclysm of 1914. We ought to welcome, therefore, every fact and every opinion that sheds light upon that complex and confused situation. But what we want is a calm, dispassionate, and altogether objective, analytical and interpretative study of all the new materials that come to light. What we ought particularly to avoid is any attempt to make these still fragmentary materials serve as handmaids to individual notions and ideas. And the historians who have been especially active in revising the question of war guilt have been unfortunately too prone to shape their investiga-

tions into the form of personal causes to be violently and passionately espoused.

We find little profit and all too little service to historic truth in exonerating Germany from guilt in the World War. We have read the evidence unearthed so far, and we fail utterly to understand how any one can, on the basis of that evidence, evaluate the war guilt in the following order: Russia, France, Austria, Germany, England. Not only do we feel that the evidence produced so far is far too incomplete for any such definite valuation, but that, such as it is, this evidence certainly does not support the contention that Austria and Germany were less responsible for the outbreak of the war than Russia and France.

Going from the extreme of placing the whole war guilt solely upon Germany to the other extreme of exonerating Germany almost completely from responsibility for the war seems to us a very poor way of giving the world a more or less correct historic perspective. We should prefer to wait for much more adequate material than is available at the present time before we acknowledge Imperial Germany and Imperial Austria as innocent victims of nefarious machinations of St. Petersburg and Paris.

But in the meantime we cannot emphasize too much our earnest belief that no effort should be spared to bring to light every scintilla of evidence that will make historic events more of an open book than they are at the present time. World peace cannot be based on lies and misrepresentation. Its soundest foundation is international understanding uncolored by obscuring prejudices. Historic research, like any other type of scientific investigation, should be guided by a passion for truth and not a search for the justification of conclusions made in advance on the basis of inadequate evidence.

There seems to be little room for doubt

that the school histories given to our children to study are often quite inaccurate and misleading. One of the most generally used of these texts, for example, gives a quite inaccurate picture of the service rendered by dogs to the Red Cross during the war. Ignoring Liège, Mons, Cateau-Cambrai, and other "fields of honor," a number of these texts delight in calling the first battle of the Marne the savior of civilization. It is difficult to find among them anything like an accurate account of the work of our Marines at Chateau-Thierry; indeed one well-known text speaks of "the deadly struggle in Belleau Wood, where the battle of Chateau-Thierry was fought," notwithstanding that these two places are some six miles apart. One says: "The first defensive battle in which American troops were largely engaged was at Chateau-Thierry. The first offensive was at Belleau Wood." Neither of these statements is true. Still another tells us that: "The fight at Belleau Wood was the first serious set back the Hun had encountered, and the stopping of his advance relieved Paris from immediate danger." This, of course, is a direct contradiction of those histories which point to the first battle of the Marne as "the first serious set back." And why, in this way of rapprochments, should we continue to feed our children with the rather hateful word "Hun." Still another of these books states as a fact that, "On July 18, the Allied Armies delivered a mighty counterblow from the Swiss border to the North Sea," which is quite absurd. This same text, speaking of the great work of our American soldiers, makes the wholly inaccurate statement that, "they drove the Germans back toward the Rhine." In the same paragraph it tells of our lads "smashing through their line." There was nothing of that sort. It is this same text that speaks of "transports carrying American troops convoyed by battleships." In-



spired more by enthusiasm than by the facts, another author says: "The fighting at Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, and in the Argonne Forest demonstrated that the American soldier with six months of training is more than a match for the German veteran." This statement could have been more appropriately made had it been true. Still another of these best known texts tells of the operations of the First and Second Divisions of the American Armies at Chateau-Thierry. We are informed that neither of these divisions fought at that place. We are among those who believe that there was honor enough in the work of our American soldiers abroad; but we cannot see how that honor is embellished either by misstatements of fact or by the licenses of rhetoric.

Nowhere is truth in history more important than in the school textbooks. Of all the subjects taught in the schools history does most to shape the minds of the rising generation as to the social character of the world we live in and of the forces which mould it. It is in school textbooks of history that we should particularly avoid misrepresentation of history based on passionate adherence to particular views.

**A** LITTLE humor now and then is relished by the best of international men. In his address, January 10, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler related a story of Messrs. Briand and Stresemann which we have no doubt is authentic. As quoted in the press, Doctor Butler said:

"Last March the question of the admission of Germany to the Council of the League was at issue, and the word had come that Brazil was to use its legal power of veto to prevent the necessary unanimous consent. The night before the decision was to be taken, Monsieur Briand and Doctor Stresemann were closeted together in a back room, smoking vigorously and discussing how to meet the situation

that had developed. Outside was an anxious group of fifty representatives of the world's newspaper press waiting for some indication of what France and Germany were going to do at this great crisis.

"M. Briand said: 'Dr. Stresemann, I do not see what we can do. Brazil has the power, if she chooses to exercise it, and it appears that she does. I do not see what we can do, do you?'

"Dr. Stresemann replied, 'No, I do not; we have come to an impasse. Brazil blocks the way, and we can apparently do nothing.' 'I will tell you what to do,' said M. Briand. 'Let us go to bed. Let us sleep over it, and perhaps something will come to us in our dreams and we shall get light.' Dr. Stresemann said, 'Splendid!' The door was thrown open. Briand and Stresemann went out to face the waiting newspaper men, arm in arm. Briand took his cigar from his mouth and he said, 'Gentlemen, I have pleasure in saying to you that Germany and France are in absolute agreement as to the next steps to be taken.'

**U**NEMPLOYMENT in France is on the increase. The International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam, is our authority for the news that unemployment in France is very general, and that in many industries it has led to the closing of many works. Short time is also very widespread. During the last week in January there were in Paris eighteen thousand seven hundred fifty-four persons seeking relief as against fourteen thousand five hundred fifty-eight the preceding week. The chief industries affected are the metal, wood, clothing and leather industries, the building trades, transports, clerical work and the food trades. It appears that the unemployment relief, of which the State pays one-third, is still quite inadequate, although raised by government decree at the beginning of January. The amount paid is four and one-half francs per day for those with families to keep, plus various bonuses, such as three

francs for each unemployed child over sixteen, and two francs each for the wife and each child under sixteen. The total, however, must not be more than twelve francs. Large families are, of course, very hard hit by this regulation. The municipalities and departments are empowered to raise these amounts, but as a rule this does not mean much. Paris pays fifty centimes extra for every head of a family, and twenty-five centimes for the other members of the family. The Lyons Town Council has sanctioned a credit of four hundred thousand francs.

THE United States is to continue its co-operation with the Preparatory Commission for a Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments set up by the League of Nations. This is assured by the passage, February 18, of H. J. Resolution No. 352, carrying an appropriation of seventy-five thousand dollars, requested by President Coolidge for that purpose. It was generally felt, even by those who see little hope in the work of the Commission, that our sitting in will be a tangible indication of our good will. That, certainly, is reason enough.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA

THE crisis which has arisen over the threat of the Cantonese Government to occupy the foreign concessions within its territory is as yet far from being settled. Once having determined upon a policy of defending the concessions by force of arms, the British Government is rushing troops to Shanghai. At the same time strenuous efforts are being made to reopen negotiations with the Cantonese Government, which broke down nearly in February because of the insistence of the Cantonese Foreign Minister, Mr. Eugene Chen, that all British military and naval forces be withdrawn from China before the negotiations can continue.

#### British Proposals to China

Shortly before the negotiations between Mr. Chen and Mr. O'Malley, the British representative at Hankow, the seat of the Cantonese Government, broke down, the following British proposals were handed to the Chinese authorities at both Peking and Hankow:

1. His Majesty's Government are prepared to recognize the modern Chinese law courts as the competent courts for cases brought by British plaintiffs or complainants, and to

waive the right of attendance of a British representative at the hearing of such cases.

2. His Majesty's Government are prepared to recognize the validity of a reasonable Chinese nationality law.

3. His Majesty's Government are prepared to apply, as far as practicable, in British courts in China the modern Chinese civil and commercial codes (apart from procedure codes and those affecting personal status) and duly enacted subordinate legislation as and when such laws and regulations are promulgated and enforced in Chinese courts and on Chinese citizens throughout China.

4. His Majesty's Government are prepared to make British subjects in China liable to pay such regular and legal Chinese taxation, not involving discrimination against British subjects or British goods, as is in fact imposed on and paid by Chinese citizens throughout China.

5. His Majesty's Government are prepared, as soon as the revised Chinese Penal Code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts, to consider its application in British courts in China.

6. His Majesty's Government are prepared to discuss and enter into arrangements, according to the particular circumstances at each port concerned, for the modification of the municipal administrations of British

concessions so as to bring them into line with the administration of the special Chinese administrations set up in former concessions, or for their amalgamation with former concessions now under Chinese control, or for the transfer of police control of the concession areas to the Chinese authorities.

7. His Majesty's Government are prepared to accept the principle that British missionaries should no longer claim the right to purchase land in the interior, that Chinese converts should look to Chinese law and not to treaties for protection, and that missionary, educational, and medical institutions will conform to Chinese laws and regulations applying to similar Chinese institutions.

#### Significance of the British Proposals

The far-reaching significance of these British proposals may be seen from the following analysis prepared by a British expert on the Far East:

Hitherto, in cases against Chinese, British, plaintiffs and complainants have enjoyed the right of having a British assessor present, trials taking place, in Shanghai, in the Mixed Court; at other places, in the local Chinese magistrate's court. In the agreement recently reached at Shanghai for the rendition of the Mixed Court this right was retained. At Shanghai, owing to the history and conditions of the port, it might perhaps, continue. At other places, however, if the British offers were accepted, it would cease. Cases would come before the modern courts, the Shen P'an T'ing, established in 1910. The agreement reached in 1913, whereby (as the Chinese Government was unwilling to admit foreign assessors to the Shen P'an T'ing) mixed cases were to continue to be tried by the local magistrate's court, would lapse.

As a result, British subjects would not stand in as advantageous a position as they have hitherto stood in such matters, for instance, as the enforcement of contracts. Disputes over contracts with Chinese have never, it is true, been taken into court except as a last resource, and the resource has always been liable to nullification through the flight of the Chinese concerned to "Ningpo-more-far." If and when a case was taken into court, however, the presence of a British assessor was a valuable safeguard, the disappearance of which would tend to increase the difficulties of trade.

#### Chinese Law

Hitherto, also, the amenability of British subjects only to their own courts applying British law has placed them in a position free from doubts and obscurities. They, and British courts also, for that matter, would, in the terms of the British Government's proposals, have to exchange this position for one less clear. China has a draft Civil Code, part of a draft Commercial Code, and a draft Bankruptcy Law, but she has no laws, even in draft form, relating to patents, the practice of pharmacy and medicine, and cadastral registration of land. There is a general law governing expropriation of land, which has not yet been put into force, while in regard to notaries public the Commission on Extraterritoriality was informed that the Chinese Government is considering the extension to other parts of China of the system recognized in Kharbin since December, 1920. In the "General Regulations Governing Registration" provision exists for securing notarial proof, but, except in the case of documents relating to rights in immovables, to traders and to commercial associations, the provision has not been enforced.

Similarly, in the absence of detailed regulations, a number of laws relating to local self-government have not been enforced. Furthermore, a number of laws have been promulgated containing provisions which refer by anticipation to laws which do not yet exist, while a number of ancient laws and legal principles dating from former times continue to be in force and applied side by side with the new laws, thus partially nullifying the latter.

In these circumstances it is not easy to foresee how far, in the immediate future, it would be possible to implement the offer made under this head, or where exactly British subjects, when defendants, would stand, their safeguard, however, in this respect being the reservation that the laws to be applied in British courts must become enforceable in Chinese courts.

#### Taxation

Fiscally, too, British subjects, in virtue of these offers, would be in an entirely new position. Hitherto they have been free from Chinese taxation except in the form of customs duties and land taxes, and, in

certain places, payments ironically termed "voluntary contributions." In future, however, had the British Government's offer been accepted, they, and their firms, would stand on the same footing as Chinese. They would be amenable to regular Chinese taxation not involving discrimination against them or their goods. Presumably also, they would be amenable to such regulations as might be introduced in connection with taxation, such, for example, as the production of books for inspection.

The offer regarding the amalgamation of concessions with adjacent areas under Chinese control would result probably in some forms of administration similar to the one designed for the ex-Russian Concession at Hankow, namely, a director appointed by the Civil Governor of Hupeh, and a Council of six, three foreign and three Chinese, elected to serve for one year by lot holders and ratepayers, control being predominantly in Chinese hands. The principle of such administration being once admitted at Hankow and the other British Concessions would, as already indicated, be applicable at Shanghai, where the International Settlement is adjacent to areas governed by Chinese authorities on Chinese lines. How its application in Shanghai, or for that matter in Tientsin, would work only time and experience could show. It is clear, however, that the present administration of the International Settlement would be likely to undergo fundamental changes, in applying which it would be highly important to make adequate provision to safeguard the execution of judgments issued by H. M. Supreme Court and to protect British and other foreign interests, for example, the financial credit of the existing municipality, the total of whose outstanding debentures is considerable. A few months ago these were still regarded as gilt-edged securities: latterly they have fallen much below par.

As regards missionaries, the Chinese-American treaties of 1903 gave an express treaty right "to missionary societies" to rent or lease land in perpetuity in all parts of China: while, as regards the status of Chinese converts, Mr. H. B. Morse in his "Trade and Administration of China" says: "When the missionary transfers a corner of his protecting cloak to his poor

Chinese convert, he may be doing what is right, but it is not lawful."

#### Chen's Diatribe Against the British

Soon after the handing of these proposals to the Chinese authorities, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Austen Chamberlain, delivered an important speech at Birmingham, in which he dwelt with considerable emphasis on the nature of the proposals. (The text of Sir Austen's speech will appear in the International Documents section of the next issue of the *ADVOCATE*.) On February 5, Mr. Chen, the Cantonese Foreign Minister, in a speech delivered at Hankow, took occasion to hurl a diatribe against the British in connection with both the proposals and the speech. He said:

Pronouncements have lately been made by the British Foreign Secretary and others on the present situation in China. There is in his speech, I am afraid, a common misapprehension of the great secular principle which is working out an independent modern state of China.

It is the principle of freedom, liberty, and independence. In its internal aspect this principle is manifested in the Nationalist movement against Chinese feudalism in the double form of Mandarinate that misruled at Peking and of the decaying militarism which sustains the bandit power of Chang Tso-lin and his fellow freebooters. Externally the same principle is expressing itself in the Nationalist struggle with foreign Imperialism, especially in this specific phase of the struggle concurrently known as the anti-British movement. An incomplete grasp of this principle leads the powers concerned to a conclusion which is objectively false. This is particularly true of Great Britain. She desires a sort of truce in this struggle with Chinese nationalism; but instead of frankly and courageously dealing with the only government that can make an effective binding peace with her she retakes the old cart road toward Peking in order to associate with the anti-Nationalist authorities there in the negotiations of a settlement of questions which Chinese nationalism has compelled the British and others to envisage as vital and urgent. The irony of the position is that while Sir Austen Chamberlain, in his Bir-

mingham speech, implies that negotiations solely with the Nationalist Government would involve the recognition of the division of China, he is applying a diplomatic technique that will infallibly bring about the real division of the country.

He has communicated simultaneously to the Nationalist Government and to the feudal authorities at Peking certain proposals which, if negotiated in the manner desired by him, must cleave China into a Nationalist China, with its Nationalist Government at Wuhan, and a feudalist China, with its anti-Nationalist Government at Peking. The vice in this diplomacy lies in the persistence of the Peking complex in the minds of British imperialism. The latter admits through the British Foreign Secretary the fundamental reasonableness of the demand for treaty revision, which is the fundamental objective of Chinese nationalism in this struggle with alien imperialism.

Instead of working on this fact seriously and realistically with the only government that derives its sanction and authority from Chinese nationalism, the British Government continues to twiddle with Chinese feudalism at Peking. For 15 years Great Britain has looked to Peking for a government that will govern and bring peace to the harassed country. Today Peking is dying and the British, chief sustainers of Peking, are facing the greatest crisis in their career in Far Asia.

Between Chinese nationalism and Chinese feudalism there can be no compromise, and the moment has come for the British to decide whether their trade and commerce are to flourish in an independent nationalist China or to continue to decline in an unfree feudal China.

#### Protest of the Peking Government

Objections to the concentration of British troops in China have been raised not only by the Nationalist Government of Canton, but also by the authorities in Peking. The Peking Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Wellington Koo, has communicated to the British Minister the following note for transmission to London:

According to recent reports from various quarters the Government of Great Britain have taken steps to dispatch to China a large number of regular troops, warships, submarines, and aeroplanes. Being much surprised by the news I instructed the Chinese Chargé

d'Affaires in London to make inquiry at the British Foreign Office, and was informed that the British Government were sending troops to China only for the purpose of protecting British subjects in China and safeguarding their interests. This is confirmed by your Excellency's verbal statement to the effect that owing to the extreme importance of the Shanghai Settlement your Excellency's Government had decided to send troops for its protection. In view of the friendly relations between China and Great Britain the Chinese Government are at all times prepared to protect British residents in China to the best of their ability. The peremptory dispatch of naval and military forces to China without the concurrence of the Chinese Government cannot, therefore, but be deemed to be a most extraordinary action.

I have the honor to invite your Excellency's attention to a decision recorded by resolution adopted at the Washington Conference by the plenipotentiary delegates of the powers other than China, to respect China's sovereignty and to withdraw all troops stationed in China, not in conformity with the provisions of existing treaties and agreements. Moreover, according to Article X, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, China and Great Britain, being members of the League, mutually undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. The dispatch of additional naval and military forces to China is contrary to the spirit of the resolutions and stipulations of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It cannot be overemphasized that the national spirit of the Chinese people for preserving the sovereign rights of China has been developed, and that the military movement on the part of the British Government is liable to lead to serious misunderstandings. If such a movement is merely intended for the protection of the Settlement of Shanghai, there is no real cause for alarm, as the Chinese military and police forces stationed in the vicinity of the city are amply capable of maintaining order both within and without the Settlement, and the presence of a large number of foreign troops in the area may lead to unforeseen complications for which the Chinese Government could not be held responsible.

For the foregoing reasons I have the honor to present this formal protest to your Ex-

cellency with the request that the contents be transmitted to your Excellency's Government. I venture to hope your Excellency's Government will share the views expressed in this note and will give the necessary instructions for the immediate withdrawal of troops dispatched to China, so that nothing untoward may happen to mar the friendly relations now happily existing between the two nations.

#### British Labor and the Chinese Crisis

British labor leaders, especially former Prime Minister MacDonald, have been vehement in their denunciation of the Cabinet's policy of using force in China. They have been pressing for peaceful negotiations, and on January 26 sent a communication to Mr. Chen, in which they urged him to do everything in his power to prevent a break. On February 1 the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party received the following communication from the Cantonese Foreign Minister:

In reply to your message, I have to assure you of the desire of the Nationalist Government to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the British Government not only on the specific question of Hankow British Concession, but on all other issues involved in the Nationalist movement for the recovery of China's independence. In pursuing this diplomacy of peace we rely on British labor to assist in controlling the adventurous elements in the British Government of today and in averting British decisions for action which might dig deep into the mind of Nationalist China enduring resentment and hostility toward the British.

I have sought to arrange a settlement of the question of the Hankow Concession apart from the general important issues pending between Chinese nationalism and British imperialism which would both satisfy British sentiment and preserve Nationalist self-respect. Such settlement can be reached at once if only there is a cessation of war atmosphere and war neurosis created by the menacing concentration at Shanghai of the most powerful naval and military forces England has massed in China since the opium wars.

The object of these warlike measures is said to be to guard against British lives and property being put in jeopardy by the forcible Chinese seizure of the international settle-

ment at Shanghai. If this be the real aim and purpose of the British Concentration there ought no longer to be any anxiety or fear on the point, in view of the categorical statement I have today made to the British representative who is engaged in negotiations with me.

If, however, the massing of armed British forces in the direction of Shanghai is an expression of the type of governing mind that feeds on bodies of slaughtered men, then it is to be feared the disablement of British trade and commerce may have to continue until British labor is entrusted by England with the task of arresting the British decline in Far Asia, by substituting statesmanship, peace, and productive work for the Tory statesmanship of imperialism, war, and Byzantine glory.

#### Soviet Russia and China

On February 4, M. Litvinoff, the acting Commissary for Foreign Affairs, made an important statement to the representatives of the Soviet and the foreign press in Moscow, bearing on the British policy in China.

The situation at the moment in China, he said, was characterized by the breakdown of the negotiations between Mr. O'Malley and the Canton Government as the result of the refusal of the British Government to recall its armed forces. The Government of the U. S. S. R. regretted the situation which had been created, and felt certain that this sentiment was shared by the British people as well as by the Chinese, who can have no interest in a continuation of the conflict. The latest proposals of Mr. O'Malley seemed to create a basis acceptable to the Canton Government for settling the present outstanding questions with Great Britain. It was a matter of regret that the coupling of these peace negotiations with threats of intimidation and military intervention had, judging from Mr. Chen's statement, caused a breakdown. The British Conservatives circles are now trying to shift their own mistakes on to the shoulders of the Soviet Government, and attempting to make it the scapegoat on the basis of ridiculous legends that would explain the greatest liberative movement in history among China's millions by the "machinations of Soviet agents,"

The Soviet Government had never made any secret of its sympathy with the liberative movement of the Chinese people. It by no means followed from that, however, that it would recommend, or had actually recommended, the Canton Government to strain its relations with Great Britain, or that it should stand in the way of a peaceful agreement with the latter country. The Soviet Government considered that quite a right position had been adopted by the British General Council of Trades Unions, inasmuch as it is working in the interests of a peaceful solution and by those progressive circles of the English public which point out that the straining of Anglo-Soviet relations would bring no profit to either side.

The young Canton Government refuses to sign a treaty with England under conditions of threats and intervention. "I hope," he concluded, "that the reasonable elements of the British public and the British Government will prevail over the advocates of a policy of the mailed fist which has never brought to peoples and generally to the cause of peace anything but misery."

### UNITED STATES AND THE CHINESE CRISIS

ON JANUARY 26 Secretary of State Kellogg issued a statement on the position of the United States with regard to the Chinese tariff autonomy and the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights. The following passages in the statement are of immediate importance:

The United States is now, and has been ever since the negotiation of the Washington Treaty, prepared to enter into negotiations with any government of China or delegates who can represent or speak for China, not only for the putting into force of the surtaxes of the Washington Treaty, but entirely releasing tariff control and restoring complete tariff autonomy to China.

The United States would expect, however, that it be granted most-favored nation treatment and that there should be no discrimination against the United States and its citizens in customs duties or taxes in favor of the citizens of other nations, or discrimination by grants or special privileges, and that the "open door," with equal opportunity for

trade in China, shall be maintained; and further that China should afford every protection to American citizens, to their property and rights.

The United States is prepared to put into force the recommendations of the Extraterritoriality Commission, which can be put into force without a treaty at once, and to negotiate the release of the extraterritorial rights as soon as China is prepared to provide protection by law and through her courts to American citizens their rights and property.

#### A Liberal Spirit

The statement affirms "the willingness of the United States to deal with China in a most liberal spirit," and supports this by a brief history of the events which have followed the making of the Washington Treaty. The last of the signatory powers did not ratify that instrument until July 7, 1925, but Mr. Kellogg makes it known how he endeavored to expedite the holding of the Chinese Tariff Conference—by way of "evidencing to the Chinese our willingness to consider the question of treaty revision"—and also urged the appointment of a Commission to investigate extraterritoriality "with the understanding that the Commission should be authorized to include in its report the gradual relinquishment of extraterritorial rights."

Then follow references to the Tariff Conference, the enunciation by the American delegation of the "principle of respect for China's tariff autonomy," the resolution of November 19, 1925, consenting to the "going into effect of the Chinese National Tariff law on January 1, 1929, coincident with abolition of *likin*," and the statement that "until about the middle of April 1926, there was every prospect of a successful termination of the conference to the satisfaction of the Chinese and other powers."

Even then, "though the government which represented China at the conference was forced out of power," the delegates of the United States and other powers remained in China, and declared their unanimous and earnest desire to proceed with the work as soon as the Chinese were "in a position to resume discussion."

As the United States Government was ready then, it "is ready now to continue negotiations on the entire subject of tariff

and extraterritoriality or to take up negotiations on behalf of the United States alone." In fact, the "only question is with whom it shall negotiate," in respect of which Mr. Kellogg announces that "if China can agree upon the appointment of delegates representing the authorities or the people of the country," the United States is prepared to negotiate such a treaty. He adds, however, that "existing treaties which were ratified by the Senate of the United States can not be abrogated by the President, but must be superseded by new treaties negotiated with somebody representing China and subsequently ratified by the Senate of the United States."

#### Nationalist Movement

Then follows a brief paragraph which might be interpreted as a friendly gesture toward Canton. "The Government of the United States," it says, "has watched with sympathetic interest the Nationalistic awakening of China, and welcomes every advance made by the Chinese people toward reorganizing their system of government." After this comes a reminder that since the establishment of "the new régime" in 1912, the United States "has endeavored in every way to maintain an attitude of the most careful and strict neutrality as between the several factions that have disputed with one another for control in China." It is expected, however, that "the people of China and their leaders will recognize the right of American citizens in China to protection for life and property during the period of a conflict for which they are not responsible." If the Chinese authorities are unable to give this protection it becomes "the fundamental duty" of the United States to do so. "It is with the possible necessity for this in view that American naval forces are now in Chinese waters."

Finally, the United States Government "wishes to deal with China in the most liberal spirit. It holds no concessions in China and has never manifested any imperialistic attitude toward that country. It desires, however, that its citizens shall be given an equal opportunity with the citizens of the other powers to reside in China and to pursue their legitimate occupations without special privileges, monopolies, or spheres of special interest or influence."

This statement was followed, several days later, with a proposal to all the warring factions in China to exclude the International Settlement in Shanghai from the scene of military operations.

### JAPAN'S POLICY IN CHINA

ON JANUARY 18, at the opening session of the Japanese Diet, the Prime Minister, Mr. Wakatsuki, and the Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara, spoke on Japan's foreign policy, especially with regard to China. Following is a summarized version of the treaties, as issued by the Japanese Embassy in London.

#### Prime Minister's Speech

In the course of his speech Mr. Wakatsuki, after a reference to the European situation and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, said that Japan had concurred with the Chinese Government's proposal to open negotiations for the revision of the Sino-Japanese Commercial Treaty. Japan had always entertained a feeling of mutual dependence and friendliness toward the Chinese people. Being on happy terms with each other, the friendship and mutual understanding between the Japanese and the Chinese peoples would grow. In late years commotions and civil wars had broken out in rapid succession in China, poisoning the tranquility and stability of the political situation there. He said:

We cannot help hoping that through the awakening of the Chinese people themselves to the sorrowful state of affairs in their land, the Chinese will reach such a national agreement as will conduce to the growth of their prosperity and their credit abroad.

He added that the government, while adhering to an attitude of absolute non-interference in the internal administration of China, had always exercised its best care for the protection of the rights and interests of Japan and her nationals in the neighboring Republic.

Mr. Wakatsuki remarked that national defense could not be neglected. Japan's military and naval strength had been fixed commensurate with the present situation in the world. It followed, therefore, that unless notable changes happen therein, she must continue to maintain her existing



armaments. The government had adopted a program for the construction of vessels to replace the old auxiliary craft.

#### Foreign Minister's Statement

Baron Shidehara referred to the situation in China as a problem of great international moment.

There was, he said, no indication as yet in sight of the restoration of peace and stability there. It was not possible at the moment to estimate with certainty whether and how far the course of events would affect the rights and interests of foreign powers or their nationals, or in what direction the political situation in China was likely to develop. For the present it is advisable to exercise the utmost circumspection and calm judgment. He continued:

However, a few observations may be made on the existing condition of affairs. In the first place, we are naturally anxious to see the early re-establishment of order and security in China. We are actuated by an instinctive sympathy for our neighbors and friends, and need the safeguarding of industrial and commercial interests for our nationals. This, however, can be attained only through the initiative and efforts of the Chinese themselves. Any attempt to force domestic peace by outside pressure would do more harm than good.

With the object of lending support to, and of providing a full opportunity for, the endeavors of the Chinese people who are struggling for peace, we have found it necessary to prohibit all supply of arms and loans to China which may be applied for the purposes of civil war. Since 1919 we have been exercising the most stringent control within the limits of our power to make that prohibition effective, and we have no intention at present of relaxing such control. It seems evident that no foreign power professing a policy of non-intervention in China's domestic affairs can permit the supply of arms or of loans that would assist any faction in China to carry on hostilities against another.

It is for the Chinese themselves to decide as to their government. The national life of the Chinese people has grown up with an historical background of several thousand years, and no plans for political or social institutions worked out by any

foreign nation can be imposed on China with any lasting success. He continued:

Our nationals in China are entitled to complete protection of their persons and property, and enjoy all the guarantees of international law, accepted by the whole civilized world. These elementary rights, assured to our nationals, cannot be abridged or modified by political or social changes that may take place in China; nor are we informed so far that any faction there is denying such rights. Obviously the control over the activities of lawless elements in various localities at present is inadequate, but we hope that such irregularities will be gradually corrected with the restoration of normal conditions. Meanwhile we have only to keep in touch with those actually exercising authority in each locality and to make all possible efforts to secure that due protection is extended to the persons and property of our nationals, and so far the efforts have generally been successful.

On the subject of the surtaxes Baron Shidehara said:

We have no objection to the levying of the surtaxes provided by the Washington Customs Treaty, but we must make it reasonably certain that such additional customs revenue shall not be applied, directly or indirectly, to the purposes of civil war or shall not be appropriated for the private use of any faction. We must satisfy ourselves that the proposed measure generally conforms to the letter and spirit of the Washington Treaty. Our sense of faithfulness toward China and our moral responsibilities to her 400 millions of people demand that we should arrange such purposes and conditions for the levying of the surtaxes as may be required to secure a proper application of the revenue. Viewed in this light, the early resumption of the deliberations of the conference seems highly desirable for China and the powers alike. We wish that responsible men from both the North and the South shall be appointed as members of the Chinese delegation and shall exchange views frankly.

After a reference to the Commission on Extraterritoriality in China, Baron Shidehara turned to the proposed revision of the China-Japan commercial treaty, saying that the Chinese proposal involved many legal aspects which would appear at least questionable, but the Japanese Gov-

ernment had avoided all discussion of legal technicality and had declared their readiness to enter negotiations for a revision of the treaty. He said:

While expressly reserving to ourselves the position to which we are entitled, we are prepared to consider the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people with full sympathy and understanding in the interest of Sino-Japanese friendly relations.

Japan's policy in relation to China, he said, might thus be summarized: First, to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China and scrupulously to avoid all interference in her domestic strife. Secondly, to promote solidarity and economic rapprochement between the two nations. Thirdly, to entertain sympathetically and helpfully the just aspirations of the Chinese people and to co-operate in their efforts for the realization of such aspirations. Fourthly, to maintain an attitude of patience and toleration in the present situation in China, and at the same time to protect Japan's legitimate and essential rights and interests by all reasonable means at the disposal of the government.

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## EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

THE report of the Commission on Extraterritoriality was signed in Peking on September 16, 1926. It consisted of four parts. The following is a summary, of the first three parts, as given by the *Bulletin of International News*:

### Part I. Present Practice of Extraterritoriality

This part of the report deals with the practice of extraterritoriality, starting with an historical outline, and then describes the methods by which extraterritorial jurisdiction has been exercised. Only two powers, America and Great Britain, maintain special courts in China. France and Italy each has a special judge, and Japan specially trained consuls. Norway has a consular judge at Shanghai, but otherwise jurisdiction is exercised by consuls. The British alone have trial by jury. In the case of some of the powers trials of serious crimes have to take place outside the territorial limits of China,

while in almost every case the final appeal from the decision of an extraterritorial court has to be taken abroad. The British do provide an appellate tribunal in China, from which, however, in certain cases a further appeal lies to the Privy Council. America, Great Britain, France, and Japan provide prison facilities for their nationals.

After a brief historical review of China's courts, the Commission draws attention to the very extensive jurisdiction of the Shanghai Mixed Court, "in that it extends to all Chinese and non-extraterritorial nationals residing in the International Settlement, and to the fact that under the present arrangements in all cases, even purely Chinese civil cases, foreign assessors adjudicate conjointly with Chinese magistrates. It will be seen, therefore, that this Mixed Court as at present constituted has been functioning without treaty sanction since October, 1911."

A further section deals with limitations upon Chinese jurisdictional freedom; the multiplicity of courts and diversities of law; the inaccessibility of courts; immunity of foreigners from Chinese regulations; irregular protection of the Chinese, etc. Comment is made upon the practice of certain powers in too readily extending protection to Chinese in China by allowing them to register at their consulates, "there being no justification for such protection."

The appendix to this section gives a detailed account of the manner in which each of the extraterritorial powers exercises its jurisdiction in China.

### Part II. The Laws and Judicial and Prison Systems in China

This section opens with an account of the work of codification. It then turns to the Constitution, mentioning the unsatisfactory situation created by the uncertainty as to the Constitution at present in force, particularly with regard to the enactment of laws. "From the juridical point of view, the laws appear to be regulations applied with the force of law by the courts, but subject to change or rescission at any time by their creators, the President and the Ministry of Justice." The provisional criminal code is described as "admittedly defective," but, it is added, that the Chi-

nese Government has prepared a second revised draft Penal Code.

The Commission considers that the powers of detention given to the police by the Police Offenses Law (1915) to be too severe. The criminal procedure regulations are criticised as not affording sufficient guarantee to the interests of the accused, but it is stated that portions of them are being recast. Regarding civil procedure, the absence of a complete Civil Code is emphasized, and there is considerable criticism of the detention of civil defendants. "It is important to note here that the Ministry of Justice has promulgated supplementary laws which are contrary to the spirit of the regular civil procedure regulations promulgated by the President." The frequency with which martial law is declared is regarded by the Commission as a grave menace to the proper administration of civil law in China.

The Commission pays a tribute to the work already accomplished in the compiling of new laws, but deplors the fact that since 1924 the Constitution has been discarded and the authority of the Central Government weakened. Certain anomalies are pointed out, such as the habit of local authorities enforcing supplementary legislation, and in several instances the issues of laws or regulations which are not complete. A number of matters which have not been provided for by any law are set forth, such as negotiable instruments, bankrupts, lunacy, patents, etc.

After a detailed description of various Chinese tribunals and judicial and police authorities, the Commission points out that the Chinese judicial system, like the Chinese legal system, is planned upon continental European and Japanese models, but that a number of changes have been introduced that tend to obliterate the well-defined lines of separation between administrative and judicial functions and between the jurisdiction of courts of first instance and appellate courts. The delegation of authority by the Ministry of Justice to the civil governors of the provinces instead of to the overlapping of jurisdiction. The magistrates courts are admittedly unsatisfactory—a serious feature, as the greater part of litigation in China

falls within the jurisdiction of these courts.

There is only one Administrative Court in China, and it is difficult to secure redress against illegal administrative acts of officials.

The modern prison system is stated by the Commission to be satisfactory, though criticism may be made of its administration.

### Part III. Administration of Justice in China

This part of the report emphasizes the decrease in the authority of the Central Government, and the fact that the interference of military leaders with the departments of civil government militates strongly against the normal administration of justice. Military interference with the civil administration extends to the judiciary. Irregularities in this respect usually occur under the guise of the application of martial law or simply an open assumption of authority. Another important factor is the control by the military of the finances of the government, so that the courts are dependent upon the military for their financial support. By virtue of the Chinese law, itself, the legal position of the military renders them immune from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. This immunity is liable to be extended to the friends of the military and to the commercial firms and organizations in which they are interested. The Commission instances notable acts of injustice perpetrated by the military in Peking at the very time that the Commission was holding its session. "The Commission believes it well within the range of moderation to state that in China at the present time there is no effective security against arbitrary action by the military authorities with respect to life, liberty, or property, in so far as such security can be afforded by an effective functioning of the Chinese civil and judicial authorities." Cases of interference by civil and administrative officials are also mentioned, such as the illegal activities of the Canton strikers in setting "up courts of their own to try strike-breakers" in defiance of the regularly constituted courts.

The lack of the universal application of the laws in China is discussed. It is stated that cases of torture for the extracting of

confessions of guilt and for the punishment of certain offenses still occur in China, though in regard to modern courts no such instances have been reported.

The Commission states that the "most satisfactory courts in China are the modern courts, which include the five special courts in the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but considers that one modern court of first instance to every 4,400,000 of the population is inadequate. The number of trained judicial officials appears to be insufficient, and the size of the salaries, together with the uncertain payment, are liable to deter the best men from entering the profession.

The Commission was refused permission to see the actual working of the police tribunals. It considered, however, that as the trials therein were regarded as administrative acts without the right of appeal to an ordinary court of law, the administration of justice in such tribunals under the existing procedure could not be satisfactory.

Conditions in most of the prisons visited were "not unsatisfactory," though no opportunity was given to visit any old-style prisons, police jails, or prison courts.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE CANTON GOVERNMENT

ACCORDING to the Hankow correspondent of the London *Times*, the Canton Government is something quite new to China. The revolution of 1911, out of which arose the Republic, was a haphazard movement with little drive behind it. A mere handful of revolutionaries made one of their sporadic efforts, and were immensely surprised to find themselves engineers of a widespread rebellion which resulted in the abdication of the Manchus. Their object was not the overthrow of the dynasty, but the conversion of an autocratic government into a constitutional monarchy. They were content to follow in the political footsteps of Europe, and it was more or less an accident that they adopted a variation of the American Republican system.

The Cantonese have evolved something that would be termed original if it did not so closely resemble the system of Soviet Russia. The political philosophy behind

it will, no doubt, soon be expounded by their own spokesmen. For the present it suffices to set forth badly the aims which it is sought to achieve and the methods to be employed. In the beginning there was only the old Kuomintang, a revolutionary party of which Sun Yat-sen was the nominal head. The party accepted Sun's doctrines, but the moderate wing disapproved his advances to Soviet Russia. When Sun died in 1924 the extreme wing gained the upper hand in Canton and entered into close association with the Bolsheviks, and has since claimed to be the party, an assumption disputed by the moderate wing. It is the extreme section of the Kuomintang, which has been responsible for present developments.

### The Political Bureau

In theory it is the party which has set the ball rolling. The party adopted the committee system of government in Kwangtung, and each member of the central committee is head of a branch of the administration. The executive power is centered in the central committee, all the members of which are jointly responsible, apparently only to the party. An offshoot of the party is the Political Bureau, the head of which is a member of the central committee. The function of the bureau apparently is to keep an eye on the doings of the governing body to see that the policy of the party is being faithfully pursued.

Where the party ends and where the government begins is difficult to discern, for there is no definition of their respective powers, while several of the members of the one are members of the other. At any rate, jointly and severally, a policy was evolved based on the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, who was canonized to give a sort of spiritual sanction to the new creed. Sun had the democratic idea that government must be for the benefit of the people. The Kuomintang leaders went further and decided that government in China must be for the benefit primarily of the poorer classes.

The leaders were confronted by a situation which, according to their view, could not be remedied by any but revolutionary methods. The country was being throttled by militarism and imperialism. Their own ignorant soldiery were eating into the vitals of the nation, while the foreigner, with his

privileged position and control of public institutions, was equally an incubus. There was no scope for national expression, no opportunity for development on truly national lines. Evolution was out of the question. There had to be a clean sweep of the past. There had to be a new beginning with a set purpose. Nothing could be done until the Tuchuns (military governors) were eliminated and the foreign treaties washed off the slate. These, according to the ideas of the leaders, were the two immediate ends, and to attain them the new government had to have power.

#### The Army's Rôle

So, putting the emphasis on one feature of the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, it was decided to organize the masses, the industrial workers and the workers on the land, the mighty majority of the population. Under the old medieval system the workers were the slaves of the few, ignorant, down-trodden, half starved. The worker was to be raised, given better wages, better conditions, educated, given hope and an ideal, where formerly he was without hope and little better than a beast of burden. Thus the workers are the basis of the new government, and through them Canton looks for the power to rule. The army is intended merely to be the servant of the State, its head having a place in the government as the representative of one phase of national activity. The army will be recruited principally from labor, that element whose status it is especially intended to raise. The organization of labor throughout the length and breadth of China, owing allegiance to Canton, will make impossible the formation of enemy armies. It is through its control of labor that Canton hopes to bring the Tuchuns to their knees, much more than by the exercise of military force.

The whole ultimate object is to unify the provinces under one government, to raise the standard of living, to free the country from the domination of foreigners, to give national endeavor the fullest scope, and to put China on a level with the other powers. To this end education will be promoted, industry fostered, internal and foreign trade encouraged. Property will be respected, but capital will not be allowed to become dominant as in the United States. Foreigners will have equal opportunities with the Chinese in all re-

spects, and treaties will be made with foreign powers on the basis of reciprocity. Apparently Canton is prepared, all existing treaties having been canceled, to have foreigners trading, engaging in enterprise and owning property in the interior, privileges at present denied in part or whole. Missionary endeavor will be permitted, provided the new cult which canonizes Sun Yat-sen is respected and schools conform to certain regulations. The Cantonese, in short, plan to make China entirely modern, self-supporting, but not exclusive.

The leaders know that they have a long way to travel, but they claim that they have made extraordinary progress in a very short time. They state that the revenue of Kwangtung has increased many times over during the past two years, and it is certainly proof either of a new official spirit or of greatly increased efficiency that money which formerly went into individual pockets now reaches the public treasury. With the increased revenue it became possible to form a new local army, by means of which the alien troops which had long dominated the province were driven out or brought to heel. The new army is the spearhead of the movement which has in succession brought Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupoh, Kiangsi, and Fukien under Cantonese rule. The leaders appear confident that Chekiang will soon be theirs (Chekiang has been reported to be cleared of Nationalists), and that Shanghai will not be able to resist their advance. Once in possession of the greatest commercial center in the Far East, their claim to be masters of all South China will be justified, and logic will compel foreign powers to acknowledge their position. Whether formal recognition will then follow remains to be seen. The implications of regional recognition are far-reaching, particularly as regards the Customs and certain other national revenues. The Cantonese, however, are doubtful about limited recognition, because it would imply the division of the country into separate States. What they want is recognition as the National Government of the whole, an object they cannot reasonably expect to attain until the process of unification has gone further.

#### Bolshevist Ideas

In the Cantonese scheme of things Russians and Russian ideas have loomed

largely and without doubt have contributed to the success achieved. It is implied, if not said, by many Chinese that the whole of the new organization has been inspired by Borodin (the Russian adviser of the Canton Government) and his staff of assistants. Certainly the new army owes its creation largely to skilled Russian instruction and to arms and equipment supplied from Russia. How important is the influence of Borodin may be judged by the foremost place he has been taking in public meetings and demonstrations, when in speeches he has identified himself with the Cantonese and their aims by using the word "we," and by otherwise giving the impression that he is one of the head engineers of the whole movement.

The Political Bureau certainly corresponds closely with the Russian idea of a department especially designed to watch and check the doings of other departments. All units of the Cantonese army, from the headquarters staff downward, have attached to them a branch of this organization, whose duty it is to control the command, to prepare the way for the army by propaganda, to organize labor, and generally to forward the policy of the Kuomintang.

In the Wuhan cities (Wuchang, Hankow, and Hanyang) the bureau has been exceedingly prominent. The great development in the control of labor by the institution of some 260 unions, representing nearly a quarter of a million of workers, is due to its direct agency. The constant strikes are inspired by it, and the demands formulated are referred to it. Demonstrations, processions, and all the forms of propaganda, many extremely offensive to foreigners, particularly to the British, are organized by the bureau, which includes a staff of Russians. The generally anti-foreign character of the operations of the bureau is largely attributed to the Russians. It is not possible to say how much money has been supplied from Russia, but it is admitted that loans have been received.

The Chinese at Hankow believe that all the expenses of the Russians are paid by the Soviet Government, and that a substantially monthly contribution is made toward the upkeep of the Political Bureau. One Cantonese leader when asked

if the government approved of all the activities of the Political Bureau gave the ambiguous reply that, while the government occasionally had to exercise restraint, it was part of the general policy to develop propaganda for political purposes. After a visit to Hankow one is certainly left guessing whether the army or the Political Bureau is the more powerful element in the government. It is common to hear the opinion that the bureau holds all the trumps and is a dangerous organization which may easily get out of hand and give a turn to the course of events which would be deplored by all moderate Nationalists.

### THE FOREIGN SETTLEMENT IN SHANGHAI

According to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, the city of Shanghai began its modern life on November 17, 1843, between which day and the end of the year seven vessels entered the port, their average capacity being 281 tons. Their imports totaled in value \$433,729, their exports \$146,072. By the end of the year the British residents numbered 25, among the earliest trading names being two well-known today—Jardine, Matheson & Co., and Gibb, Livingstone & Co. By 1847 the residents numbered 108, and by 1855 243. Today in the International Settlement and the districts that lie outside but adjacent to it there are, exclusive of the population in the French Settlement—or Concession, as the French prefer to call it—some 7,000 British, over 13,000 Japanese, more than 2,000 Americans, about 300 Frenchmen, close on 3,000 Russians, and well over 5,000 subjects of other powers, the Chinese population of the Settlement being not less than 810,000, of whom about 50,000 are Cantonese. British capital in land, buildings, and certain other forms—municipal debentures, for instance—is reckoned at not less than £63,000,000, while some valuations place the figure very much higher. The direct trade of the port is valued at over 750,000,000 customs taels.

#### Installation of the Municipal Government

Shanghai has from the outset welcomed all comers; from the first to a large extent it has governed itself without, except in the French Concession, subservience to

official opinion; it has lived by and for trade, yet the large administrative problems with which it has been faced have brought it into frequent contact with political issues affecting its constitutional rights. These are embodied in land regulations, which in 1845 took the comparatively elementary form of fixing the method of acquiring title to land, of making provision for roads, bridges, drainage, and lighting, and so on. These regulations were agreed to between the British consul and the local Chinese official, known as the taotai, and under them three land renters were elected to serve as a "Committee of Roads and Jetties," an annual meeting being held under the chairmanship of the British consul. Between September, 1853, and February, 1855, the native city of Shanghai was occupied by the Taiping rebels, to escape whom thousands of refugees flocked into the International Settlement and, as a result, the small European community had to seek wider powers of government. Accordingly, in 1854, a new code of municipal and land regulations, approved by the taotai and the British, American, and French consuls, was issued, by article 10 of which, as Mr. Morse says in his "International relations of the Chinese Empire," "the government having authority over the soil, and the governments having authority over the persons and property of the foreigners, delegated to those foreigners the highest power in all government, that of taxing and policing their own community."

#### French Separatism

It was at this time, also, that two other important developments took place, namely, the separation of the French and the taxation of Chinese residents. The French had acquired land for settlement in 1849 and succeeded in giving their area a separate administration. At the end of 1855 the French consul withdrew his signature from the new land regulations, and in 1862 a French municipal council was brought into existence, all its decisions being subject to the approval or veto of the French consul. Meanwhile the Chinese population of the British area—which was only 470 acres—had grown to 500,000. At the beginning of 1855 it had been agreed between the taotai and the foreign consuls that any Chinese wishing to live in this

area should apply to the landlord's consul, provide two wealthy householders as sureties, and undertake to "conform strictly to the land regulations and contribute his share to any general assessments." In the previous year the franchise had been extended to all foreign ratepayers; it was not now extended to Chinese ratepayers.

#### The International Settlement

In view of what is taking place in China today it is interesting to recall some of the details of the next phase of this development. In March, 1862, the land renters agreed unanimously to a proposal, supported by the American consul, Mr. G. F. Seward, that the American Settlement, which had grown up in a district called Hongkew, lying north of the Soochow Creek—a creek running westward from the Whangpoo—should be amalgamated with the British Settlement. The British and French consuls concurred and the decision was confirmed by a further meeting of land renters held in September of the following year. Thus the International Settlement of Shanghai, north of the Yangkingpang—the boundary of the French Settlement or Concession—was created. Had the French been willing to amalgamate also the Chinese would have been given a share in the government of the municipality. The Anglo-American Council, consisting of nine members, were willing to give them a share as part of a new and larger scheme for the administration of the Settlement, which they had first proposed should be converted into a free city under the protection of the treaty powers. When this proposal was condemned by the British envoy on the ground that the territory belonged to the Emperor of China, the Council proposed that the British, American, and French should form one municipality; that each resident should be subject to both criminal and civil suits to the jurisdiction of his own authorities; that arrests of Chinese should be made for the Chinese authorities by the municipal police, and that Chinese should be given seats on the Council. The French refused to amalgamate and the proposal fell through.

#### The Mixed Court

It was at this time, also, that another matter arose which has a direct bearing

on the events of today. In July, 1862, the taotai asked that he might impose a poll tax, which was being collected in the native city, on the Chinese inhabitants of the International Settlement. The municipality took the view that this would introduce a dual fiscal administration into the Settlement. As a compromise it was arranged that the Council should collect from Chinese residents 20 per cent instead of 10 per cent on ratings, under the supervision of the taotai's deputies, in consideration of which no other taxes should be levied by him. The arrangement, however, was never carried into effect.

In 1864 another development took place essential to an understanding of Shanghai's problems, namely, the establishment of the Mixed Court, under a deputy of the taotai, to take the place of the consular courts in dealing with mixed suits between foreigners and Chinese. The deputy alone took cognizance in police cases: a foreign assessor was present in criminal or civil cases in which a foreigner was concerned. The taotai and a consular assessor heard appeals. In 1869 procedure was altered so as to admit of the presence of a foreign assessor in all cases affecting the interests of foreigners; criminal charges against Chinese for which the penalty was death were placed under the Shanghai district magistrate.

With the issue of fresh land regulations in the same year the International Settlement became, in essential respects, the municipality that exists today, with a council of not more than nine nor less than five members, elected by foreign rate-payers owning land of the value of 500 taels, paying an assessment on land or houses of ten taels, or, as householders, paying on an assessed rental of not less than 500 taels per annum; any foreigner paying an annual assessment of 50 taels, or, as a householder, paying on an assessed rental of 1,200 taels per annum, being qualified for election as a councillor.

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## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

**T**HE appointment of Mr. William Phillips as the first American Minister to Canada, and the arrival in Washington of Mr. Vincent Massey, the first

Canadian Minister to the United States, are evidences of the new diplomatic relationship which now exists between the two countries. Canada is now practically independent in the conduct of her foreign affairs, and that renders the relations between her and the United States more important than ever before. It was this fact, undoubtedly, that has led the Department of State to appoint to the Ottawa post one of the ablest and most experienced diplomats in the American service, a former Undersecretary of State and at present Ambassador to Belgium.

### Pending Questions with Canada

In making the announcement of Mr. Phillips' appointment, the Department of State at the same time indicated the variety and difficulty of the problems with which Mr. Phillips in Ottawa and Mr. Massey in Washington will be concerned. There are questions of boundary waters involving not only the diversion of water from the Great Lakes for the Chicago drainage canal, but the ultimate possibility of the construction of the St. Lawrence waterway and the complex matter of the hydroelectric development of boundary waters. There are fishery questions touching the Great Lakes, salmon preservation on the Pacific coast, points of possible divergence in connection with Atlantic coast fisheries, and also the preservation under the Halibut Treaty. There is the thorny question of the prevention of smuggling across the long boundary line, there is the necessity of a new treaty to take the place of the Naval Agreement of 1817, and a host of other problems all set against the background of the tremendous commercial rapprochement between Canada and the United States.

### Mr. Massey on His Task

Prior to his departure for Washington, Mr. Massey made an interesting statement of the task that in his opinion confronts him in his new post. Speaking at a dinner of the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto, he said:

The external relations which concern us on this occasion are those with our great neighbor to the south—our only near neighbor—and those friendly relations in commerce and trade which can be carried on



and developed and extended to our mutual advantage. The United States and Canada stand as an example to the whole world of what good relations between countries can be. We are neighbors closely associated in commercial intercourse, but each is actuated by a genuine respect for each other's traditions and political institutions. I believe the increased knowledge and understanding of each other will lead to an expansion of those trade and business relations from which we both will ultimately profit. On the other hand, increased trade will also lead to even greater respect on the part of each country for the national life of the other. The Canadian Legation in Washington will stand as tangible evidence of Canada's open-hearted friendship for the American people. It will be set up to deal with no special problem or problems, but simply to represent Canada and all it stands for in the neighboring State, and to promote an enduring basis of relations of neighborliness, friendship, and expanding trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America. This new enterprise, conceived in good faith in 1920, is being established in good faith in 1927, and will be conducted in good faith by those to whom it is entrusted.

### BRITISH POSITION ON DIS- ARMAMENT

**S**UBCOMMISSION A of the Preparatory Commission for the League Disarmament Conference, consisting of government experts from military, naval, and air services, has published its report, which is concerned mainly with replies received by the Subcommission from various governments regarding their views on the technical aspects of disarmament. In many cases the replies of the governments are so similar that it is possible to classify them in groups; in others the reports are so distinctive that they are published separately. An example of the second case is given where Subcommission A, in elaborating the question of the interdependence of armaments, expresses the opinion that although "each of the main categories of armaments (land, sea and air) possesses special characteristics, it is nevertheless necessary to study them constantly in combination in order to judge of the effects that a measure taken against one of them

is likely to have upon the others." This opinion was subscribed to by Belgium, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Spain.

The delegation of the British Empire, however, made the following declaration:

The British delegation has laid stress at various times upon the fact that the closest co-operation between the various fighting services is now an accepted necessity in the future, but they are, however, unable to subscribe fully to all arguments stated in the report and to the paragraph under discussion.

It must be recognized that this paragraph is written from the point of view of a continental country and, as such there are no criticisms which the British delegation would venture to make on it. But the factors which apply so cogently to a continental country do not apply in equal measure to an insular country. An insular country with large oversea possessions and interests is obliged to maintain its forces for reasons which differ from those applicable to continental countries. Thus, for example, the navy of an island power is maintained for two primary reasons: (a) The safeguarding of its trade routes, commerce, and food; and (b) the defense of its own coasts and those of outlying parts of its empire. A maritime empire, in view of its great responsibility for safeguarding its lines of communication, requires a navy which is affected only to a certain degree by the size of navies of neighboring countries.

The same broad principles apply with regard to the armies maintained. The armies of continental nations are maintained with the primary object of protecting their country from aggression. The army of a maritime empire is maintained to supply the needs of its oversea commitments. Even more than in the case of the navy, it is true to say that the size of the army is practically independent of the size of the armies of its neighbors.

The above statement of the primary rôles of the army and navy of such a power demonstrates clearly that their duties practically never overlap.

The essential difference between the navy and the army of a country, as viewed from the continental and insular standpoints, has been briefly considered above. This difference does not apply in at all equal measure to the air forces maintained in the two differ-

ent types of country, since the air is a medium free from the limitations which necessarily limit the action of land and sea forces. It follows, therefore, that a maritime country, unless, indeed, it is beyond the striking range of possible antagonists, must possess an air force which is sufficiently strong to repel invasion, and in consequence it follows that the air forces must bear direct relation to the air forces available of neighboring countries.

The British delegation has already emphasized that the principle of co-operation has been recognized in every staff college and school of war. There is no wish on the part of the British delegation in any way to dispute the fact that the close relationship between the various forms of fighting services results in certain subsidiary operations of war being possible of execution by more than one branch, but the broad principles which underlie the main functions of each of the three services appear to be so distinct as to warrant their consideration separately, and not in combination.

Finally the British delegation would add one further point. They feel that a detailed consideration of this very complicated subject will inevitably lead to a great expenditure of time and effort, and they cannot help being exceedingly doubtful of the practical results to be achieved. It appears to them likely that an effort may be made to obtain some practical result by approaching the matter in that mathematical frame of mind which was depreciated by many of the delegates at the Preparatory Commission. The British delegation are of the opinion that it would be very difficult indeed to combine in one index figure the comparative strength of each of the three armaments to which each State will be justifiably entitled. It seems, moreover, quite impossible to compare the armaments value of a battalion, a battleship, and an air squadron. To reduce these dissimilar factors to one common denominator would appear to be an abuse of mathematics, against which the Subcommission were warned more than once in the Preparatory Commission, and, if attempted, would be almost certain to lead to the adoption of an arbitrary ratio bearing no relation to the realities of the case.

The report of Subcommission A is not, of course, the final word upon this question. M. de Brouckere, who was chairman

of the third and fifth (last) session of this Commission, expressed himself at the end of the meeting as satisfied that a satisfactory solution of the disarmament problem was attainable.

## DISARMAMENT OF GERMANY

ON FEBRUARY 1 the Conference of Ambassadors reached the following agreement concerning the fortifications of the Eastern and Southern frontiers of Germany:

(1) Apart from the provisions of Article 196 [of the Treaty of Versailles] concerning the fortifications of the coastal region, the fortified works of the Eastern and Southern frontiers of Germany shall be maintained such as they were recorded by the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control in 1920. By "Eastern and Southern frontiers" must be understood the territory lying between the line marked by the fortified works recorded by this Commission, including the works themselves, and the line of the German frontier. The line marked by the said fortified works is defined in the attached *Annexe*.

(2) The only fortified works or shelters maintained in this territory are those existing in 1919 and recorded by the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control in 1920. These works and shelters shall be kept for the purpose and in the position which they had at that time, and shall be increased neither in number nor in size. Only works of maintenance shall be done upon them; nevertheless, for perishable materials (earth, wood, bricks) used in the construction of these works or shelters may be substituted concrete and masonry. No fortified work or shelter of warlike purpose shall be constructed in this territory, even with the object of their taking the place of former field works at present demolished.

(3) Nevertheless, the allied governments agree that the works or shelters constructed since 1920 shall be retained to the number of 54, namely: At Glogau, on the left bank of the Oder, eight shelters; at Lötzen, 15 shelters; and at Königsberg, 31 shelters. These works or shelters shall be placed upon the record drawn up by the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control. All the other works or shelters con-

structed since 1920—namely, at Glogau, on the right bank of the Oder, seven shelters; at Küstrin, on the right bank of the Oder, five shelters; and at Königsberg, 22 shelters—shall be destroyed within four months from February 25.

(4) Germany gives the assurance that there do not exist in the territory defined in paragraph (1) other fortified works or shelters of warlike purpose constructed since the making of the inventory than those which have been indicated to the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control.

The *Annexe* defines the line of the fortified places and works as follows:

In East Prussia.—A straight line going from Königsberg to Sensburg (from the point where it leaves the coastal zone of 50 kilometers mentioned in Article 196), then from Sensburg to Marienburg (to the point where it enters the coastal zone of 50 kilometers mentioned in Article 196).

In Germany.—A line going from the point where the Dirschau Konitz-Schneidemühl-Küstrin railway enters German territory, to Küstrin; the left bank of the Oder from Küstrin to Brieg; the Brieg-Neisse-Kamenz-Glatz-Waldenburg-Görlitz-Bautzen-Pirna-Königstein railway; a line going from Königstein to Hof; the Hof-Neustadt-Itatisbon railway; the left bank of the Danube from Ratisbon to Donaueschingen; the Donaueschingen-Neustadt railway where the line meets the demilitarized Rhineland zone.

The withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control from Berlin has removed the organization to which would naturally have fallen the duty of supervising the execution of the new agreement. The arrangement concluded at Geneva on December 12 took account of this circumstance, and provided that, for such verification, each of the governments represented on the Conference of Ambassadors might attach to its Embassy in Berlin a technical expert authorized to maintain contact with the competent German authorities. It would appear to be the case that, until these officers are able to report to their governments that the fortifications marked down for destruction are actually destroyed, and until the bill relating to trade in war material has been passed by the Reichstag,

Germany will not be considered to have fulfilled her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles in respect of disarmament.

## GERMAN DISSATISFACTION WITH INTERNATIONAL STEEL TRUST

**E**XPRESSIONS of dissatisfaction with the German position in the International Steel Trust are becoming more and more frequent in the German industrial circles. There is even some agitation in favor of withdrawing from the organization and thus wrecking it. While the trust was originally created for five years, there is one clause in the agreement which might make it possible for the Germans to withdraw now. That is the provision which makes the continuation of the organization after April of this year conditional on a satisfactory outcome of the French-German commercial negotiations. While the temporary arrangement between the two countries has been extended indefinitely, it is still possible for the Germans to avail themselves of this clause.

### Result of Nationalist Influence

Most of the threats concerning Germany's withdrawal come from the "right" or conservative wing of the industrialists, and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they may have some connection with the increase of Nationalist influence in home politics. The question was brought into public discussion at a meeting of the Duisburg Chamber of Commerce on Monday by Herr Reusch, one of the leaders of the industrial "right wing." The argument is that the quota of the German steel industry was computed on the output of a particularly unfavorable period, and those of the French and Belgian industries on that of a favorable period. The Germans had been reorganizing and cutting down; the French and Belgians had been favored by inflation. Now that the German reorganization is more or less complete and the French and Belgians are beginning to be hampered by deflation, the German industry finds its quota insufficient.

### German Quota Exceeded

Under the terms of the agreement 04 has to be paid into the equalization pool

for every ton produced in excess of the allotted quota. At the end of a quarter the fund in the pool is distributed in such a way as to compensate the countries which have not exceeded their quota, or have exceeded it less than the others. During the four months from September to December the German industry exceeded its quota by 9.3 per cent, 12.3 per cent, 20.7 per cent, and 25.2 per cent, and has had to pay \$2,690,000 into the pool. If the other countries had exceeded their quotas in anything like the same degree, the Germans would not lose so much in the distribution, but under the influence of deflation they have not. The discontented German members are arguing that they should now be granted a higher quota in keeping with their strengthened position.

Opponents of an assault on the young international organization recall the high political importance attached last autumn to the conclusion of the steel pact. The answer offered is that the political importance was exaggerated, and even economic critics, regarding the question from a politically detached standpoint, suggest that to associate a private commercial agreement so closely with a vague political movement toward international reconciliation was to leave natural economic developments out of account. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* recalls a warning it uttered at the time the pact was concluded to the effect that an international *cartel*, like a national *cartel*, does not mean economic peace; it is merely a truce between a struggle for markets and a struggle over quotas. The struggle over quotas, it adds, seems to have broken out in the International Steel Trust sooner than even cautious, practical observers could foresee it.

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### WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

ON FEBRUARY 5 President Coolidge requested from the Senate an appropriation of \$15,000 for the expenses of the United States delegates to the Economic Conference called by the League of Nations for next May. In making this request the President stated that the delegates to the conference cannot bind their

governments "and will not be qualified to act as spokesmen of an official policy."

The British Government has been the first to appoint delegates to the conference. Great Britain will be represented by the following delegates: Sir Arthur Balfour, Sir A. Norman Hill, Mr. W. T. Layton, Sir Max Muspratt, and Mr. Arthur Pugh.

The members of the conference are appointed by the governments on the strength of their qualifications and personal capacity. Sir Arthur Balfour is a former president of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and has sat on many industrial and commercial inquiries. He is a member of the Preparatory Committee entrusted with the task of drawing up the agenda for the Economic Conference. Sir A. Norman Hill has been chairman since 1907 of the Board of Trade Advisory Committee on Merchant Shipping and was British delegate to the International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea. Mr. Layton, editor of the *Economist* and a former director of the International Iron and Steel Federation, is also a member of the Preparatory Committee. Sir Max Muspratt, a former lord mayor of Liverpool and member for the Exchange Division, is this year's president of the Federation of British Industries. Mr. Pugh, another member of the Preparatory Committee, is general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and the British Iron, Steel, and Kindred Trades Association, and was chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, 1925-6.

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### THE FRANCO-RUMANIAN TREATY

ON JANUARY 19 the French Foreign Office issued the text of the Franco-Rumanian Treaty, which was signed on June 10 of last year. The treaty really consists of three instruments—a Treaty of Alliance and non-aggression, a protocol additional to that treaty, and a convention providing for the reference of disputes to arbitration. The Treaty of Alliance has nine articles. It is to remain in force for ten years, and may be renewed on notice given at the end of the ninth year.

Both parties undertake reciprocally to have no recourse to attack or intervention

against one another or to war in any case. This provision does not apply (1) to the exercise of the right of legitimate defense in opposition to a violation of the above engagement; (2) to an action undertaken by the application of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League; (3) to an action undertaken in consequence of a decision of the League Assembly, or Council, or by application of Article 15, section 7, of the Covenant of the League.

The two governments undertake (Article 3) to examine in common—with reservations in the event of possible resolutions of the Council and Assembly of the League—such questions as may threaten their external security or the order established by the treaties of which they are signatories.

In the case of an unprovoked attack on either country, the two governments will (Article 4) consult without delay on their respective action to be exercised within the framework of the Covenant of the League.

Nothing in the treaty is to be interpreted (Article 6) in contradiction to the stipulations of treaties already in force signed by either government which concern its policy in Europe. Both governments undertake to exchange views and coordinate their pacific efforts on questions of European policy, and will communicate to each other treaties on the same subject which either may make with other powers. There are express stipulations (Articles 7 and 8) that the treaty shall not be interpreted in contradiction to the obligations and rights of the two governments under the League Covenant, and that the treaty shall be registered at the League of Nations. There are no military clauses.

### GERMAN-ITALIAN ARBITRATION TREATY

A TREATY of conciliation and arbitration between Germany and Italy was signed on December 29 by Signor Mussolini and by the German Ambassador in Rome, Baron von Neurath. The ceremony took place in the Victory Hall of the Palazzo Chigi, and was attended by several high officials of the Italian Foreign Office and the Counsellor of the German Embassy.

It was generally expected that the treaty, which was initialled at Geneva

about a fortnight earlier, would have been signed by Herr Stresemann, who had contemplated spending the Christmas holiday on the Italian lakes, and when the German ministerial crisis broke out it was stated that the signature of the treaty had been postponed for a few days in order to allow the German Foreign Minister to attend the ceremony, which was to assume great solemnity. However, after an exchange of views between the two Governments, it was decided to sign the treaty without further delay.

#### Provisions of the Treaty

As its title shows, the pact is one of "conciliation and arbitration," and closely follows the lines of similar treaties previously concluded between Germany and Switzerland and Italy and Switzerland. The treaty, which is drafted in the German and in the Italian languages, consists of a preamble and 16 clauses, and its duration is fixed for ten years, but it may be renewed for another period of five years unless it is denounced six months before its expiration.

In the preamble it is stated that "the President of the German Reich and his Majesty the King of Italy, animated by the desire of consolidating the friendly relations existing between their respective countries and of contributing further to the maintenance of peace, have decided to conclude a treaty of conciliation and arbitration."

In Article 1 the two contracting parties agree to submit to arbitration the "controversies which may arise between them and which cannot be settled in a friendly way through the usual diplomatic channels. This rule does not apply to the disputes which have arisen from events which took place before the conclusion of the present treaty and belong to the past. In case the procedure of conciliation fails, the controversy is then submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice of The Hague." A permanent Commission of Arbitration, composed of five members, will be instituted to examine the cases submitted to it by either party.

The remaining clauses deal in detail with the constitution of the Commission, the procedure to be adopted in the course of its findings, and with other technical matters.

Article XIII reads:—

The present treaty will not be applied in questions which, according to the treaties existing between the two parties and to international law, are under the competence of either of the two parties. It will not be applied in respect of these rights and obligations deriving from the Pact of Locarno.

Article XIV reads:—

The present treaty will bring no modification of the rights and obligations of the contracting parties in their capacity as members of the League of Nations, nor does it limit in any way the attributions and competence of the League of Nations.

#### Public Satisfaction in Italy

The signing of the treaty was greeted with great satisfaction by the entire Roman press, which was unanimous in describing it as the most important of the kind yet signed by Italy. According to the *Giornale d'Italia*, the first step for the conclusion of this treaty was taken by Herr Stresemann himself, and the idea was readily accepted by the Italian statesman. Negotiations were opened at Geneva last September during the last general assembly of the League, and a general agreement was reached without great difficulty by the legal experts of the two countries. The treaty is essentially juridical and contains nothing that can be interpreted as directed against third parties. It is, however, considered to have great political importance, since it constitutes a proof of the very cordial relations existing between Rome and Berlin and of the mutual desire of further improving their relations.

Both Italy and Germany, writes the *Messaggero*, have given repeated proofs of their determination to collaborate loyally together in the economic field. On her part Italy has shown to Germany that she has completely set aside the "state of mind originating from the war" which has hitherto prevented the necessary co-operation between the European States in the work for peace.

#### Reaction to the Treaty in Germany

In Berlin the signing of the treaty was greeted with general satisfaction not unmixed with a certain relief that events

did not take the course which Signor Mussolini is understood to have desired. It was stated that the treaty is exactly like the other arbitration treaties concluded by Germany, and is political in character only to the extent that the inclusion of conciliation clauses in all these treaties provides machinery at least for the thorough sifting of political disputes. The text has, however, not yet, been published. The conclusion of the treaty was described as a natural development of the Locarno policy.

In most of the comment reference was made to the efforts which are supposed to have been made by Signor Mussolini to give the treaty a definitely political character as well as to the obvious endeavors of Rome to arrange a meeting between Herr Stresemann and Signor Mussolini for the signature of the treaty and, of course, the discussion of other matters. The failure of these schemes was frankly welcomed; the critical development of the political situation at home, which is the reason given for the indefinite postponement of Herr Stresemann's holiday in a southern climate, was described as, in this respect at least, a matter for congratulation. Supporters of the policy of reconciliation with France expressed their relief that a step has been avoided which must inevitably have caused uneasiness in Paris.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* suggests that such other matters affecting Italy and Germany as would certainly have come up for discussion at a meeting between the two statesmen will be none the worse for a little more quiet examination before they are tackled. In the meantime, it is argued, the signature of the Arbitration Treaty cannot but tend to ease the tension caused by the South Tyrol controversy.

#### Official Explanation Issued by Italy

The reaction to the pact in other European countries was not altogether favorable. So much so, that the official Stefani Agency of Rome issued a communique intended to clear up a few points in connection with the treaty, which, according to it, had been wilfully misjudged and misrepresented by certain sections of the European press.

The initiative for the negotiation of the

treaty, it states, was purely German, and the matter was first broached by Herr Stresemann in conversation with Signor Grandi (Italian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) at Geneva last September. The final text of the treaty was the result of a compromise between two drafts, and at the insistence of the Italian Government all clauses which might conceivably have been interpreted as more far-reaching than the treaty was designed

to be had been suppressed. There had never been any Italian offer of a military alliance against France. It was quite untrue that Herr Stresemann had refused an invitation from the Italian Government to visit Rome. Such an invitation had never been issued. Equally without foundation was the rumor that the question of the Upper Adige was considered in the treaty.

## CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAWS

By LEO S. ROWE

Director General of the Pan American Union

**T**HERE is throughout the world an increasing interest in the possibilities of promoting the peaceful settlement of certain classes of disputes between nations by the codification of international law. This is shown by the activities of international law societies, by the Commission on International Law set up by the League of Nations, and, particularly now, by the approaching sessions of the Commission of Jurists, to begin April 16, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Just now the history of the growing interest in the codification of international law for the Western Hemisphere is, therefore, of more than passing importance. The movement, culminating in the appointment by each of the twenty-one American Republics of two delegates to the Commission of Jurists, began to take definite form about twenty-five years ago.

To be exact, the codification of international law was considered by the Second Pan American Conference held in Mexico in 1901-2. There was considerable discussion at that conference relative to the matter, with the result that a resolution was presented by the Brazilian delegation on the 27th of January, 1902. Whereupon the conference signed a convention providing for the appointment of a commission, to be composed of five American and two European jurists of recognized reputation, charged with the drafting of two codes of public and private international law destined to "govern the relations between the American nations." While this convention did not obtain the requisite

number of ratifications, interest in the matter continued.

The Third Pan American Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1906, addressed itself also to codification. The matter was the subject of discussion between those who were in favor of complete codification and those who favored a partial and progressive codification. In the course of the conference a convention was signed establishing the creation of an International Commission of Jurists, composed of one delegate from each State, to carry out the work of codification, the commission to meet in Rio de Janeiro.

The Brazilian delegates on the commission, with the object of facilitating the work of the commission, drafted two codes, one of public and one of private international law, and submitted them to the American governments. At its session of December 27, 1911, the governing board of the Pan American Union, at the proposal of the representative of Brazil, agreed that the commission of Jurists should meet in June, 1912, and that the convention signed at the Third Pan American Conference should be so modified that each government could appoint two delegates instead of one, as established by that convention, but with the right to one vote only. The respective protocol was signed at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1912.

The Commission of Jurists duly convened in Rio de Janeiro from June 26th to July 6th, 1912, sixteen American States

attending. The conference agreed to the creation of six committees: the first to meet at Washington, the second at Rio de Janeiro, the third at Santiago de Chile, the fourth at Buenos Aires, the fifth at Montevideo, and the sixth at Lima. It was proposed that these committees should be charged as follows: The *first*, with matters relative to maritime war and the rights and duties of neutrals; the *second*, with things pertaining to war on land, civil war, and the claims of foreigners derived from such wars; the *third*, with affairs relating to what is known in international law as a state of peace; the *fourth*, with the pacific settlement of disputes and the organization of international tribunals; the *fifth*, with the following matters of private international law: capacity, condition of foreigners, family rights, and inheritance; and the *sixth*, with matters of private international law not referred to the fifth commission, including questions relative to conflicts between penal laws. The dates for the meeting of these committees were left to the respective committee chairmen, in accord with each other. The rules approved by the Commission of Jurists contain dispositions relative to the working of these committees and determine the elements and antecedents which should inspire the drafting of all projects.

The Commission of Jurists also named two additional committees, one charged with the preparation of the draft of a convention on extradition, the other with the preparation of a draft of an agreement on the execution of foreign judgments. The conference approved, with some modifications, the convention on extradition, submitting it to the Government of Brazil for transmission to the other American countries, and resolved to refer the projected agreement on the execution of foreign judgments to the Lima committee.

Of the six committees into which the conference was divided, the first, third, fifth, and sixth have done preparatory work and formulated projects. The first made a preliminary survey of the laws and rules in force in American nations; also of the decisions of the juridical and the administrative authorities in matters pertaining to maritime war and to the rights and duties of neutrals.

The second committee met in Rio de Janeiro in 1912 and resolved to draft a project and send it to the governments concerned. This draft, committed to Dr. Pessoa's charge, was communicated in due time to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil for translation and transmission to the American governments.

The third committee met in Santiago, Chile, from February 28 to March 18, 1913, and drafted a preliminary project covering the following matters: General declarations; diplomatic agents; consuls; rights and duties of border States in disputed territories not yet delimited; exchange of publications and interchange of professors and students.

The fifth committee held its sessions in Montevideo from February 28 to March 5, 1913. The delegate of Brazil presented a projected code of private international law on the matters referred to the commission. In discussing the project, differences of opinion arose among those who suggested as a basis for codification the principle of nationality and those who preferred the principle of domicile.

The sixth committee held its sessions in Rio de Janeiro in July, 1912, when it reached an agreement upon matters which it should consider. Two projects for the codification of private international law were presented by the delegates of Chile and Peru.

The labors of the committees were to be considered at a meeting of the Commission of Jurists fixed for June, 1914, before the assembly of the Pan American Conference at Santiago. The European war, however, interrupted the deliberations of the committees and prevented the holding of the meeting.

The Fifth Pan American Conference, held in 1923, at Santiago, Chile, included among its topics a consideration of the labors of the Commission of Jurists. By recommendation of the Juridical Committee, which was charged with the consideration of the topic, the conference approved a resolution inviting the governments to designate delegates to the Commission of Jurists, recommending the reorganization of the various committees into which the commission had been divided, and inviting the committees to resume their work.



They were asked to give due consideration to the experiences of recent years and to actions taken by the Fifth Pan American Conference. The resolutions contain recommendations on the method of work and say, further, that a meeting of the commission should be called during the year 1925.

The Fifth Pan American Conference also voted in favor of the creation of a committee for the study of the comparative civil law of all the countries of America, for the purpose of contributing to the codification of private international law.

The subjects presented for the consideration of the Commission of Jurists at their meeting in Rio de Janeiro by the Fifth Pan American Conference were as follows: First, the codification of public international law and of private international law; second, the status of children born of foreign parents in the republics of America; third, the rights of foreigners and pecuniary claims; fourth, a Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union, in considering the subjects to be placed on the program for the Sixth Conference, decided to recommend that the Commission of Jurists prepare a draft of a convention to simplify and facilitate the details as to letters of requisition, letters and commissions rogatory, issued in civil, commercial, and criminal cases.

On January 2, 1924, the Governing Board of the Pan American Union adopted a resolution expressing its desire that the American Institute of International Law should hold a meeting in 1924 for the study of the codification of American international law, in order to submit the results of its deliberations to the Commission of Jurists before the meeting of the latter. Having accepted this task, the members of the institute met at Lima, Peru, from December 20 to 30, 1924, when they prepared various projects of conventions on matters of public international law relating to the law of peace, especially those matters applicable to the American republics.

The results of these deliberations at Lima were communicated by Charles

Evans Hughes, Secretary of State for the United States of America, and Chairman of the Board, to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on March 2, 1925. At its session on the same day the Governing Board resolved to transmit to the governments of the States, members of the Pan American Union, the projects of conventions prepared by the institute, and to thank the institute for the work accomplished. It was further resolved to entrust the institute with the preparation of a project, or a series of projects, relating to the field of private international law, for the consideration of the Commission of Jurists.

The American Institute of International Law finished its work on the codification of private international law, and presented it to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. The Governing Board, at its session on February 3, 1926, voted to send these projects, prepared by the institute, to the governments, members of the Union, through their representatives on that Board, the projects to be submitted to the consideration of the Commission of Jurists at Rio de Janeiro.

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union was authorized to fix the date of the meeting of the Commission of Jurists in Rio de Janeiro in accord with the Brazilian Government. This date was finally set for April 16, 1927.

Perhaps the best evidence that the movement toward the codification of public and private international law for the Western Hemisphere is concerned with the problems of war and peace is illustrated by project No. 30, found among the conventions prepared by the American Institute of International Law at its sessions in Lima. This project provides that:

In the future territorial acquisitions obtained by means of war, or under the menace of war, or in the presence of an armed force, to the detriment of any American republic, shall not be lawful; and that consequently territorial acquisitions effected in the future by these means cannot be invoked as conferring title; and that those obtained in the future by such means shall be considered null in fact and law.

Speaking of this project, David Jayne Hill, writing in the *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 21, No. 1, says:

This repudiation of territorial conquests as illegal is the high-water mark of international

right which has so far been reached in the form of law. By removing what is perhaps the most unworthy object of war, territorial expansion, it removes one of the chief causes of armed conflict.

## The United States Through British Eyes

By P. A. MOLTENO

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—In the following article Mr. Molteno, a former member of the British Parliament, summarizes his impressions of the United States. It appeared originally in the *London Times*, and is here reprinted as an example of how we really appear to the eyes of an intelligent British observer.)

**I**N COMPANY with Mr. Francis W. First, I have just concluded a visit of some duration to the United States of America. After spending a few days in New York, we visited Boston and Cambridge, then the Canadian frontier, and from there we proceeded to Buffalo, Detroit, and Chicago, and our most westerly point, Kansas City. Thence we turned south to New Orleans, from which we returned to the north leisurely via Montgomery, the capital of Alabama; Atlanta, the capital of Georgia; Charleston, the port of South Carolina; Richmond, the capital of Virginia; Washington, the Federal capital; then Philadelphia, and back to New York. We had landed from Europe at New York on October 13, and we sailed again from there for Europe on December 4.

We have had a remarkable opportunity of becoming acquainted with American life and thought. We have seen its fine ports, its great rivers, its numerous lakes. We have visited the highly industrialized districts, such as those of Massachusetts, Buffalo, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Chicago. We have seen its mass production at its point of highest attainment in the automobile industry. Thanks to the valuable introductions that we possessed, we have seen a good many of the leading men in New York and in the other cities which we visited. We have interchanged views with them freely. We have met some of the great leaders of industry, financiers and managers of great corporations. We have visited a number of universities and seen something of their intellectual life

and outlook. At Washington we were in touch with some of the government departments, particularly those concerned with commerce, agriculture, industry, and labor. Everywhere we found the greatest readiness to discuss matters with us, to afford information, to tell us all we wished to know. At Washington we also got into touch with the authorities of the American Federation of Labor, so as to get the real point of view of organized labor. Everywhere we were received with the greatest kindness.

The immense portion of the world's surface which constitutes the United States is a free-trade area; although it is composed of 48 States, there are no customs frontiers between these States, no artificial impediments, such as exist in Europe, standing in the way of the free exchange of the products of so great an area. Perpetual peace has been established between all these States. They are free to manage their own internal affairs, but are no longer free to fight one another. At the same time, their Federal organization gives each of them the protection of all against any aggression from the outside.

### Attitude of Labor

What are the outstanding features of the conditions prevailing in this great country and its vast population? If we have regard to its internal conditions we find that it is at the present moment enjoying wonderful prosperity. Its well-being is very widely extended and is increasing everywhere. The whole population is actively at work. Socially, peace prevails in the main between labor, capital, and management. While, on the one hand, labor is enjoying the highest real wages as compared with any other country, on the other hand, a very high rate of production at low cost has been attained and is increas-

ing. The different elements of the social fabric are in agreement that for a higher standard of living a greater and greater production is necessary and desirable. For the attainment of this end it is realized that there must be co-operation between labor, management, and capital to increase the total product, so that the share of each may be greater. By reason of this co-operation most remarkable results are being obtained. The efficiency per man has risen enormously in recent years. Labor has been ready to accept the latest and best machinery as contributing to its own efficiency. Labor has co-operated in eliminating waste of materials, in securing better and more efficient processes, in recognizing that the greatest waste of all is the waste which puts more men to a job than are necessary for that job, thus entailing a waste of labor, the most valuable of the elements which enter into successful production.

The discovery of the power of mass production has shown the way to paying the worker a high wage, and at the same time to producing an output at the very lowest cost. The argument has generally been that if high wages are paid the output becomes so dear that it cannot be sold in the world's markets. The mass production methods have shown that this is no longer true of the United States.

The change which has taken place in the attitude of labor toward capital and management was described to me as revolutionary by a high authority in Washington. It has now become one of co-operation with management and with capital. He referred to the resolution to this effect which had been passed at the General Congress of the American Federation of Labor two years ago, a resolution which had received the unanimous approval of that Congress. There appeared to be a radically different attitude on the part of labor from that which prevails in England. Labor does not regard itself as a separate section of the community. The working man there wishes to be considered as a *part of* and not as an *implement of* society. It was very interesting to have a confirmation of this attitude of labor from the authorities of the American Federation of Labor itself.

### Causes of Prosperity

Labor has kept out of politics, and, with regard to education, has decided not to have separate institutions, but to take advantage of the existing universities, schools, and colleges so as to make better, more fully educated men, and thereafter only to specialize in labor problems. There appeared to be a strong determination on the part of the present leaders to follow on the lines set by Mr. Gompers in the direction of avoiding government or socialistic control. The desire and intention are clear on the part of labor to seek its interests in co-operation with the rest of the community and not as a body apart, and in a sensible, reasonable, and intelligent way. Of course, there were certain industries where things were not satisfactory, where labor was unorganized and relations between employer and employed were still leaving much to be desired, as, for instance, in the coal mines.

The phenomenon of American prosperity while all the rest of the world lags behind—not having yet recovered from the shock of the World War—is one which is worth closer examination and analysis. After what I have seen I have come to the conclusion that the prosperity and progress of America are not due to fortuitous chance, but are the consequence of the active, energetic character of the Anglo-Saxon race, working over a long period in sound directions. There is first the great fact that this vast continent, when the original settlers arrived, was lying open practically unpeopled, except for a few insignificant Indian tribes. Here was a country waiting and crying out for a population to give it roads and bridges and railways, and cover it with farms.

Coming down to recent times we find that American commerce before the war was largely made up of internal trade—the external trade being comparatively small. After the war the American internal market was not lessened in any way as a result; in fact, its resources were stimulated in the early years of the war when America was still out of it, but on the return of peace, not only had English industries been more disorganized by war production, but her external market in Europe had been diminished so as to be

only two-thirds of the pre-war market. As a consequence British trade has had a much more difficult task to recover. But there is more in it than this. The national efficiency of America, as I have already pointed out, has grown enormously. While the population has increased by 17 per cent in the last 12 years, the productivity of the country has increased by something like 35 per cent. The railways carry 22 per cent more traffic, with about the same number of men. There has been a great advance in the use of electricity, which is now being applied with great efficiency to every form of production. The production of kilowatt-hours has reached the great figure of 68 billions annually. America has attained a sound basis for this great development in the reconciliation between labor, capital, and management. This fundamental harmony having been established, progress has redoubled its pace.

#### Education and Skill

Education has played a great part. Today it is claimed that in the institutions of higher learning America has more students than the rest of the world put together. She has been training her technical personnel in every avenue of production and distribution. This has secured for her a great adaptability to new ideas, and also a great advance in business organization. The attitude of the government is also worthy of note. It has carefully abstained from seeking to control, to dominate, or to direct industry. It forces its interference on none, but it invites every industry to approach it where it desires information or where it has been met by difficulty in obtaining recorded facts bearing on its industry.

By all these methods America now has resources in organization, in increased education and skill of her people, which are forming the basis of the success of her present position and ensuring the prospect of sound extensions in every direction for future developments. Her population is the most effective in the world. It is all actively engaged in fruitful production, enormously intensified by the full use of every kind of efficient machinery. Interpreted into social facts, her situation is most fortunate. Her people are engaged

in producing vast quantities of all kinds of goods for their requirements at costs relatively, and in some cases absolutely, cheap as compared with other countries. Good wages are being paid in most industries; in fact, her people are enjoying the highest real wages in the world. As a consequence their spending power and purchasing power are very great, so that from a trade point of view there is no population in the whole world of similar size that offers such a market to its manufacturers and traders. Added to all this are the vast natural resources of this great country, which leave room for immense future developments.

#### Relations with Outside World

The relations of America with the outside world present an interesting problem. Having gone into the war for the Fourteen Points, she failed to achieve what she desired. This failure, coupled with the natural reaction after the war, led to a wish to withdraw from the affairs of Europe. She turned her attention inwards and began to work feverishly for the development of her own resources and internal trade. And yet no nation is sufficient unto itself, or can neglect its relations with other countries. America requires various raw materials in large quantities, such as wool, fiber, rubber, and other products which she cannot produce herself. Her mass production has given her an instrument with which she has not only been able to supply all her own needs in some industries, but to manufacture as well for export, as in the case of the automobile industry, in which she must seek more and more foreign markets if she is to utilize the full power of her capacity in this direction. On the political side she is demanding war debt payments of capital and interest on her loans. The tendency of this is to compel her, if she desires payment, to receive foreign goods.

But there is another strong influence in the same direction. Owing to the war she has become a creditor country, and is making loans on private account to Europe. The amount of these loans is quite considerable. She lent last year \$1,302,000,000, and in previous years she has been doing the same thing. From 1921 to the first half of 1926 she lent \$4,022,865,400.

For the sake of Europe and for her own sake this will have to continue; but the question arises, How is she to receive payment for the interest and sinking fund on these loans? The tendency of these payments must be to compel her to receive more and more foreign goods. How is this to be done while she maintains her high tariff? Trade balances are not sufficient at the present time to make the payments at present owing to her. At the time of writing gold shipments are again being made from Europe.

In all these ways her relations with the outer world are becoming of greater and greater importance to her. Her Secretary for Commerce says that foreign trade has become a vital part of the whole modern economic system. In peace time, he tells America, her exports and imports are the margins upon which her well-being depends. Above all, he says, the creation of a wider range of customers to each production unit gives to that unit greater stability in production and greater security to the worker. It is clear, then, that the policy of isolation is not a practical one. Her relations with the outside world must grow, and will become not less important but more important. The war demonstrated most clearly that nations are dependent upon each other, and as means of transport and communication increase they are becoming more and more dependent upon each other. The greater is the danger of disturbance to these relations by catastrophe, such as war between nations, in whatever part of the world it may take place. America, then, like every great country, is becoming more and more interested in the maintenance of the peace of the world.

#### Tariffs and Debts

With regard to Britain and America, there would appear to be no political problem requiring solution. There is, however, a serious economic problem. Britain requires American wheat, meat, corn, and cotton in large quantities, but the problem is how she can pay for them in the long run, as the tariff keeps out the goods with which she could pay. Is there not some adjustment of the tariff to this situation which might be made? There may be

goods which could be received by America without any real injury to her industrial position. With regard to Europe generally, the position is somewhat unfortunate. America has cut down the stream of emigration, so that the working man of Europe feels that America is both shutting him out by immigration laws and is also refusing to take his goods. This tends to create the feeling of ill will toward America. Then there is the question of the debts.

There appears to be little interest among the general public in America on this question. Little is being done to enlighten them on its true bearings. In more enlightened circles this subject is receiving considerable attention. The principal bankers are beginning to realize the dangers of this question; so, too, with the universities, there is an enlightened discussion on the bearings of this question on American relations. The remarkable manifesto of the professors of Columbia University gives views which are very widely held in university circles all over the country. Here is the problem which evidently requires to be dealt with in some large way, otherwise we may find disastrous ill will being generated, the avoidance of which is infinitely more important than the payment of any debts.

Most English statesmen have realized that, so far as our debtors are concerned (if we could free ourselves), these debts ought to be entirely canceled—in fact they are of the nature of the war subsidies which we made to continental allies in the Napoleonic wars, for which we neither expected nor received any repayment. I observe a statue in a square in Washington which, on closer examination, turned out to be a statue of Burke, and upon it I saw engraved a quotation which read: "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom." The application of this to current world affairs gives food for reflection.

#### Relations with Britain

Wherever we went in America we formed the opinion that there was a desire to do the right thing. Many of the facts were clearly envisaged in regard to

both domestic affairs and international affairs. There was a common desire for the maintenance of good relations between our two countries. America has established peace over the great area of the world's surface which is covered by it. The British Commonwealth of Nations has also established perpetual peace between the mother country and the other States of the Commonwealth. These together cover a great area of the world's surface. The principles are the same in both cases—full autonomy for each State with regard to its own concerns, full co-operation for the common good and for common defense. At Washington the British and American peoples co-operated in bringing about the great results achieved at that conference. The affairs of the Pacific were reasonably discussed and settled there in an agreement freely come to by all parties interested therein. This has secured the settlement of questions in the Pacific and given peace to that great area.

There remains, then, continental Europe as the area of possible trouble. Its many peoples have become free, but at the same time have not realized what America has realized and what the British Commonwealth of Nations has realized—that freedom to fight each other must be given up by the nations of Europe. Britain and America can help Europe if they work together to this desirable end. There seems little likelihood that America will join the existing League of Nations. The League would appear to be developing in the direction of an instrument to be used for the pacification of Europe. It would seem more logical that this should be so—that Europe should settle her internal affairs, America her own American affairs, and then both meet together in council to consider affairs which interest them, forming with other federations what may be termed a Super-League of Nations for the sensible and reasonable discussion and settlement of the world's affairs.

## Gastronomy In England

By J. FRED ESSARY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Essary is London's representative of the *Baltimore Sun*. His "From a Window in Fleet Street" is one of the most interesting columns in any paper of America. The following is his "story," under date of January 21, 1927.)

ONE of Mark Twain's most famous remarks was that "Wagner's music is not half as bad as it sounds." Similarly, it is difficult to believe that the appetite of the average Englishman is half as voracious as it seems. It is more probable that the inhabitants of the British Isles have merely fallen into a sort of gastronomic habit of eating every two or three hours without necessarily being conscious of hunger or of an actual need for nourishment.

Whatever may be the answer, the fact remains that these people eat oftener and in greater volume than any other that it has been my privilege to live among. They begin early and they quit late. Five meals a day spread over a waking period of sixteen hours out of the calendar day appears to be the minimum for all classes. Six is

not an unusual number. And it is said that some Britishers see nothing extraordinary in eating seven times between sun-up and sun-up.

My own observation has been confined largely to the five-meals-a-day element, with first-hand knowledge of an occasional individual who demands a sixth. The natives who live in my South Kensington hotel are probably typical. I have watched them closely and with undiminished interest for many months. Early each morning waiters are found dashing through the corridors with loaded trays, feeding my fellow "boarders" before the latter have yet emerged from their beds.

At 9 o'clock or thereabout the aforesaid boarders are to be seen crowding the dining rooms, eating with the utmost enthusiasm a second time. By 1 o'clock all of them are ready for another "square meal" of not less than four courses. Promptly at 4 in the afternoon every lounge in the place is filled with people clamoring for their tea, sandwiches, and cakes. When

the dining rooms open at 7 all hands are dressed and waiting eagerly to start on a five-course dinner. At 11 o'clock in the evening more food is served them.

Nor is the hotel lounge in a class of his own. Practically all business in London stops short at 4 o'clock in the afternoon—about the time most people are returning from their lunch—while men and women alike resume their eating. I have seen theater crowds at a matinee take food from trays passed to them in the dark, one eye fixed on the stage and the other on the bisected bun. I have seen the House of Commons abruptly emptied in the midst of a smashing debate while the members filed solemnly out to have their tea. And I have seen thousands of spectators of the international tennis matches at Wimbledon desert their seats while the battle raged on the "center" court, all panting for their tea.

And the things they eat! It is true that the British have not descended to the savagery of the French, who relish snails, horse flesh and other unspeakable things, but it is appalling to the foreigner of frugal diet to observe the enormous quantity of red meat which the run-of-mine Englishman will consume every day of his life. He will have his "joints" hot and in full measure first for lunch, then again for dinner, and will have them cold at least once more and sometimes oftener. He is not to be blamed for this, perhaps. His beef and his mutton are the best his market affords him, and when well cooked and well served they are unexcelled.

In addition he must have his fresh fish at least twice a day and his smoked fish once more. Again he chooses well, provided he sticks to his salmon, his sole and his whiting. When dished up with skill they are superb. The most exacting palate could ask the sea to yield nothing better. The English pheasant is a joy forever and compares favorably with canvas-back duck. But there the applause ends.

The bread with which the Englishman grimly punishes himself and which he unblushingly places before his guest is tough, tasteless, terrifying. This is the only country in the world where toast can be made without its ever having been hot. Also the British are the only people, not irredeem-

ably barbaric, who have never learned how to cook the limberness out of a slice of bacon, nor how to fry an egg without submerging it in grease. They are the only people known to history who can make and revel in ice-cream without using a drop of either milk or cream, and the only people who regard such weeds as pressed cabbage and brussels sprouts as vegetables.

A typical British breakfast is a nightmare. The "kipper" and the "bloater"—one filled with tiny bones and the other full of everything it started with—are inevitably thrust at one. Fresh fruit is scorned. The bacon is ghastly. The porridge—but my adjectives have run out! All that I can add is that I heartily agree with my friend, W. Emmett Moore, that it is no wonder that the British have conquered half the world. To do that is infinitely easier than staying at home and eating English breakfasts.

One who has known the delights of civilized victualing cannot fail to wonder what would happen if an Englishman with his vigorous appetite and his phenomenal capacity should be served a meal of, say, shad-roe cooked in butter, crisp fried chicken with trimmings, Mount Victoria ham, a mountain of hot biscuits, all topped off with a Tennessee short-cake immersed in cream. He would never live to tell the tale, but what a happy death he would have!

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## HOW MUCH TRUTH IN HISTORY?

By HENRY W. LAWRENCE

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AT ONE part of the frontier between France and Germany a little stream marks the line between those two countries, and on one side of this stream is a small German village, on the other a little French village. Each of these communities has a school, whose class in recent history is now going to recite for us.

One teacher, Fraulein Bauermann, has just called on little Hans, aged ten years, to answer some questions in the lesson about the World War. The other teacher, Mademoiselle La Vie, in the school just across the stream, has similarly asked ten-

year-old François to tell her what the history textbooks says about the same World War. Let us listen to these two recitations for a few minutes.

"Hans, what caused the World War?" asks Fraulein Bauermann.

"English jealousy and French desire for revenge were the chief among many causes," replies the boy, recalling what his book told him. "Germany is guiltless."

"François," asks Mademoiselle La Vie, in the other school, hardly a stone's throw distant, "what caused the World War?"

"The war was caused solely by German aggression," repeats the lad, with accurate memory of the lesson he has studied. "The Germans, believing themselves to be a superior race, had long plotted to exterminate the French, whom they regarded as unworthy to survive."

To these answers both teachers say, "Very good," so each pupil knows he has the truth of the matter.

"Now, François, you may tell me about the French and German colonial policies before the Great War," says Mademoiselle La Vie.

"The French colonial policy has always been peaceful," answers François promptly, "but German ill-will has always tried to thwart it."

In the other school Fraulein Bauermann asks the same question, and little Hans replies that "French colonial policy was not really pacific, and England thwarted German attempts at fair play."

"And why did the great European nations have to maintain such huge armies before the war?" inquires the French schoolmarm.

To this her pupil answers that "Europe had long been an armed camp solely because of the wicked Germans, who falsely pretended that they were encircled by enemies."

"Hans, why did the European nations maintain such huge armies before the Great War?" asks Fraulein Bauermann.

"Because they meant to attack Germany," comes the reply. "German armament was defensive, for Germany was surrounded by enemies."

"What efforts were made to stop the war in those terrible summer days of 1914?" quizzes Mademoiselle La Vie.

"France has always been pacific," answers François, "and at the beginning of the war she did all in her power to keep the peace, but Germany made her attempts fail."

"Did any nation really try to prevent the war, Hans?" inquires the German lady of learning.

"Ja! Ja!" cries Hans confidently. "Germany made every effort to localize the Austro-Serbian dispute, but the enemy nations openly incited war among their peoples."

"François, what does the book say about the violating of Belgium's neutrality?" asks his teacher.

"It says," replies the lad, with rising indignation at the faithless Huns, "it says that Germany alone basely violated the neutrality of Belgium."

Over in the German schoolroom, however, Hans receives his teacher's approval for replying to the same question as follows:

"English and Belgian officers planned the march through Belgium as early as 1908. It was the only strategic thing to do; they fully expected Germany to do it; their loudly expressed surprise and horror were sheer hypocrisy."

"Who were guilty of atrocities in the World War?" questions Mademoiselle La Vie.

"Germans, and Germans only, were guilty of the vilest atrocities," promptly replies her pupil. Nevertheless, young Hans, across the stream, tells Fraulein Bauermann that "the so-called German atrocities in Belgium were justified; that the English abused German residents in England, and tried to starve all Germans, men, women, and little children, by means of a blockade; that the French abused German residents of Alsace-Lorraine, and, finally, that the Allies have murdered countless little children in Germany since the Armistice by depriving Germany of cows, and thus of milk."

"Was the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France justified?"

François says: "The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France was an act of historical justice, and no plebiscite was needed."

Hans says: "Alsace-Lorraine is only 13 per cent French, and its possession gives France the keys to Germany."



"Was the treaty which ended the war a just one, François?" inquires Mademoiselle La Vie.

"Oui, Mademoiselle; but certainly. The peace is a peace of justice, based on Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points, whereas the Germans planned for us a peace of slavery."

But listen to Hans reciting on this question:

"The peace," he tells his teacher, "is a peace of enslavement and is a gross breach of the Allies' pre-armistice promises."

Now the two history recitations are ended. School has just been dismissed and the youngsters rush forth to freedom. As Hans and François stroll homeward along opposite sides of the little stream, they scowl at each other and think, or perhaps shout mockingly, "Schweinhund!" "Boche!"

What else could they be expected to do, unless they had forgotten their history lessons?

Unfortunately these history lessons are not the product of imagination. They are taken from the textbooks actually in use in French and German schools. (See Donald R. Taft's "Historical Textbooks as Provocatives of War" and Jonathan F. Scott's "The Menace of Nationalism in Education.") They illustrate a very unhappy answer to the question at the head of this article, "How much truth in history?"

A few years ago probably most of us would have said that the French textbooks just quoted were all true and the German ones all false; but we can hardly believe that today, unless we have kept our minds tightly closed against the astonishing new light that recent researches have thrown on this whole problem of war guilt as studied by such competent American, French, German, and English scholars as Fay, Gooch, Schmitt, Coolidge, Kerner, Beard, Langer, Pribram, Montgelas, Morhardt, Fabre-Luce, Ewart, Renouvin, and Frantz.

Our facilities for finding out the facts immediately behind the recent World War have been enormously improved by a number of strange political accidents. Under the circumstances which ordinarily follow a great war we should, in 1926, be almost as ignorant of the real causes of the World

War as we were in 1918, for the simple reason that diplomatic archives have usually been kept closed to investigators, as containing State secrets, till half a century or more after the events which they recorded. This time, however, the sacred secrets were roughly and prematurely revealed through the revolutionaries who came into control of the governments of Germany, Austria, and Russia before the war ended. Hoping to disclose the trickery and guilt of the governments they had just overthrown, they threw open the archives to let the historians in and the dark diplomatic mysteries out.

In addition to the records thus voluntarily made public, the Germans seized the Belgian archives during the war and published collections of extracts from them. Also the secretary to the Russian Embassy at London, in the period before the war, secretly made copies of the important diplomatic exchanges between London and St. Petersburg from 1908 to 1914, and later gave or sold these to the Germans.

The conclusions from all the recent study of these newly exposed documents are still matters of much dispute. We may quite properly decline to accept anybody's findings thus far as final. On the other hand, we can hardly disregard the new studies altogether unless we believe that darkness is safer than light. A very recent writer ventures to sum up as follows the main points thus far tentatively established (H. E. Barnes, "History and Social Intelligence," page 268):

"The scapegoat theory of complete, sole, and unique guilt on the part of Germany or any other single State can no longer be supported.

"Fabre-Luce's view that 'the acts of Germany and Austria made the war possible, those of the Triple Entente made it inevitable,' is a brilliant and accurate statement of the case.

"Probably the majority of competent students would assign the relative responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in about this order: Russia, France, Austria, Germany, England.

"Deeper than any national guilt is the responsibility of the wrongheaded and savage European system of nationalism, imperialism, secret diplomacy, and militarism which sprang into full bloom between

1870 and 1914. And there can be no hope of permanent peace in Europe until it is freely and clearly recognized that it is this system which must be resolutely attacked through various forms of international co-operation and organization."

The great French soldier who led us to victory in the World War, Marshal Foch, was quoted recently as saying that no efforts toward disarmament can be successful unless, in the countries concerned, there is a real willingness to disarm. But can we imagine the citizens, even the little children, of France and Germany ever becoming willing to disarm while they continue to have such teaching as that quoted above concerning the recent history of their respective countries?

Military disarmament seems to be dependent upon some measure of spiritual disarmament beforehand, and neither seems attainable so long as the nations of the world are teaching their children fifty-seven varieties of so-called "patriotic" history in reckless disregard of the truth. By admitting more of truth into their school histories the nations would take a long step toward preparedness for world peace.

The history of the World War is one of the most difficult and dangerous obstacles in the path toward spiritual disarmament, but it is by no means the only obstacle confronting the writers and teachers of history who would travel this path. For example, what are the school children of Greece being taught about the recent relations of their country with Turkey, and *vice versa*? What are the boys and girls of Bulgaria being told about their neighbors in Jugoslavia? What sort of an account is Mussolini giving to his patriotic little Italians about how surrounding States have behaved toward their beloved native land? Coming a bit nearer home, how do the teachings in the schools of the United States on the Monroe Doctrine compare with those in Mexico, the South American countries, and Japan?

It is high time that somebody gathered together the school histories in use in every country in the world and found out just what the citizens of tomorrow are being taught on these and many other important and provocative subjects. The results of

such a study, if given the widest possible publicity in every country, could hardly fail to open many eyes now almost blinded by national prejudice and to promote a little the spiritual disarmament which the world so greatly needs.

A very humble beginning in this direction, made by the present writer, has shown that the League of Nations is carefully, and no doubt wisely, avoiding this kind of an investigation. A recent letter from its secretariat says in part: "The League of Nations itself has not dealt with the question of the causes of the World War nor with the question of teaching regarding this war. It has only been dealing with the question of instructing the children and youth of the countries members of the League in the existence of that organization and in its work."

It would seem, therefore, to be the privilege and duty of some organization more favorably situated for the fearless publication of disagreeable political facts than is the League of Nations to turn the twin spotlights of scholarly research and worldwide publicity on the multitude of divisive and provincial distortions of historic truth which flourish so disastrously in the dark.

## GOD OF ALL NATIONS

(From a "Book of Prayers for use in an Indian College.")

God of all nations,  
 We pray for all the peoples of Thy Earth:  
 For those who are consumed in mutual  
 hatred and bitterness,  
 For those who make bloody war upon their  
 neighbors,  
 For those who tyrannously oppress,  
 For those who groan under cruelty and sub-  
 jection.  
 We beseech Thee, teach mankind to live to-  
 gether in peace,  
 No man exploiting the weak, no man hating  
 the strong,  
 Each race working out its own destiny,  
 Unfettered, self-respecting, fearless.  
 Teach us to be worthy of freedom,  
 Free from social wrong, free from individual  
 oppression and contempt,  
 Pure of heart and hand, despising none, de-  
 frauding none,  
 Giving to all men—in all the dealings of  
 life—  
 The honor we owe to those who are Thy chil-  
 dren,  
 Whatever their color, their race, or their  
 caste.

# AN OUTLINE OF OUR FOREIGN SERVICE

By THE EDITOR

THE work of our government in foreign fields is so detailed and continuous, so related to the interests of us all, so important in its bearing upon international understanding, which it is the purpose of this magazine to promote, our readers will wish to know more about it. In composing the following outline, acknowledgment is made by the Editor to the gracious co-operation of the Hon. J. Butler Wright, for five years an Assistant Secretary of State and just now our appointee as Minister to Budapest.

The activities and duties of the Department of State and of the Foreign Service affect every one of us, albeit in varying degrees, for we are all dependent upon the stability of international relations. This is particularly true of those persons of business who live continuously at home; of those persons of business who travel abroad; of those engaged in business at home; and those who transact their business either in person or by agents abroad.

The Department of State is manned as follows: There is the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, and there are four Assistant Secretaries of State. The Department is divided into six politico-geographical divisions, one for Western Europe, one for Eastern Europe, one for the Near East, one for the Far East, and one for Mexico and Latin-American Affairs.

There is the Solicitor of the Department of State, who drafts and interprets treaties, conventions, protocols, and other international agreements. He is legal adviser to the Department of State. As such he deals with questions of municipal, foreign and international law, diplomatic claims of American citizens against foreign governments; claims of foreigners against the Government of the United States; personal and private rights of aliens in the United States and of American citizens in foreign countries, such as acquisition, inheritance and transfer of property, arrest, detention, fines, im-

prisonment, personal injury, acts of insurgents, taxation, breach or annulment of concessions or other contracts; failure to pay interest or principal on government obligations; sequestration or confiscation of property; complaints regarding action of executive, legislative, judicial or military authorities; rights and privileges of American diplomatic and consular officers abroad and of foreign diplomatic and consular officers in the United States, and the rights and immunities of sovereigns and public property in the United States; the jurisdiction over and control of foreign public or private vessels in American ports; citizenship, naturalization, expatriation, extradition, and extraterritoriality; the acts and rights of belligerents, neutrals, and insurgents on land or sea; powers and authority of representatives of foreign countries to contract loans with the Government of the United States; questions arising out of emergency and war legislation, and a large number of miscellaneous legal questions not included in the above classification.

## *I. Personnel, About 580 plus about 50 Foreign Service Officers on Duty in the Department:*

Among the projects which have occupied the attention of the department within this last year or so, many of which will continue to occupy its attention for some time, may be mentioned the funding of debts of foreign nations; a revolution in Honduras and political instability in Nicaragua; the negotiation of new commercial treaties with practically all nations; the Conference on Narcotic Drugs at Geneva; the organization of the administration of the new immigration law of 1924; the adjudication of Mexican and American claims through two judicial tribunals set up by treaties between the United States and Mexico; the adjudication of claims of citizens of the United States against Austria and Hungary; the settlement of claims of American citizens

against Germany growing out of the war; investigation into the extraterritoriality situation in China; the Customs Conference in China under the treaty entered into at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments; the work of the Plebiscitary Commission under the award of the arbitrator in the Tacna-Arica arbitration between Chile and Peru; the protection of American interests endangered by revolutionary conditions in China; the protection of American interests affected by disturbances in Syria; the forthcoming Conference on Limitation of Armament.

Measured by pieces of correspondence alone, the work of the department during the last five years has grown 9.8 per cent, while the personnel has increased by 1.1 per cent, or about one-ninth as rapidly as the work indicated by correspondence has increased. Were it not for the Foreign Service personnel employed, the work of the department could not be carried on.

During that period the pages of stenographic work increased from 138,064 pages in 1922 to 263,172 pages in 1925—a total increase of 55.9 per cent.

An additional important function is that of issuing passports. The number of passports issued was 145,163 in 1922 and 168,285 in 1925—an increase of 13 per cent.

#### Work in Passport Agencies, 1924:

1. Passport applications, 53,159.
2. Passports issued 50,070.
3. Personal interviews, 319,198.
4. Telegrams and telephone communications, 62,948.
5. Mail communications, 45,954.

#### Work in Passport Agencies, 1925:

1. Applications received, 64,143.
2. Special series and duplicate passports issued by the agencies, 5,834.
3. Amendments and extensions, 11,800.
4. Interviews, 390,591.
5. Telephone communications, 50,415.
6. Telegraph communications, 4,570.
7. Mail, 37,357.

#### Telegrams Exchanged

Year	Cost	Number
1922 .....	\$137,293	37,747
1923 .....	190,558	34,542
1924 .....	195,417	39,851
1925 .....	205,762	43,726

#### Cost of Service

	Appropriations,	Estimates,
	1926	1927
Department of State	\$1,326,688.00	\$1,360,440.00
Diplomatic Branch . . . .	2,773,662.00	3,173,150.00
Consular Branch . . . .	5,806,800.00	5,780,200.00
<b>Total, Department and Foreign Service . . . . .</b>	<b>\$9,907,150.00</b>	<b>\$10,313,790.00</b>
International obligations . . . . .	6,239,362.77	6,165,002.90
Permanent and indefinite appropriations and trust funds . . . . .	131,139.74	136,139.74
<b>Total, appropriations and estimates</b>	<b>16,277,652.51</b>	<b>16,614,932.64</b>
Receipts, estimated.	8,115,733.00	8,108,733.00
<b>Excess of appropriations and estimates over estimated receipts and permanent and indefinite appropriations and trust funds . . . .</b>	<b>\$8,161,919.51</b>	<b>\$8,506,199.64</b>
International obligations (deducted).	6,239,362.77	6,165,002.90
<b>Excess of operating expenses over estimated receipts . . . . .</b>	<b>\$1,922,556.74</b>	<b>\$2,341,196.74</b>

In connection with the action taken by the American consul at Singapore and this Department in notifying a member of Congress of the death in Singapore of one of his constituents and of the welfare and plans of the other members of the family in Singapore, the congressman writes:

The extraordinary promptness and efficiency of the Division of Foreign Service Administration, to which I made personal application for service in securing the first definite information regarding the incident, prompts me to offer my own acknowledg-

ments, with the unbounded gratification of the family involved.

## II. *The Diplomatic Branch of the Foreign Service:*

- A. Accredited to foreign governments.
- B. Total personnel, approximately 630, with missions in 51 countries, of which 51 chiefs of missions, 4 ambassadors, 15 ministers, and one diplomatic agent are career men promoted from the ranks.

## III. *The Consular Branch of the Foreign Service:*

- A. In the absence of better definition, accredited to municipalities and districts functioning under direction of diplomatic officers.
  - B. Total personnel, approximately 2,800, with consular offices in 410 cities of 57 countries.
- Total in service at home and abroad, approximately 4,050.

## IV. *Duties in General of the Department of State vis-à-vis other departments and the American Citizen in General:*

### *Department of State*

- Protection of American citizens.
- Protection of American interests.
- Political and economic reports.
- Consular courts in extraterritorial countries.
- Notarial services.
- Depositions and commissions.
- Relief of American seamen.
- Estates of American seamen.
- Citizenship.
- Registration of Americans.
- Passport services, Americans.
- Alien visa control.
- Deaths of Americans.
- Estates of deceased Americans.
- Witnesses to marriages.
- Recordation of vital statistics.

### *Treasury Department*

- Protection of revenue.
- Documentation of merchandise.
- Valuation of imports.
- Landing certificates.

### Protection of Public Health.

- Bills of health.
- Sanitary reports.
- Disinfection of merchandise.
- Prohibited importations.
- Smuggling.
- Valuation of currencies.
- War risk insurance.
- Investigations, reports, payments.

### *Department of Commerce*

- Extension of American trade.
- Voluntary trade reports.
- Called-for reports and investigations.
- Trade opportunities.
- Navigation vessels; entry and clearance.
- American seamen, shipment, discharge, desertion.
- Marine protests.
- Reports on—
  - Fisheries.
  - Lighthouses.
  - Measures and standards.
- Coast and Geodetic Surveys.

### *Navy Department*

- Reports on—
  - Hydrographic data and charts.
  - Lighthouses.
  - Harbor and coaling facilities.
  - Wireless stations.
  - River and harbor markings.
  - Port rules and regulations.
  - Geographic and marine data.
  - Movement of vessels.

### *Department of Agriculture*

- Crop reports and estimates.
- Market reports.
- Plant introduction.
- Weather reports.
- Disinfection hides, rags, etc.
- Plant quarantine.
- Insecticide and fungicide regulations.
- Reports on—
  - Irrigation projects.
  - Entomology.
  - Biology.
  - Horticulture.
  - General agricultural matters.

### *Post Office Department*

- Reports on—
  - Postal conventions and regulations.
  - Parcels post.
  - Postal banking.

*Department of Justice*

Extradition.  
 Estates of American seamen.  
 Crimes on high seas.  
 Notarial services.  
 Depositions and commissions.  
 Reports regarding anarchists, etc.

*War Department*

Purchases of—  
 Raw materials.  
 Supplies and equipment.  
 Geographical data.  
 Topographical data.  
 Military inventions.  
 Military progress.

*Interior Department*

Pension matters.  
 Patent applications.  
 Patent interference cases.  
 Reports on—  
 Education.  
 Geological surveys.  
 Mines and mining.  
 Reclamation.  
 Conservation.

*Department of Labor*

Immigration.  
 Reports on—  
 Labor conditions.  
 Labor legislation.

*Shipping Board*

Financing vessels.  
 Purchase supplies, coal, etc.  
 Shipment and discharge of crews.  
 Settlement of disputes.  
 Aid in obtaining cargoes.  
 Acting as agent for Shipping Board.  
 Protection of interests of Board.

*Federal Reserve Board*

Financial reports.  
 Exchange matters.  
 Commodity reports.

*Panama Canal*

Marine data.  
 Health conditions of near-by countries.  
 Canal tolls and regulations.

*The American Citizen in General*

General correspondence.  
 Replies to individual trade inquires.  
 Answers to miscellaneous inquires.  
 Receipt and forwarding of mail.  
 Advice and assistance to travelers, tourists, and salesmen.  
 Representation.  
 Notarial acts.  
 Protection of interest so far as laws and regulations permit.  
 Welfare and whereabouts.  
 Duties—Diplomatic, observation, representation, assistance.

*V. Typical Cases of Assistance Rendered:  
 Service Rendered by 15 of our Diplomatic  
 Missions to American Commercial  
 Interests, 1923*

Type of service	outstanding cases
1. Protection of American commercial interests and prevention of discrimination against them.	126 (involving millions of dollars)
2. Removal of restrictions on American commerce.	31
3. Aid in obtaining settlement of claims and debts of American citizens against the governments of foreign countries.	70 (involving about two million dollars)
4. Assistance to representatives of American concerns in obtaining for them equal treatment with nationals of other countries in submitting proposals and obtaining contracts.	49
5. General assistance and advice to American business men and firms in connection with financial and commercial matters.	88

*VI. Recent Cases of Aid Rendered by Our  
 Diplomatic Missions to American Commercial Interests:*

1. An American company obtained a concession to build a railway in a foreign country, and part of the railway was built and put in operation. Controversies then arose between the company and the government, and the government revoked the concession and threatened to confiscate the company's property. Through the good offices of the American minister, a compromise was reached whereby the company surrendered the railway to the gov-

ernment and the latter agreed to pay the cost of construction. Attempts by the company to obtain a settlement of the entire claim were unsuccessful, but finally, after repeated efforts on the part of the minister, there was a complete and satisfactory settlement of the company's claim.

2. An American citizen acquired an interest in a large estate of approximately 100,000 acres in a foreign country, the title to which appeared to be incontestable. As soon as he entered into possession, however, he found the title contested by squatters. Through the efforts of the legation, title to the full estate was recognized by the government.

3. A foreign government levied a large forced loan collected by cutting all the national bank notes and retaining one-half as a loan for the use of the government, the holders being compensated by government bonds of a low market value, issued for the purpose. The legation took the matter up with the government, with the result that there was a saving of several million dollars to American commercial organizations and individuals.

4. An American company was one of 16 competitors for the award of a contract from the national bank of a foreign country for the printing of new bank notes. The offer of the American company, in open competition, more nearly met the requirements of the bank than any other, and the commission appointed to study the bids unanimously recommended its acceptance. Opposition immediately developed on the part of the competitors, and it appeared that pressure was being brought to bear on the government to force the revocation of the contract and its re-award to a firm of different nationality. Only vigorous and prompt action of the American legation in demanding that the bid of the American company be treated entirely on its merits, and in warning the government that failure to do so would be considered a deliberate discrimination against American interest, prevented the loss of the contract to the American company.

5. A foreign government declared void an important concession held by an American corporation for the construction of branch railway lines to unify the company's railways in that country. As a

result of the friendly good offices of the American minister, a new concession, satis factory to both parties, was signed and approved.

6. The representative of an American film corporation abroad complained to the embassy that the corporation had been robbed of a certain film which had been shipped to the country in question and was then being advertised. The embassy took the matter up with the Foreign Office, explaining the case and asking for intervention. Two days later the representative of the film company reported that the police had received instructions to act and had taken steps to prevent the film being shown.

7. Our diplomatic missions in various countries have succeeded in obtaining licenses for American steamship lines to engage in transporting emigrants from those countries to the United States. This trade before the war was carried on largely by foreign ships, and American shipping interests encountered much opposition in competing for a fair share of this trade.

8. An American company complained that new regulations of the Suez Canal Co. made it impossible for them to ship their goods to the Orient through the Suez Canal. As a result of the intervention of the embassy, a compromise satisfactory to both parties was reached.

9. By energetic action one of our legations was able to prevent the requisitioning of American goods by the military authorities of the government in power.

10. One of our embassies was appealed to by an American mining company because of a strike of dock laborers who refused to load one of the company's vessels. As it appeared that the strike had been arranged by local interests desiring to force future shipments of metal in native ships, the embassy protested to the government, with the result that the laborers returned to work, loading the ship, so that the ship was able to sail in time to make its scheduled connections.

11. A certain government which had not permitted foreign subjects to send telegrams in code, upon being apprised of the inconvenience and expense caused by this regulation to American individuals and concerns, issued an order per-

mitting private individuals and concerns to make use of codes under reasonable regulations.

12. The importation of automobiles into a country in central Europe was permitted only by special license, due to the fact that they were classified as foreign luxuries, of which the importation was forbidden. At the request of the representative of an American motor company, the legation was able to facilitate the importation of automobiles into the country.

13. The legation at Berne successfully terminated negotiations with the Swiss Government, whereby the Swiss tariff on containers for American cars was reduced from 30 per cent to 10 per cent of the net-weight rate. The former tariff had proved prohibitive to American cars, which had to be transported in boxes in competition with European cars, which could come into Switzerland without ocean transport and, therefore, unboxed.

14. During one period of three months, one of our legations obtained satisfactory settlement of seven legitimate claims of American citizens and concerns against a government—these claims amounting to about one half million dollars.

15. A foreign government which had received consignments of kerosene oil to the value of \$3,000,000, having failed to make payment to the American company furnishing the oil, after repeated efforts of the legation, made payment in full.

16. An American company sold a cargo of goods to a government to the value of about \$300,000. Difficulties were encountered by the company in obtaining payment, but as a result of the continued efforts of the legation the entire debt was eventually paid.

17. A number of foreign companies, including two American companies, were desirous of securing a contract abroad for the construction of a system of grain elevators. The legation took every proper occasion to prevent discrimination against the American companies, with the result that one of the American companies received the contract.

There are constant visits of American business men to our embassies and legations and requests for advice regarding commercial and financial matters. American business men are given unofficial in-

roductions to government officials and to the leading men of foreign countries by our diplomatic representatives, and meetings are arranged which are frequently of great value to American business representatives.

One of our legations obtained from the government to which it is accredited its consent to make good its visés for American citizens for any number of voyages into the country in question within the space of a year. Before this a separate visé had to be obtained for each visit. This action will result in a saving of thousands of dollars yearly for American business men obliged to enter and leave the country in question frequently.

*Duties—Consular*

There is not a department which does not, according to its peculiar needs, rely to a greater or less extent upon consular reports, which embrace, in addition to general political and economic developments, such specific subjects as hydrographic data, harbor and coaling facilities, wireless stations, port rules and regulations, geographic and marine data, postal conventions, parcel post, postal banking, labor conditions and legislations, fisheries, measures and standards, plant and animal quarantine, irrigation projects, entomology, biology, horticulture, education, geological surveys, reclamation, tariffs and customs regulations, patents and copyrights, railways, shipping, etc.

*Partial list of services performed by American Consular Officers during fiscal year ended June 30, 1921*

Protection and welfare cases.....	48,078
Deaths of Americans abroad.....	1,010
Estates settled .....	607
Registration of Americans .....	6,585
Passport services (Americans)....	150,117
Passport visas (aliens).....	657,968
Section six, certificates (Chinese)..	1,386
Depositions and commissions.....	500
Extradition cases .....	80
Marine protests .....	7,720
Seamen shipped .....	33,464
Seamen discharged .....	26,713
Seamen deserted .....	3,129
Seamen deceased .....	209
Seamen relieved .....	5,197
Voluntary trade reports .....	9,215



Called-for trade reports .....	6,367
Replies to trade inquiries.....	82,237
Trade opportunities (about).....	2,000
Disinfection certificates .....	4,282
Notarial services .....	235,194
Consular invoices .....	546,239
Landing certificates .....	2,546
Bills of Health .....	39,366
Sanitary reports .....	13,254
American vessels entered.....	27,837
American vessels cleared.....	27,838
Miscellaneous correspondence:	
Letters received .....	750,824
Letters sent .....	871,891
Total fees collected for year	
1920-21 .....	\$8,517,020.47
Gross cost of Consular Service,	
1920-21 .....	4,405,598.85
Net gain to the government....	\$4,111,421.62

	<i>Volume</i>	
	1922	1925
Protection and welfare cases .....	59,891	45,594
Alien passports visaed....	264,167	360,195
Notarial services .....	135,337	166,037
Voluntary trade reports...	12,735	15,557
Called-for trade reports...	6,812	11,639
Consular invoices .....	607,556	853,367
Letters received .....	764,770	1,370,172
Letters sent .....	966,476	1,617,215

#### **The Executive Order Providing for Co-operation Between all the Representatives of the Government of the United States in Foreign Countries**

The following regulations are hereby prescribed for the guidance of the representatives of the Government of the United States in foreign countries, with a view to giving unified direction to their activities in behalf of the promotion and protection of the commercial and other interests of the United States, insuring effective co-operation, and encouraging economy in administration.

Whenever representatives of the Department of State and other departments of the Government of the United States are stationed in the same city in a foreign country they will meet in conference at least fortnightly under such arrangements as may be made by the chief diplomatic officer or, at posts where there is no diplomatic officer, by the ranking consular or other officer.

It shall be the purpose of such conferences to secure a free interchange of all information bearing upon the promotion and protection of American interests.

It shall be the duty of all officers to furnish in the most expeditious manner, without further reference, all economic and trade information requested by the ranking officers in the service of other departments of the government assigned to the same territory.

With a view to eliminating unnecessary duplication of work, officers in the same jurisdiction shall exchange at least fortnightly a complete inventory of all economic and trade reports in preparation or in contemplation.

Copies of all economic and trade reports prepared by consular or other foreign representatives shall be filed in the appropriate embassy or legation of the United States or, where no such office exists, in the consulate general, and shall be available to the ranking foreign representatives of all departments of the government. Extra copies shall be supplied upon request by the officer making the report.

The customary channel of communication between consular officers of other departments in the foreign field shall be through the supervising consul general, but in urgent cases or those involving minor transactions such communications may be made direct.

Upon the arrival of a representative of any department of the Government of the United States in any foreign territory in which there is an embassy, legation, or consulate general, for the purpose of special investigation, he shall at once notify the head of the diplomatic mission of his arrival and the purpose of his visit, and it shall be the duty of said officer, then the supervising consular officer, to notify, when not incompatible with the public interest, all other representatives of the Government of the United States in that territory of the arrival and the purpose of the visit, and to take such steps as may be appropriate to assist in the accomplishment of the object of the visit without needless duplication of work.

*VII. Thus Demonstrated that Present-day Relations of States Are Politico-economic, and That All Contentious*

*Questions between Nations Are Basically Economic.*

*VIII. The Policy of Promotion and Protection of Reputable American Interests Abroad:*

A. Promotion a matter for Department of Commerce.

B. Promotion and protection a matter for the Department of State.

C. Distinctive feature of Department of State regarding foreign trade is that it is the agency which deals with foreign governments, laws, regulations and administrative acts are reported, et cetera.

A citizen, therefore, looks to it for advice, assistance, and protection.

"Open Door"—equality of treatment. Reaffirmed at Washington Conference.

Wide application.—Mandated territory. No exclusive advantages or interests for America.

Does not mean that American interests shall be pushed through that door by the government; they must decide whether they wish to avail themselves.

No sponsoring of private interests; foreign trade and investment of American citizens are voluntary—not a means whereby the government seeks exploitation or control in foreign countries.

In fair and reasonable proposals of American citizens seeking contracts abroad, department can and will instruct representatives abroad to render proper assistance on the principle that it is just as valuable to be advised how to keep *out* of a hole as to be helped out after having fallen in.

Equal treatment in customs matters. Unconditional most-favored-nation treatment rests upon Tariff Law of 1922, Section 317, of which authorized the President to declare additional rates of duty on the commerce of such foreign countries as may discriminate against American trade. *Reciprocity.*

*IX. Co-operation Between All Officials Functioning Abroad. Previous History of the Reorganization of the Diplomatic and Consular Services:*

A. Reasons for reorganization and methods to attain it.

1. April 5, 1906; February 5, 1915;

May 24, 1924. The Rogers Act of May 24, 1924, and its four chief points:

A. Amalgamation of the two branches of the service on the basis of reasonable interchangeability.

B. Readjustment of the scale of pay.

C. The establishment of the principle of representation allowances.

D. The retirement provisions of the act.

*X. The Necessity for Trained Men, the Reasons for This Necessity, and the Method by Which We Endeavor to Obtain It.*

*XI. Examinations:*

*1923—Consular:*

A. Number of persons designated for examination, 293.

B. Number of persons admitted to the service, 41.

*Diplomatic:*

A. Number of persons designated for examination, 45.

B. Number of persons admitted to the service, 9.

*1924—Consular:*

A. Number of persons designated for consular examinations, 240 (including those designated to take written abroad).

B. Number of persons admitted to the service, 35\*.

*Diplomatic:*

A. No diplomatic examinations were held in 1924, but 4 men were appointed from the list of eligibles left from the list of eligibles of 1923.

*1925—Foreign Service:*

A. Number designated for examination, 245 (including those designated to take written abroad).

B. Number of persons admitted to the service, 21. (Results of latest examination not known, but approximately the same.)

*XII. The Principles Underlying the Examination:*

A. Elements of economic and political power are in the keeping of the Service.

\* 15 were appointed Consular and 20 Foreign Service officers.

B. Problem is the *application* of principles that have already been learned.

C. The history of other nations shows that the monopoly of foreign fields had at that time virtually been secured by men proficient in languages and carefully trained in the customs, languages, and history of the countries to which they were sent.

D. That there should be no friction between culture and commercialism.

E. That the judgment of officials and the people of other countries is founded upon the reputation of our commercial representatives and equally upon our official representatives, for how can a country be properly judged by improper representatives?

F. The principles, therefore, that underlie the attitude of the government are:

1. No international rivalry in the more threatening interpretation of that phrase, but friendly stimulating competition.

2. Markets and opportunities for all.

3. Insistence upon most-favored-nation treatment.

4. Insistence upon equality of opportunity.

*XIII. No Information is Required or Possessed as to the Political Affiliations of Any Applicant, nor Would it be Possible to State the Political Affiliations of More Than Five Per Cent of the Men in the Career Foreign Service:*

The following figures contrasting the salaries paid the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and this country. The British representatives, in addition to a personal salary, receive allowance for representation of their government, which make their total remuneration in practically every case much higher than our representatives. For instance, the British Ambassador in Washington receives, in round figures, \$85,000 (the pound being figured at \$5.00), while Mr. Houghton, in London, has \$17,000. In other European countries the situation is the following:

Country	Great Britain	United States
Switzerland .....	18,750.00	10,000.00
Poland .....	23,750.00	10,000.00
Sweden .....	22,500.00	10,000.00
Portugal .....	25,000.00	10,000.00
The Netherlands ..	26,250.00	12,000.00

*In the Near East*

Rumania .....	20,000.00	10,000.00
Bulgaria .....	20,000.00	10,000.00
Greece .....	20,000.00	10,000.00

*In the Far East*

China .....	25,000.00	12,000.00
Japan .....	31,500.00	17,500.00

*In South America*

Argentina .....	30,000.00	17,500.00
Brazil .....	35,000.00	17,500.00
Chile .....	20,000.00	17,500.00
Uruguay .....	17,500.00	10,000.00
Panama .....	15,000.00	10,000.00

**Letter Recently Received**

Thank you very much for the pamphlets giving information regarding the salaries and perquisites of those connected with the Foreign Service of the United States.

Am much surprised at the beggarly remuneration allowed consuls. It makes me feel ashamed of my country. How do you expect to get talent, efficiency, and a high order of integrity at the figures listed.

Believe me, when I say that I cannot and will not accept any position in the foreign service at such compensation.

My application for recognition is hereby respectfully withdrawn. The wealthiest nation on earth expects too much according to the figures submitted.

Respectfully yours, ———.

P. S.—Our Consul General at Tokyo, Japan, should receive at least twenty-five thousand dollars per year. I am not surprised that you will find it hard to get an able, industrious, world-wise representative dependable enough to fill this portfolio for the price you pay. It can't be done.

*XIV. Urgency for Representation Expenses as Endorsed in Principle by the Rogers Act:*

A. Salaries of all American ambassadors, irrespective of positions; \$17,500.

Country	Great Britain	United States
France .....	\$72,500.00	\$17,500.00
Belgium .....	27,500.00	17,500.00
Italy .....	40,000.00	17,500.00
Germany .....	41,250.00	17,500.00
Spain .....	30,000.00	17,500.00

B. Salaries of ministers at two posts (Peking and The Hague), \$12,000.

C. At all other posts, \$10,000.

If it be a vicious principle to maintain a service, the remuneration of which is so meager as to enable only those with private means to consider it, a cure by increased salary would be as unfortunate as the disease. A parsimonious officeholder, desirous of saving for his own pocket as much as possible from his salary, might live in such niggardly fashion as seriously to affect the prestige of the government which he represents. Entertainment and hospitality to the officials of the country to which an official is accredited, his colleagues in the Service and the people of that country—to say nothing of prominent visiting Americans—are absolutely obligatory upon every chief of a diplomatic mission, and it cannot be held that there is no more reason for affording diplomatic representatives an opportunity to meet these obligations than to members of Congress. In the case of diplomatic officers to a great degree, of a consular officer to a lesser degree, and of the Secretary of State, the dictates of international relations continually demand the extension of entertainment and hospitality necessitated by reasons of courtesy or reciprocity. The only effective manner of meeting this situation is to follow the practice of other nations and grant to the chiefs of mission a reasonable sum with which to maintain the establishment and meet these obligations—irrespective of his salary; his salary is for personal services rendered, and such officer should not be called upon to expend his entire salary and a portion of his personal income, if any, to such ends—a representation fund would be expended only for legitimate purposes of this nature, would be supported by vouchers in each instance; would be subjected to the scrutiny and approval of the Department of State and the Comptroller General, and the schedule of expenses would be available.

*XV. The Acquisition by Purchase of Embassy, Legation, and Consular Premises Abroad:*

A. Necessity, therefore, is clearly connected with the argument for representation expenses.

B. The lack of dignity entailed in the frequent changes of rented embassies, legations, and consulates and the resultant effect upon public opinion in other countries, and the inconvenience to the traveling American public.

C. The amount expended each year for the rental of indifferent embassy, legation, and consular properties (exclusive of that portion of those premises occupied by the officer as living quarters), which portion he pays himself amounts each year to a sum equivalent to 6 per cent on \$6,190,000.

D. Bill introduced in the present session of Congress providing for the appropriation of a sufficient sum to effect the purchase of desirable properties abroad, subject to the approval of the Commission established for that purpose.

E. The advisability of such a step and the concentration in government-owned buildings of all governmental activity in foreign countries would appear almost incontrovertible from the standpoint of economy, safety, and efficiency of administration.

*XVI. What Type of Man Is Sought?*

This answer is taken from a statement of one of the Department staff:

"I can perhaps describe a young man who is likely to succeed in being admitted to either branch of the service and make a success as an officer. Such a man should be well grounded in history, economics, the government and economic development of his own country, international and at least commercial and maritime law, an accurate reading and speaking knowledge of the French language; and that which is less common than it should be, an accurate knowledge of the English language; an inquiring mind that analyzes and reflects; a habit of study; and, moreover, he should be hearty, personable, manly, shrewd, businesslike, observant, and well informed, with a good knowledge of human nature and the instincts of a gentleman in the finer sense."

# INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

## PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO POWERS ON LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENT

### Full Text of Memorandum Sent Simultaneously to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan

The American Government has followed with close attention the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and, after the most careful deliberation, has concluded that it can helpfully make certain observations at this time which, it hopes, may contribute materially to the success of that commission—a success earnestly desired by the government and the people of the United States.

The conviction that the competitive augmentation of national armaments has been one of the principal causes of international suspicion and ill will, leading to war, is firmly held by the American Government and people. Hence the American Government has neglected no opportunity to lend its sympathy and support to international efforts to reduce and limit armaments.

The success of the Washington Conference of 1921-22 demonstrated that other powers were animated with a similar desire to do away with this dangerous source of international discord. The Washington Conference made a beginning, however, and it has been the continued hope of the American Government, since 1922, that the task undertaken at Washington by the group of naval powers could be resumed and completed.

For this reason, the American Government was happy to observe that the efforts looking toward the holding of a general international conference for the limitation of armament, which had been in progress for several years under the auspices of the League of Nations, had reached, in December, 1925, a stage sufficiently advanced, in the opinion of the Council of the League of Nations, to warrant the establishment of the preparatory commission, to meet in 1926, to prepare the ground for an international conference at an early date.

The American Government, pursuant to its

policy of co-operation with all efforts calculated to bring about an actual limitation of armament, accepted the invitation of the Council to be represented on the preparatory commission. The American representatives on that commission have endeavored to play a helpful part in its discussions, and they will continue to be guided by that policy.

The American Government believes that the discussions of the commission have been most valuable in making clear the views of the various governments as the problems presented, and in demonstrating the complexity and diversity of the obstacles to be overcome in the preparation and conclusion of a general agreement for the limitation of all armament.

At the same time, these very complexities and difficulties, as brought out in the preparatory commission, have clearly pointed out that a final solution for the problem of armament may not be immediately practicable. Indeed, at the latest meeting of the Council of the League of Nations several distinguished statesmen, leaders in the movement for the limitation of armament, sounded a note of warning against too great optimism of immediate success.

The American Government is most anxious that concrete results in the limitation of armament may be achieved. The discussions of the preparatory commission have emphasized the fact that a number of governments consider that one of the chief present obstacles to the general reduction and limitation of armaments lies in the interdependence of land, sea, and air armaments, and in the consequent impossibility of reducing or limiting one of these categories without dealing simultaneously with the others.

On the other hand, the discussions have demonstrated even more emphatically that, should all effort to bring about the reduction or limitation of armament be conditioned upon the acceptance by all the world of a comprehensive plan covering all classes and types of armaments, there would be little, if any, prospect of actual progress toward arms limitation in the near future.

The above difficulties must be frankly

recognized. The American Government believes that they can be overcome and that they must be overcome, since the consequences of a failure to overcome them and to make some definite, if only partial, agreement for the limitation of armament, would constitute a setback to the cause of international peace too great to deserve serious contemplation as a possibility.

Admitting reluctantly that the existing political situations in certain parts of the world may render the problem of universal limitation incapable of immediate solution as a whole, the American Government believes that it is entirely practicable for the nations of the world to proceed at once to the isolation and separate solution of such problems as may appear susceptible of such treatment, meanwhile continuing to give sympathetic consideration and discussion to comprehensive proposals aimed at the simultaneous limitation of land, sea, and air armaments by a general agreement when such an agreement may be warranted by existing world conditions.

The American Government believes that the adoption of such a course is the duty of the governments represented on the preparatory commission, and that by so doing they will insure the achievement by the commission and by the general conference of concrete, even though perhaps only partial, results, thus facilitating progress toward the final solution of the general problem.

The American Government, as its representatives on the preparatory commission have repeatedly stated, feels that land and air armaments constitute essentially regional problems to be solved primarily by regional agreements.

The American army and air force are at minimum strength. Agreement for land and air limitation in other regions of the world would not be dependent upon the reduction or limitation of American land and air forces.

Therefore, the American Government does not feel that it can appropriately offer definite suggestions to other powers in regard to the elimination of these categories of armament.

The problem of the limitation of naval armament, while not regional in character, can be dealt with as a practical matter by measures affecting the navies of a limited group of powers. This has been clearly established by the success of the Washington Treaty limiting naval armament.

The United States, as the initiator of the Washington Conference, and as one of the principal naval powers, has a direct interest in this question, and, being both ready and willing to enter into an agreement further limiting naval armament, feels itself privileged to indicate a course of procedure which will, in its opinion, lead to such an agreement.

The discussions over a period of six months in Geneva have been most useful in the opportunity afforded for an exchange of views as to the general problem of naval limitation, and on the basis of these discussions it is felt that there is a possibility of reconciling many of the divergent views which have been expressed in such a manner as to meet the requirements of the naval powers and enable them to decide upon acceptable measures of limitation.

In order to advance definitely toward a limitation agreement, the Government of the United States takes this method of addressing an inquiry to the government signatories of the Washington Treaty limiting naval armament as to whether they are disposed to empower their representatives at the forthcoming meeting of the preparatory commission to initiate negotiations looking toward an agreement providing for limitation in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty.

The American Government is not unmindful of the fact that the preparatory commission is not specifically charged with the duty of concluding international agreements, and that its task is primarily that of preparing the agenda for a conference to be called at a later date.

Nevertheless, being sincerely desirous of the success of the preparatory commission, the American Government makes this suggestion in the firm belief that the conclusion at Geneva, as soon as possible, among the powers signatories of the Washington Treaty, of an agreement for further naval limitation, far from interfering with or detracting from the success of the preparatory commission's aims, would constitute a valuable contribution to the sum of achievement attributable to that commission and would facilitate the task of the final conference in dealing with the particularly complex problems of land and air armament, perhaps capable of solution for the present only by regional limitation agreements.

It seems probable that under any circumstances the final conference will not be able to meet during this calendar year. The coming into effect of agreements reached by it might be delayed for a considerable period for a multitude of causes. Therefore the American Government believes that those powers which may be able to arrive at an agreement for further naval limitation at an earlier date would not be justified in consciously postponing that agreement and thereby opening the way for a recrudescence of a spirit of competitive naval building—a development greatly to be deplored by all governments and peoples.

The American Government feels that the general principles of the Washington Treaty offer a suitable basis for further discussion among its signatories.

Although hesitating at this time to put forward rigid proposals as regards the ratios of naval strength to be maintained by the different powers, the American Government, for its part, is disposed to accept, in regard to those classes of vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty, an extension of the 5-5-3 ratio as regards the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, and to leave to discussion at Geneva the ratios of France and Italy, taking into full account their special conditions and requirements in regard to the types of vessels in question.

Ratios for capital ships and aircraft carriers were established by that treaty which would not be affected in any way by an agreement covering other classes of ships.

The American representatives at the forthcoming meeting at Geneva will, of course, participate fully in the discussions looking to the preparation of an agenda for a final general conference for the limitation of armament.

In addition, they will have full powers to negotiate definitely regarding measures for further naval limitation, and, if they are able to reach agreement with the representatives of the other signatories of the Washington Treaty, to conclude a convention embodying such agreement, in tentative or final form, as may be found practicable.

The American Government earnestly hopes that the institution of such negotiations at Geneva may be agreeable to the governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and that comprehensive limitation of all types of naval armament may be brought

into effect among the principal naval powers without delay.

## TEXT OF FRANCE'S REPLY TO MEMORANDUM OF FEBRUARY 10, 1927

Handed to Ambassador Herrick on February 15th by Foreign Minister Briand

The American Government has been good enough to address to the signatories of the naval convention of Washington of 1922, and as one of them to the French Government, a memorandum proposing to negotiate at Geneva between the five powers, disinterested themselves from the general work of the reduction of armaments carried on for the last ten months by the Preparatory Commission of Disarmament, an agreement with a view to limiting from now on naval armament for the categories of vessels which are not included in the Treaty of Washington.

The French Government wishes, first of all, to say how much it appreciates the lofty aim of the American note. The generous idealism which inspires it is in accordance with its own views. No power could be more appreciative of the noble initiative of President Coolidge than France, which never ceases to give proofs of her resolutely pacific will.

It desires equally to show how much it has appreciated the friendly attention of the Federal Government in leaving its proposals flexible in an endeavor to take into account the special conditions and requirements of the continental powers. The American Government has thus shown that it is quite aware of the very clear position taken by the French Government in the question of naval disarmament. It will, therefore, not be astonished to see French opinion preoccupied with its duties as a member of the League of Nations and with its moral obligations toward all the powers which form part of it.

On its part the Government of the Republic would have been happy to be able to adhere to these proposals without reserve, and the entire French nation would have congratulated itself on seeing the two countries again associated in an enterprise so consistent with their common traditions; but an attentive study of the American proposals has convinced the Government of the Republic that in their present form they risk compromising the success of the task already commenced at Geneva with the active help

of the representatives of the American Government.

Article eight of the Covenant of the League of Nations has made the general limitation of armaments one of the essential duties of the League. Without doubt, in 1921 the powers, to whom the United States are today appealing, already united their efforts to realize by themselves a limitation of naval armaments. At the time it took place the calling of the Washington Conference was fully justified, but circumstances today are different. The League of Nations has begun its task: the conclusion of an arms traffic convention, the elaboration of a convention on the private manufacture of war materials, the convocation finally of a Preparatory Commission with a view to the meeting of a conference for the general limitation of armaments, a commission to which all the countries of the world have been invited and in which the greater part of them participate, marks so many decisive stages toward the aim fixed by the Covenants. Without doubt, the American Government is not thinking of withdrawing from the task undertaken, the efficient collaboration which for nearly a year its delegates have contributed, it promises on the contrary to continue it. But its proposal has, nevertheless, for practical result to divest the Preparatory Commission of an essential question which figures on its program; to constitute on the side a special conference, in which only a few powers should participate and whose decisions under penalty of being vain must at least in their principles be later recognized as valid by powers which would not have been admitted to discuss them.

To decide today without consulting the League of Nations and to determine method and to seek a partial solution of the problem in preoccupied one's self with maintaining the actual existing situation, than in determining the conditions proper to ensure the security of each one; to limit beside this effort to a few powers would be both to weaken the authority of the League of Nations, so essential to the peace of the world, and to injure the principle of the equality of States, which is the very base of the Covenant of Geneva and to which on its part the French Government remains firmly attached.

The principle of the equality of the powers, great or small, is one of the recognized rules of the League of Nations. Technical com-

mittees have met, all the maritime powers have participated in their labors, they have pointed out the necessities for their defense. How could one admit that at the moment when the Preparatory Commission is called upon to formulate the conclusion of its discussions the five most important maritime powers should take cognizance of the question and, as far as it concerns them, give it a definitive solution of a nature to prejudice the final decisions for the entire naval problems?

In fact, besides the categories to which the new limitation should apply are those which for the majority of powers present the greatest interest. An agreement limited to a few navies could be explained for battle-ships; practically they are the only ones to possess any. It is otherwise when the question of light vessels is considered. All the navies of the world have an interest in being associated with the deliberations on this important problem.

As for the French Government, which, in the question of limitation of armaments, is only interested from the defensive point of view, as M. Briand declared to Mr. Hughes on December 18, 1921, and which in this respect must interest itself both in the protection of its coasts and in the safety of its maritime communications. Its delegates at Geneva have defended and caused to prevail in the technical commissions two general principles: on the one hand, that one cannot undertake to limit naval armaments without taking into consideration the solutions proposed for land and air armaments; on the other hand, especially from the naval point of view, that the limitation of armament can only result from the attribution to any one power of a globe tonnage that it remains free to divide according to the sense of its necessities.

The American proposal sets aside immediately these two principles which would have for consequence that the French Government, which has taken its stand before all the nations represented at Geneva, could only adopt it by abandonment of its point of view. It would thus contradict itself while publicly recanting.

The method proposed, would it be at least of a kind to obtain the looked for result? The precedent of the Rome Conference in 1924 does not permit of hoping so. This conference, in fact, did not succeed in having



adopted by the powers not represented at Washington the principles which there had been established for battleships, still less in having them extended to the other categories of vessels. These Powers would not be less mindful of their own interests (?) that they were asked again to accept principles resulting from decisions which would have been decided upon without them.

This last objection has, without doubt, been considered by the American Government, and if it has thought necessary to set it aside it is by reason of its opinion that if the problems of disarmament are not dissociated there is no hope for a practical result in the near future. The French Government thinks, on the contrary, that in the present state of the surveys with which the Preparatory Commission is charged the latter can at its next session and on condition that the nations represented bring, like itself, a firm resolve to succeed make the decisions which would permit the meeting with serious chances of success of the general conference on disarmament.

The French Government having envisaged the different aspects of the American proposal, conscious of the duties imposed on it as a member of the League of Nations, fearing any undermining the authority of the latter, and convinced that no durable work of peace can be built without the common consent of all the Powers called on the same grounds to defend their rights and interests, thinks that it is at Geneva and by the Preparatory Commission itself in which we have been so happy to see the delegates of the United States participate that the American proposal can be effectually examined.

Statement by Secretary Kellogg,  
February 15, 1927

On reading the French reply to the American proposal for special conversations regarding naval disarmament to take place within the scope of the Preliminary Commission for Disarmament, the Secretary of State declared:

I have had no chance to study the French Government's reply carefully. There appear, however, to be several points in it which must be caused by a misunderstanding of the full purpose of the proposals made by this government.

The President clearly stated that the United States intends to continue its participation in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, and will make every effort to

contribute helpfully to the final success of that body. Indeed, the President specifically expressed the belief that our proposal would be a distinct contribution to such success. There can be no question of our desire to see the efforts toward disarmament produce actual results.

Our proposal is made because we recognize that the disarmament problem is exceedingly difficult to solve; and if naval, land and air disarmament are to be considered as one problem applying to all the nations of the world a solution will hardly be reached for years to come. It is true that Article 8 of the Covenant entrusted the problem of disarmament to the League. Nothing was done, however, except at the Washington Conference. The limitation of naval armament is a concrete proposition applying to the five powers and can be disposed of at the Geneva Conference without interfering at all with the work and without in any way binding other powers. It was the desire of the President to remove the incentive to competitive naval building by such a limitation agreement and at the same time to continue unabated the common effort toward the more general reduction and limitation of armaments.

It seems to me that the postponement to the indefinite future of all efforts to grapple with the problem of competitive naval building would strike a serious blow to the whole cause of disarmament.

I very much hope that before the Geneva Conference is ended the French Government will lend its aid toward the consummation of such an agreement.

## News in Brief

FOREIGN STUDENTS ENROLLED in colleges and universities in the United States were, in 1922-23, 6,692 in number, according to a report just issued by the Bureau of Education. This takes no count of the 1,515 students coming from American possessions overseas. Twenty-six years ago, in 1896-97, there were only 803 foreign students in this country. In neither case are students in professional schools considered.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COURT has announced important decisions for protecting Belgian citizens' property and shipping in China. This was made possible as the result of an application on November 25 last, when the Belgian Government instituted proceedings before the World Court against

the Chinese Government concerning the denunciation by the latter of the Belgo-Chinese treaty of friendship and commerce of 1865.

THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION AWARD offers two prizes, of \$25,000 each, to the young man or woman in America who writes the best essay on the topic, "What Woodrow Wilson means to me." The contestants must be between twenty and thirty-five years of age and send in the essays on or before October 1, 1927. Not the accomplishments of Mr. Wilson, but the ideals and principles which he expressed are to be the theme of the papers.

TRANS-ATLANTIC RADIO-PHONE SERVICE opened between New York and London on the morning of January 7.

THE TANGIER ZONE, under the international régime inaugurated June 1, 1925, is reported to have effected notable improvements in many directions. Impartial administration of justice is of particular importance among those improvements. Tangier harbors many races and creeds; nevertheless, the problems of justice have been successfully solved for the region.

A FOUR-DAY CONFERENCE of the Union of University Liberal Societies was begun in Cambridge, England, January 11. Among the topics for discussion was "A league of British nations as a step in the higher ideal of a league of all nations."

TEACHERS AND OTHER INTELLECTUAL WORKERS in the professional classes in Russia received an average salary of between 30 and 40 rubles (\$15 to \$20) monthly, which is lower than the average wage for manual workers in industry, according to the latest issue of the official publication of the International Labor Office.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS decided at its December meeting to call three international conferences during 1927. They are the World Economic Conference at Geneva, May 4; the Conference to Found an International Relief Union, July 4; and at the close of the year a Conference on the Control of the Private Manufacture of Arms.

ON MARCH 22 THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS for the Progressive Codification of International Law will meet at Geneva.

THE CONTROL OF THE GERMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT was finally relinquished by the Allies on February 1. Germany, on her part, made certain promises about trade in arms and the limitation of fortresses on her frontiers. Henceforth the League of Nations is entrusted with the task of watching German armaments.

THE RAILWAY COACH in which the World War Armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, is to be housed in an artistic building in Compeigne, France. This will be done with funds donated by Arthur H. Fleming, Pasadena, chairman of the board of trustees of the California Institute of Technology.

GEN. CARLOS IBANEZ, CHILEAN MINISTER OF WAR, took the reins of government in his own hands on February 9. President Emilio Figueroa-Larrain remains ostensibly in office. Supported by the army, Ibanez has organized a cabinet. He claims that Bolshevism had attained dangerous proportions in Chile, and that strong measures are necessary to settle the problem once for all.

DR. PAVICHICH, MINISTER OF YUGOSLAVIA to the United States, is to be replaced by M. Antonijevitch, who has been Serbian Minister to Spain.

THE JOINT ASSOCIATION OF IRRIGATION DISTRICTS of the Rio Grande Valley are seeking an amendment to the Swing-Johnson bill in Congress, which will remove any clauses prejudicial to the rights of Mexicans in Lower California to waters of the Colorado River. The action is based on the stand that the question of water rights in both the Rio Grande and the Colorado rivers must be settled jointly and on the same principle. This means that the valley people feel that their claim to Rio Grande waters will be guaranteed by a liberal settlement of the problem in lower California.

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION in the first 11 months of 1926 was 61 per cent more than the same period in 1925.

DR. BENESH'S WORK FOR CZECHOSLOVAK independence will be told in his "Memoirs of the Great War," which are soon to be translated in French, German, and English editions. The memoirs have already appeared in a Slovansky newspaper. President Masaryk's "World Revolution" is now appearing in Eng-

lish, also. It will be in two volumes, almost entirely composed of documents.

THE MONTENEGRIN COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE has published a manifesto in Rome demanding Yugoslav evacuation of Montenegro and a union of Montenegro and Herzegovina into an independent State.

THE HAWAIIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION meeting in January outlined steps for the furthering of vocational education in the islands. It established a research bureau for this work and considered standard programs for junior high schools, extra-curricular work in schools, and adopted resolutions tending to influence acts of the territorial legislature.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA are trying to stimulate tourist traffic, especially from America, by putting faster and more comfortable trains on through routes. The tedious river journey on the way to Calcutta will be eliminated, and through bookings to any destination in India will be possible under the new régime, which will be in operation early next year.

THE COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION of Trade Unions, at Amsterdam on January 14, summarily rejected the proposal by the British representatives for an unconditional conference on unity with the Russian Union.

THE UNITED STATES IS TO BECOME A MEMBER of the American International Institute for the Protection of Infancy, with headquarters in Montevideo.

AN ARGENTINE PRESIDENTIAL DECREE apporitions \$8,300,000 per year for the completion of several Argentine State railway lines.

THE PALESTINE GOVERNMENT is attacking problems of industrial legislation, among them the question of child labor. There is no compulsory education law, and in Jerusalem and Tiberias reports show that many child workers have never attended school at all. The figures given for 1925 show that just over 1,000 young persons were gainfully employed out of a Jewish population of 140,000, a little more than half of this number being under 14 years of age. In the age-group 8-12, one third of the children employed worked not less than 13 hours a day. Of the total number of young persons employed,

50 per cent had a working day of more than eight hours.

BOY IMMIGRANTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN, 15 to 17 years of age, may, beginning in the spring of 1927, have free passage from England to the Canadian Province of Ontario, according to an agreement between the two governments. The boys will be given free agricultural training and then be placed with reliable settlers at wages of about two pounds per month, board and lodging. They are to remain in these positions for three years, getting supervised experience. A similar boy-immigrant scheme was tried out last year in New South Wales, and 1,444 boys availed themselves of the opportunity in 1926.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE PROBLEM OF A WORLD COURT, THE STORY OF AN UNREALIZED AMERICAN IDEA. By *David Jayne Hill*. Pp. xxv+200. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

The attitude of the United States toward matters of international policy, approved by the many, seems to be understood only by the few. Much loose talk about any international matter, the moment it becomes public, seems inevitable. This has been the case with most of the discussions of our relations to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. Dr. Hill is one of few men who have studied this court, its genesis, its relation to the League of Nations, and to our own historical efforts to set up a universal court of justice. One concerned to know just why our country is not a member of the "League's Court" will find it all explained with poise and clarity in this our first definitive text upon the question.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS UNDER LINCOLN. By *James G. Randall*. Pp. 580 and index. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$4.00.

A wholesome tendency has lately appeared to scrutinize and better appraise the Constitution of the United States. High schools

and colleges are encouraging competitive essays and debates on the origin of the Constitution, especially as it was molded or interpreted by earlier statesmen.

During and since the Civil War the discussions about constitutional rights, as they were interpreted during that tragic struggle, has gone on unceasingly. Now that some sixty years have passed since the Civil War, Dr. Randall, of the University of Illinois, attempts to make an unbiased report in this field. He confesses to endearing ties with the South as well as affiliations with the North. These ties would be an added impulse, were any needed to an unprejudiced research.

The book is constructed on a clear outline, which is easy to follow. It is concrete in method, amply illustrated with incidents and opinions, liberally enriched with footnotes and references. While its background is strictly legal, the book does not require a legally trained mind to understand and enjoy it.

In a summary chapter Dr. Randall says: "Legally, the Civil War stands out as an eccentric period, a time when constitutional restraints did not fully operate and when the 'rule of law' largely broke down. . . . Yet civil liberties were not annihilated. . . . The Constitution, while stretched, was not subverted." The restraints exerted upon Lincoln and his officials were twofold: First, the fairness and common sense in Lincoln himself, who is characterized with beautiful discrimination in part V of this chapter; second, by the American people's sense of constitutional government.

The book is to be recommended to any student or reader mature enough to be interested in the Constitution of the United States and Lincoln's relation to it.

WAR, CAUSE AND CURE. Compiled by *Julia E. Johnson*. Pp. 350. H. W. Wilson Co., New York City, 1926. Price, \$2.40.

This is the twenty-sixth volume in the Handbook series. Similar material was assembled in a previous Handbook, under the title, *World Peace*, published in 1916. Since that date, however, the studies in peace and war have greatly increased. Almost every organization has its peace or international relations committee. Almost every school has its debating enterprises touching many international subjects bearing upon peace.

The articles gathered up in this volume are written by men of many political and social creeds. But their earnest and, for the most part, clear-cut observations on war are strikingly unanimous. From United States army officer to English socialist, from judge, lawyer, statesman, and professor to journalist and dramatist, all wish to find ground for co-operation to the end that war may cease.

Some have scratched the surface of the causes of war. A part of their findings is summarized in the report of the Committee on War Causes, of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held in Washington in 1925. That report is included in this volume.

The selections made here are not, naturally, equally significant, but the average is remarkably high. To add to its usefulness the book includes a bibliography of books and periodicals, covering fifty-three pages. Except that the periodical references are already a bit out of date, the list is one of the best we have seen.

The whole volume is stimulating and the range of authors quoted is a hopeful element.

A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE. By *H. W. Fowler*. Pp. 742. Oxford University Press, New York, 1926. Price, \$3.00.

Though alphabetically arranged, this book of usage is far more than a dictionary. It does indeed comment on spelling and pronunciation where necessary. But only those words or phrases are included about which there is some misunderstanding, some question, or of which misuse is common. On these Mr. Fowler writes in a pleasantly conversational way, with unquestioned taste and often amusingly.

The reader in this country will find that there are slight differences, in spots, between the approved usage in England and that which is current among the best writers and speakers in America. Words called pedantic there have become common coin here.

Even so, absolute standards, as understood in the mother country, should be known to Americans. If one varies from them let it be consciously and logically. Many Americanisms are really slipshod. Differences in good usage ought to be few, and the language at its source could hardly be better elucidated than in these little essays on words by an Oxford scholar. Every student, especially every writer, should have this book at hand for repairs.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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Founded 1828 from Societies some of which began in 1815.

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes **ADVOCATE OF PEACE**, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

## FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is five dollars;

Sustaining Membership, ten dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

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\* Emeritus.

# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—*e. g.*, addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1899, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forstall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

\* 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 13, 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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4

## YOU AND OUR COMING CENTENNIAL

**I**NTEREST in the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society increases. Every day brings new evidences of this. Quotations from a few letters recently received indicate that this interest is material as well as moral. A prominent citizen of New Jersey, favorably known throughout our country, wrote under date of March 3: "All I need to know of your organization is the name of its President. I therefore take pleasure in enclosing herewith my check for \$25."

A man of the South, also well known throughout our land, wrote on March 5: "I greatly appreciate the work of the American Peace Society and I am anxious to co-operate in every way to promote the ends for which it is working so faithfully."

From a Chicago man, we have the following letter, dated February 23: "I enclose you my check for \$25.00 to help carry on the great work of the American Peace Society."

These evidences of interest come from persons not previously supporting the Society. But the response to the new work of our Society from its old members is similarly encouraging. The character of their loyalty and earnestness is indicated by the following extracts from recent letters: "I sent my first contribution to the American Peace Society in 1869. Probably the enclosed check will be my last, but while I live I will work and pray for world peace."

A supporter from the State of New Hampshire has written: "I have been a member of the American Peace Society for over fifty years. While my age (I am in my ninetieth year) prevents me from being of much use in the work, I am as much interested in the cause of peace as ever."

A prominent attorney of Chicago writes as follows: "I expect . . . to make my usual contribution of \$100.00 to the work of the Society. I have been doing so for a good many years without any reminder, and I shall continue so long, I hope, as the Society may function."

One of America's best-known social workers, writing from Chicago, expresses his view as follows: "I have long been in the ranks of those who have so long looked to it [The American Peace Society] for leadership."

A member of Congress from Virginia expresses his endorsement in the following sentences: "I think it is well for us to keep the question of plans for promoting the peace of the world before our own people. Your Society is performing a distinguished service in this regard."

The vice-president of one of the most important American chambers of commerce, located in Europe, expresses his opinion as follows: "You may be sure that I will do everything I can for you . . . The importance and usefulness of the activities of the American Peace Society could hardly be exaggerated. . . ."

The president of one of the largest manufacturing enterprises in the United

States writes: "The work in which you are engaged is most important."

The executive officer of one of the outstanding industrial associations of America advises of his support as follows: "I have had occasion . . . recently to inform several correspondents that I believe the American Peace Society is pursuing a sane policy in connection with the moot question of national defense."

It is of interest to note the acceptance of the new rates for subscriptions to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and memberships in the American Peace Society. While some of the renewals are at the \$3.00 rate, a large percentage are at \$5.00 and over. All the new members during the last month were at the five-dollar rate. Furthermore, during the last month there have been thirty-six contributing members and five contributing non-members.

Interest in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* does not wane. Two of its editorials have recently appeared in the *Congressional Record*. The head of the alumnae of one of our country's largest colleges for women has recently ordered a number of extra copies of the magazine for friends planning to travel abroad. The assistant dean of our country's largest school of foreign service has asked for reprints of one of the articles appearing in the March number. He was kind enough to say: "I read with much interest your article on 'An Outline of Our Foreign Service' in the March issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. This is one of the best concise statements of the subject I have yet seen." An editor of five newspapers has asked for two copies of each issue, one for his office and one for his home.

These evidences of interest are undoubtedly due in part to the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, to be celebrated in 1928. Leading business men, lawyers, members of Congress, edu-

cators and clergymen, are already aiding by furnishing us with lists of persons whom they think ought to be interested. They are offering suggestions relative to the nature of a program for such celebration.

Cities suggested as the place for the centenary exercises have to date been as follows: Washington, D. C.; Cleveland, Ohio; Philadelphia; New York; Toronto, Canada; Portland, Maine; Concord, New Hampshire; and Chicago. The interest shown by the States of Maine and New Hampshire is set forth elsewhere in the statement about William Ladd.

The item of the month that has most stirred the feelings of the help, however, is a copy of a letter written by a business man of New York City to a large number of forums in his town. The letter was written March 9. The remarkable epistle reads:

DEAR SIR:

Of the great humanitarian movements which marked the last century, one of the earliest, one of the greatest, and one which is bearing golden fruit now, is the peace movement. And of all the societies which have inspired that movement, probably the oldest, the most distinguished, and the most weighty is the American Peace Society.

Possibly you know that that Society is next year to celebrate the 100th anniversary of its founding in the home of William Low Dodge right here in New York City. During that century a long list of distinguished men and women—Josia Quincy, William Ladd, Anson G. Phelps, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Sumner, William Ellery Channing, John Greenleaf Whittier, Julia Ward Howe, Phillips Brooks, Edward Everett Hale, Andrew Carnegie, Theodore E. Burton, etc.—have worked and written and spoken for that Society.

The present active head of this Society and the Editor of its splendid magazine is Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, a wise, sane, and trustworthy worker for peace and interpreter of international affairs. Coming to this field from educational lecturing and administration, Dr. Call has risen to be a friend and

adviser of statesmen, an authority on foreign affairs, a power for world peace.

I am urging Dr. Call to lecture next winter on "What Progress, Watchman, from a Century's Work for Peace?" "A Century's Work for Peace," or some such subject, describing the work of his great Society, and I beg to bring the matter to your attention because I feel certain that, if you knew his qualities and the work he is doing, you would like to put Dr. Call before your audience next winter, and because I feel that a little encouragement will induce him to prepare such a lecture.

Very truly yours,

### THE REVIVAL OF WILLIAM LADD

THE revival of interest in William Ladd is for the constructive peace movement a most encouraging fact. That such a revival is on can neither be denied nor ignored. The most recent evidence of this return to him is set forth in Senate Document No. 251 of the Eighty-fourth Legislature of the State of Maine, which is a joint resolution presented by Senator Holmes, of Androscoggin. This resolution was read and adopted in the State Senate, March 15, 1927. One thousand copies of the resolution and an accompanying statement of facts were ordered printed. This self-explanatory resolution reads as follows:

"WHEREAS William Ladd, known in this country and abroad as *The Apostle of Peace*, was to the cause of a law-governed world what Elijah Parrish Lovejoy, of Maine, was to the freedom of the press and to the abolition of human slavery; what John Neal, of Maine, was to the extension of the suffrage; what Dorothea Lynde Dix, of Maine, was to the advancement of prison reform; what Neal Dow, of Maine, was to the cause of temperance;

"WHEREAS William Ladd was born May 10, 1778;

"WHEREAS William Ladd founded the American Peace Society, May 8, 1828;

"WHEREAS William Ladd did his major work for peace between nations while liv-

ing for nearly thirty years in Minot, in the State of Maine;

"WHEREAS The American Peace Society, which William Ladd founded, with its headquarters now in Washington, D. C., plans to celebrate in May, 1928, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Ladd's birth and the one hundredth anniversary of the Society's organization; be it

*Resolved by the people of the State of Maine by this joint resolution of their House of Representatives and Senate,* That they heartily endorse the efforts of the American Peace Society thus to recall and to honor the memory and services of William Ladd;

"That this legislature respectfully requests the Governor of the State of Maine to express to the American Peace Society the appreciation of the people of Maine for its purpose thus to honor its illustrious former citizen, and to do what he may consider lawfully proper to aid such efforts;

"That the Governor of the State be requested to appoint a committee from the most distinguished residents of the State, to include the presidents of Bowdoin, Colby and Bates Colleges, the president of the University of Maine, the Commissioner of Education, and such others as he may deem wise, to aid in such a commemoration;

"That the American Peace Society be invited to hold these centennial and sesquicentennial exercises in whole or in part in the State of Maine;

"And that this resolution be given the widest publicity, to the end that the interest and support of every loyal citizen of Maine, especially of her boys and girls, may be enlisted in this most worthy memorial celebration."

The document ordered to accompany this resolution is a copy of Hon. George C. Wing Jr.'s article on William Ladd, appearing first in Sprague's *Journal of Maine History*, Vol. 11, No. 2, and reprinted in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* of September-October, 1923. Mr. Wing, a lawyer of Auburn, Maine, has served five terms in the House of Representatives of

his State and is now chairman of the Judiciary Committee of that body.

William Ladd was a large mold of man. . . . He was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, May 10, 1778, the third of ten children—six girls and four boys. His parents were Col. Eliphalet and Abigail Hill Ladd. His father, at twenty-three years of age, was a sea captain and part owner of a brig engaged in trade with the West Indies. Later as a merchant and ship builder, Eliphalet Ladd became a man of wealth and prominence in Exeter. He was aide on the staff of Governor John Taylor Gilman throughout that man's fourteen years of consecutive service as Governor. He moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in May, 1792. For several years he represented his town in the State Legislature.

William Ladd prepared for college at Exeter Academy; entered Harvard in 1793 and graduated from that college when nineteen years of age. He sailed in one of his father's vessels as a common sailor, visiting London and other ports. At twenty years of age he was in command of one of the largest brigs ever sailing from New England. At twenty-one years of age he married Sophia Ann Augusta Stidolph, in London. After three years of seafaring life, he was for a short time a merchant in Savannah, Georgia. He then went to Florida and took over a cotton plantation, with the view of experimenting with the abolition of negro slavery. His experiences in the South covered a period of about six years. His father dying in 1806, William returned to Portsmouth. He took up again the seafaring life, which he continued until the outbreak of the War of 1812.

He moved from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Minot, Maine, in June, 1814. Two years later he was elected to represent his town at the General Court

in Boston. The same year he was chosen to represent his town in the Brunswick Convention, where the problem for discussion was the separation of the District of Maine from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Mr. Ladd's forensic bent and ability came out in the Brunswick Convention, as shown in the "Collections of the Pejepscopt Historical Society," Vol. 1, page 1, part 1, summarizing the proceedings of that interesting, if useless, gathering.

From the record it appears that there was considerable sharp practice on the part of the majority in that convention, led by a Member of the Senate, a man more vigorous and caustic than scrupulous. After a somewhat heated speech by this gentleman, the debate continued with unflagging earnestness, but with little that was either new or notable until after the usual dinner hour. Then Capt. William Ladd, of Minot, so runs the record, having tried in vain to secure an adjournment for dinner, addressed the convention, saying, among other things, the following:

"The Convention seems determined to deprive me of my dinner, yet I feel disposed to speak my mind with freedom. I am a sailor; was bred a sailor, and continued in this employment till 'free trade and sailors' rights drove me ashore.' Consequently, I am more acquainted with the noise and tumults of the ocean than with a deliberative assembly; for this is the first body of that description I ever addressed. But, sir, I confess that I cannot understand this report; I cannot catch the points of it. I might as well chase a mosquito into the Pacific Ocean. I wish the report was made as plain as a pike-staff, and as straight as a handspike and easy of demonstration to every hand before the mast. There is something that appears like deception in this work. It looks like a number of serpents lying with one's head to the other's tail; if you attempt to take hold of one's tail the other is ready to bite you; and even if you change sides the effect is the same. . . .

It reminds me of the philosophers of the dark ages, who decreed there was no motion, while their tongues moved incessantly to prove it. We now look on them and their arguments with contempt. But a set of modern philosophers, by jumbling logic with mathematics, come to a result still more contemptible. They are not to be argued against. If I hold in my hand a straight wire, can I make it straighter by handling it? Sir, the motives of the majority are to be found in the deception of the human heart. The heart is deceitful above all things and, I might add, desperately wicked."

Here Mr. Holmes called the speaker to order for using unparliamentary language. Of course, the sailor from Minot did not feel like arguing the parliamentary point with the Senator from Alfred, but that he was not completely crushed is shown by some sentences in his peroration. "Our conduct," he said, "shows a rottenness in the very bud, which, like original sin, will stick to posterity. If this Convention proceed to usurpation, their acts will be resisted. Now, while pale famine is treading on the heels of pestilence and war, why add the demon of discord to the train?"

William Ladd voted with the minority to the end. The General Court later proceeded to vote, and the verdict of history has been that the minority was in the right.

Soon thereafter Mr. Ladd became interested in international peace. It was his main interest up to the very day of his death, April 7, 1841.

July 18, 1823, he began a series of essays in the *Christian Mirror*, a religious newspaper printed at Portland, Maine, a journal not without fame throughout seventy years. In the first of these essays, thirty-two in number, he wrote: "In consequence of reading the 'Friend of Peace' and other tracts published by the Massachusetts Peace Society, which were given me by a friend, I became convinced that war is an evil which might be banished

from civil society, and that it is the duty of every man to lend a helping hand to bring about so desirable an event."

This was the keynote of his life and of his work thereafter. As a result of that life and that work, he became known in this country and abroad as "The Apostle of Peace." Every student of constructive international efforts to overcome war recognizes the devotion, the intelligence, and the value of William Ladd's services to the cause.

Mr. Ladd became a member of the Peace Society of Maine. He believed in the importance of peace societies. He held, at that early day, that the "evil of war will not cease until there shall have been a radical change in the opinion of mankind respecting it. When the opinion of one individual is changed, something is done toward the great result. But continued and unremitting exertion of the friends of peace are necessary, and perhaps will be necessary for one or two centuries, before the grand event will be fully accomplished. But that it will be accomplished we are certain and that it will be by means of peace societies in connection with the extension of the Christian religion is probable."

Mr. Ladd had the modesty of the Christian he became. July 25, 1823, he hoped the subject of universal peace would soon be taken out of his hands "by some able writer." He considered the subject "as ultimately connected with the eternal interests of mankind." When he brought his first series of essays together for publication in book form, he remarked in the preface: "I neither court nor deprecate criticism. It is sufficient for me that some whose opinions I value very highly have thought that they [the essays] *have been* productive of good, and that by a more extended circulation they *may be* productive of more. . . . The

present edition is small. If the book should take, a larger edition may be printed. If it should not, let it die. But, as nothing is more capricious than public opinion, it *may* do good. If it does, I am satisfied."

In the last of this first series of essays he concludes with these words: "I now take my leave of the public. If I have hurt the feelings of any individual, I am sorry for it. It has not been my intention; for, having no personal antipathies to indulge, none of my remarks have been made for personal application. I am an enemy to no one, except so far as he is an enemy to my brethren of the human family. I wish temporal and eternal happiness to all; and, if I know my own heart, I have been influenced to write these essays by love of 'peace on earth and good will to men.'"

But Mr. Ladd did not take his "leave of the public" with this series of essays. Through the years 1825, 1826, and 1827 he wrote many other essays, most of which first appeared, too, in the *Christian Mirror*. In 1827 thirty-eight of these essays were also published in book form.

It is of peculiar interest just now to note the development of Mr. Ladd's mind through these two series of essays. In the earlier ones he addresses himself to the causes of war, ostensible and real, such as the desire for territory, the patriotism of conquerors, the love of fame, avarice, revenge, ambition, and love of military glory, the system of education, the militia, preparation for war, and, last, but not least, "the influence of the female sex." He then goes on to show the brutalizing tendencies of war, its costs in money, liberty, and human degradation.

In the second series he continues to emphasize the religious objections to war; but, more and more, he draws upon the experiences of history for his arguments

against the war system. He delves into the opinions of mankind during the Dark Ages, into the opinions of the early reformers. He devotes a chapter to the sentiments of Dr. Johnson; another to those of President Jefferson; another to those of Franklin; another to those of Washington.

But, as a result of his much study and reflection, he comes at last to the conclusion that "the remedy for the war disease lies entirely in public opinion," which, he says, "acts in two ways"—that is to say, "It is spontaneous and voluntary, or it is restricted and enforced by compact and agreement. . . . 'The law is the expression of the general will.'" He then proceeds to analyze each of these.

The latter of these interests him especially. Public opinion as expressed by compact, by agreement among nations, by international law, the law of nations, seemed to him a real "remedy against war." His studies had shown him that "laws may be instituted among nations, as well as among individuals, and as the institutions of legal tribunals did put an end to personal wars—the judicial combats and the wars of the feudal system—so the institution of a national tribunal may put an end to national wars. There is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the establishment, by universal consent, of such a tribunal. . . . When the private and the public robber shall be treated alike by public opinion and the law of nations, wars will cease."

This man, writing in 1827, went on to say: "In order to put an effectual stop to war among Christians, it is necessary to take but one step more, which is to unite all the nations of Christendom—I do not mean into one *sovereignty*, but into one *league* of independent States for the expressed purpose of settling all *external* national controversies and of no other, in the same manner in which the League of Hansetowns united the commercial sea-

board cities of Europe, and the League of Switzerland united thirteen independent States, differing in form of government and religion."

At no time throughout his many writings does Mr. Ladd ever make the mistake of proposing an international organization of States with power to coerce a State by force of arms. He based his conception of sanctions, to employ a modern word, wholly in "public opinion." Let every person do what he can to effect the necessary change in public opinion, then, he argued, "the work is done." He did not consider such a change in public opinion impossible, for he recalled that change in public opinion had brought about the passing of oracles, of omens, of augurs, of gods of wood and stone; of the ordeals of the burning plowshare, of the hot iron ball, of the trial by battle; of inquisitions, of tortures such as the stake, the rack, and the wheel. He felt that since men had overcome the delusions of alchemy, astrology, and witchcraft, they might overcome the delusion of war. He was greatly encouraged by the rise of the trial by jury. He looked forward to an era of arbitration. He forecast the passing of slavery. He placed his hope in the power of public opinion.

Thanks to the State Librarian of Maine and his efficient corps of helpers, we have recently perused many of the early records relating to this man. The problems he faced were not wholly unlike the problems confronting the peace workers of today. August 4, 1836, he began in the *Christian Mirror* another series of discussions on "Obstacles and Objections to the Cause of Peace." In the first of these, we read: "In the course of my peregrinations through the country, I fall in with minds of every description, and almost every one of them has some objection to wage against the peace society, either as to its principles or its measures. For some, our

principles are too high—quite ultra. They have no notion of spiking all our cannons, leveling our fortifications, disbanding our army, abolishing the militia system, and trusting to the providence of God and moral power alone for protection. On the other hand, we are met by the objection that our principles are too low; that the American Peace Society is quite a wicked affair; . . . and that it will never do any good until it shall raise its standard higher. They have no opinion of a fight-a-little society any more than they have of a dirk-a-little society; that total abstinence from all war is the only remedy from its legion of evils, both temporal and eternal; and that a Christian should never take the sword, even to preserve his own life or the life of his family." But the American Peace Society opened its doors then, and has kept them open ever since, to every believer in the possibilities of an achievable international peace.

Thus it may be seen that the American Peace Society was not founded as a non-resistant society. It has never been such. Mr. Ladd conceived, when he founded the Society, in 1828, that all should be permitted to give the weight of their influence against every war of ambition, conquest, aggression, or retaliation. He went on to say: "There is no danger of making the world too peaceable," and added: "To those who think the Peace Society does not go far enough, I would say: 'Although you may be able to digest strong meat, you should not despise him that eateth herbs only'; some for the present are not able to bear strong meat, but must be fed with milk. 'Strong meat to strengthen them that are of full age.' (See Rom. XIV, 2 and 3; 1 Cor. III, 2; Heb. IV, 15.) . . ."

"I can hardly tell when my own mind changed. All I can say is, 'Whereas I was blind, now I see.' And the light has been growing brighter and brighter for the past

seven years, and I cannot say that it is yet noon."

"I believe that the objections above referred to are often raised, on both sides, for an excuse to the conscience for the neglect of a known duty; for if our principles are too high, why not form a peace society on lower principles; and if too low, why not get up a society which shall go far enough. Will a man stand alone and say, 'I am the bedstead of Procastes. They that are taller than I, I will shorten; and all who are shorter I will stretch, or else I will have nothing to do with any of them?' If sincerely desirous to aid the cause of peace on earth and good will to man, why not join in the peace efforts now. Do *something* to enlighten your own mind and that of the public."

Thus it is not difficult to see why the American Peace Society continually reverts to the spirit and teachings of its founder. It is plain that a revival of him has long been overdue. The revival is on. It is seen working in the minds of men concerned with practical policies of today. William Ladd viewed the supreme duty of statesmanship to be "the avoidance of irreconcilable disputes"; that the task of governments is to open the way for the adjustment of conflicting interests. That is the view today of all serious statesmen. In a recent number of *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Dwight Morrow pointed out that in the last analysis the security of American investments abroad must rest on the faith of the borrowing nations. In the April number of that helpful magazine, Mr. Walter Lippmann rightfully shows that the borrowing nations must believe that American capital is consistent with their national interests. If the contrary be the fact, American business men can profit only temporarily. Statesmen, experts in the law, are working again, in South America, in Geneva; men and women in school and forum, around the world, are demanding of their representatives that they shall apply the immortal rules of law

and justice to the problems of our groping world. So here, in the very latest minute of our international relations, William Ladd's faith in a rational peace between nations lives again. The revival, long overdue, is on. No fact is more important.

### IS SOMEONE LIGHTING A FUSE IN THE BALKANS?

IT WOULD appear that Italy, by the November treaty with Albania, entered upon a deliberate plan to establish a protectorate in Albania. This is naturally causing some of the other Balkan States to raise their eyebrows, particularly Yugoslavia.

Once again it would appear that the old problem of the control of the Adriatic is involved. If Italy were to dominate Albania, the control of the Adriatic would be largely in her hands. This naturally disturbs Yugoslavia, who, with her vast agricultural resources, cherishes her right of way to the Mediterranean.

It seems to be a fact that Italy is financing extensive developments in Albania. Italian engineers are building military roads from the coast to the boundary of Yugoslavia.

The shifting political scenes over the Balkan States have always been difficult to follow. They are so still. The Dodecanese Islands, inhabited by Greeks, are in the virtual possession of Italy. Italian capital is penetrating Bulgaria, historically the foe of Serbia. Italy has recently approved of Rumania's possession of Bessarabia, with the result that Italy is highly favored in Rumania. Hungary, on the northern border of Yugoslavia, still mindful of her losses to Serbia as a result of the war, seems at the moment to be taking kindly to Italian diplomacy. Yugoslavia, surrounded by these influences, seems to feel the grip of a tightening menace.



There seems to be no doubt of Italian ambitions in Albania. That country may help, albeit a little, toward the solution of Italy's need for expansion. The control of the Adriatic would aid the development of the new Roman Empire. There are here the fine makings of another crisis essential to the job of dictating. Albania gives Mr. Mussolini something to bite on.

The possibilities are bewilderingly many. France and Yugoslavia are practically allies. Should Britain back Italy, there would be the possibility of a regrouping of States in Europe; for, if it be shown that England is supporting Italian ambitions of this kind, it may well be that France and Germany may be drawn together in an opposing alliance. This would furnish the makings of another system of alliances and counter-alliances, with the old policy of a balance of power in the saddle.

With Italian nationals domiciled in Albania, it is not difficult to imagine a disturbance seeming to call for Italian intervention. This might easily be looked upon by Yugoslavia as occasion for action on her part. In any event, Yugoslavia is convinced that Italy is constantly seeking an excuse for intervention in Albania, with the purpose of permanently occupying it. Such permanent occupation would be intolerable to Belgrade.

When Italy ratified recently the Treaty of Paris, recognizing the Rumanian claim to Bessarabia, she only followed the action of France and Great Britain. But Italy's action put the treaty into force and closed the bargain. The price, it is alleged, demanded by Italy for this step is that Rumania remain neutral should Italy go to war with Yugoslavia. If that be the case, it is pretty bad. It is a blow at the Triple Entente. It contemplates war.

Should Italy undertake a war under these circumstances, Russia may be ex-

pected to move on Rumania for the return to her of Bessarabia. Here would be the makings of a European war.

What the outcome of this struggle between Italy and Yugoslavia for the control of the Balkans will be none can tell. Albania is but a pawn in the big game. True, when Serbia aided in the overthrow of Msgr. Fan Noli, premier of Albania, and helped Ahmed Bey Zogu to take over the reins, she looked for co-operation from the latter. When, however, he signed a treaty with Italy giving her the economic and military control of Albania, the Yugoslavs felt that they had been double-crossed. Hence the preparations for action, and hence the dispatch of artillery and other arms by Italy into Albania ostensibly to aid Albanian defense. But these things are only parts of a deeper course. The utter disregard of any principles of justice is ending as always in the evils of anarchy. And all this in the face of the Locarno Treaties and the League of Nations.

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## AS TO THE MATTER OF DEBTS

COLLEGE professors, at least a group of them in Columbia and Princeton, have recently criticized our government's policy relative to the debts owed to us by some seventeen governments, with practically all of which we are in agreement. The debt-funding agreement with France has not yet been ratified. Our debt funding has been agreed to in the case of Great Britain, Finland, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Belgium, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Rumania, Italy, and Yugoslavia. The same is substantially true of Austria. The debt settlement with France was signed April 29, 1926, and later approved by the United States House of Representatives. It has not been approved by the French Legislature, where the agreement is now hanging fire.

It is in the presence of this situation that the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, and a large number of the faculty of Princeton have thought it wise to question the wisdom of our entire foreign debt policy.

In only one sense, as we see it, can either group of professors be said to have rendered a service. They have aroused discussion, and discussion, within limit, is the hope of any democracy.

We believe, however, that the professors have in the main rendered a dis-service, for the reason that progress in the development of our debt policy depends now entirely upon the acceptance by France of the Mellon-Béranger Settlement. To criticize, as have these professors, the settlement now awaiting agreement from France is to embarrass the very processes upon which any improvement of our policy depends.

We are not convinced that the debt-funding agreement with France is perfect. It is probably far from it. The terms, however, are the best that honest representatives working through a long period of time could finally agree upon. These terms are the official proposals now on the table. The unofficial proposals by these professors, looking toward debt cancellation, will undoubtedly encourage opposition in France to ratification.

We are of the opinion that the government representatives of both France and the United States, officially chosen to draft terms of settlement, consider the claims of the United States as just. We believe, further, that our people, generally, firmly believe that they are not exorbitant. It is not fair to call these loans contributions. They were loans. When we are told that the Allies bought goods in the United States with the loans we granted, and that, therefore, we will lose nothing by cancellation, the statement is an error.

Mr. Mellon is quite within the facts when he says that the difference between Europe and the United States in this regard is this: When the Allies bought goods of the United States, they bought them on credit. When the United States bought goods and services in Europe "by the hundreds of millions," we paid cash. Says Mr. Mellon: "Here is the fundamental reason which explains why we ended the war with every one owing us and our owing no one." We believe Mr. Mellon is right also in pointing out that to reopen the funding agreements would tend to produce discord and confusion, "rather than to contribute to the economic stability and orderly betterment of world prosperity."

Mr. Mellon slipped, we believe, in stating that the debts owed the United States can be paid out of German reparations, for the reason that the policy of our government has openly been to consider German reparations payments and the French war-time debt to the United States as entirely separate problems. It is not surprising that President Hibben, of Princeton University, speaking for the one hundred sixteen members of the Princeton faculty signatory to the Princeton statement, should be quick to remind Mr. Mellon of this fact.

And yet the United States has been generous with its debtors. Exclusive of interest, we loaned nearly ten and one-half billion dollars to sixteen European countries. Under the terms of our agreements with twelve of these countries, about 65 per cent of our claims have been canceled. We canceled over 30 per cent with Great Britain. In the case of Italy we have canceled over 80 per cent. Under the pending agreement with France, we have canceled over 60 per cent. The unfortunate fact is that this generous behavior on our part is not understood. The result is that we get no credit. To this extent, our case has been badly handled.

We never have felt any force in the argument that we should cancel the remaining portion of these debts on the ground that our debtors hate us. It has never occurred to us that any real friendship is purchasable. Friendship and credit are of the same blood. If a debtor repudiates his debts, both credit and friendship vanish. If a creditor cancels a debt, the credit of the debtor is not helped. Where there is no credit, there can be little friendship. We have been generous to European nations. If these debts, as agreed upon, are not honored, what will be the credit position of our debtors in some future emergency?

It ought not to be necessary to remind our friends abroad that we, the people of the United States, are bearing heavy burdens because of the debt we incurred in their behalf and for which we are going down in our pockets to pay. The financial sacrifices in the World War were not confined to the people of Europe. When we increased our national debt from one billion dollars to over twenty-five billions, it was no empty gesture. We, too, have our income taxes. Furthermore, we haven't any more additional territory to show for the money we spent.

If by canceling the debts we could prevail upon our debtors to reduce their armies and navies, along with us, to the mere necessities of coastal and internal protection, we could well afford to cancel them all. But such a procedure is altogether too simple and sensible to be hopeful. In the situation as it actually exists, our debtors are using rather large sums for the expansion of their military and naval machinery. Were we to cancel these debts in whole or in part, it is probable that a large proportion of the money would be used for further expansion in the implements of war.

In the meantime, due to the efforts of M. Poincaré, French finances are improv-

ing. He seems to be pulling his country out of the slough of inflation and depreciation by the old-fashioned process of taxation. The Prime Minister has raised the French revenues from twenty-nine billion francs to nearly forty-three billion within a year. The franc is stabilized because public confidence is stabilized. It is true on the other hand that because of the rising franc, sales abroad have diminished and the problem of unemployment is facing France. And yet France has recently paid \$20,000,000 as interest on her debt of \$400,000,000 due us for war supplies. Furthermore, she is planning to pay, June 15, \$10,000,000 on the unfunded four-billion-dollar war debt due to loans. We are informed that when a debt-funding agreement has been ratified by the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of France this \$10,000,000 will be credited to the annuities provided for in settling the agreement.

In the presence of the facts, one wonders why the professors, unselfishly concerned to promote righteousness, didn't first submit their proposals to Mr. Mellon privately.

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### RUSSIA, 1917-1927

**R**USSIA has just finished the most eventful decade in her history. Ten years ago she ceased to be an autocracy and embarked upon the perilous seas of a social upheaval. Today, ten years later, she is still to find her course and her ultimate haven.

The Government of the Tsars crashed to the ground more because of its own internal deterioration than of a shock from without. It failed utterly in every respect in which a government should acquit itself. In the face of the fearful crisis brought on by the World War, it found itself helpless to provide either for national well-being or for national defense.

The last few months of its existence were a veritable régime of madness.

In March, 1917, Petrograd began to witness hunger riots. Crowds of women and invalids paraded the streets of the capital, demanding food. The riots grew, and troops were ordered out. Instead of dispersing the crowds, the soldiers turned their rifles on the police. And with that one action the age-long authority of the Imperial Government ceased to exist.

The Russian Revolution was not a deliberate and premeditated act. It had been expected for decades, for generations; it came unexpectedly, when the country was little prepared for it. Somebody had to take the reins of government, which had dropped out of the paralyzed hands of the Tsar and his advisers. All eyes naturally turned to the Duma, the only elective body in the country, and the Duma became the government. It created a cabinet of ministers and proceeded to the upbuilding of an administration.

The membership of the Duma was conservative. The discriminatory electoral laws saw to it that very few radicals slipped within its portals. So the radical elements immediately set to work creating a power of their own. A Council or Soviet of Soldiers' and Workingmen's Deputies was organized and made a bid for a share of power. In the conflict which necessarily arose between the government created by the Duma and the Council lay the principal cause of the weakness of this provisional government and the secret of its amazingly easy overthrow by the Bolsheviks.

At the beginning the Council was only nominally represented in the government. It endorsed as its spokesman Alexander Kerensky, the Minister of Justice, whose name appeared with increasing prominence during the months that followed, and who is now an exile from Russia and a visitor in this country. Gradually the

influence of the Council increased. A few weeks sufficed for it to have become sufficiently powerful to force the resignation of two members of the provisional government. A few months saw its influence so grown that under its pressure Prince Lvov, the Prime Minister, resigned, and the whole cabinet was reshuffled in such a way that the Council had a real and solid representation in it. Kerensky became the new Prime Minister.

But the Council itself was becoming more and more radical. The Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, who arrived in Russia soon after the overthrow of the Tsar, gradually gained ascendancy in the Council. They made more and more violent demands on the government, until Kerensky and his colleagues found themselves face to face with the alternative of either surrendering their own power to the Council or turning against the Council. Half-heartedly they attempted the latter.

In the natural course of events, considering the road that the Council was traveling, Trotsky became its president. The Council began to demand full power. Under its aegis, a violent propaganda was conducted against the government, and while the government vacillated the radicals of the Council were organizing their forces. When the hour struck, Petrograd was so demoralized that scarcely a regiment could be found to defend the provisional government. The Council or Soviet became the government of Russia, its own policy firmly in the grip of the determined Communist group, which has not to this day relinquished this grip.

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### INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

AT THE Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, held in the Committee on Naval Affairs Room of the

House Office Building, Thursday, February 24, at 10.30 a. m., Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Member of Congress from Ohio, was elected President of the Group, to succeed Senator William B. McKinley, who died last December.

The other officers elected are as follows:

*Vice-Presidents* — Representative Andrew J. Montague, Virginia; Representative Henry W. Temple, Pennsylvania; Representative William A. Oldfield, Arkansas.

*Treasurer* — Representative Adolph J. Sabath, Illinois.

*Secretary* — Representative John J. McSwain, South Carolina.

*Executive Secretary* — Arthur Deerin Call, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

*Executive Committee* — *Representative* Theodore E. Burton, Ohio, *ex officio* chairman; Representative Fred Britten, Illinois; Representative Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky; Representative Henry Allen Cooper, Wisconsin; Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas; Senator Claude A. Swanson, Virginia; Senator Charles Curtis, Kansas; Representative James C. McLaughlin, Michigan; Representative Tom Connally, Texas; Representative Clarence F. Lea, California.

Messrs. Burton and Montague were elected to represent the American Group on the Council of the Interparliamentary Union.

Besides the report of the Executive Secretary, Dr. Call, Representative Stephen A. Porter and Representative Burton presented reports of the meetings of the commissions of the Interparliamentary Union in Geneva, August 26 to September 1, 1926.

The Council of the Interparliamentary Union is to meet in Geneva, April 23. The next meeting of the Interparliamentary Union is to be held in Paris August 25 to August 30.

## INTERPARLIAMENTARIANS IN PARIS

THIS, the twenty-fourth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, is to meet in Paris upon the invitation of the French Group. From the plans already made, it is clear that the sessions will be of importance.

The Executive Committee has agreed upon the following subjects for the agenda:

1. The fight against drugs of addiction.
2. The creation of a European customs understanding.
3. A plan and method for the reduction of armaments.
4. The methods for the codification of international law.

The number of delegates to the Paris Conference will be limited to the number of votes to which each group is entitled. Our United States, under Article X of the Statutes of the Interparliamentary Union, is entitled to twenty-four votes, and therefore to twenty-four delegates. But, however, the French Group has generously offered to receive in Paris all members of Parliament who are members of the Union and who may wish to be present at the Conference. The delegation from each group may therefore be accompanied by a certain number of members who will not be entitled to take part in the debate or in the voting, but who may be present at sittings and participate in all festivities and receptions. In other words, there will be two classes of members: delegates with the right to take part in the debate and to vote; and unofficial members who may follow the debate. Each delegate and unofficial member may be accompanied by his wife or his daughter, who will be invited to the festivities and receptions. It is planned to hold the sessions of the Conference throughout five whole days of two sittings, each in the Hall of the French Senate, commonly called Palais du Luxembourg.

**T**O OUR critics who complain that this Society is not sufficiently critical of our government's policies in the international field, we beg leave to suggest that they note the announcement of our Department of State that the differences between the United States and Mexico, resulting from the Mexican land and petroleum laws, will be adjusted by friendly negotiations. That has been assumed by this magazine. From the beginning of the recent troubles with Mexico we have never for a moment doubted precisely this outcome.

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**T**HE work of the League of Nations in March included the forty-fourth session of the Council. A meeting of the Council Committee on Disarmament began March 14. The same day the Special Committee for the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms also met. March 16 the Committee on Economic Questions convened. March 21 the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, made up of representatives of twenty governments, held its first session. Other items up for discussion were the economic and financial restoration of Europe, the development and progressive codification of international law, the co-ordination of the various agencies for public health, and the development in the various countries of propaganda in the interests of the League.

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**T**HE Foreign Commerce Service Bill, known as the Hoch Bill, was signed by President Coolidge on March 3. This bill, introduced in the House three years ago, is designed to improve the efficiency of the trade representatives of the various departments stationed abroad. For twenty-two years these representatives have served under a system of annual ap-

pointments. They now have a permanent status. Because American goods are selling increasingly in nearly every foreign market, the importance of these representatives of our government has become clearer and clearer. Since 1905, we are informed by Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, when the first traveling group of foreign trade experts was authorized by Congress, the number of these specialists has steadily increased. These officers are charged with the duty of promoting the foreign commerce of the United States. To this end they investigate and report on commercial and industrial activities and conditions in foreign countries. Under the terms of the Hoch Act, it is provided that these officers shall be appointed after examinations held by the Secretary of Commerce, together with the Civil Service Commission. Furthermore, it is provided that they shall be regularly and sufficiently attached to the diplomatic service of the United States. With the exception of the absence of any provision for retirement, the act does for our commercial representatives what the Rogers Act did for the diplomatic service. If, as we understand, these commercial representatives are now given a diplomatic status, our government seems to have adopted one policy successfully stood for in a number of treaties by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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**T**HE Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, according to the press, has invited thirty American newspaper editors to visit Europe as guests of the Endowment this summer. This appears to be Nicholas Murray Butler's theory of "contacts" in operation. The purpose of the tour is, we are told, "to observe existing economic, political, and social conditions" in European countries and to study

their institutions which are devoted to international association and co-operation. The party will sail from New York July 16. They will visit London, Paris, The Hague, Berlin, Prague, Munich, and Geneva. They will return to New York October 3. We understand that some of those invited to constitute the party are:

George McClellan Bailey, Post-Dispatch, Houston;

Marshall Ballard, The Item, New Orleans;

Arthur L. Clarke, The Mercury, San Jose, California;

Thomas J. Dillon, Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis;

Douglas S. Freeman, News-Leader, Richmond;

Harold Goff, Deseret Evening News, Salt Lake City;

C. C. Hamlin, The Gazette, Colorado Springs;

Wade H. Harris, The Observer, Charlotte, North Carolina;

William Harrison, The Oklahoman, Oklahoma City;

E. C. Hopwood, The Plain Dealer, Cleveland.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### THE CHINESE CRISIS

THE crisis in China is proceeding to develop in both directions—*i. e.*, that of the civil war within the country and that of the Nationalist opposition to foreigners. The Nationalist armies are converging on Shanghai and the interested foreign powers are continuing to strengthen their forces there. In the meantime the armed forces of the opposing Chinese factions are gradually maneuvering for a decisive struggle.

#### Declaration of Peking Diplomatic Body

On February 25 the Diplomatic Body at Peking issued the following unanimous declaration regarding the International Settlement at Shanghai. A similar declaration has been issued by French authorities in regard to the French Concession.

In the light of military events which are at present taking place in the region of Shanghai, and which may at any moment have serious consequences for the safety of life and property of their respective nationals, as was apparent from the bombardment of the 22d of February, the interested diplomatic representatives feel compelled to recall

that the International Settlement at Shanghai, like other concessions in China, was established in virtue of regular agreements with the Chinese Government in order to make it possible for foreigners to reside there freely and to carry on their trade.

In the course of party strife of which that region has been the scene, the authorities of the International Settlement have scrupulously abstained from favoring any of the conflicting parties involved, and, in spite of the difficulties of the situation, they are maintaining in that respect the strict neutrality imposed upon them by the nature of the state of affairs thus established.

The interested diplomatic representatives are thus warranted in expecting on the part of the Chinese authorities the observance of the same rule of conduct, and they look to the heads of armies involved to take all measures necessary to avoid incidents which would constrain foreign authorities themselves to take measures indispensable for insuring the safety of persons and property of their nationals.

#### Foreign Warships in Shanghai

With the arrival at Shanghai on February 25 of the British cruiser *Caradoc*, the number of British cruisers at that port

increased to six, the others being the *Hawkins* (flagship of Vice-Admiral Tyrwhitt), *Enterprise*, *Carlisle*, *Durban* and *Vindictive*. The destroyer *Wivern*, the gunboat *Scarab*, and the armed merchant ship *Kia Wo* are also there.

The following warships of other powers are also at Shanghai:

United States.—*Pittsburgh* (flagship), destroyers *McCormack* and *Edsall*, gunboats *Asheville* and *Sacramento*, oiler *Picos*.

Japan.—*Tone*, (flagship), cruisers *Hirado* and *Tenryu*, destroyers *Kashi*, *Hinoki*, *Momo* and *Yanagi*, *Amatsukaze*, *Tokitsukaze*, *Isokaze* and *Hamakaze*, gunboats *Ataka* and *Katata*.

France.—*Jules Michelet*, cruiser; *Alerte*, mine-sweeper; *La Grandiere*, gunboat.

Italy.—*Libia*, cruiser; *Sebastiano Caboto*, gunboat.

Holland.—*Sumatra*, cruiser.

Spain.—*Blas de Lezo*, cruiser.

The total number of war vessels in the Shanghai port is thus 35, having increased by 14 in less than two weeks.

#### Chang Tso-Lin's New Policy

In an effort to win popular support, the Political Commission of the Ankuochun, or "Country Tranquillizing Army," of which Chang Tso-lin is commander-in-chief, in an endeavor to make the platform of the party conform to popular ideas, puts forward the following recommendations:

Development of the democratic spirit and opposition to oppression by force.

Restoration of the national sovereignty and abolition of the "unequal treaties."

Improvement of economic conditions and co-operation between capital and labor.

Encouragement of popular education.

Enforcement of a system of local self-government.

Reclamation of the frontiers and colonization of undeveloped areas.

Preservation of the national sovereignty and characteristics.

Readjustment of official morality and development of the morality of the people.

This declaration brings Chang Tso-lin's policy rather close to that of the more conservative factions of the Nationalist movement.

#### Split in the Nationalist Ranks

In the meantime there is developing a definite split between the more conservative and the Communist elements in the Nationalist ranks. Though the "Red" laborers are still dominant in Canton, the power there is steadily being seized by the garrison commander, Li Chi-sen, and his police chief. At the last elections the Communists failed to secure one seat upon the City Kuomintang Committee, and have since been trying to nullify the election, but the authorities have warned them to desist.

The Communists have posted placards throughout the city attacking the Kuomintang generally and announcing the adoption of Communism. The police are most active, as they suspect that the "Reds" are planning a coup.

#### Cantonese and Japan

Another indication of this split is found in the arrival in Japan of Tsai Tien-chin, a member of the Canton Nationalist Executive, who has come to plead the cause of the Southern Government. He hopes to convince the Japanese that the Nationalist success does not involve any danger that Communism will be implanted in China.

Besides desiring to allay Japanese fears of Soviet machinations, he wishes to make sure, on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek, that Japan's policy of neutrality between the Chinese factions will be interpreted so as to prevent Chang Tso-lin from receiving indirect aid from Japan in the impending struggle. The Nationalists remember that a year ago, when one of Chang's generals revolted and almost captured Mukden, his aim was frustrated by the measures taken by Japan for the safety of the South Manchuria Railway. Owing to her interests in Manchuria, Japan is virtually obliged to intervene when the Manchurian railways are menaced. This motive does not operate in the present campaign.

The Cantonese are taking considerable trouble to dispel the Japanese suspicions of Russian activities. Tsai was preceded by a member of the Kuomintang, who saw influential people and made the interesting suggestion that the Cantonese would be glad to replace their Russian advisers by Japanese.



## CAREERS OF PRINCIPAL CHINESE GENERALS

**F**OLLOWING is a sketch of the careers of the principal leaders in the Chinese civil war:

### Chang Tso-lin

Chang Tso-lin, a brigand in his youth, then the irregular ally of the Japanese against the Russians in Manchuria, next a regular officer in the service of the Chinese Government, which forgave him his past, is the bold, magnetic spendthrift and ruthless leader of the Manchurian army, which he has controlled since 1918, when he was made inspector general of the three provinces of Manchuria. He has played a leading part in the three chief Chinese civil wars. In 1922 he was defeated by the Peking Government, assisted by Wu Pei-fu and Feng Yu-hsiang, but his enemies did not follow up their victory. For three years he ruled Manchuria as an independent State, built up a powerful army, and in 1924, aided by the treachery of Feng, completely defeated Wu and consolidated his influence in Shantung and as far as Shanghai. But Feng, who seized Peking in Wu's rear, won the chief spoils of victory, controlled the central government, and, with Bolshevik support, made ready to overthrow the Manchurian.

A mutiny broke out in Chang's army, but he suppressed it in a brilliant campaign, and then, aided by Wu, took Peking by intrigue and by arms and compelled Feng to retire for a season to Russia. He then encouraged Wu to go south to meet defeat at the hands of the Cantonese, and is now in control of the greater part of northern China and of the Peking Government, while his armies are marching through Wu's territory to retake Hankow.

### Wu Pei-fu

Wu Pei-fu, one of the more respectable Tuchuns, led large armies on behalf of the Peking Government in 1922, when he was victorious over Chang Tso-lin; in 1924 when he was betrayed by Feng and fled to his province of Honan; and last year when he helped Chang against Feng and then went south from Peking against the Cantonese and was rapidly defeated,

owing to the treachery of his subordinates. A good soldier and convinced opponent of Communism, he is notoriously a bad judge of men. He seems at present to be content with offering an ineffectual resistance to the passage of Chang's armies through his reduced territories. Unlike most Tuchuns, Wu, it is believed, has not made money by warfare.

### Chiang Kai-shek

Chiang Kai-shek joined the Kuomintang early in life, but only became prominent in 1924, when he was appointed principal of the Whampoa Cadet School, where, with the assistance of "Red" Russians, he trained officers and non-commissioned officers for the Nationalist armies. He then took the field against Sun Yat-sen's rivals, defeated them, destroyed the Yunnan and Kwangsi forces, and soon made himself the leading figure in the "Nationalist" Government. Last summer he took the field against the North. His first success was in Hunan, where the local General Tang Sheng-chih went over to him; in July he took Changsha; the autumn was marked by his defeat of Wu Pei-fu and the capture of Hankow and Wuchang. He then turned his arms against Sun Chuan-fang, and now threatens the Northerners near Shanghai and on the central Yangtze. His energy is notorious, but it is uncertain whether his strategy has not been inspired by his chief military adviser.

This is General Gallents, whose name cannot be found in any Russian army list and who is now believed to be an Austrian staff officer who was a prisoner of war in Russia and took service in the Red army in 1918.

### Sun Chuan-fang

Sun Chuan-fang, the defeated Tuchun of Shanghai, is a Shantung man, 42 years of age, and a professional soldier, whose energy and ability made him inspector general of the south central provinces of Fukien and Chekiang in 1923. In 1924 he engaged in campaigns against local generals, whom he defeated, and mastered Chekiang on behalf of the Peking Government. He took no real part in the winter campaign for Shanghai in 1924-25, but in October, 1925, made an arrangement

with Wu Pei-fu, who controlled the middle Yangtze provinces, by which he was to drive Chang's forces from Kiangsu and the city of Shanghai. Wu had few troops of his own and had to accept Sun's terms. Sun, nominally allied with Feng Yu-hsiang, drove the Northerners, who were threatened by revolt, in Manchuria, from Kiang-su and part of Anhwei province. But, having done this he repudiated all his alliances, governed Kiangsu, part of Anhwei and Chekiang as an independent ruler, while he exercised control over Fukien. His rule was better than that of many of the Tuchuns, but his refusal to join the Cantonese, who coveted Fukien, involved him in a new war last summer as the associate of Wu Pei-fu. Desertions and propaganda eventually defeated him, as they defeated Wu. He was compelled to call in the Northerners, and the Shantung general, Chang Chung-chang, whom he expelled from Shanghai, is now his nominal ally, his real master, and will in all probability soon supplant him.

#### Feng Yu-Hsiang

Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian general," first saw service in Tibet under the ruthless Chao Erh-feng. The collapse of Chinese power in Tibet was imputed by him not to Chao's cruelties but to British intrigue, a circumstance which no doubt explains his sympathy with the Bolshevist and anti-British propaganda. As divisional commander in Shensi and Honan he won a facile popularity among impressionable American missionaries by training his troops to sing Christian hymns on the march and by his campaigns against opium smoking and gambling. In 1922 he was transferred to Peking as army inspector, and his troops, whom he had trained and disciplined with unusual care, played the chief part in the defeat of Chang Tso-lin in that year. He now began to play a part in politics, and his resignation in June, 1923, brought about a *coup d'état*, after which he obtained a high military command on the Mongolian border. In 1924 he deserted his chief, Wu Pei-fu, in the second war with Chang Tso-lin, seized Peking, imprisoned the President of the Republic, ejected the Manchu Emperor, and formed a provisional government. His pro-

Russian tendencies alarmed Chang Tso-lin, with whom he was nominally allied, and in the winter of 1925 he staged the unsuccessful mutiny in Manchuria and attacked Shantung. His victory at Tientsin was costly, and with the revengeful Wu threatening his flank his position was untenable. He resigned his command, retired to Moscow, and was there alleged to have studied the Bolshevist system. Last autumn he reappeared in northwestern China and is now apparently in command of a somewhat nebulous army, which was till lately contained by Wu Pei-fu's forces. He has proclaimed his support of the Cantonese, but it is doubtful whether this support would be of much utility.

#### UNIVERSITIES IN CHINA

ALL of the seventeen joint American and British universities in China are committed to the policy of Chinese administration and almost all to religious instruction being optional. According to a correspondent of the *New York Times*, the status of the foremost universities is as follows:

The Canton Christian College, as already reported, has accepted the imposed regulations of the Cantonese.

Peking University has applied for registration with the Northern Government.

Shantung Christian College at Tsinan-fu is reorganizing.

Nanking University is prepared to reorganize and register.

Chengt'u is making application under the Northern regulations.

Suchow, belonging to the Southern Methodists, has accepted the resignation of its venerable president, W. B. Nance, to be able to reorganize.

Nanking Women's College has not yet taken steps.

The Shanghai Baptist directorate is divided, being under both the Northern and Southern American Baptist churches which disagree, the Southern standing for retention, the Northern for turning it over.

St. John's, which is the alma mater of more eminent Chinese than any other college, refuses to go over.

Yale in China is closed. The trustees announced, from New Haven, March 17, that President Edward H. Hume, of Yale-in-China, has resigned. The statement said that Dr. Hume and the trustees had long felt that executive control of the colleges at Chaigsha should pass into Chinese hands as early as possible, but the unfortunate events of the past few months have interrupted these efforts. It is hoped to renew them as soon as practicable.

### ITALY'S "CORPORATIVE STATE"

FASCIST Italy is on the eve of making a daring social experiment—that of bringing into being the so-called Corporative State. In order to understand this experiment, it is necessary to keep in mind what constitutes the foundation of the Fascist doctrine, which may be thus defined: (a) The interests of all classes must be subordinated to the supreme interest of the State; (b) The interests of the employers, as much as those of the men, must be subordinated to the interests of production; (c) The State has the right and the duty to intervene and to regulate all these interests. The individual is thus to be absorbed in the Corporation and the Corporation in the State. The new system is not yet in operation, but almost all the preparations for the experiment have now been made.

#### Organs of the Corporative State

The organs of the Corporative State consist of two great national confederations, one of the employers and the other of the employees. Each of these bodies is composed of six federations: industry, commerce, agriculture, banking, sea and air transport, land transport. Then there are two federations which stand by themselves: that of the free professional men and that of the handicraftsmen. The federations are, in their turn, composed of innumerable territorial corporations representing the various categories. At the head of this vast organization there is the ministry of corporations, which is assisted by a national council of the corporations.

This council is presided over by the minister (Signor Mussolini) and is composed of the under-secretary, the repre-

sentatives of the various ministries, the representatives of the two national confederations, and representatives of several special bodies which develop a social activity in connection with labor.

#### Control of the State

The corporations are placed under the direct and constant control of the State, which, however, recognizes as legal only one union or corporation for every category. By means of this provision, Fascism considers that it evades the inconveniences of the compulsory union and yet obtains the same results. In other words, the employers as well as the employees of whatsoever category may form other free unions; but the State recognizes one body only, and, in order to receive this recognition, it is enough that this body be composed of one-tenth of the employers or employees of a given category in a given district. The new law attaches no importance to the quantity of the members of a union, but to their quality, the first consideration being that they must be "sound" from the national point of view. The legally recognized union is, therefore, conceived as an elite of technical capacities and moral values. The following points should be noted, however:

(a) Only recognized unions can negotiate collective contracts, which are applicable also to those of the same category who are not members of the union.

(b) Only the recognized union can go to the labor court, whose deliberations hold good for all those of the category, even if they are not members of the recognized body.

(c) Those employees who do not join must pay the annual contributions to the recognized union.

The State exercises its control over the recognized unions in three ways. It can dismiss the heads of the union (who are not elected by the members, but nominated by the prefects); it watches over every action of the union; it may dissolve the managing committees and nominate in their place its commissioners.

#### Collective Agreements

Collective agreements up to now have had a moral rather than a juridical force,

and their defense was intrusted rather to the extralegal action of the professional associations than to the law. The new law, instead, sanctions the annulment of the single agreements which establish working conditions inferior to those fixed by the collective agreement, and imposes the constitution of a guarantee fund, to insure adequate compensation for damages in case of violations on the part of the professional associations of the obligations assumed under the collective agreement. In addition, the collective agreements are compulsory also for those who do not form part of the negotiating associations. In this way the difficulty that would be caused by employers who, in order to escape the obligations of collective agreements, remain outside the employers' association is avoided. Compulsion under the new law is, in a word, general.

#### Labor Courts

With the object of avoiding conflicts between capital and labor, labor courts have been set up. A special panel of three magistrates (with two assessors, experts in problems of production and labor) is formed at each of the sixteen courts of appeal in the kingdom. The labor courts are competent in disputes which concern the application of collective agreements as well as those connected with demands for new conditions of labor.

#### Prohibition of Strikes and Lockouts

As a corollary to the establishment of the labor courts, there is a rule prohibiting strikes and lockouts. Very severe penalties are to be imposed on those who break this law. An employer who declares a lockout with the object of forcing his employees to agree to modifications of their agreements is punished with from three months' to a year's imprisonment and a fine of from 10,000 to 100,000 lire. In the same way three or more employees who leave their work or "act in such a way as to disturb its continuity or regularity," in order to secure better terms from their employers, get from one to three months, and ringleaders not less than one year's or more than two years' imprisonment, as well as a fine of from 2,000 to 5,000 lire. Penalties are heavier

for those who are employed in the public service or in services of public utility.

#### The Labor Charter

A "labor charter" is to be issued. It is to be a statement of the principles of the Corporative State. It will begin with a declaration of the rights and duties of labor, and will then state the principles of the laws protecting labor and of the laws relating to savings and to aid for the workers. Finally, it will enumerate the general rules governing the contractual conditions of labor.

These, briefly stated, are the principal provisions of the new law of April 3, 1926. Most of the new system exists as yet only on paper, which is natural when one considers the vastness and complexity of the work to be accomplished. On June 28 the various very elaborate clauses which serve to interpret the law were approved. On July 31 Signor Mussolini inaugurated the ministry of corporations. In the meantime the formation of the unions was begun. This work has not been easy. Many unions had to be created *de novo*. Others had to be adapted. The problem whether certain categories should be included among those of the employers or the employees was a serious one.

The *mezzadri* (the parties to that characteristic system of Italian tenure, a co-partnership between landlord and tenant), who number over one million, engage in manual work and therefore should be classified among the workmen; but as in their turn they employ laborers, they might also be considered as employers. Other doubtful questions arose in connection with the tailors, who, according to some, should have been placed among the tradesmen, and in the opinion of others among the manufacturers. The journalists were at first placed in the Confederation of Industry, but they protested and ended by being associated with the intellectuals. And how were those engaged in insurance to be classified? Up to quite recently they had always belonged to the manufacturers' category, but in the end the opinion prevailed that they must enter the class of the bankers. Several questions of this kind have not yet been settled.

### Work of Revising the Statutes

The work of revising the statutes took time. It was necessary to see if the statutes of the existing associations were in harmony with the new law. In many cases it was necessary to redraft them and in other cases to modify them. The old General Confederation of Industry had a membership of about 200 associations, and the statutes of many of them had to be revised. Then the list of members had to be revised. Every member of a recognized union must, according to the new law, be of "good political conduct from the national point of view." Finally, a long time has been necessary for the formal recognition of the unions. A special ministerial decree, which is never issued without a careful examination of all the necessary requisites, is necessary for every recognized union.

This explains why the Fascist Corporative State is still in course of construction. Several months will be necessary before the new system will be in being. Up to the present the members of the unions have paid their subscriptions, but there is no sign yet of the work of the unions. The labor courts have not yet had occasion to work. In the contractual relations between employers and employees, too, it cannot be said, generally speaking, that the new procedure has begun to be applied.

Finally, another great problem is now being considered: that of the Corporative Parliament. The Chamber of Deputies, modeled on the English and French assemblies, is destined to die. It appears, indeed, that the obsequies will be performed during the present year. Its place will be taken, so it is said, by a parliament in which the corporations will be represented. But, so far, it is not clear what the functions of such a parliament will be, and how the corporative representation will be made. Only a single point seems certain: that in the Corporative State the electoral system will, at least in the first phase, be completely abandoned.

### FRENCH DEBT PAYMENTS

**P**REMIER POINCARÉ'S proposal for provisional debt payments to the United States and Great Britain pending

the final ratifications of the debt settlements did not pass unchallenged in the Chamber of Deputies. This proposal involves the payment to Great Britain of the annual amounts stipulated under the Churchill-Caillaux agreement, and the remitting to the United States Treasury of \$10,000,000 per year, which, in addition to the \$20,000,000 annual payments now being made by France on account of war stocks debt, would constitute the \$30,000,000 annual payments called for by the Mellon-Bérenger settlement.

### Criticism in the Chamber

The criticism of the proposal came from M. Louis Dubois, former President of the Reparation Commission, who asked to be informed as to the implication of the provisional agreement made with the British Treasury.

M. Dubois questioned whether the government had the right to make such a payment, in view of the fact that the support of the Chamber for the Caillaux-Churchill agreement was very doubtful, while in the case of the American debt a similar payment on account would be still less desirable, since it might suggest that France recognized the figure of the debt as fixed by the Mellon-Bérenger agreement. He doubted very much whether the nation was prepared to regard as a debt all the advances which had been made to France in the form of Liberty bonds. The conditions of the Mellon-Bérenger agreement were, to his mind, "an incredible and unjust financial servitude."

### M. Poincaré's Explanation

The Prime Minister found plenty of arguments to reassure M. Dubois, and succeeded in obtaining the approval of nearly all the Chamber except the Socialists.

He said that when he first came into office many people had pressed him to hurry on the ratification of the debt agreements on the ground that it was the only way to obtain foreign credits. He, however, had been of the opinion that France could recover without foreign

credits, and events had proved him right. Neither the British nor the American governments had ever pressed for ratification, but they maintained their claims and were clearly waiting for France to come up to the scratch. Obviously there was no stern necessity for the government to make this payment. There was little likelihood that the British Government would present its bill either this week or the next, but was it dignified for France to depend blindly on the patience of her creditors?

M. Poincaré pointed out that the first provisional payment made last year by M. Péret had been made without the sanction of Parliament and had never been ratified. Yet no one had ever raised the slightest objection. The treasury was now in a far better position to pay out sterling than it was in M. Péret's time. So long as the settlement of the debt was not recognized, the interest was liable to go mounting up in yearly bonds which could be presented any time. As a matter of fact, Great Britain was entitled to demand to be paid immediately a sum far larger than £6,000,000. That happened, it was true, to be the exact amount of the second annuity foreseen in the Caillaux-Churchill agreement, but this did not mean anything, since Mr. Churchill had recognized in writing that the payment in no way bound the French Parliament to recognize either the figures contained in the agreement or the conditions of payment.

M. Poincaré observed that he had also been reproached with not informing the Chamber of his intentions or asking for its authority. If he had done that, it would certainly have occasioned a debate on the whole question of foreign debts. He asked the Chamber if it thought seriously that it would be wise, in the circumstances, to discuss that question in public.

The approving applause which followed showed that the Chamber as a whole agreed with him. He added that he proposed to proceed in exactly the same manner with regard to the American debt. This would not bind the Chamber to approval of the Mellon-Bérenger agreement. It would merely give it more time to consider it.

## BRITISH WARNING TO RUSSIA

ON FEBRUARY 23 the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs addressed to the Soviet Government a strong note of protest against anti-British activities on the part of Soviet Russia. The note, transmitted through the Soviet representative in London, called attention to the fact that the relations between the British Government and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics "continue notoriously to be of an unsatisfactory nature"; and stated that the British Government "requires" the Government of the U. S. S. R. to "refrain from interference with purely British concerns," and to "abstain from hostile action or propaganda against British subjects." Sir Austen Chamberlain added that the British Government considers it necessary to warn the U. S. S. R. "in the gravest terms that there are limits beyond which it is dangerous to drive public opinion" in Great Britain, and stated that a continuance of such acts as those of which he complains "must sooner or later render inevitable" the abrogation of the trade agreement, "the stipulations of which have been so flagrantly violated," and even the severance of ordinary diplomatic relations. Three days later the Soviet Government transmitted through the British representative in Moscow a reply note, in which some of the accusations made in the British note were denied, while counter-charges were made against British official actions and utterances. The text of both of these notes will be found in the *International Documents Section* of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

### Debate in the House of Commons

This exchange of notes evoked an interesting debate in both houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons the attack against the government was led by one of the liberal leaders, Sir Archibald Sinclair. He asked why, if Great Britain was rightly willing to risk so much for trade with China, she should not also risk much for a trade with Russia, which over the last three years had been actually greater. Analysis showed that, though the adverse balance of trade with Russia was heavy, yet there was a

valuable export and entrepôt trade, and, of course, as a free-trader, he contended that all imports evoked exports somewhere.

That was the practical case for maintaining relations. Unfortunately, its chief architect, Sir Robert Horne, had turned a mental somersault, and now sought to destroy his own work. Yet, said Sir Archibald Sinclair, he could not expect, even in 1921, cessation of propaganda from a government which incarnated world revolution. In fact, trade relations with the outside world were the best purge of Bolshevism inside Russia. His view was that there was a joint front against Bolshevism as a political system in Great Britain, of which moderate Labor held the most active sector, and his complaint against the government was that by wasting their strength in purposeless reconnaissances against Bolsheviks abroad they exposed the whole line to attacks by home-bred Bolsheviks from the rear. His suggestion was to take up the hint in the Soviet reply to the note and enter into a new conference. The combination of ultimata and inactivity could not go on; and since activity for war would be fatal, let it be activity for peace.

#### Sir Robert Horne's Reply

Sir Robert Horne, who as a member of the Lloyd George Government was particularly active in bringing about a trade agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, said, in his reply to his Liberal critic, that in his well-considered opinion the attempt which he had made in 1921 to trust the Soviets and obtain work for British unemployed, though worth making, had failed hopelessly on both counts. Instead of receiving thanks, Great Britain had been singled out for attack by the direct efforts of the Soviet Government, by arms and propaganda in China, by money sent, in the guise of charity, to foster revolution in England. Trade with Russia was very small. The figures showed that, if the breaking off of relations affected trade, Russia would be the greater sufferer, but in fact the United States, which had always treated the Soviets with contempt, did a bigger trade than Great Britain.

There remained only the possible effect

on the European situation, but that had presumably been taken into account before the Foreign Office dispatched their recent note. That note held the language of an ultimatum. It must be made one, if only for the sake of our prestige in the East; otherwise it should never have been sent.

#### Mr. MacDonald's View

One of the shades of Socialist opinion was stated by Mr. MacDonald and was not so pink as the House expected. He would have sent the note himself long ago, on the admitted ground that no country should interfere with the domestic affairs of another; but he would have refrained from preceding it with a competition in ministerial insults, and he would not have included in it anything save quite specific complaints, such as had led to redress when made by Lord Curzon in 1923. For example, he considered the anti-British activities of propagandist bodies inspired by the Soviet Government as fair subjects for the stiffest remonstrance. The difficulty was that the British Government had been little better. They had never given the trade agreement a fair chance, unbalked by diplomatic offensiveness. Mr. Churchill had actually warned manufacturers that trade with Russia was risky. The "clear out the Reds" organization claimed to have influenced Russian politics. The only way of removing motes and beams from both Russian and British eyes was a new conference and a new agreement.

#### Sir Austen Chamberlain's Explanation

The Foreign Secretary's contribution to the debate was an explanation of the policy of "our friend, the enemy." He said that, in face of a singular, consistent, world-wide attack on Great Britain, the British Government had made specific complaints and had never received satisfaction, not even in regard to those eastern countries specially mentioned in the trade agreement. What was the use of negotiating a new one until the old was kept? All were agreed that it was daily violated. All were agreed that it merely embodied the elementary principles of international conduct. His answer to the counter-charges made in the Litvinoff

note was that they missed the point. Great Britain had never interfered with the internal affairs of Russia, nor striven to create combinations of States against her. The Soviets had done both. In Great Britain, orators and the press were free. In Russia they were not.

Then came the crux of the speech, the answer to the question, "Why not react in deed against proved enmity?" The British policy was the consolidation of peace, and only deeds could prove its genuineness to those nations subjected to continual insinuations of British hypocrisy. The repercussions of a sudden breach with Russia would be disturbing, particularly in eastern Europe. If the breach came, therefore, the responsibility of the Soviets must be beyond doubt. He did not explain these "weighty imponderabilities" more clearly; nevertheless, the House cheered both the explanation and the final warning that the British note was the grant of one last chance to the Soviets to conform, by their deeds, to international decencies.

#### Widespread Protests Staged in Russia

Immediately upon the publication in Russia of the text of the British note, the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent instructions to the provincial organizations to arrange meetings in all industrial centers and separate factories, and also in peasant communities wherever possible, and to pass resolutions condemning the "interference of the British Government in our internal affairs." The instructions added that the resolutions were to be telegraphed to Moscow.

Then the Soviet press began the recording of resolutions illustrating "a wave of spontaneous popular indignation among the workmen and the peasants of the U. S. S. R." The similarity of the text of the resolutions and of the speeches in Leningrad, Omsk, Baku, Moscow, Nikolaevsk, Kharkoff, Smolensk, and Tiflis—indeed, in all parts of the U. S. S. R.—clearly showed, however, the artificial character of the protests, and Moscow sent instructions to the press to cease publishing details of the resolutions and speeches. Almost all the resolutions published demanded "a worthy reply to the British Government's impudent interference in the internal affairs of the U. S. S. R."

#### Attack by Trotsky

Several of these indignation meetings were seized upon by prominent Communist leaders as opportunities for attacking Great Britain. The most noted of these speeches were those by Trotsky, Stalin, Voroshiloff, and Radek. Since his degradation last autumn and expulsion from the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, this is Trotsky's first public speech, and although his theme was "Siberia," he managed to introduce a great deal of anti-British abuse.

Trotsky declared that Great Britain wanted Siberia, and the fact that Siberia was under the Soviet flag was due solely to the "progressive paralysis of the British Empire." Proud Europeans did not wish to become reconciled to the fact that the world's economic axis was moving from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The increasing economic importance of Asia in the world's economy was the basis of the existing revolutionary situation in Europe. The chief cradle for world hegemony was China and Siberia, whose united common destiny no notes could hinder.

Stalin stated that war with the U. S. S. R. would not come this spring or autumn, because its enemies were unable to fight the U. S. S. R. He did not expect Great Britain to sever relations.

The Commissar for War, Voroshiloff, declared that the British Government was continuing to intrigue with the Border States, Poland, Lithuania, and others, against the U. S. S. R., but Great Britain's might was declining, and this explained the convulsive efforts it was making against the rising power of the U. S. S. R.

Radek said: "We hope England will understand that it is unwise to break with the U. S. S. R. and create a united battle front from Leningrad to Canton."

#### Anti-Imperialist Congress

The Anglo-Rumanian diplomatic incident was preceded by an interesting and important Anti-Imperialist Congress, staged in Brussels about the middle of February. At this Congress representatives of China, India, various African communities, etc., thundered much against British "imperialism" and organized a World Anti-Imperialist League.



## COL. THOMPSON'S REPORT ON THE PHILIPPINES

IN THE spring of 1926 President Coolidge sent to the Philippine Islands a personal representative to make a survey of the problems confronting the territory. This personal representative, Col. Carmi Thompson, has recently returned from his trip, and his report has been laid before Congress by President Coolidge.

### Political Problem Paramount

Colonel Thompson says at the outset:

It became apparent to me early in my inquiry that the political problem is the fundamental problem in the Philippines. The political and the economic elements of the situation in the islands are so inextricably bound together that it will be impossible to bring about any economic development there before the political status of the archipelago has been settled finally or for a long time to come.

The Philippines have vast natural resources, but will need capital and business energy from outside. But these essentials will not be forthcoming unless there is political stability. "Business in the islands," says Colonel Thompson, "is practically at a standstill. Not only is it impossible to obtain new capital, but many existing investments are regarded as unsafe." While uncertainty about the future and the hostility of the Filipinos, who fear exploitation, keep American capital away, the attempts of the government to carry on business enterprises and to deal in sugar, coal, and cement have been inefficient and unsuccessful. Colonel Thompson paints a vivid picture of the backward economic state of the islands, where labor is emigrating to Hawaii or the United States or other countries, and 85 per cent of the land is still public domain, mostly original forest. Development is held up for want of revenue, which is small, because there is nothing to tax.

The report next discusses the present political situation, the sustained agitation for independence, and the deadlock between the Governor-General and the legislature. Independence is at once ruled out as inopportune, since the Philippines at present "lack the financial resources neces-

sary to any independent government." Most of the bonded indebtedness of the islands is held by Americans, who bought the securities relying upon American sovereignty over the islands:

The financial weakness of the Philippines makes it almost a certainty that these bonds would greatly depreciate in value should immediate independence be granted, and eventually they might become worthless. If the payment of these bonds were made a prerequisite to independence, the Philippine Government would have no means with which to redeem them.

### Trade Question

Further reasons are then brought forward, the lack of homogeneity, the gulf between the upper and lower classes, the existence of eight dissimilar dialects, the bitter religious differences between the Christian Filipinos and the Mahomedan Moros, and the lack of public opinion. The report adds that American trade with the Orient, which has been expanding year by year, needs the Philippines as a commercial base. Independence would end the free trade privileges with the United States, without which the nascent industries and the standard of living would collapse.

Independence in fact is so clearly out of the question at present that the Filipinos really hope for no more than internal autonomy under the ægis of the United States. This leads Colonel Thompson to consider the present deadlock between the Legislature and General Wood. No constructive legislation has been possible, as the Filipinos have had no faith in the executive since the break in 1923; they have rejected General Wood's recommendations and he has vetoed their bills. Colonel Thompson divides responsibility for loss between the two parties. The legislature has endeavored to encroach on the Governor-General's powers, while the military advisers who have surrounded General Wood have introduced an altogether wrong atmosphere and made cooperation difficult. He says:

The situation gives the Filipino leaders an opportunity to protest that the islands are under militaristic rule. On the whole Gen-

eral Wood is to be commended for his efficient conduct of affairs during his administration.

The explanation of the military atmosphere surrounding the Governor-General lies in the fact that since the occupation in 1900 the War Department has administered the islands.

#### Civilian Control

Colonel Thompson recommends the transfer of control to some civilian Department. To regain the confidence of the Filipinos a number of bills now proposed should be dropped. Thus it creates suspicion when serious discussion is carried on of home rule for the Moros, though it would be breaking faith with them to place them under the Filipinos, and Filipino officials in the Moro provinces should be replaced by Americans. The measure of autonomy at present enjoyed by the Filipinos should be maintained and gradually extended.

Of the economic possibilities, Colonel Thompson says that agriculture will be the principal occupation of the Filipinos for many years to come:

Besides the principal items now raised, such as rice, tobacco, sugar, copra, and hemp, the Philippines, within a comparatively short time, should be able to supply the United States with a large part of its requirements of rubber, coffee, camphor, pineapples, lumber, hardwood lumber, and many other tropical commodities.

The opinion is quoted of expert foresters that Philippine timber "is 100 years over-ripe and is now deteriorating, so that it should be cut and marketed in order to provide an opportunity for a new stand." The production of rubber is declared to be potentially profitable, though there will be a scarcity of labor when it is grown on a very large scale. Colonel Thompson says:

I believe, however, that for some time to come labor will enter the rubber territory from other parts of the island, and in sufficient quantity to produce from 75,000 to 80,000 tons of crude rubber annually. This quantity constitutes about one-fourth of the annual requirements of the United States at the present time.

#### Recommendations

The report concludes with a table of 12 definite recommendations:

First. That such steps be taken as may be required to re-establish co-operation between the executive and legislative branches of the Philippine Government.

Second. That the granting of absolute independence to the Philippines be postponed for some time to come; that this matter be considered at some future date, when the islands are sufficiently developed to maintain an independent government, and that in the meantime there be granted such further autonomy in the management of internal affairs as conditions may from time to time warrant.

Third. That the United States Government establish an independent department for the administration of the Philippine Islands and other oversea territory.

Fourth. That the Governor-General be provided with the necessary civil advisers in order to relieve him of the present necessity of selecting such advisers from the United States army.

Fifth. That Mindanao and Sulu should not be separated from the rest of the islands, but that American control be strengthened in the Moro country.

Sixth. That the Federal Reserve system should be extended to the Philippine Islands.

Seventh. That one or more Federal land banks should be established in the Philippines to provide loans at reasonable interest rates for the farmers, who now pay from 12 to 30 per cent interest.

Eighth. That the United States Department of Agriculture establish a sufficient number of experimental stations in the Philippine Islands to develop properly the agricultural resources of the islands.

Ninth. That the fundamental law governing the Philippines, known as the Jones Act, be not amended or changed at this time.

Tenth. That the Philippine legislature should amend the Philippine land laws (with proper safeguards) so as to bring about such conditions as will attract capital and business experience for the development of the production of rubber, coffee, and other tropical products, some of which are now controlled by monopolies.

Eleventh. That no amendments be made at this time to the Philippine land laws by the United States Congress.

Twelfth. That the Philippine Government withdraw from private business at the earliest possible date.

## YUGOSLAVIA AND BULGARIA

### Steady Improvement in Their Official Relations Justifies the Hope of an Ultimate Union

By CAPTAIN GORDON GORDON-SMITH

(With the threat of trouble from many quarters, Yugoslavia evidently holds to a positive program, one aspect of which is interestingly set forth in the following articles by one informed at first hand of the conditions.—THE EDITOR.)

THE distinct improvement in the relations of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the last few months is subject for congratulation, the more so as the conviction that the ultimate union of the two countries is the logical solution of their various political problems is, slowly but surely, gaining ground on both sides of the frontier.

For more than half a century, Balkan problems and Balkan politics were one of the chief sources of anxiety for European statesmen. As long as the Turkish Empire held part of the Balkan Peninsula in its grip and ground down a Christian population numbering several million souls under its ruthless system of government, the whole country, from the Danube to the Adriatic, the Black Sea and the Ægean, was a huge powder magazine, in constant danger of explosion. This danger was not, however, entirely due to the racial and ethnographical conditions in the Peninsula itself. The greatest danger, in fact, came from without; from the jealousies of certain of the Great Powers, who hoped to fall heir to the territories of the Ottoman Empire, when the inevitable day of reckoning and dissolution came for the corrupt and reactionary government of the Sultan.

The two Great Powers most closely concerned were Austria-Hungary and Russia. Ever since the defeat of the Dual Monarchy by Prussia, in 1866, the German Government, to wean it from any thoughts of revenge, had encouraged it in its Near Eastern ambitions, the famous *Drang nach Osten*, the realization of which would naturally have entailed the subjection of the Balkan peoples and the seizure of Salonica.

Russia's policy, visualizing as it did the capture of Constantinople and the Dardanelles Straits, was diametrically opposed to the realization of Austrian ambitions. Russia had, further, the political support of her ally, France, while Austria had behind her the whole power and might of the German Empire. Great Britain's policy was one of watchful waiting, ready to throw her weight against any side that might jeopardize her interests.

Each of the rival Powers took one of the Balkan States under its wing, Austria-Hungary acting as patron and protector of Bulgaria, while Russia assumed a similar rôle *vis-à-vis* Serbia. Greece, the remaining Balkan State, looked to Great Britain and France to support her interests. It was these rivalries of the Great Powers which constituted the Balkan danger much more than the enmities between the Balkan States themselves. There was, in fact, no Balkan problem which the latter, *if left to themselves*, could not have settled, either by diplomacy or by force of arms.

This they proved in 1912, when they formed the Balkan League, composed of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece, and declared war on the common enemy, Turkey. The brilliant victory they achieved, driving the Turks practically out of Europe and redeeming the whole of Macedonia from the yoke of the Sultan, proved what they could accomplish by union and common effort. But this union in no way suited the Great Powers. On the contrary, this creation of a strong confederation, barring the route to the Near East, would have been a death-blow to the ambitions of both Austria and Russia. The Balkan powder magazine had to be maintained, ready to be "touched off" when the interests of either of the rival groups called for that operation.

Austria, therefore, began intriguing at Sofia to bring about a rupture between Bulgaria and her Greek and Serbian allies. So successful was the Vienna Government in this, that at midnight, on June

28, 1913, the Bulgarian army treacherously turned its guns on its allies.

The Serbian and Greek armies, furious at this treacherous attack, not only defended themselves with vigor, but took the offensive in their turn and drove the Bulgarians from position after position. Bulgaria's difficulties became her enemies' opportunity. Rumania, which for years had claimed the Dobrudja Province, put forward a categorical demand for its cession and, when this was resisted, mobilized her armies and marched on Sofia. Turkey, too, saw an opportunity of saving something from her defeat, mobilized her forces anew, and recaptured the territory she had lost, right up to Adrianople. Thus menaced from all sides, with Serbian, Greek, Rumanian, and Turkish armies converging on her capital, Bulgaria "threw up the sponge" and sued for peace. A month later the Treaty of Bucharest was signed. By this treaty Bulgaria lost the Dobrudja province and the greater part of the territory which would have fallen to her as the result of the victories of the Balkan League over Turkey.

But Germany and Austria had succeeded in their aim. They had broken up the Balkan League and sown fresh seeds of hatred in the Peninsula, by which they intended to profit when the moment for the long-expected European conflagration should have arrived. The Balkan powder magazine had again been fully charged and only needed the application of the match to bring about the explosion.

Germany and Austria were of opinion that the moment for this was reached in August, 1914. Taking advantage of the crime of Sarajevo as a pretext, Austria applied the match and the Balkans, and with them all Europe, went up in explosion—the World War and all that it entailed. Serbia was aided by the Entente Powers, Bulgaria joined Germany and Austria, while Greece, for three long years, maintained a doubtful neutrality, but always with a strong bias in favor of Germany. It was only in 1918, thanks to the influence of M. Venizelos, that a change took place in her policy. King Constantine was deposed and Greece finally took the field on the side of the Entente Powers.

Then came the final victory of the latter, the Peace Conference and the new

distribution of power and territory in the Balkans. The Serbo-Croat provinces of the Austrian Empire rallied to Serbia, and Yugoslavia, a new European Power, with a population of 13,000,000 souls, came into being. Bulgaria, as the result of her treason vis-à-vis the Entente Powers (up to twenty-four hours before she joined the Central Powers the Sofia Government kept assuring the Allies that she was coming in on their side), was shorn, at Paris, of all further power to do harm. She was forced to disgorge the Dobrudja province she had taken from Rumania during the war, had to restore western Thrace to Greece, and had to consent to a rectification of her frontier with Serbia. At the same time her army, by the Treaty of Neuilly, was reduced to 12,000 men.

By this redistribution of power and territory, the Balkan question, as the powder magazine of Europe, has ceased to exist.

There is now no longer any danger of an explosion there such as would inevitably drag in other Powers and start a fresh European conflagration. Yugoslavia, with her population of thirteen millions, completely dominates both Bulgaria, with her population of five millions, and Greece, with about the same number. Cut off from the outside world by Serbia, Rumania, and Greece, Bulgaria could not obtain munitions to carry on a war of any duration. There is, therefore, no possibility of a war between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria or one between Yugoslavia and Greece. War implies a certain equality in the forces engaged which now no longer exists. Bulgaria could put only 12,000 men in the field. Yugoslavia could, if necessary, easily arm half a million. There might, of course, be an armed clash between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia if the raids on south Serbian territory by armed bands of Comitadjis, organized on Bulgarian soil, should persist. But this would, as the forces of the two countries are at present organized, be a mere "operation of police." Such a war between the two States would be about the same as a "war" between the United States and Nicaragua, Guatemala, or any other small South American republic.

If Bulgaria had in 1915 joined the Entente Powers, this satisfactory change in the Balkan situation would not have taken place. Paradoxical as it may seem, the

fact that Bulgaria deceived the Entente Powers and threw in her lot with Germany and Austria is today subject for congratulation, however differently the Allies may have felt about it in 1915, at the moment of her treason. For if Bulgaria had been also an ally of the Entente Powers, she would have had to be put on an equal footing with Serbia and Greece when the peace conditions came to be settled. As the military mission the Allies had mapped out for Bulgaria, if she had joined them as an ally, was the march on Constantinople, her armies, at the conclusion of the war, would have been in possession of both eastern and western Thrace, right up to Tehadaltcha. She would probably have demanded in addition the retrocession of the Dobrudja province, wrested from her by Rumania in 1913, together with a large section of Macedonia.

The result would have been the creation of a Greater Bulgaria, little inferior in size and strength to her Yugoslav neighbor and completely able to dominate Greece. There is little doubt that under these circumstances she would have claimed and seized Salonica. In other words, the Balkan powder magazine would have been reconstituted and would have been more dangerous and more liable to explosion than ever.

Fortunately for the world peace, Bulgaria "backed the wrong horse" and must now forever renounce their former ambition of dominating the Balkans. At the same time there is little chance of the little kingdom of five million souls being able to flourish and prosper permanently as an independent State. There is, however, a solution of the problem, and that is a union with Yugoslavia.

This idea, as I have said, is gaining ground, slowly but surely, on both sides of the frontier. The activities of the Comitadjis bands are really a proof of this, as they are the last efforts of the Bulgarian ultra-nationalists and "die-hards" to prevent the growth of good will on both sides such as would pave the way for union. They feel that union with Yugoslavia is "in the air," and have therefore redoubled their efforts to maintain the discord between the Sofia and the Belgrade governments. When the union will become a *fait accompli* no man, of course,

can say. The Serbian peasants have not forgotten Bulgarian ruthlessness during the three years of military occupation, while many of the older Bulgarians cannot bring themselves to realize that their former dream of hegemony of the Balkans must now join the limbo of things that were.

But time may be counted upon to do its work. A new generation is growing up which did not witness the horrors of the World War, and the passions engendered by that period of strife are gradually dying down. The day that Yugoslavia, with the consent of the Bulgarians, absorbs them in King Alexander's kingdom, thus extending it from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, a new power will have arisen in the Balkans, able to hold in check the ambition of any power to dominate the Near East. The Slavs will once more be installed, as they were centuries ago, as the "Guardians of the Gate," barring the route to any movement, either from the east or west.

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## THE ITALIAN DEMAND FOR COLONIES

By  
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"UPON the shores of the African Sea Rome imprinted the most glorious centuries of her history. It is fate that brings us back to this land, and no one can prevent the realization of our unfaltering decision." (Extract from Signor Mussolini's speech in Tripoli, April 13, 1926.)

"Yes. There is in Italy a problem of freedom not yet solved—that of the freedom of fifty million Italians." (Extract from speech by Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Grandi, in behalf of Mussolini, at the sitting of the Chamber on May 19, 1926.)

Last April Signor Mussolini made a visit to the Italian colonies in northern Africa. Upon his return and on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, a "Colonial Day" was celebrated. Both events attracted world-wide interest and served to bring into prominence the present position and aims of Italy as a colonial power.

The visit to Tripoli in fact may be heralded as the dramatic beginning of the new Italian colonial policy. In the words of an Italian journal, this voyage may be considered as the "introduction to Italian colonial history which lies altogether in the future. Fifteen warships will sail the sea which our ancestors called *nostrum* and which washes far and diverse lands, but all marked by the imperishable imprint of Rome; this warlike convoy will escort 'Il Duce' of New Italy, of Italy, who, without boasting, but with the determination which is her own right, demands her place in a badly divided world."<sup>1</sup> On this occasion Mr. Mussolini himself defined the policy of the new Italy: "If I advance, follow me; if I retreat, kill me; if I die, avenge me!"<sup>2</sup>

**Present Colonial Empire**

Italy was late in entering the colonial arena. Subject to a long period of foreign domination and unified as one State only in 1861, the other powers had already seized the most valuable "backward areas." Still a little meat remained to be picked from the colonial bone. Between 1869 and 1885 Italy occupied Eritrea, a colony on the Red Sea; between 1885 and 1892 she took over Somaliland, a little farther south and facing the Indian Ocean. Tripoli and Cyrenaica, bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, were conquered in 1911, after a war with Turkey. The island of Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands were occupied at the same time and still are under the Italian flag. Jubaland, which lies between British Kenya and the Italian Somaliland, was secured from Great Britain by treaty in 1925.

Summarized, Italian activity as a colonial power may be stated as follows:

Colony	Area (in square miles)	Population
Tripoli .....	350,000	570,700
Cyrenaica .....	230,000	229,700
Eritrea .....	45,435	405,681
Somaliland and Jubaland.	154,000	650,000

Altogether, the Italian colonies in Africa embrace some 849,420 square miles (including Jubaland), an area somewhat larger than the American States of Texas, California, Idaho, and Kansas. They have a population of over one and one-half millions, of which about 50,000 are Italians.

Though the Italian colonies are thinly settled, there is little likelihood of their being populated by emigrants from Italy. It is estimated that during the next ten years some 100,000 settlers could go to Tripoli and 160,000 to Cyrenaica.<sup>3</sup> Eritrea and Somaliland furnish an outlet only for a limited number of officials. All in all, then, it may be estimated that the present colonies will absorb some 300,000 Italians during the next ten years. But Italy's excess of births over deaths totals 461,600 (census of 1924) yearly, or at this rate of increase in ten years 4,616,000. What is to become of this surplus? Southern France has already nearly reached the saturation point with its many Italians. Only 3,845 can enter the United States yearly. Because of living conditions, Signor Mussolini is reported privately to regard an Italian emigrant to most parts of South America as a dead Italian. Then, in his words, "I am not an enthusiastic partisan of emigration. It is a sad and sorrowful necessity which Italy can only accept. But after all emigration is nothing but the pauperization of the people themselves. Only the strongest, the most daring, and the most courageous emigrate."<sup>4</sup>

The situation thus presented has been quite impressed upon the Italian mind. Somewhat naturally invidious comparisons have been drawn with more fortunate countries.

At the beginning of the war the population and area of the colonial powers in relation to their possessions stood roughly as follows:

<sup>3</sup> See article by Mr. Tomasso Sillani (editor of *Rassegna Italiana*) in *Le Messager Polonais*, July 10, 1926.

<sup>4</sup> Speech before the Italian Senate on May 28, 1926.

<sup>1</sup> *Tevere*, quoted in *Le Temps*, April 9, 1926.  
<sup>2</sup> Speech on April 9, 1926.

	Population of homeland.	Area of homeland (kilometers).	Population of African possessions.	Area of African possessions (kilometers).
Great Britain..	46,184,800	314,377	50,530,238	9,012,152
France..	39,601,599	536,464	35,857,603	9,389,971
Italy...	35,845,048	286,682	1,578,000	1,758,609
Germany.	67,812,000	526,335	11,549,705	2,662,300
Belgium.	7,490,411	39,451	15,000,000	2,365,500
Portugal.	5,547,708	88,740	8,763,121	2,072,964

possessions

But in 1914 a war for which African possessions were in no little part at the roots broke out. The Allied powers began almost immediately to plan a division of the German colonial empire in Africa. Before she entered the war, Italy put through the London Pact of October 16, 1915, whereby she was to receive the Turkish province of Adalia.<sup>5</sup> Later, by the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement of April, 1917, she was to obtain the Anatolian zone of Adalia, Konia, and Smyrna—a claim confirmed by the tripartite agreement between France, Great Britain, and Italy, signed on August 10, 1920. In Africa she was to secure all the rights and privileges belonging to the Sultan in Libya. Finally, the London Pact stipulated that:

In the event of France and Great Britain increasing their colonial territories in Africa at the expense of Germany, those two powers agree in principle that Italy may claim some equitable compensation, particularly as regards the settlement in her favor of questions relative to the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea, Somaliland, and Libya and the neighboring colonies belonging to France and Great Britain.<sup>6</sup>

At the peace conference in 1919, however, Italian colonial ambitions were not treated kindly. The table given above did not change one bit in Italy's favor. Instead, the German colonial empire was

divided between three of the Allies in the following proportions:

Country	Area acquired (square miles)	Population
Great Britain .....	417,540	4,972,401
South Africa .....	322,400	237,000
France .....	188,382	3,518,569
Belgium .....	19,000	ca. 5,000,000

"Thus to the present," states Signor Mussolini, "despite written pacts and solemn promises, we have had to fight, to discuss for months and even for years in order to secure for Italy the modest colonial compensation of Jubaland—a mere 90,999 square kilometers of territory, which gives Italy the oasis of Jarabub,<sup>7</sup> which we happily occupied just in time; which gives Italy peaceful and permanent possession of all the Dodecanese . . . ; which has given back Fiume to Italy. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

#### The Present Status in Africa

As matters now stand, the Italian colonial ambitions remain unfulfilled. Emigration for Italy, as for Japan, is a problem that cannot be postponed decade after decade. It appears to be taken for granted that the emigration problem cannot be solved by Italians going into areas controlled by other powers. But, if Italy is to control the desired areas where she wants to expand, what move will she take to secure them? And what are the colonies that are so much desired?

The Italian-British exchange of notes in December, 1925, gives one indication of colonial ambitions. By the terms of this exchange of notes the two countries established their respective spheres of exclusive economic interest in Abyssinia. The advantage to Italy, Abyssinia being willing, is evident. A railway line running from the frontier of Eritrea to the frontier of Italian Somaliland, that is,

<sup>5</sup> For maps, see *The Mosul Question*, being Bulletins Nos. 9 and 10 published by the Reference Service on International Affairs.

<sup>6</sup> Parliamentary paper, *Miscellaneous No. 7* (1920), Cmd. 671.

<sup>7</sup> Treaty signed July 15, 1926. Parliamentary paper, Italy, No. 1 (1924), Cmd. 2194. It may be mentioned here that an agreement signed September 12, 1919, in force since November 12, 1924, fixed the frontier between Tripoli and the French possessions in Africa, this being the French fulfilment of the London Pact.

<sup>8</sup> Speech before the Italian Senate on May 28, 1926.

traversing almost the center of Abyssinia, would serve two purposes: it would link up two Italian colonies which are now separated and it would, as a natural consequence, increase Italian influence in Abyssinia in general. At present the only railway there runs from Addis-Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia, to Djibuti, the capital of French Somaliland, on the Gulf of Aden, below the Red Sea.

Hostility on the part of the Abyssinian Government might prevent the realization of Italian dreams. But the press recently carried an item about discussions with the object of placing Kenya, now British territory, under an Italian mandate.

Kenya borders on Italian Somaliland and the entire southern frontier of Abyssinia. It is thinly settled, but highly suitable for colonization purposes. The area is 245,060 square miles, about the size of Great Britain and Ireland. The population totals some 10,000 Europeans, 23,000 Asiatics, and about two and one-half million natives. According to a British Government report in 1925, this sparsely peopled territory "includes some of the richest agricultural soils in the world, mostly in districts where the elevation and climate make it possible for Europeans to reside permanently."<sup>9</sup> This colony could furnish a certain outlet for Italian emigrants.

A cession of this nature would not be an act of pure generosity on the part of Great Britain. The colony could be handed over to Italy as a mandate under the League of Nations. The British Government could continually bring up any question relating to Italian administration. Further, an iron-clad agreement protecting British interests would be signed before any transfer was effected.

The positive results for Great Britain can be stated briefly. Because of the vulnerability of her long seacoast, Italy is naturally dependent on British foreign policy. Italian control over Kenya would strengthen British control in the Red Sea, thereby increasing the hegemony of the

Italian colonies in that area. In particular, the British Government would welcome Italian influence there, in the event of a transfer of the British mandate over Tanganyika territory to Germany, as means not only to appease German colonial ambitions, but also directly and indirectly to preserve the peace of Europe. Kenya is to the north of Tanganyika territory.

#### Other Colonial Fields

So much for the present status and possibilities of a colonial redistribution in Africa. It is not to Africa alone, however, that Fascist Italy is turning her land-hungry eyes. Syria, now under French mandate; Smyrna and Adalia, promised to Italy in 1917, but Turkish territory to date; Albania, a supposedly independent State across the Adriatic Sea from Italy—these are the areas which are to be considered.

The pretensions of Italy to these territories have been well stated by Signor Armando Mussolini, brother of the Italian dictator and editor of the *Popolo d'Italia*, the most important and semi-official Italian newspaper now being published. In an interview<sup>10</sup> with the foreign editor of the *A. B. C.*, a Madrid newspaper, he stated thus the Italian dreams:

There remains, as I said, the eastern basin of the Mediterranean; there also remains the Turkish Empire of old—*e. g.*, Albania—a comparatively rich country, possessing oil, while we are in great need of both oil and coal. Albania could be exploited, and she has hardly one million inhabitants.

Then there is Syria. France will never colonize Syria, for she has no exportable surplus population.

Again, there is Smyrna, which could be ours now. It was promised to us in 1916, at St. Jean de Maurienne, but we assigned our rights to the Greeks, who have lost it.

Here is Adalia, where we have actually landed, but Nitti has renounced our claims to it.

<sup>9</sup> Report of the East Africa Commission, Cmd. 2387.

<sup>10</sup> Published in the *Sunday Express* (London), April 25, 1926.



We are indispensably in need of expansion. This is not imperialism and it is equally not a caprice. What are we to do with our surplus population?

I realize that we have arrived at the concert of the great powers somewhat too late, when all the colonies have been already divided.

But this does not mean that the apportioning of colonies could not be revised.

We must have colonies; we must have territories suitable for colonization. I can only repeat what I have already told you: it is not a hobby of ours, neither a caprice, nor even imperialism. It is simply the instinct for survival.

Special mention can well be made of Italian influence in Albania. The present territorial status of that country is supposed to be guaranteed by the League of Nations. By a so-called treaty of friendship and neighborly relations, but what is really considered to be a treaty of alliance, establishing an Italian protectorate over Albania, as signed on November 27, 1926, however, Italian control was seemingly substituted for League control. Financial control over Albania has already been established by treaty. As yet Albania is believed not to have received the loan to be granted in accordance with that agreement, but is, nevertheless, required to meet interest payments on it. Albanian customs receipts are not sufficient to meet the interest on the loan not received, so the Albanian Government has faced a difficult situation. Finally, gold is being drained out of the country and Italian-printed paper money substituted.<sup>11</sup>

Given financial control, which is already well established, and political control, as provided for in the treaty of November 27, it may be said that Italy has virtually attained one of the objectives outlined by Signor Armando Mussolini. Securing Turkish territory, however, would be more difficult of attainment. As shown by the Turco-Italian war of 1911 and the decisive defeat of the Greeks in 1922, in the very areas desired by the

Italians, it is not an easy matter to invade, and, above all, to hold, Turkish territory.

#### The Present Status and the Future

As matters now stand, Italy is bargaining for more territory in Africa. Her influence is likely to increase in Abyssinia. She may secure additional territory from Great Britain in the same area. A sale of the Portuguese colonies might result slightly in her favor. No other African acquisitions seem possible. France may permit Italians in Tunis to keep their nationality, but, despite the greater number of Italians than Frenchmen living there,<sup>12</sup> she would hardly listen to any proposal to give up this protectorate. Acquisitions of Turkish territory appear to be out of question. There remains only the case of Albania, which has already been mentioned.

Because of the frequent comparisons made in Italy between the colonial needs of France and Italy, it is hardly to be wondered that France has become alarmed. A statement by Mr. Francesco Coppola in the *Tribuna* on January 4, 1926, is typical. "Italy, with a rapidly growing population, already superior to that of France,<sup>13</sup> has a homeland equal to about half of the French territory. Besides, she is poor in raw materials, alimentary as well as industrial. And her colonies, possibly twenty times less than the French colonial empire and a hundred times less than the British Empire, are likewise poor in raw materials and offer few possibilities for settlement. Thus Italy's resources are insufficient as the population increases. With emigration meeting with restriction in almost every country and with industrial development limited because of the lack of raw materials, Italy will be menaced in the very near future by a formidable amount of unemployment and misery which might bring the most serious social and political consequences for Italy first and then for Europe." To

<sup>12</sup> There are 84,800 Italians and 54,475 Frenchmen in Tunis, according to a census taken in 1921; 89,215 Italians and 71,020 Frenchmen, according to a provisional statement based on the census in 1926.

<sup>13</sup> By the last census Italy has 42 million inhabitants; France has approximately 39,200,000.

<sup>11</sup> Based upon information received from correspondent resident in Albania.

escape from this intolerable situation, states Mr. Coppola, Italy must acquire her own raw materials and outlets for colonization—a colonial empire like that of France and England. Finally, Mr. Coppola attributes the present bitterness felt by Italians concerning the colonial distribution to their exclusion at the Peace Conference, and later when the mandates were distributed. The evil then done will, he hopes, be remedied by “peaceful means.”

Granted that no further colonial acquisitions are forthcoming, will Italy resort to war to obtain them? The question is one that comes up repeatedly. The German press generally says yes. The Italian press, which can print only what the government desires, is sufficiently bellicose. The French press, which realizes that only by a successful war against France could Italy hope to obtain what she demands, has taken the issue seriously only on a few occasions.

One of these occasions is the present moment. Troops are concentrated on the

two sides of the Alps. Cabled dispatches dealing with French-Italian relations are now (December 8-9) being censored by the French Government as in time of war. Dispatches to papers in France are being delayed. The press in general is inquiring if Italy's demand for a place in the sun is to be asserted by non-peaceful means.<sup>14</sup>

One relevant aspect of possible difficulties with France enters into negotiations which have been going on for some time between Italy and Germany. A treaty of friendship with Germany would protect a weak flank in case of difficulties elsewhere. The entire question of Italian colonial ambitions must in the end be placed in its highly complex setting, which involves the whole treaty system of post-war Europe.

<sup>14</sup> See *L'Œuvre*, December 6 and 7, 1926; *L'Intransigeant*, December 10, 1926; *L'Humanité*, December 9, 1926; *L'Echo de Paris*, December 9, 1926 (article by André Pironneau).

## ONE PART OF THE PEACE PROGRAM

By HON. JOHN J. McSWAIN

Member of Congress from South Carolina

**T**HE problem of peace, like all questions where the factors are human, is many-sided. There is no single specific to cure the social ill called war. I am offering the following thoughts on one aspect of the case, especially at it relates to the “will to peace”:

The Constitution of the United States has been universally appraised as the highest perfection of wisdom yet attained among the fundamental documents of government. Many particular parts have been singled out from time to time for special consideration and commendation. I do not remember ever to have seen any particular discussion of the wisdom and significance of having lodged the power to declare war in the Congress. Among all the older nations of the world the power to declare and commence war had been

lodged exclusively with the executive power, so that kings and emperors had made war, from time immemorial, to suit their own interests, ambitions, or whims, and consulted the representatives of the people, if any there were, only after the commencement of war, in order to procure the financial resources wherewith to carry on such war.

But the erection of the American Republic of Republics, the commencement of a great Federal State in this Western Hemisphere, had as a background the fundamental conception of the Declaration of Independence, that “governments rest upon the consent of the governed,” and exist to secure the life, liberty, and property of the people. Therefore it was but a logical application of this fundamental premise that the Constitution makers should propose, and that the people in

their several State conventions should accept, a constitution that lodged the war-making power in all the representatives of all the States.

### **The People, Through Congress, Declare War**

The President alone conducts diplomatic relations with other nations, but the President can make treaties only by and with the consent of two-thirds of all the Senators. This was a hitherto-unthought-of limitation upon executive power. It had therefore been conceived as preposterous that the people's representatives should have a veto power in the making of treaties between the royal rulers. But this limitation of power is constantly in the minds of Presidents and their executive advisers in the negotiation of treaties and, doubtless, has ever been a wholesome and restraining influence. Though the President is unrestrained in conducting international affairs, yet he must and does feel constantly the restraining check that his international policies cannot be enforced with physical power in war without the approval of both houses of Congress. But the principle runs further still back.

The President must calculate upon receiving the approval of an overwhelming majority of the individual citizens of the Republic. It is constantly in his thinking that members of Congress must respect and heed the wishes and feelings of their constituents. The President remembers that members of the House of Representatives are all elected every two years, and that one-third of all the Senators are elected every two years. Therefore, the President must be so cautious and prudent in handling international situations as to feel sure that the same will be approved by a clear majority of the people. If the President fails to take these fundamental conceptions into consideration, and rushes headlong and unadvised into complications with foreign countries that can be settled only by use of physical force, he may find himself greatly embarrassed by failing to receive the support of the Congress, and be, therefore, compelled to retreat from his diplomatic predicament.

### **No Aggressive War by America**

This particular lodgment of the war-making power in the hands of the repre-

sentatives of the people insures our nation against a policy of aggression. The Constitution makers all knew, from either personal experience or close observation, the horrors and demoralizing and destructive attributes of war. But they were wise men and realized the forces that had been operating upon mankind and among nations since long before the beginning of recorded history. Our forefathers, who laid the foundation of this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, well knew the ambitions and covetousness that from time to time seize the rulers and ruling classes of nations. Wisely, therefore, did they lodge in the central Federal Government the sole and exclusive power of declaring, conducting, and concluding war.

Many powers of sovereignty were left and some still remain with the several States. But, in the interest of the general welfare and common defense, the war-making power was placed with the one government that represents all the people of all the sections. This Constitution conferred upon the Federal Government not only the power to declare and carry on war, but the power to "raise armies," and the power to "support armies." The Constitution likewise conferred on this central government the power to "provide a navy," and to "maintain a navy." There is far-reaching significance in these words, to "support an army" and to "maintain a navy." They imply more than enlisting men and building ships. They imply the power to acquire by the exercise of the supreme and absolute sovereignty that must rest in any nation to take whatever physical resources and materials may, in the judgment of the Federal Government, be necessary for the proper "support" of that army and for the proper "maintenance" of that navy.

### **No "Veto" by the People after War is Declared**

Some have argued that, while the Constitution says that Congress may "raise armies," it means that it may only open recruiting stations and offer compensation and, by a beating of drums and waving of flags, try to induce men to volunteer to enter the Federal army. It has been argued that to confine the raising of armies to the volunteer system would be a wise and salutary restraint upon Con-

gress in declaring war, so that the people, by refusing to volunteer could virtually "veto" a declaration of war by Congress. But the Supreme Court of the United States has in several cases solemnly and unequivocally sustained the power of Congress to reach, with supreme and sovereign hand, and "take," by selective-service draft, such human instrumentalities, either men or women, as the Congress may in the exercise of its power declare to be essential to the raising of armies in order to provide for the common defense.

By the same reasoning, by the same inescapable logic, it must follow that the power to "support" the armies thus raised is unlimited and unrestrained and may be exercised at the uncontrollable discretion of Congress. It therefore remains only for the Congress, with the approval of the President, to say *how* these armies, raised to defend the nation's life, shall be supported.

#### Power to "Take" War Supplies

Heretofore the usual policy of the government in the supporting of armies has been the "volunteer system." People have been begged and cajoled into buying bonds essential to finance armies in the field. By the same reasoning it has been argued that to leave the supporting of armies upon this volunteer basis would amount to leaving with the people the "final veto power on war." Congress may declare the war, and may, by a selective-service draft, so formulated as to produce the least dislocation in the industrial and social life of the nation, take those persons that may be best spared from the homes and the farms and the factories and the professions of the nation; yet, after the armies have been "raised" and are in the field and are at the front and are facing the foe, they may be totally paralyzed by the failure of the people back home to "volunteer" sufficient funds to continue the fight. Such contemplation sickens the heart of the genuine patriot. The same power that gives Congress the right to "take" the man from his family and from his farm and from his factory gives Congress the right to "take" such of the produce of the farm and such of the product of the factory as may be necessary to "support and maintain" the soldier in camp and in field and in trench.

#### Prudence and Caution in Declaring War

As Americans we believe in and insist upon freedom of opinion and freedom of expression of opinion, either by mouth or by the press. There should ever be the amplest discussion in Congress and in the country before war is commenced. All groups of opinion should be tolerantly heard. The President and the members of Congress should solemnly contemplate all the possible consequences of an entry into war. They should patiently and prayerfully seek to avert war. Only actual defense of our physical integrity or of our national principles and honor, which are more than life itself, should ever provoke us to war. God has been good in gathering some of the choice pioneer spirits from many nations and planting them upon this new continent, free from the traditions and customs of the feudal nations, and in permitting them to develop here a civilization unrivaled in power and in variety in all the annals of time. The President and the Congress should and do contemplate the fact that the nations of the whole world are becoming so interrelated by commerce and communication as to make it practically impossible to localize war. The war from 1914 to 1918 is universally described as the World War, and yet it may be fairly concluded that its vast proportions will be far exceeded by the next clash among the nations. Like a prairie or forest fire, when once the fury of war commences no limits can be set, no bounds prescribed, no time fixed, and no measure set.

#### War, Once Declared, Binds Each and All

But, after all voices have been heard in the nation, after the President, with full realization of the responsibility, has pronounced the situation such that war alone is the answer, after the Congress, conscious of direct responsibility to the people shall have declared war, then, in my humble opinion, the case is foreclosed, judgment has been rendered, the matter has had its day in court; and henceforth no man dare deny his individual obligation to contribute to the utmost limit of his power, either by direct participation as a soldier, or by direct contribution to the material and financial support of the

army and navy. From the very moment that Congress, representing all, declares war, it binds every citizen, whatever may be his private and individual judgment of the merits. It becomes the law of the land, and henceforth the only course for every person is to help to fight it through. There must be no "vetoing" of this war-making power in Congress. If adequate volunteers do not rush to the colors, the country may "command" her sons and daughters and "compel" them to go. If adequate resources are not voluntarily contributed, then by the same power, for the same purpose, the Congress can "take" whatever the army and navy may need in order that the full force of the military power may be exerted.

#### Just Compensation for All Property Taken

But we are reminded that one part of this very same Constitution, to wit, the fifth amendment, declares that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation therefor. When properly understood, the fifth amendment offers no obstacle to the war-making power of our government.

It does not provide that private property shall never be taken for a public purpose, but merely prescribes that payment shall be made therefor. Such provision is wise and just. It would be manifestly unfair to take one man's factory or one man's railroad or one man's coal mine or one man's farm or one man's steamboat and use the same in carrying on war and make no adequate compensation for the use thereof, while other citizens, under equal obligation to help carry on war, have their factories or their railroads or their coal mines or their farms or their steamboats untouched and unharmed. But the fifth amendment does not say that the property shall be paid for "before" its use, and merely provides that at some time "just" compensation shall be made. Therefore, in the emergency, whatever property is needed may be taken and taken instantly, and thereafter just compensation made, and that compensation must be "just" not only to the owner, but also "just" to the public that pays. "Justice" means fairness and reasonableness under the circumstances. Therefore, justice requires that no fabulous, fictitious, and inflated war-

time prices shall be paid for property taken and used. The same principle was applied in making just compensation for "man power" during the recent World War. Congress had prescribed the monthly pay for soldiers to range from \$30 a month upward. But after the war good conscience and justice, not legal obligation, declared that such compensation was inadequate and, after much discussion, Congress passed legislation to adjust and pay additional compensation for the services of the soldiers. There was no constitutional obligation to do this.

Congress may draft the soldiers without providing one single cent of compensation, even during the period of service. But would Congress do such an unjust thing? Members of Congress know that they are answerable to the soldiers, and under our system of government the voice of the people is finally supreme. Therefore, the provisions of the fifth amendment merely conform to the ideals of republican institutions and demand a just exercise of the war-making power.

#### Equalize Burdens of War Through "Power to Tax"

But Congress has another power, unrestrained, unlimited, both in war and in peace, and this power may be exercised to insure justice in distribution of the burdens of war. It is the power to levy and collect taxes. It is a fact that many do not realize, that about 40 per cent of the revenue raised and expended by our government during the period of the recent war was raised by taxation. Many conservative and experienced and well-informed men who had intimate contact with the administration during the war have expressed the opinion that if there had been no inflation of prices, if a peacetime average of prices had been maintained by force of law during the war, the money cost of the war would have been reduced by at least one-half. The average price level of all commodities during the World War was nearly two and a half times the average peacetime price. Bringing these two facts together, we find that if prices had not become so much inflated we could have financed the war merely upon the taxes that were collected and without the issue of a single bond; and if we had done

so, we would have been today debt free and would not have a mortgage in the form of bonds upon the earning power of the people of this country aggregating more than \$20,000,000,000 that will require the labors of two or three generations to discharge.

#### **No Drafting of Laborers**

There has been much confusion of thought and much loose and ill-considered utterance in connection with the subject of what is commonly described as "universal draft," and "universal mobilization," and "drafting of wealth to make war," and other phrases of like import. Some, with sweeping and irresponsible generalization, have declared that the whole nation, with all her resources, must be instantly militarized, that martial law must prevail everywhere, and that men and women, old and young, even children, with all that they have, must be considered as in one mighty camp, subject to military discipline, to do and to give whatever those in authority may direct. Some have leveled their anathemas at men who labor with their hands and have heretofore received wages of 8 and 10 and 15 dollars a day for work as civilians, while soldiers were suffering and dying in the trenches at a dollar a day. Others have directed their maledictions at the wholesalers and forestallers and engrossers and speculators and manipulators who cornered the market for essential commodities and demanded and received fabulous prices and profits, became millionaires in a day, and thus capitalized and commercialized the calamity of war and grew rich out of the necessities and sacrifices and sufferings of the nation.

I feel compelled to say that progress in the direction of legislation, looking to a fairer and more just and more equal distribution of the hardships and inconveniences and sufferings of war, has been delayed by reason of the excessive claims and demands of some of the advocates of such legislation. Personally, I believe it would be unwise and imprudent and impracticable to undertake the conscription and militarization of manual laborers, whether for use upon shipbuilding or housebuilding or road building or factory working or farm working or elsewhere. It is my belief that only the fighting forces

and those agencies directly contributory thereto, such as medical, quartermaster, etc., should be taken from the civilian population by selective-service draft. To do otherwise would greatly dislocate, and might paralyze industry, mining, and agriculture. The military authorities would not and could not know how to distribute the workers among the factories and farms. The psychological factor must not be ignored. Human beings are not machines. They have feelings and thoughts. There are limits beyond which they will not endure. The overwhelming majority of the people must first be convinced that a war is just and worthy of any sacrifice, even death, and then, when it is declared, public opinion, as well as force of law, will compel the acquiescence of any small dissenting minority into conformity with the plans and efforts of the nation to raise and support and maintain the armies and navies.

#### **No Militarization of Industries**

In like manner, enthusiasts and idealists have maintained that all the material property and all the financial resources of the nation must be instantly poured into a mighty national war hopper, there to be employed as military experts may determine necessary in the conduct of war. Such a proposition is preposterous to practical minds. The men who in peace time have built and operated industries can operate them more efficiently in war than army officers can. They know how to manage labor in order to get the most satisfactory results. If all property were appropriated and commandeered and dumped into the war machine, of course, there would be no incomes to be taxed, and consequently no source of revenue wherewith to pay that just compensation required by the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

#### **A Sane Program of Justice**

Then, what is a fair and reasonable program for the conduct of war so as to bring about a more just and equal distribution of the burdens of war? We believe that the war is the whole nation's business. It is not the affair merely of those in the army or the navy. The soldiers and sailors have no more at stake

than the civilians back home. The war is everybody's business. If the cause of the war is not such as to justify a contribution to the limit of his qualifications and capacities and resources by every citizen, then we ought not to be in the war, and Congress should carefully consider this aspect of the problem before declaring war. But this equalization cannot be theoretically and mathematically exact and ideal.

It is a practical world we live in, and war is an abnormal condition and fortunately very occasional and temporary, and should be so conducted as to result in the minimum of dislocation and demoralization of the existing order of things. Therefore, in addition to the exercise of the power of drafting soldiers and sailors by selective service; and in addition to the power to commandeer and take necessary physical property without delay, subject to consequent compensation, there are two outstanding measures that should be taken at the outbreak of another war. We should have our minds made up in advance on these matters and, if possible, the outlines of general legislation should be placed upon the statute books now and we should not wait until the heat and excitement and the tumult of war in order to legislate. The first of these is the stabilization of all prices. This can and must be done by the fiat of law. Only the emergency of war could justify such an artificial and unnatural mandate.

#### Stop Profiteering by Stabilizing Prices

The stabilization of prices as contemplated by those familiar with the details essential to carry out this program of seeking to equalize the burdens and inconveniences of war is not price fixing as ordinarily understood. It does not mean picking out different commodities and prescribing by statute the prices for which the same may be sold. But it does mean taking the prices of all commodities as they are found and ascertained to prevail in a free market at a fixed date, say, 90 days before the declaration of war, and prescribing that the prices so prevailing shall be observed in transactions between citizens and in transactions of citizens with the government.

This is fair and just. The price of any

commodity is a relative matter, economically considered. The real price is the quantity of commodity or service that must be given for a given commodity or the quantity of service or commodity that may be received for a given commodity. The excuse made during the war for the pyramiding of prices was that the raw material and labor, rent and interest, and other factors going into other commodities had risen and were continuing to rise, and, in order to meet these rises, the prices of manufactured articles must be raised. In turn, labor contended that what it had to buy and the rents it had to pay had gone up, and it must have more wages. The merchants claimed that not only had commodities advanced but store rents advanced, clerk hire advanced, and taxes advanced, so that they must increase prices. These retail prices again, in their turn, affected the wages of the laborers and the prices of raw materials. So this vicious circle swung rapidly around, rising constantly higher and higher, to the terrific peak of more than 250 per cent of normal prices. The stabilization of prices will eliminate such excuses for price boosting, and the result will be equality and fairness to all parties concerned.

#### "Pay-as-you-fight" Program

The next step that practical men, bent upon seeking, so far as possible, the ideal of justice among all citizens in the duty to make and carry on war, is to understand in advance that taxes, heavy taxes, burdensome taxes, will be imposed to meet the current expenses of the war. The slogan should be, as far as possible, to "pay as you fight," so that as the soldier sacrifices time and blood and life in carrying on at the front, the taxpayer back home, conducting his business, living with his family, shall contribute from his substance the material things necessary to satisfy the current demands of the fighting forces.

The issue of bonds to finance the war should be reduced to a minimum, if not entirely eliminated. Undoubtedly, the tremendous inflation of credit and currency and prices during the World War was due in part to the stupendous issue of bonds. These bonds were largely carried by being floated at the banks and the

credit and currency of the people were almost doubled. But some may protest that to stabilize prices would eliminate war profiteering, and to eliminate bond issues would prevent inflation, so that there would be no unusual stimulus to business and, in fact, there might be an apparent stagnation, thus resulting in a diminution of incomes which, in turn, would result in a diminution of income taxes and, if the war should be financed as fought, taxes might be so heavy as to amount in fact to a capital levy. That chain of argument is considered by its makers as reducing the pay-as-you-fight proposition to an *ad absurdum*. But I refuse to be frightened by the thought of even a capital levy in order to carry on war. At most, it can but mean that a very small percentage of the existing capital reserves of the people shall be taken for the extraordinary and urgent needs of the government in time of war.

#### Human Life Higher Than Material Property

Does not the man at the front, and all those under arms co-operating with him to make his fight effective, submit to a capital levy to a very real and even terrific degree? The best part of the assets and capital of the young man is his body, his health, his time—yea his life. In order to defend the nation, in order to make it secure to every man and woman within its bounds, in order that all may equally enjoy the blessings of this nation, the strongest and best of our young men are called out to give, in unstinted measure, the riches and vested rights of health and strength and life.

Is it fair, is it just, is it in conformity with that fundamental American conception of equality of rights and equality of obligations, that some of our citizens should be called upon to give their all to defend the nation's rights and life, and others, at the same time, be not called upon to make a sacrifice of a small proportion of accumulated capital? I recall these words from the inaugural address of President Warren G. Harding, March 4, 1921: "There is something inherently wrong, something out of accord with the ideals of representative democracy, when one portion of our citizenship turns its activities to private gain amid defensive

war, while another portion is fighting, sacrificing, or dying for the national defense."

#### Justice a Factor in National Defense

To make effective such a program tending toward a just and fair distribution of the burdens of war is the greatest step in the scheme of national defense. It will mean that all the resources of the nation will be directed instantly upon the outbreak of war to the making and gathering of such a combination of human, material, and financial resources as must be well-nigh irresistible. Further, it will mean that, among the men who are fighting and directing, among those sacrificing and suffering, there will not rankle that sense of injustice and of unfairness at the thought that others are not only escaping from the obligations of such a service, but are actually commercializing the nation's needs, and profiteering upon the nation's peril. There is an inherent and indefinable consciousness in every human breast of what is just and fair and right. Education may clarify its definition, but can neither create nor destroy its existence.

#### "Pay as You Fight" and No Profiteering Insures Prudence

While this program of invoking all the resources of the nation to co-operate in one combined effort of war when war is inevitable insures military efficiency, yet it is at the same time one of the surest guaranties that our nation will never embark upon an aggressive and unjust war. We are a peace-loving people. We know that we may best accomplish our mission to build up a great Christian civilization for the blessing of our own people and to serve as a shining example to all others only while peace prevails. But we are vividly conscious of our obligation to the ideals of the Republic. We feel that these ideals can only be achieved under conditions of undisputed national security. Much as we love peace, and will insist to the limits of patience upon its preservation, yet, as a practical people knowing the plain lessons of history and the teachings of bitter experience, we refuse to live in a fool's paradise and to bury our heads in the sands of a false sense of security. But the program here outlined, of no war



profits and of heavy war taxes, will prove an efficacious deterrent to the rash and ill-considered agitation of chauvinists and militarists. It will compel certain great financial interests that control the mighty metropolitan dailies to think carefully and to speak mildly in crucial times. If the capital that controls newspapers knows that it cannot profit and may suffer some of the burdens of war, it will be cautious and prudent in editorial utterances. The man on the street who knows that he is unfit by age or physical infirmity to bear a soldier's part in war, will restrain his tongue and no longer agitate for war if he realizes that he must contribute of his substance, even to the point of sacrifice, in order to carry on the war.

#### Righteous War of Defense

With all selfish motives of pride and profit by war eliminated, with the hysteria and delirium of war excitement checked and restrained by the thought of heavy financial burdens, we may feel sure that one motive, and one motive only, may ever impel the good people of this great Republic to take up arms against another nation. That motive will be the defense of either the physical integrity or of the international rights of the nation. With a war caused by and based upon such a condition, with a situation confronting all the people, that means either supine submission to a foreign will or fighting in defense of the nation's rights and life, there can be no question but that any war de-

clared by Congress will be a just war. Being just, being righteous, being backed by the heart and conscience of the overwhelming majority of the people, the law of selective service for human beings and a law to prevent profiteering by the stabilization of prices and to require the equitable contribution of the sinews of war by those having capital will not be a heartless mandate to compel the sullen obedience of the people to a harsh war program, but will be merely the legal measure of what all the people will cheerfully do to defend the nation's cause.

#### A New American Slogan

Therefore, are we not justified in advancing one step further in the crystallization of national ideals into well-remembered phrases that express the heart and soul of Americanism? For more than 125 years American citizens of all sections and of all parties have acknowledged that the essence of American institutions finds a voice in the phrase: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." To that incomparable expression of the peace-time policies of our nation, let us now, while the lessons of the late war are still fresh in every mind and heart, write upon the statute books of this Republic laws looking toward the equalization of the obligations and hardships of war, and phrase this other epitome of the American war-time policy thus: "Equal burdens and equal sacrifices for all and special privileges and special profits to none."

## ESPERANTO FOR THE STUDENT TOURIST

By HENRY W. HETZEL

President, Esperanto Association

THE tourist agency, as an institution, should be an important instrument for peace. An already extensive and still growing business of conveying sight-seers to distant countries is responding to a widening interest in the world and to the increased prosperity (at least here in our country) that makes possible the gratification of the wanderlust. Not all the travel has been for ordinary sight-seeing, however, especially in recent years. One interesting feature of the large volume of

travel to Europe has been the increasing number of parties who take their vacations abroad for serious study; to meet people prominent in politics, social movements and education. To such travelers, beautiful mountains and lakes, city streets, majestic cathedrals, and magnificent art galleries are of only secondary or incidental importance. To such persons Europe is chiefly a mosaic of minds and a complex of tendencies. In a word, the accent is on the human side.

Naturally, in any country other than the British Isles, language difficulties arise to some extent. For example, when the tourist students assemble in Toynbee Hall, London, to hear some noted publicist tell of recent economic developments in Great Britain, our Americans hear the message in their own mother tongue. When, however, the party visits the Sorbonne in Paris or the University of Berlin to hear the distinguished statesman or scientist, the language difficulty that arises is a real one. The American students are not primarily linguists; out of the whole party—possibly all college-trained men and women—not one-third can follow accurately the speech in French or German, and the number is much smaller of those who can follow both. When it is considered that such a study journey may extend over countries where four or more different languages are native, and that scholarship or eminence in public affairs seldom parallels high linguistic ability, we realize that the selection of lecturers will usually result in some unhappy compromise, such as a second-rate scholar talking poor English—either that or an ignominious resort to translations, which are always unsatisfactory to the degree that they have to do with technical or much-involved subjects.

Man's ingenuity is only equalled by his patience in the face of imagined inevitability. The race had existed for many thousands of years before anyone, seemingly, had given thought to the world-language problem, other than to express a pious hope that it would find a solution in some far-in-the-future millennium. With most people the premise of always-has-been has ever pointed with convincing certainty to the conclusion of always-will-be. The idea of a world language has always been regarded as something visionary, quixotic, and "too good to be true." Meanwhile, the trouble, always a serious one, has become more acute as civilization has advanced. There is not only more communication, but more ways of communicating. Every invention of man for the spread of intelligence brings up the problem anew and with greater urgency demands a solution. In recent years the three outstanding causes of the greater thought given to the problem of an inter-

national language have been the increasing number of world conferences, the growing volume of commercial exchanges and tourist travel, and, lastly, the radio. Yet essentially the problem is all one; the world will not tolerate separate solutions—for the spoken, the printed, the telegraphed or the broadcast word.

In spite of the doubters, an international auxiliary language is a possibility, as is proven by the already attained success of Esperanto, a neutral, synthetic speech, easy to learn, and yet so ingeniously contrived as to make possible the fullest and most accurate expression of thought. It is not our purpose here to speak of its exceedingly simple structure, the absolute uniformity of its pronunciation by whatever Esperantist spoken, its already-attained use in international exhibitions, its approval by chambers of commerce, statesmen and educational authorities, and the recognition given to it by the League of Nations and other international institutions. Each of these points would make an interesting story in itself. For our present purpose let us consider the help that Esperanto gives the tourist.

The "Universala Esperanto-Asocio," with headquarters in Geneva, has a "delegito" or consul in each of about one thousand places in Europe and the rest of the world. It is the duty of these officers to render gratuitously every possible assistance to the foreign visitor. By this means the tourist is directed (and even conducted) to his hotel or *pension*, given assistance in buying his railway ticket, checking baggage, or passing customs inspection. He may be conducted to the points of interest, the best shops, where, by the help of the "delegito," he may be saved from the extortions to which traveling Americans are frequently subjected, and, best of all, he can be given the needed introduction to certain persons, firms, and institutions which the traveler may wish to visit. The many thousands who have visited foreign lands with no linguistic equipment but their native speech and the auxiliary language are enthusiastic in their praise of the practicality of Esperanto and of the fine spirit of helpfulness which animates their fellow-thinkers in their relation to visitors. No tourist agent

or professional guide can supply the friendly welcome and brotherly service that everywhere await the Esperantist. The bond of union is something more than the mere possession of a language in common; it is nothing less than the fine faith in the possibility of a better world through complete mutual understanding. Yes, one *can* "get along" in Europe on the smattering of foreign language so toilfully acquired at school or college—or on English alone, for that matter—if one is willing to limit one's conversation to the mere necessities of locomotion and nutrition, but to the Esperantist alone belongs the joy of meeting foreigners, as many as one has time to meet in any journey or in any visited city—and intelligent, well-educated folks, too—and of conversing with a freedom and upon a linguistic equality that can never be experienced where any national tongue is the medium. A conversation in which even the "well-educated" man or woman must be content merely to "get along" with the foreigner is a poor sample of twentieth-century efficiency. Moreover, on account of the language difficulty, continually reminding each of their separate nationalities, it is out of harmony with the high idealism which characterizes the forward movements of the world. Has our boasted modern education nothing better to offer?

Already Esperanto is sufficiently known among the scientists, scholars, and educators of Europe to make possible the presentation of their ideas before world audiences entirely in the international language. Concurrently with the last two Congresses of Esperantists (Geneva, 1925, and Edinburgh, 1926) were held sessions of the "Somera Universitato" (Summer University), thus far only a modest beginning of what is expected to develop into an institution of recognized importance; nevertheless, last year there were fifteen lecturers from ten different countries of Europe, representing as many departments of learning, and the number of students, from at least twenty-five different nations, was above three hundred. Esperanto, during the last half dozen years, by its use in scientific, commercial, radio, religious, peace, pedagogic, and other professional conferences, not only has amply demonstrated its adaptability for the busi-

ness of a co-operating world, it also has strikingly brought out the fact that all over Europe and even in the Far East are men, high in their respective fields, able to put their ideas in clear, cogent Esperanto before international audiences. As an example, let us take the case of the Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress recently held in Tokio and widely advertised in certain American newspapers as one more triumph for English. Here a letter of protest signed by sixteen Japanese college professors in favor of Esperanto compelled a reversal of the chairman's pro-English ruling, after which addresses were made by several scientists in the international language, though this was *not* mentioned in the said American newspapers.

One of the tourist companies interested in bringing American students and seriously minded travelers into touch with the thought and cultural activity of Europe, the "World Acquaintance Tours," 51 West Forty-ninth Street, New York, plans to demonstrate during the summer of 1928 the adaptability of the international language in making contacts abroad. It is proposed that the travelers, instead of being brought into the presence of lecturers whose command of English leaves much to be desired, will prepare themselves for the journey by a few months' study of Esperanto. They will travel in parties under the guidance of competent and representative American Esperantists, and, with the help of the "Universala Esperanto-Asocio," whose co-operation is already assured, the desired result may be attained. Naturally, this plan should interest not only the individual thoughtful traveler, but more especially organizations concerned with peace, intellectual and moral progress, and similar world movements. All will concede that a world speech, *if practical*, can be so obviously a priceless boon to humanity that all associations working for better relations between the peoples of the earth should be interested in the reports which impartial observers of the Esperanto movement bring back from Europe. Such organizations will, it is hoped, seek representation in one of the parties which the "World Acquaintance Tours" will send out. Esperanto claims to be the handmaiden of

every progressive world movement; that it is an easily learned, logical, and adaptable neutral speech, alike the property of Briton and Bulgar, Frenchman and Finn, German and Japanese, Spaniard and Swede, and serving as a spiritual bond be-

tween them all in a way that no national tongue, no matter how widely spread, even pretends to do. If these broad claims are well founded, no forward-looking person or group will wish to remain in ignorance of the fact.

## INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA

(NOTE.—Following is the text of (I) Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham, (II) extracts from Mr. David Lloyd George's speech before the Midland Liberal Federation, and (III) extracts from Mr. Ramsey MacDonald's speech at Daventry.)

#### I. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH

Over a year ago, in a speech preceding the departure of our delegation to the Tariff Conference at Peking, I outlined the policy of the British Government toward China in these words:

Our only wish is for a strong, united, independent, orderly, and prosperous China. We, on our side, will contribute all we can; we are ready to meet China halfway. We are ready to relinquish special rights just in proportion as the Chinese Government can assure to our nationals the due enjoyment of the ordinary rights of foreigners in their country.

This has been and it is the policy of his Majesty's Government. To talk about British imperialism in this connection is sheer nonsense. In the Far East, above all, we are a nation of shopkeepers. All we want is to keep our shops open and be on good terms with our countrymen. We realize, no less than the most patriotic Chinese Nationalists, that old treaties are out of date, and we desire to put our relations with China on a basis suitable to the times in which we live. We have long felt that there must be a change, and we hope that it will be possible to negotiate the arrangements for this change with a China which is under one central government.

There is no such government in China today. But the demand for treaty revision is becoming—or has become—so insistent, and is fundamentally so reasonable, that, in spite of all the difficulties involved by the

prevailing dissensions among the Chinese, we must try to negotiate this change with the contending governments, even in the midst of civil war. That this was our intention was made perfectly clear in the memorandum of British policy which was published on December 26. It is difficult, in such circumstances, to pursue the policy, but we shall persevere in the attempt because we feel that it is the right, and the only right, thing to do.

#### Desires of the Chinese

The principal matters which the Chinese desire to see changed in the old treaty are, first, the extraterritorial position of all foreigners in China, by which they can only be tried in their own courts and by their own laws. Secondly, the tariff provisions, which prevent China from raising duties on foreign goods; and, thirdly, the quasi-independent status of the foreign concessions. His Majesty's Government are prepared for change in all these points, for the present system is antiquated. It is unsuited to the conditions of today, and it no longer provides the necessary security or protection for the peaceful avocations of our merchants.

Two days ago a proposal was laid by our representatives before the Chinese authorities, both in the North and South, by which his Majesty's Government express their readiness to recognize the modern Chinese law courts, without the attendance of a British official, as competent courts for cases brought by British plaintiffs or complainants. His Majesty's Government also stated their readiness to apply, in British courts in China, the existing modern Chinese civil and commercial codes and duly enacted subordinate legislation. We are prepared to go further than this as soon as all the Chinese codes and judicial administrations are ready.

As regards taxation, we are prepared to make British subjects liable to pay regular Chinese taxation, provided that it does not involve discrimination against British subjects or British goods. This would include taxation levied under a national tariff, as and when such tariff law is promulgated. So far as we alone can effect such an object, that would remove the last obstacle to full tariff autonomy. As regards the concessions, his Majesty's Government are prepared to enter into local arrangements, according to the particular circumstances of each port, either for the amalgamation of the administration with that of adjacent areas under Chinese control, or for some other method of handing over the administration to the Chinese while assuring to the British communities some voice in municipal matters.

I have reminded you that in 1925 I said that we would meet China half way. You will see, from what I have said, that we are going more than half way, but I am certain that this is a right and wise course. We do not disguise from ourselves the inconveniences and the difficulties of the moment, but we are thinking of our relations with China for the next 100 years. These proposals can be put into force by the action of his Majesty's Government. For the moment, there can be no new treaty, for a treaty can only be signed and ratified with a recognized government and, owing to the conditions produced by civil war, we cannot recognize any government in China as a government of the whole country.

Continuing, Sir Austen said that there had been a good deal of loose and uninstructed talk about the recognition of the Canton Government. Recognition implied acceptance of the government recognized as a government of the whole country. The British Government could not recognize the Government of Canton as a government of a part of China only, for that would be to set the seal of British authority on the division of China. Equally, we could not recognize the Government of Canton as the government of all China, for that was not in accordance with the facts. The Government of Canton controlled barely one-third of China, either as regarded population or area.

There are people in this country, he proceeded, who say that we ought to abandon our policy of strict neutrality. It is characteristic of our people in all classes and at all

times to feel sympathy with the growth of liberal ideas in foreign countries. But this natural sympathy is not, in itself, a justification for active interference in the domestic concerns of other lands. The Chinese themselves, and they alone, can and must settle what government they shall have. Recognition by foreign governments must conform to the realities of the situation.

#### Anti-British War Cry

There is a further difficulty with which we are confronted at the present time in dealing with the claims of the Nationalist Party, in the fact that they have deliberately and persistently used an anti-British war cry in order to rally their adherents round the simple and easily comprehensible banner inscribed "Down with the British." You may ask why has this country been singled out for this attack. During the past century we have been pioneers in China. It was our efforts which opened China to foreign trade as a result of what is called the "Opium War." It is about as accurate and no more to describe the issues of that war by the title of the "Opium War" as to describe the war of American Independence as the "Tea War."

We were the principal architects of that treaty system under which it was possible for the merchants belonging to one civilization to trade with another civilization profoundly different from that of the West. We have been regarded as the principal upholders of this system during recent years, when it was becoming obvious to all men that the system itself was growing antiquated, and **alien influences have not hesitated to preach** to the Chinese that we are more responsible than their own dissensions or any other nation for all the ills from which the Chinese suffer.

This anti-British cry was taken up by the powerful Nationalist Party, which has its ramifications throughout China and through all Chinese communities abroad. It is undoubtedly a most dangerous factor in our relations with China at this moment. The cry has been used to arouse the fury of mobs against us, and it remains to be seen whether the government which now claims to represent the Chinese Nationalist Party is willing and able to control this mob element in so far as its activities affect our relations with the Chinese people.

The events of 1925 provided the anti-Brit-

ish propagandists with just the kind of material they required. At Shanghai there is a great international settlement, governed by an elected municipality, which was at that time presided over by an American citizen. This municipality has its own police force. In consequence of the outbreak of mob violence, the police were forced to fire on the crowd. The British Government had, and today have, no control over that police; but the fact that the police were commanded by British officers was seized upon by the propagandists to represent the incident as an act of British aggression. In the same way, when a armed procession of Chinese, or armed men mingling in a procession of Chinese, opened fire on the Anglo-French Concession at Canton and the troops in the Concession were obliged to fire in self-defense, the fact that a part, though only a part, of the force were British was seized upon as material for further anti-British propaganda.

The extremely friendly and considerate attitude of the British Government toward China, as shown at the Washington Conference and on many other occasions, was brushed aside. A boycott of British goods was put into force throughout China and, long after the boycott had ceased in the North, it was continued at Canton, which was the center of the influence of the Nationalist Party, claiming to represent Chinese nationalism.

#### The Agitation at Hankow

The Nationalist Government at Canton has now extended its authority to Central China, and with it has spread the current of anti-British agitation. This agitation broke out in an extreme form at Hankow on January 3. Inflammatory speeches were made by a member of the Nationalist Government, by Borodin, their chief Russian adviser, and by others, and, as a consequence, a large and threatening mob attempted to break into the British Concession. For a whole long afternoon they were kept at bay by a handful of British marines, whose admirable discipline and self-control under the most trying circumstances merit all the praise that we can bestow. They were pelted with bricks and they had justification for firing in self-defense. But they did not fire. Some of them were knocked down and injured and, in the course of bayonet charges necessary to rescue them, two Chinese were injured. The statement that Chinese were killed is not true.

It was clear, however, that the mob could not be held back indefinitely, except by opening fire on them, and there can be no doubt that such action would have led to an attack in force on the British Concession and to a massacre of British subjects, many of whom were outside the Concession and living in Chinese territory. On January 4 and January 5 the rioting continued. The Nationalist troops undertook to keep order, but they, too, were unable to preserve order without firing on the mobs, and this they would not do. It was in these conditions that, by an act of singular self-restraint and great moral courage, sooner than provoke a bloody conflict, the British authorities upon the spot evacuated the Concession and left the Chinese in possession. There can be no doubt that this mob violence was designed to provoke the British forces to fire on unarmed Chinese and to lead to an incident such as would have aroused all China and have further fed the flames of anti-British feeling.

The propaganda train was all prepared, already laid, and even a respectable body like the professors of Peking University have lent their name to the calumny that Chinese were killed during those riots by British marines. That is not true. Everyone in Hankow knows it is not true. The Nationalist Government itself knows that it is not true, and in its latest declaration, has tacitly admitted that not a single Chinese was killed. The seizure of the British Concession was an outrageous and unjustifiable attack on the long-established rights of a peaceful British community. It was followed by a similar outrage at Kiukiang. It was clear that there was no guarantee for the safety of British lives in Chinese cities under the authority of the Nationalist Government in the present revolutionary state of affairs. Another incident might lead to bloodshed, and it was equally clear that the British forces on the spot were insufficient to afford protection to British subjects.

#### Precautions at Shanghai

It was obvious that, with the advance of the Nationalist forces on Shanghai, similar danger might threaten the large British community residing there, and the immense interests which British enterprise has built up in that city. Further, whereas the comparatively small British communities at Hankow and Kiukiang could be evacuated in an

emergency to Shanghai, there could be no such speedy evacuation of the far larger British population in that city. I do not say—I am far from saying or wishing you to think—that the threat of bloodshed and massacre hangs over Shanghai. I hope and believe that it does not. But it would be a clear dereliction of duty on the part of his Majesty's Government, to whatever party they might belong, after what has passed at Hankow, to leave the British at Shanghai without effective protection.

We must have a force there sufficient to protect them if danger arises, and if such armed force is sent at all it must be equal to the calls that might be made upon it. His Majesty's Government, therefore, decided, as a precautionary measure, to send troops to China for the protection of the British community of Shanghai. The composition of the force is itself a guarantee that it is only intended for strictly defensive purposes. I hope that no occasion will arise for its use. There is no intention on our part to hold Shanghai if we can obtain satisfactory assurances that what has happened at Hankow will not be repeated there. The military movements, therefore, which fill our papers and supply them with pictures for their picture page are all a precaution, a necessary precaution, and nothing but a precaution.

His Majesty's Government will not be deflected from their policy of patient conciliation, nor will their efforts to reach satisfactory agreements with the Chinese authorities in any degree slacken or cease. On the contrary I heartily welcome and I reciprocate the desire expressed in his recent declaration by the Nationalist Minister for Foreign Affairs for a settlement of treaty and other cognate questions on the basis of economic equality and mutual respect for each other's political and territorial sovereignty.

I desire to avoid anything which might make this friendly settlement more difficult of attainment and, for that reason, I refrain from controverting his account of what is past history. I prefer to look to what I hope will be a happier future. His Majesty's Government sympathizes honestly with the genuine desires of Chinese Nationalism. "China for the Chinese" is a reasonable cry, and we have nothing to say against it. But "Kill the British" and "Drive out the British" are the ravings of a mad hatred, and it is not in that way you can deal with this coun-

try or with the British Empire. We are ready to assist Dr. Chen and any other Chinese authorities who are, on their side, ready to show a disposition to deal, in a statesman-like and conciliatory way, with the serious difficulties arising from a revolutionary period of development and change in China. We have none but the friendliest feelings toward all Chinese who are prepared to meet us in a similar spirit, and we are, even now, actively engaged in working out the details of an equitable basis for our future relations.

We are hoping that the Chinese will discuss our proposals and exchange views with us upon the method of negotiation and agreement customary among civilized nations. We earnestly trust that no further incidents will occur to mar the prospect of such a peaceful settlement. We cannot neglect, indeed, the warning of past events. We are bound, in case of need, to afford protection to our nationals from violence and wrong, and we have taken the measures necessary to enable us to discharge this primary duty of every nation. But it is our earnest hope that wiser counsels will prevail, and that the patience which we have shown in the past, and the liberal policy which we are pursuing in the present, will place our relations with the people of China on a permanent basis of mutual respect and friendship.

## II. LLOYD GEORGE'S SPEECH

I think Sir Austen Chamberlain has shown great courage, great moderation, and considerable vision in the general lines he has pursued. He has declined to give countenance to those who would resort to violence for the settlement of that problem, and he deserves every support on that line. But I wish he had behind him a government that commanded or merited confidence. If the measures which were adopted to secure a settlement in the mines are to be pursued in regard to China we shall end in inevitable disaster.

I do not retreat one step from the position I took up in Bradford, that the only solution of the Chinese problem is a wise and prompt concession to the legitimate demands of the Chinese—the concession of justice. I assumed then, and I assume today, that the British Government will do all in its power to protect British lives and British property in China, where the thing is possible, without risking expeditions into the interior. No-

body proposes that, not even the government, and therefore, from that point of view I do not believe there is any difference of opinion.

But you must do more than that. You have got to get a settlement of this problem and get it quickly. The Chinese Nationalists' demands are fundamentally just. Let us see what they are. The first is the abolition of what is known as extraterritoriality, and the second is the concession of complete autonomy and independence to China in the matter of her revenue. We have treaties. I am not going into the question of how we fought with a very corrupt dynasty in China, but they gave us very special privileges. We were the first to impose those privileges upon China, and we imposed them by force. All the other powers came in behind us and took advantage of what we had secured. But as we were the first to impose them upon China we ought to take the initiative in setting right that wrong. From the moment Japan became a great power, next door to China just across the seas, and took her rank among the great powers of the world those treaties were doomed.

You could not deny to China, with her four hundred millions of population, the independence that fifty millions of Japanese have got to themselves just across the seas. The moment Japan emerged as a great power these treaties were doomed.

You cannot get the whole four hundred millions into a conference. Let us get them one after another. Let us settle with the man who can make peace with one hundred and twenty millions, and then we can deal with the other gentlemen afterward. I am convinced in my heart that Sir Austen Chamberlain wants to make peace. But there are other men in the Cabinet who, the moment there is any military business, get very excited. You cannot trust a dipso-maniac with a bottle of whisky, and there are some gentlemen who the moment they smell gunpowder, the moment the war bottle is uncorked and they hear the pop, lose control completely.

If there is a military expedition, if it is necessary to protect life in Shanghai, let us see that that is all it does, that you do not use this force for any other purpose, that you do not go on from point to point, that you are not tempted by the weakness of a force, by a strategic point, or by a peninsula,

because peninsulas have a great attraction for some people in the Cabinet.

Above all, let us have a peaceable settlement. It is essential in the interests of the trade of this country, and I speak with all the gravity and seriousness which any man can command after deep consideration. We are dependent more than any other country upon our international trade. We are in the seventh year of unemployment. Our great trade with China has been stagnant for years. Let us see that that stagnation does not further stagnate.

### III. MacDONOLD'S SPEECH

What is the problem now presented to us? It is simple, and will only be complicated if we lose our heads and begin to get fussy. We have delayed too long in handling it and have allowed its difficulties to grow, and we must tackle it as it now presents itself to us. The Labor Party has been consistent throughout. Our simple task is to get Chinese nationality recognized and to get ourselves out of the present tight position without the intervention of mobs or arms.

We have to turn to Mr. Chen, the Foreign Secretary of the Canton Government, and say "Your Nationalist demands have our complete support, but we must warn you that that if you cannot control mobs no effort of ours can prevent trouble, or keep those Nationalist demands of yours in the foreground. Therefore negotiate, negotiate every minute; do nothing but negotiate."

But that is not enough for us. We must also turn to our own government and say, "Face the facts, treat China as you do Japan, get out of your entanglement of imposed treaties. Your Christmas memorandum was good. Your foreign declaration on January 22 was excellent. We admit you have the problem of the protection of life still on your hands. Whenever you decided to send that much advertised defense force you began to play with fire. By pressing Mr. Chen to negotiate the Labor Party has done more for the protection of life in Shanghai than your defense force will do. You are now bringing another element on to the stage, which in the very nature of things must have a reaction different from the beneficial one of the Foreign Office communique. You have to estimate your risks and balance them up, and when doing so pray remember that your actions may have a different meaning in China from what they have in Whitehall.



## GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

(NOTE.—Following is the text of (I) Note presented to the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in London by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on February 23, 1927, and (II) Note presented to the British Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow by the acting Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs on February 26, 1927.)

### I. SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'S NOTE

FOREIGN OFFICE, *February 23, 1927.*

SIR: The relations existing between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continue notoriously to be of an unsatisfactory nature.

On the 4th June, 1923, the Soviet Government solemnly signed the following agreement:

The Soviet Government undertakes not to support with funds or in any other form persons or bodies or agencies or institutions whose aim is to spread discontent or to foment rebellion in any part of the British Empire . . . and to impress upon its officers and officials the full and continuous observance of these conditions.

In recalling the terms of this agreement in his note of the 24th October, 1924, to M. Rakovsky, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stated that—

No government will ever tolerate an arrangement with a foreign government by which the latter is in formal diplomatic relations of a correct kind with it whilst at the same time a propagandist body organically connected with that foreign government encourages and even orders subjects of the former to plot and plan revolutions for its overthrow. Such conduct is not only a grave departure from the rules of international comity, but a violation of specific and solemn undertakings repeatedly given to His Majesty's Government.

In spite of this warning it has been necessary for me on more than one occasion to draw the attention of the Soviet representative in this country to the continuous breach of this solemn engagement. So long as the present rulers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, be they technically members of the government or members of the Politbureau, which is the real dominating authority in the Union, or its ambassadors abroad, persist in making public utterances in defamation of Great Britain or in advocacy of a world revolution, no improvement is possible.

His Majesty's Government must once again draw attention to the warning given by my predecessor.

This public attitude of men holding high positions in Russia is, moreover, totally inconsistent with the profession of good will given privately by the representatives of the Soviet Government in this country. For instance, M. Krassin, late chargé d'Affaires of the Soviet Union in London, informed me in October last that he was instructed to state that it was the real desire of the Soviet Government to remove causes of difficulty and to establish friendly relations with His Majesty's Government. Yet while this very instruction was being carried out by M. Krassin a regular campaign of public slander and misrepresentation against Great Britain was in progress, and not even the Commissar for Foreign Affairs himself, who was, at least nominally, the author of these instructions, could refrain from taking part in this campaign.

His Majesty's Government are indeed well aware of the delusion under which M. Chicherin and many of his colleagues are suffering, that Great Britain is continually occupied in plotting against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and for this purpose has never ceased to guide the policy of such countries as Poland and the Baltic States and Persia into an orientation directed against Soviet Russia. No impartial study of the policies of those countries, no dispassionate examination of acts and no assurances from His Majesty's Government have availed to dispel an obsession which is as illogical as it is ill-founded. Its continuance, therefore, can only be based on a rooted, even perhaps temperamental, hostility in the minds of the Soviet authorities themselves and a corresponding credulity in regard to false reports from interested informants.

M. Chicherin himself, in a particularly hostile speech, delivered on December 6 to representatives of the press in Berlin, openly displayed this preference for bad over good sources of information. Out of a mass of inaccurate and tendentious statements it is only necessary to make a single selection in order to illustrate the distorted vision of British policy that appears to haunt the nervous mind of M. Chicherin. He declared that the British periodical the *Near East* had threatened Persia with trouble fomented by

Great Britain if she did not show herself amenable to British desires. An examination of the *Near East* would have shown that no such threat had appeared in it and His Majesty's Government have the right to protest against the malevolent bias which makes pure inventions the basis or support of its policy.

The same credulity and hostility are shown by M. Voroshilov, People's Commissar for War, in his speech to new commanders and political workers in the Soviet army on September 17, as reported in the Soviet press; and by M. Unschlicht, Vice-Commissar for War, in his article in the *Pravda* of September 15. Extracts from the speeches referred to are attached to this note for the purpose of reference.

Again, an ambassador of the Union, M. Kamenev, was recently reported as stating that the present leaders of the Communist Party devoted undue attention to the internal welfare of the Union instead of concentrating their efforts on revolution in foreign countries. The selection as ambassador of a man who could make such a complaint is a curious comment on the professed desire of the Soviet Government for friendly relations with foreign countries.

Even more aggressive in its hostility towards the British Empire is the chief organ of the Communist party, the Politbureau, which, as has already been mentioned, is the real Government of Russia and which cannot escape from identification as such, despite all assertions to the contrary. It will be sufficient to quote from the speeches of one of its leading members, M. Bukharin, at the conference of the party and at the enlarged plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow in October and November last. The following quotations will suffice as illustrations of his attitude on these occasions:

In the event of the further victorious advance of the Canton armies, it is no Utopia to assert that a victorious Chinese revolution will find an immediate echo in the neighboring colonial countries—India, Indonesia, and Dutch India. All this makes China a mighty center of attraction for the colonial periphery.

The English miners' strike and the national revolution in China are, it seems to me, the chief spots where Communist parties must apply their efforts, if we do not count the Soviet Union. . . . And I think that as regards these three lines of policy, we

have no reason whatsoever to be pessimistic. . . .

We must be ready for anything, and must continue to support the miners' strike with unrelaxed energy. That is why I think that it is fit and meet to end my closing speech at our fifteenth party conference with the following cry: "Hail to the English miners!" . . .

Even should the Anglo-Russian Committee be fated to live a short life (a prospect which objectively we take into account), we have already advanced a number of auxiliary trenches, as, for instance, the Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee, &c. . . .

It is perfectly clear that we must now concentrate the principal and central attack of the Chinese people, of the Kuo Min-tang and of the Communist party into a war against foreign imperialists. . . .

Mighty masses are marching under the Soviet star, under the banner of Communism. Comrades! Our proletariat is ready to do everything to strengthen the forces of world revolution and to facilitate the process thereof. Has not our party proved that it will do everything necessary to defend the cause of world revolution? . . . During the great English strike, during the great China revolution, our party—we can and dare to assert this—has shown itself in the forefront. And we here declare that if history shall produce still greater tasks we will throw all our forces into the scale of world revolution and will fight to a victorious finish. . . .

These attacks by M. Bukharin on the British Empire received the direct approval of the Soviet Government in a speech by M. Rykov, President of the Soviet of People's Commissars, on November 3, when he congratulated the party conference on the unanimity with which its resolutions had been adopted.

The last two quotations illustrate the futility of the pretense that the attacks on British interests in China are not instigated and directed by the Soviet Union. The policy of encouragement and assistance to those attacks is, moreover, openly avowed by M. Karakhan, late Soviet ambassador in Peking, in his speech at Vladivostok, reported in the *Rupor* of October 10, 1926.

Again, M. Semashko, Commissar of Health, in a letter published in the *Rabochaya Gazeta* on September 11, repeats his view that contests in the domain of physical culture between Soviet citizens and foreigners "are only admissible where they respond to the interests of the revolutionary movement in the country in question." The aggressive spirit is so strong that all other considerations are subordinated to the cause of revolution.

The hostile character of the contents of the Soviet press is also notorious. Disregarding other organs, it is sufficient to point out that the *Izvestiya* is stated in a decree of the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union to be the official organ of the Central Executive Committee; its publishing office is described as a State organ not pursuing objects of commercial profit, and it is exempted from all State taxes. The Soviet Government are therefore directly responsible for what appears in it—that is to say, for such things as the letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in support of the general strike in Great Britain (*Izvestiya*, May 8, 1926); the leading article on the same subject; the appeal of the Moscow Soviet in support of the strike; the manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (*Izvestiya*, June 26); the articles on alleged British policy in Persia (October 2 and 8); and, lastly, the grossly insulting and mendacious cartoon on the front page of the issue of December 29 (depicting the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as applauding the execution of Lithuanian Communists), and the leading article in the same number on the same subject.

In recording this deplorable attitude of the Soviet leaders His Majesty's Government have no intention of embarking on a controversy with them. Publicly recorded speeches and articles in official organs are incontrovertible facts, about which no argument is possible. Nor can the Soviet Government be under the illusion that their sentiments have passed unnoticed in this country. Not only have they been reported in the daily press, but from time to time men of authority have been compelled to give expression to the indignation inspired by the open hostility of the Soviet Government to the British Empire and their public attacks on British interests. To embody these complaints in a formal note of protest might in the circumstances seem superfluous. But it is right that there should be no misconception in Russia or elsewhere as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in the matter. The toleration they have shown to Soviet agents and citizens is not to be confounded with ignorance of their designs, nor must it be taken to imply acquiescence in the unprecedented relationship between the two countries.

His Majesty's Government have persistently striven for the promotion of world peace. In the foregoing account of the grievous outrages and injuries to British interests committed by or through the agency of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics they have drawn only upon sources of information already open to the whole world. Thus limited, it is still sufficient to show what patience and forbearance, in the face of repeated and almost unendurable provocation, have been shown by His Majesty's Government in their desire to avoid any action which might still further embitter public feeling on either side or add to the anxieties of other nations.

His Majesty's Government are not concerned with the domestic affairs of Russia nor with its form of government. All they require is that that government should refrain from interference with purely British concerns and abstain from hostile action or propaganda against British subjects. But they consider it necessary to warn the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the gravest terms that there are limits beyond which it is dangerous to drive public opinion in the country, and that a continuance of such acts as are here complained of must sooner or later render inevitable the abrogation of the trade agreement, the stipulations of which have been so flagrantly violated, and even the severance of ordinary diplomatic relations.

His Majesty's Government trust that this protest and warning will be received by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the attention they require, and that no further cause of complaint may be given.

I have, etc.,

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

## II. M. LITVINOFF'S REPLY

SIR: The Soviet Charge d'Affaires *ad interim* in Great Britain has transmitted to me telegraphically the note signed by Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, which was handed to him on the 23d instant and published on the same day in the British press.

The note begins by stating the quite unquestionable fact of the existing unsatisfactory relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. The unsatisfactory character of these relations Sir Austen Chamberlain attempts to explain in his note, as he so

often did in public speeches in Parliament and outside, by alleged infringements on the part of the Soviet Government of obligations undertaken regarding Great Britain in the domain of propaganda. The note cites textually the agreement signed by the Soviet Government on June 4, 1923, to the effect that the Soviet Government undertakes not to support with funds or in any other form persons or bodies or agencies or institutions whose aim is to spread discontent or foment rebellion in any part of the British Empire, and to impress upon its officers and officials the full and continuous observance of these conditions.

During the three and a half years which have elapsed since the signing of the said agreement the British Government has repeatedly addressed to the Soviet Government, directly and through public statements, reproaches of alleged infringements of the said agreement. Rejecting these charges, the Soviet Government has always demanded that they should be based on some definite instances. In violation of the obligation undertaken in the same year, 1923, on behalf of the British Government by Lord Curzon, the then Foreign Secretary, immediately to bring to the cognizance of the Soviet Government supposed instances of infringement of obligations, not allowing such cases to accumulate without making charges (Lord Curzon's telegram of May 29, No. 127) the British Government has heretofore preferred to make general wholesale reproaches to the Soviet Government, never giving details, except in one case, when, during the general election in Great Britain in 1924, there was made an unsuccessful attempt to corroborate an accusation by reference to the well-known and so-called "Zinovieff letter" of the then President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Soviet Government, though immediately declaring that it could not assume responsibility for the actions of an international organization which was directed and controlled by delegates of the Communist parties of various countries, in view of the special political rôle which the latter might play, agreed to submit it to any expert examination and accept the decision of any arbiter. The fact that the British Government declined the proposal of the Soviet Government could not be understood otherwise than as the withdrawal of the accusation,

and since then the forgery of the letter has evoked no more doubts from anyone, including Labor circles, holding power in England when the accusation was proffered.

Thus, the only definite charge was based on a faked document, the so-called "Zinovieff letter." At the same time none of the persons who misinformed the British Government was punished, although that forged letter at one time created a threat to peace and strained to the utmost the relations of the two States and left its mark on the whole subsequent development of Anglo-Soviet relations.

With reference to the agreement of June 4, 1923, Sir Austen Chamberlain, in the entire text of the note, does not adduce a single instance of the infringement by the Soviet Government of this agreement, namely, there was not a single instance of "spreading discontent or fomenting rebellion in any part of the British Empire."

The British Government's note only enumerates a series of public utterances by Soviet leaders in Russia and newspaper articles in the Soviet press. I must, therefore, mention the fact that between the Soviet Government and Great Britain there exist no agreements limiting the freedom of speech or of the press within the frontiers of the two countries. Just as the British Government did not undertake the obligation on behalf of its citizens to praise or not to criticize the social and political order of the Soviet State, so the Soviet Government undertook no obligation on behalf of its citizens that they should praise or not criticize the social and political order of Great Britain and the capitalist countries generally.

The trade agreement of 1921, of the infringement of which the Soviet Government has also been repeatedly and without foundation accused, a clause dealing with propaganda binds the two parties only to "refrain from hostile actions or undertakings against the other party, and from conducting outside its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic."

To bring published or verbal utterances made within Soviet Russia within the scope of the agreement of 1923 or the agreement of 1921 is an arbitrary extension of the limits of these agreements.

I could produce numerous examples of the wide use and, unfortunately, most immoderate abuse of the right to engage in propaganda within Great Britain against the Soviet Government by members of the British Government. I will strictly limit myself to but a few examples. In his speech at Watford, on June 20, Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, referred to the Soviet Government as a "gang of assassins and robbers" (the *Morning Post* June 22, 1925). At a Conservative meeting at Tunbridge Wells Mr. Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, attacking the British Socialists, declared: "Behind all this sinister and unwholesome movement stood the dark power of Moscow. There we had what we had never before, a band of cosmopolitan conspirators gathered from the underworld of the great cities of Europe and America in despotical possession of the still great resources of what was once a mighty and famous Empire, Russia" (the *Morning Post*, November 30, 1925). At Bolton Mr. Churchill spoke of the Soviet Government as "dark conspirators in the Kremlin in Moscow" (the *Daily Telegraph*, June 22, 1926).

Similar attacks can be found in the utterances of Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary; Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for Air; Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Secretary for War, and others, not to mention their supporters in the Conservative Party, such as Mr. A. T. Cook, who at the Conservative conference at Scarborough on October 7, 1926, called the Soviet Government "a group of international murderers" (the *Morning Post*, October 8, 1926), Commander Locker-Lampson, Sir William Davison, and others.

Still sharper attacks against the Soviet Union abound in the press of the ruling Conservative Party every day, abusing Soviet institutions, the Soviet Government and its representatives in London, and spreading incredible and fantastic lies about the Soviet Union.

It must at the same time be observed that the British representatives in Moscow are enjoying the same diplomatic privileges as the representatives of other countries, and have never been subjected to insults or abuse on the part of the Soviet press, as were the representatives of the Soviet Government in London on the part of the British Conservative press. It is impossible to find either in the Soviet press generally or in the articles

and speeches to which the British Government refers in its note any sharp attacks against Great Britain similar to those mentioned above. It is impossible to regard as anti-British propaganda such things as an analysis or estimate of the foreign policy of the British Government and its attitude towards the Soviet Union, or arguments by the principal party leaders about the inevitability of world revolution and the importance of the national revolutionary movement in the East, still less the ideas expressed by the People's Commissary of Public Health concerning the significance of physical culture from the viewpoint of the revolutionary Labor movement or the appointment of Kameneff as ambassador to Italy, which has nothing to do with Anglo-Soviet relations and was agreed to by the Italian Government. Within the limits of his party activity, Kameneff has voiced his opinions concerning the tasks of his party.

Regarding the *Izvestia*, which is considered as the official organ of the Central Executive Committee, since in it all the decrees and decisions of the government must be published, it may be said that this paper has one of the largest circulations and caters for hundreds of thousands of readers, who must be given all the information interesting to them, including manifestos and resolutions of the Soviet, as well as of party institutions. The office publishing this paper can no more accept responsibility for the contents of such kinds of manifestos and resolutions than it can for reports which it prints of utterances and statements made against the Soviet Government, including the above-quoted speeches by British ministers. Here again it must be repeated that the publishing within the Soviet Union of any reports of any verbal statement does not infringe any obligation undertaken by the Soviet Government whatsoever.

Particular dissatisfaction has apparently been caused the British Government by the opinions expressed by Soviet leaders concerning the anti-Soviet course of British policy in third countries. But with no less justification and foundation could be characterized as delusions the constant references made by the politicians and members of the British Government to the alleged omnipresence and omnipotence of so-called "Soviet agents," who are represented as being responsible for all or any difficulties in the British Empire in all parts of the world.

The Soviet Government deplors the unsatisfactory condition of the relations between Russia and Great Britain indicated in the British Government's note. It believes, however, that to explain these regrettable circumstances by mutual accusations and an unfriendly tone in the press of the two countries would be to take cause for effect and *vice versa*.

The Soviet Government would likewise consider it incorrect and undignified to seek an explanation of these conditions in physiological or psychological characteristics of these or other British statesmen. It is inclined to believe that the abnormality of these relations consists not only in the fact that the representations made by the two countries do not correspond with the interests of the development of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Government.

What also matters is that in its relations with the Soviet Union the British Government consciously infringes the usual international customs and even elementary decency. It periodically thrusts in the face of the Soviet Government indefinite and unfounded accusations, refusing even to discuss them; it avoids settling mutual claims and complaints, either diplomatically or through special conferences, committees, or delegations; declining the usual diplomatic ways of settling conflicts, it permits itself to talk to the Soviet Government in the tone of threats and ultimatums; and, lastly, it ignores the constitution of the Union of Soviet Republics, making insistent attempts in its notes to substitute party or even international institutions for the formal Government of the Union.

The same abnormality of relations is also expressed by the fact that the British Government in its note permitted itself an unheard of and unprecedented tone towards M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. The position which the British Government has established with regard to the Soviet State encourages the hostile campaign which finds expression in the coarsely abusive statements in the British Parliament on the part of members of Parliament and even members of the Government and in the British press.

It must be added that the constant attempts by the British Government to minimize and even annul the importance of the fact of the restoration of diplomatic rela-

tions, together with the authoritative information possessed by the Soviet Government regarding the continued attempts by individual members of the British Government to come to an understanding with ex-Tsarist diplomats and counter-revolutionary representatives working in favor of another insurrection, will not allow public opinion in the Soviet Union to forget the rôle played by Great Britain in the first insurrection.

At the conclusion of his note, Sir Austen Chamberlain deemed it timely and fit to advance the threat of a complete rupture in commercial and diplomatic relations in the event of the Soviet Government not complying with the new demands, which do not arise from the existing Anglo-Soviet agreements and the mutual formal obligations.

In declaring that threats against the Soviet Government will have no intimidating effect upon anyone in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government takes the liberty to express its firm conviction that the conclusion of the trade agreement in 1921 and the subsequent restoration of diplomatic relations corresponded to interests and necessities of the peoples of the Soviet Union as well as those of the British Empire. If the present British Government believes that the rupture of Anglo-Soviet trade and all other relations is called for by the needs of the British people and will serve the British Empire and cause general peace, then, of course, it will act in a suitable manner, assuming full responsibility for the consequences.

On its part, the Soviet Government confirms that the statements of the late M. Krassin, quoted in the note of the British Government, concerning the desirability of removing all difficulties existing between the two countries and everything giving ground for mutual complaint and of establishing quite normal relations actually correspond to the immutable and sincere wishes of the Soviet Government. In accordance with the decision for peace of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union, which are in entire conformity with the same aspirations of the popular masses of Great Britain, the Soviet Government will in future also pursue its peace-loving policy, which excludes all aggressiveness towards other countries. It will welcome the British Government sincerely if it will go to meet it on this path.

I have, &c.,

MAXIM LITVINOFF.

## News in Brief

THE PHILIPPINE CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS is caring for seventy-five refugees from China and announces that it is prepared to take care of as many as may need help.

THE TACNA-ARICA BOUNDARY COMMISSION, composed of Gen. J. J. Morrow, American chairman, and one commissioner each from Chile and Peru, will meet for final deliberations in Washington in April.

A PAN-AMERICAN SCHOOL OF NORTH AMERICA has been established in Richmond, Virginia. Especial attention will be paid to the teaching of the languages, history, and geography of the Latin-American countries. Commercial subjects also will receive attention in this school.

TWO GERMAN ENGINEERS IN MEXICO propose the building of a ship railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Steamers would enter a floating dock on tracks, be elevated, and carried on thirty parallel rails across the isthmus. On the farther side they would again be launched and go on their way. It is estimated that about seven hours would be consumed in transit.

THE WORLD WAR FOREIGN DEBT COMMISSION of the United States went out of existence February 9. Settlements represented in the work of the commission aggregated \$9,811,094,094 and included agreements with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, and Jugoslavia.

MEXICO, IN ACCORDANCE WITH A RESOLUTION adopted at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, in 1915, has since been studying and educating people in backward regions of her territory. The Valley of Teotihuacan, a region within a few miles of the capital, is occupied by a race which was highly civilized 8,000 years ago, but was four centuries

behind the times in 1915. These people are now assisted to modern sanitation and hygiene and are receiving education in letters and the arts. Other provinces are still subjects of study.

A EUROPE-ARGENTINE MAIL SERVICE by plane and steamer has been arranged by a French transportation company. The mails will be dispatched from Toulouse by aéroplane to the Cape Verde Islands. There they will be transferred to a steamer which will take them to the island of Fernando Noronha, off the coast of Brazil, where they will be picked up and taken on by aéroplane to Buenos Aires. The contract is for ten years and service is to begin September 1.

A SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE has been established in Santiago, Chile, by Senor Don Miguel Cruchaga, ambassador to the United States, as a memorial to his wife. The ambassador expects to arrange for the exchange of students and professors with the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University, D. C.

THE ONCE-IMPORTANT VOLGA RIVER, Russia, has recently become so choked with sand bars that little navigation is possible above Nijni-Novgorod.

HENRY FORD'S "PEACE SHIP" of 1915-16 has been used as the theme of a tragedy by a young German playwright and has been produced in several German and Polish cities. Mr. Ford and other actual voyagers in the expedition are impersonated in the drama.

THE AMERICAN TREATY WITH PANAMA is to be re-negotiated, following its rejection by the National Assembly of Panama. Efforts will be made to find a formula which will conserve the clauses considered essential by the United States, but more generally acceptable in Panama. Consideration of the treaty will be more effective, it is felt, when the present popular anti-American outcry has waned.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE on electric high-tension lines will be held in Paris in June. At the last meeting, in 1925, 27 countries, 50 associations, and 500 individual members were represented, including the United States.

COMPETITIVE PLANS ARE SHORTLY TO BE SUBMITTED by architects for the United States building to be erected at the international exposition at Seville, Spain, scheduled to open October 12, 1928.

A NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, under the presidency of M. Poincaré, was lately convoked in France. It groups the representatives of capital and labor and the consuming public besides the State. It is proposed to accelerate house building and generally encourage enterprises which provide employment.

REAR ADMIRAL JULIAN L. LATIMER, commanding the Special Service Squadron in Nicaraguan waters, has requested permission of the Secretary of the Navy to send "all canned milk that our vessels can spare" to Chinandega, Nicaragua, for suffering children in that city rendered destitute as a result of the battle at that place.

SPANISH COLONISTS ARE SETTLING in Santo Domingo with considerable success, according to the bulletin just issued by the Department of Labor. Each family is given ten acres and necessary equipment for farm development.

A CONTRACT FOR THE SUPPLY OF RAILWAY MATERIAL to the value of 40 million gold marks has been given by the Rumanian State Railways to the German Vereinigte Stahlwerke. The deliveries will be made on reparations account and cover a period of five years.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT has completed reciprocal arrangements during the past year with twenty-three foreign countries for special delivery mail service. Until a year ago Canada was the only country granting the United States that privilege. The countries which have now entered into the reciprocal agreement are as follows: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Germany, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland. In a short time similar arrangements are expected to be consummated with the remaining important countries in the Universal Postal Union.

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS IN MEXICO, under date of January 24, 1927, as reported by American consular officers, December 15, 1926, were as follows:

Rural property .....	\$166,047,000
Urban property .....	35,771,000
Oil lands .....	318,638,000
Refineries .....	50,070,000
Mines .....	317,427,000
Smelters .....	25,180,000
Timber .....	10,935,000
Railways .....	248,158,000
Manufacturing enterprises....	27,716,000
Merchandising enterprises ...	26,140,000
Public utilities .....	30,799,000
Concealed interests .....	6,938,000
Miscellaneous investments not included above .....	125,242,000
	<hr/>
	\$1,389,061,000

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE HAS LATELY APPOINTED three men from the State Department to ministerial posts abroad. They are Mr. Le-land Harrison, to be Minister to Sweden; Mr. J. Butler Wright, Minister to Hungary; and Mr. Hugh R. Wilson, to be Minister to Switzerland.

ON FEBRUARY 1 BELGIUM REMOVED THE 20 per cent hotel tax levied on foreigners. A 2 per cent transmission tax still remains in force.

THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT is to establish three new agricultural schools in 1927. It is President Calles' plan to have, eventually, agricultural education centers in every State in the Republic.

DRINKWATER'S PLAY, "ABRAHAM LINCOLN," has lately been presented on the stage of the National Theater in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

THE UNITED STATES PARTICIPATED in four of the eight meetings of League of Nations committees held in Geneva in March. The Special Committee for the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms began on March 14. Hugh Gibson, Minister to Switzerland, represents this country on that committee. The Health Committee met on the 14th also, to study proposals on question of international laws on causes of death. The Preparatory Commission for



Disarmament convened on March 21, at which Mr. Gibson represented this country. On March 22 the Committee on Progressive codification of International Law met to study reports of various governments, including that of the United States.

AN EXHIBIT SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT in different countries is to be held in Munich, Germany, April 22. It is hoped by this means to encourage peace workers in Germany, to give them a visual demonstration of the greater numbers working for the same cause, especially in England, France, and America.

By 339 votes to 175 the Chamber of Deputies, March 8, approved Premier Poincaré's policy in making provisional debt arrangements such as those just assented to by England and the United States, while postponing the question of ratification of the Washington and London agreements.

JAPANESE SUFFERERS FROM THE EARTHQUAKE and fires of March 8 received immediate expression of sympathy and offers of assistance from the American Red Cross. Japan was quick to proffer aid when Florida was stricken by hurricane last September and contributed over \$46,000.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES has gathered and recently published membership statistics. Of the fifty-four member societies thirty have increased their membership the last year. The United States, Japan, Italy, and Germany has each more than a million members. The ratio of membership to population is greatest in the United States, where it is 1 to 14 inhabitants. Japan follows, with 1 to 18. Czechoslovakia, which has had a Red Cross Society only since the World War, ranks three with ratio of 1 to 25. Thirty-eight societies have Junior Red Cross sections.

SWEDEN AND BELGIUM HAVE SIGNED A PACT in which it is agreed that the two countries will never go to war even over those matters usually considered to affect "vital interests" and "national honor." Sweden has never before made an agreement so sweeping outside of Scandinavia. Similar treaties are now in force between Sweden and Denmark and Sweden and Finland, while another is pending with Norway.

By 500 votes to 31, the French Chamber has passed the complete bill calling for mobilization of the entire nation, regardless of age or sex, in war time. A formal promise is made that the law cannot be applied, except for the purpose of national defense, after recourse to arbitration of the League of Nations.

PANAMA CANAL TRAFFIC reached in February its highest rate for eleven months and established a record for February traffic, both in number of transits and amount of tolls.

CUBA AND LONDON have been connected by telephone via New York.

URUGUAY AND SALVADOR both inaugurated presidents on March 1. Dr. Juan Campisteguy, of Uruguay, is an international lawyer of known distinction. He has been a member of the cabinet on several occasions. Dr. Pio Romero del Bosque, of Salvador, is also a prominent lawyer and has held diplomatic and cabinet positions.

BARON SHIDEHARA, JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER, has again stated in the Diet that Japan does not consider the foreign concessions in China a permanent institution. As to Japanese interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, the foreign minister said that efforts would be made to safeguard those interests, but not until occasion arises.

YALE UNIVERSITY HAS DEVELOPED PLANS to interest teachers in the possibilities in educational moving pictures. A tour will be conducted this summer, visiting fourteen summer schools, to give demonstrations and hold conferences.

SEVERAL HUNDRED COMMUNISTS, arrested by order of Premier Ibanez during the last of February in various parts of Chile, are to be sent to the Island of Mas-a-Fuera, one of the Juan Fernandez group, about 500 miles off the west coast of Chile. It is understood that the Communists will be allowed to take their families to the island, where a colony is to be established, with a guard of carabinieri, or federal police, stationed there to preserve order.

THE SWISS GOVERNMENT has deposited with the Secretariat of the League of Nations, for registration and publication, a

Treaty of Conciliation and Judicial Settlement concluded at Madrid on April 20, 1926, between Switzerland and Spain.

THE RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT has recently concluded arrangements with Germany whereby 10 per cent of the reparations quota under the Dawes Plan will be utilized for the purchase of equipment and sanitary appliances required by the 330 hospitals now established in Rumania. Rumania's annual quota under the Dawes Plan amounts to approximately 8,000,000 gold marks. Up to the present time, practically the full amount has been taken in railroad equipment.

THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE of the Rumanian Cabinet Council has under consideration a scheme for regulating the Danube so as to reclaim some 70,000 acres at present subject to inundation. The Danubian Company undertakes to do the work in return for 15 per cent of the reclaimed area and a lease of the entire area for a term of 20 years at a rent of 5,000 lei per acre. The company proposes to grow sugar-beet on the reclaimed land.

THE CABINET COUNCIL OF ITALY ratified on March 8 the Treaty of Paris of October 28, 1920, between Britain, France, Italy, and Japan recognizing the union of Bessarabia to Rumania. It was decided at the time the treaty was signed that it should have full force only after the ratification by at least three of the signatory powers. Britain ratified it in 1922 and France in 1924. Italy's decision, therefore, renders Bessarabia finally Rumanian territory.

THE FORTY-FOURTH SESSION of the Council of the League of Nations opened March 7, with Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, presiding.

ALEXANDER F. KERENSKY, who headed the revolutionary government established in Russia after the overthrow of the Tsar, arrived in America early in March for the purpose of studying "American principles of liberty." He also intends to write for American papers on the present Russian situation.

MR. BRIDGEMAN, BRITISH FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, replying to a question in the Commons March 9, announced that it was not intended to lay down any warships of the 1927 program of new construction until late in the year, and until the results of the armaments conference were known. It was

proposed, however, to continue work on the ships now under construction at the same rate of speed as if no naval conference had been called and the invitation accepted.

THE ITALIAN CABINET HAS APPROVED the "organic law for the administration of Cyrenaica and Tripoli," whereby powers of partial self-government granted to them in 1919 are revoked, the natives being restricted to an exclusively consultative rôle in their government.

AN AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE, operated by the government, was favored by the Senate Committee on Commerce in a report presented at the closing hours of Congress. The report states that a majority of the committee does not favor government ownership, but "at least for a considerable time," the committee believes, "the only way to secure an adequate merchant marine under our flag is through the government, and that they are willing to sink their personal preferences to attain an object vital to the public good."

THE JAPANESE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION has sanctioned a plan for the International Children's Friendship Association to solicit one yen from each child in kindergarten and school for the purchase of dolls to be sent to American children in return for their doll gifts to the Japanese. It is expected that the dolls will be ready for shipment to the United States early next spring.

IT IS ANNOUNCED FROM MOSCOW that the first census that has taken place throughout Russia in the past eighteen years has just been completed. The result shows that there are now 145,500,000 persons living within the territory of the Soviet Union.

MEXICO HAS OPENED 500 of the 1,000 rural schools which the Secretariat of Public Education had announced would be established during this year in various parts of the Republic.

BEAM WIRELESS STATIONS are being erected in Australia by the Marconi Company for the Amalgamated Wireless (Anstralasia), Ltd., for direct commercial services to England and Canada. These stations will be available for all classes of overseas telegraph traffic in competition with the cables, and it is stated that the rates to and from England will be lower than the present-day cable rates.

## BOOK REVIEWS

The Reference Shelf, Vol. IV, number 3.  
**MILITARY TRAINING COMPULSORY IN  
 SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.** Compiled by  
*Lamar T. Beman.* Pp. 161. H. W. Wilson  
 Co., 1926. Price, 75 cents.

Nine-tenths of the discussions on military training, at the present moment, seem to be carried on at cross purposes. Terms are often not clearly defined.

Military training is one idea; compulsory military training quite another. Adult military education means one thing, military training in colleges another, and training in secondary schools quite another.

Probably every shade of opinion in this country realizes that the United States is rightly founded on the policy of civil control of the military arm of the government. Probably, too, very few would advocate the immediate abandonment of all military defense by this country.

If, between these two limits, disputants would circumscribe the idea they have in mind and would speak, therefore, in less general terms, differences of opinion would be much less violent than now.

The arguments in this book, while for the most part, clear-cut, do often err on the side of indefiniteness. Arguments against military training are frequently considering chiefly the growing boy, while those on the other side do not answer the plea of the educator, but talk simply of the need of national defense. The two ideas are not necessarily opposed.

Those who use this book for debate material will need to be alert to find just those arguments, which touch the exact phase of the question which they are to defend.

Readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will notice some extracts from articles which have appeared in its pages.

**THE NEW JAPANESE WOMANHOOD.** By *Allen K. Faust, D. D.* Pp. 164. George Doran Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$1.50.

The author of this book is President of Miyagi College for women, in Sendai, Japan.

He has been in Japan for twenty-five years, and for half that time he has been associated with this college. His opportunity for study of the woman question in Japan, therefore, is unusual.

The book states the situation in an illuminating way. The transition from Confucianism in Japan to a system based upon western civilization is tremendously more difficult when applied to the status of woman than to any other phase of Japanese life.

Even in the West the development of woman's domestic, legal and political freedom has taken centuries to reach its present imperfect state. When one considers the historic inferiority of woman in Japan up to the very beginning of the twentieth century, it seems wonderful enough that any progress has been made at all.

Dr. Faust gives careful summaries of customs and laws as they affect women, both in the past and as they have been somewhat revised lately.

Were it not that Japan sees the need of race development, which naturally implies woman culture, the case would look almost hopeless. As it is, there are great strides already made for education of women in the land of the Mikado, and it may well be that another twenty-five years will find Japan well abreast of the rest of the world in woman's status, possibly it may be in the van.

**THE AMERICAN SENATE.** By *Lindsay Rogers.* Pp. 285 and index. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926.

**OUR FEDERAL REPUBLIC.** By *B. Harry Pratt Judson, LL. D.* Pp. 277 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1925. Price, \$3.50.

Mr. Rogers, Professor at Columbia, has had some 12 years' experience as lecturer on political science, diplomatic history, and allied subjects. He has delivered these lectures at various universities, including Virginia, Harvard, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins.

Obviously a strong partisan of the League of Nations and of the political ideas of Woodrow Wilson, he looks upon the constitutional prerogatives of the Senate, at times, with something akin to exasperation. A minority of one-third, plus one, he says, can veto any

action upon great international measures. Furthermore, the Senate, he finds, is not a democratic body. In the case of the Versailles Treaty, Wilson's "solemn referendum" to the people, with its astounding result, was not, he thinks a clear democratic verdict, either.

Mr. Rogers categorically states that he makes no apology if, at times, he seems to have what Byron said Mitford possessed, "complete partiality and a bad temper." Yet the book is a strong book. If the author has not the scientist's spirit of trying to arrive at truth, whatever it may be; if his careful analytical treatment of the nature and work of the Senate is frankly intended to prove a point, he has the fire of conviction, and he comes convincingly near to proving every point.

His thesis, stated by himself, is this: "The undemocratic usurping Senate is the indispensable check and balance in the American system, and only complete freedom of debate permits it to play this rôle."

The danger of closure in the Senate, then, is his topic. On the way to its proof he runs briefly over the Senate as visioned by the founding fathers. Its actual power in appointments, removals, and treaties he illustrates by well-known incidents, most of them recent incidents. In a similar manner he goes into its legislative functions. Closure is the main theme of the remaining chapters. He sees it necessary in so large a body as the House, but, in the case of the Senate, unlimited debate is vital, so that hasty decisions cannot be made, and that the body may be a check on the President, his publicity agents, and a quite unorganized and irresponsible Cabinet.

One lays the book down with a dimmed respect for some aspects of our political foundations, but with the feeling, too, that the critic has been interesting and, if biassed, well informed.

Dr. Judson states, in his book, that ninety-eight joint resolutions for the amendment of the Federal Constitution were introduced in the first session of the sixty-eighth Congress. The vast majority of such resolutions never, of course, get further than reference to committee. No doubt they indicate what is in the minds of some of the people, and it is well for citizens to be interested in public affairs. Yet it is better for the general good that most of these propositions should gradually evaporate into thin air.

The Constitution is primarily a Federal bill of rights. As originally drafted, and up to and including the fourteenth amendment, it adhered to this vital principle, and does not endanger Federal equilibrium. That, at least, is the view of Dr. Judson, President Emeritus of the University of Chicago, who makes this conservative study of the function and tendencies of development in our Constitution.

To read the story of the forming of this plan of government for the United States of America is to be impressed with the strenuous efforts made by the "Fathers," those young, often radical political economists, to maintain a just balance between the powers and rights of the States and those of the Federal Government. Two sharply defined parties gave their best brains to the document and to its working in the formative first years of the Republic.

In succeeding years public sentiment has swung alternately between decentralization and stronger centralizing of powers. Alternately the checks of one upon the other have been to the fore. The time seems to be at hand now, says Dr. Judson, when the people seem to be forgetting that the Constitution should be purely and solely organic law, and should not be amended by legislative provisions, even of a social nature.

Feeling that already too much power and responsibility has been heaped upon the government at Washington, the author scans carefully the original Constitution and each of the amendments.

He does not fail to take into consideration the greater interdependence of States today, and he is far from denying the need of much social legislation, as legislation, both State and Federal. He also affirms that the Constitution is not at all an inflexible body of law of a past age and unalterable today. On the contrary, it is quite flexible and was wisely planned with as little detail as possible.

These details ought to be handled, wherever possible, by the States. Even if uniformity, desirable as it is, be slow, only that uniformity which is freely adopted is wholesome, and liberty is more precious than any single item of desirable legislation.

Such studies as these are invaluable if citizens of our country wish to preserve not only American institutions, but flexibility for growth and workable machinery of government.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes **ADVOCATE OF PEACE**, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

## FEEES

The minimum fees for membership:  
Annual Membership is five dollars;  
Sustaining Membership, ten dollars;  
Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;  
Life Membership is one hundred dollars.  
All memberships include a free subscription to **ADVOCATE OF PEACE**.

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- \* Emeritus.

# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—*e. g.*, addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1899, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forestall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

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\* 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 13, 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) **Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.**

(2) **Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.**



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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5

## THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY MOVING ALONG

SINCE the publication of our April number, the following persons have accepted their elections to the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society:

Honorable E. T. Meredith, Secretary of Agriculture in President Wilson's Cabinet. Mr. Meredith is editor and publisher of *Successful Farming*, *The Dairy Farmer*, and *Better Homes and Gardens*. He is a native of Iowa and resides now in Des Moines. He is a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and a member of the American Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce. He was at one time director of the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank. In 1919 he served as a member of President Wilson's Industrial Conference. In writing to President Burton, Mr. Meredith commented upon the American Peace Society, in part, as follows: "You may be sure that I am heartily in sympathy with the aims of the American Peace Society, as well as the very fine work you are doing."

Honorable Frank White, Treasurer of the United States since May, 1921. He was a member of the North Dakota House of Representatives from 1891 to 1893 and a member of the State Senate from 1893 to 1899. He was Governor of North Dakota from 1901 to 1905. He has specialized in agriculture and banking. He is President of the Middle West Trust Company, Valley City, North Dakota. He served as a commissioned officer in the

Philippines during the Spanish-American War. He was colonel of infantry on duty in France during the World War.

Hon. Edwin P. Morrow, of Somerset, Kentucky, member of the United States Board of Mediation, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. He was United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Kentucky from 1911 to 1915. He was Governor of Kentucky for four years and a member of the United States Labor Board from 1924 to 1926. He served as a commissioned officer in the Spanish-American War.

Others recently added to the Board of Directors, with a brief statement about each, follows:

Hon. John J. Esch, of La Crosse, Wisconsin, now Chairman of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, is a lawyer by profession. He represented the Seventh Wisconsin District in the 56th to the 66th Congresses, from 1899 to 1921. He is, perhaps, most widely known throughout the country because of the "Esch-Cummings Transportation Act."

In accepting the invitation to represent Wisconsin on the Board of the American Peace Society, Mr. Esch wrote to President Burton, in part, as follows: "I feel highly honored in your extending to me this invitation. I shall be pleased to accept it."

Mr. Charles L. Hyde, Sr., is President of the American Exchange Bank of Pierre, South Dakota. He is also President of the First National Life Insurance Company

and Trustee of Yankton College. He is interested in real estate, banking, and cattle-raising.

In accepting the invitation to represent South Dakota on the Board of the American Peace Society, Mr. Hyde wrote Mr. Burton, in part, as follows: "Of course, my sympathies are very strongly in harmony with the aims of the American Peace Society."

Mr. Felix M. McWhirter is President of the People's State Bank of Indianapolis, Indiana. He has served as President of the Indiana Bankers' Association and as President of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce. He is also widely known outside of his own State. He has been for many years a director of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He has been active in the work of the International Chamber of Commerce, having participated in the International Trade Conference out of which grew the International Chamber. He was one of the American delegates at the organization meeting of the Chamber in Paris in 1920. He has attended each subsequent meeting of the Chamber abroad. He was a member of the Special Committee of the Chamber which drafted the now famous "Rome Resolution," which led to the appointment of the Dawes Committee and formed the basis of the present plan under which the Reparations Commission is operating. Notwithstanding the fact of Mr. McWhirter's youth—he was born June 14, 1886—he is also director of the Indianapolis Morris Plan Company, of the Indianapolis Chapter of the American Red Cross, of the Marion County Board of Children's Guardians; he is also member of the Indiana Council of the Boy Scouts of America. He is President of the People's Building Company. He is Indiana civilian aide to the Secretary of War.

In accepting the invitation to represent Indiana on the Board of the American

Peace Society, Mr. McWhirter stated: "For many years I have looked upon the activities of peace societies with a very pronounced feeling of suspicion as to their aims and motives, and I am sorry to say that there are striking evidences of the effectiveness of their purpose to defeat the real peace movements. I take pleasure in associating myself with an organization which does not hold forth as one thing while it seeks to defeat its announced purpose."

Hon. Frank W. Mondell, of Newcastle, Wyoming, is a lawyer by profession. He served in Congress from 1895 to 1897 and from 1899 to 1923. He was majority floor leader in the 66th and 67th Congresses. He was a director of the War Finance Corporation for two years. He was President of the Dry Farming Congress from 1910 to 1915.

In accepting the invitation to represent Wyoming on the Board of the American Peace Society, Mr. Mondell wrote Mr. Burton, in part, as follows: "I appreciate very much the honor of the invitation thus extended. I was at one time a member of the Board of Directors of the Society, but I finally withdrew because I felt that I did not have the time to give to the work which I thought a director should give to an enterprise of this sort." . . .

William Allen White is editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, Emporia, Kansas. Mr. White is known nationally and internationally, as well as in his own State. In 1917 he was sent to France as an observer by the American Red Cross. In 1919 he was a delegate to the Russian Conference at Prinkipo. He is a trustee of the College of Emporia and of the Rockefeller Foundation. He has been a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations since 1925.

In accepting the invitation to represent Kansas on the Board of the Ameri-

can Peace Society, Mr. White wrote to President Burton, in part, as follows: "I shall always be glad to have my name connected with anything that you are sponsoring. I feel deeply the distinction which comes with your suggestion."

### THREE FACTORS IN THE CHINESE SITUATION

**T**HE three outstanding factors in the Chinese situation, and there are many factors, are: first, kaleidoscopic political changes from day to day; second, conflict between Communism and Capitalism; third, an evolving new China.

From this distance it is impossible to follow the happenings in China with any respect for detail. This has been increasingly true since China became a republic, February 12, 1912. The constitution promulgated October 10, 1923, was followed by a *coup d'état*, October 24, 1924. This was followed by a provisional administration a month later, with autocratic powers, under Marshal Tuan Chijui. In October, a year later, elections were held with the purpose of setting up a citizens' conference to determine the form of government and the constitution. But the problems involved in such an undertaking have ended in a civil war, primarily between a series of military war lords in northern China *versus* the nationalistic movement, begun some thirty-five years ago by the Liang Chichao and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a young medical student, in Canton, of the South. The former of these leaders stood for the development of democracy in China by the gradual processes of evolution; the latter by the processes of revolution. Roughly, the former began the right wing of the Nationalist movement in the South, and the latter the left. The struggle between these two wings within the Nationalist movement accounts in part for the highly complicated news dispatches

reaching us now day by day. Changes, rapid changes, make up the picture of contemporary China.

The reason for these rapid changes, however, is due primarily to the divisions of opinion throughout China—not, we suspect, as to the ends in view, but rather as to the methods to be pursued.

In this situation there is no doubt of the influence of the Communists. When the aggressive Dr. Sun Yat-sen asked for assistance from the Great Powers, he received little encouragement. He turned, consequently, to Russia. Russia responded. Michael Borodin, long agent of the Third International, experienced in international matters, became chief adviser at Canton. He took with him Russian aides, experts of various kinds. He went immediately at the business of strengthening the Kuomintang, the political organization of the Nationalist Party, of strengthening the army, and of building up trade unions. Borodin is the successor and exponent of the principles of Sun Yat-sen, but with this difference—he openingly aims with the aid of Russian money and arms, to organize China communistically under the Executive Committee of the Third International. The struggle now, therefore, is between the leaders of Communism on the one hand and the moderates in the Kuomintang on the other. This struggle itself blows hot and blows cold day by day.

There is no doubt of Moscow's influence in the situation. It is very great. In an important sense, Borodin has breathed the breath of life into the Cantonese movement. Moscow improves every opportunity to convince the Chinese that her troubles are due to capitalistic forces, and that the only hope is to supplant them with the beneficent ways of Communism. China must become the dictatorship of the proletariat, the warning runs.

At the moment Borodin is trying to line up the peasants for an agrarian revolution—a very serious business. There is no doubt that the world struggle between the principles of Capitalism and the principles of Communism is pursuing a bloody course in China. The Communists, having failed with their world revolution in the Occident, look with renewed hope now to its success in the Orient.

In our view, the Communists will fail in the Orient. Their achievements in Russia will not commend themselves to the practical-minded Chinese. In spite of Borodin's influence, the Communists are only nominally in control of the army. One reason for this is that deserters from the North and others entering the Southern army equal, if they do not outnumber, the forces trained by Borodin. A writer in the *New York Times* for April 10, 1927, expresses his views thus:

"It seems a legitimate speculation to foresee a consolidation of a unified armed force in China under the ægis of the Canton army, which would be powerful enough to frighten the foreign concessionaries and to handle the internal situation, unless a wildfire of peasant revolt will render such a consolidation impossible and plunge China into the sort of chaos that a determined Communist minority needs for the consummation of its aim.

"The race between these two processes is perhaps the most breath-taking feature of the whole Chinese drama."

But, finally, we firmly believe that China is headed toward a new and better day. She is now in the military phase of that advance. This phase may last a long time. Every friend of China hopes not. Whether the ghastly business be for a long or a short time, it will be followed by those political processes through which the new China will take her equal stand among friendly sister States.

China will remain a republic. She will develop a democratic government. She

will establish her right to self-determination and self-expression. She will achieve political unity, economic efficiency, and, above all, a national consciousness and self-respect, and in her own way. While some nations overemphasize their nationalism, what China seems to need just now is a little more of the spirit "China for the Chinese."

The Chinaman cannot become a radical within any appreciable time. The Chinaman is constitutionally disdainful of extremes. That is one reason why it seems so difficult to achieve even military decision in the present maze of controversies. Furthermore, in spite of the influence of Russia, many of the leaders in China today received their training in the schools of foreign democracies, our own included. The Chinese are out to improve their standing amid the other powers of the world, all of which, with the exception of the Soviet Union, are anti-Communist and anti-radical. The Chinaman knows that so long as outsiders enjoy rights and privileges within China which China does not enjoy abroad, China can have little self-respect. The Chinese inferiority complex is waning. The Chinamen are becoming conscious of their power. China will insist upon the return to her of her lost territories and the abolition of the special privileges on a basis of reciprocity. She is out to do away with unilateral treaties, leased territory, extraterritorial rights, and international concessions. China wishes to work out her own destiny, in accord with her own genius and ability.

Mr. T. Z. Koo, a university graduate, intimately associated with Chinese railways, a man of affairs, closed a recent article upon China with these words, addressed to us in America:

"This great struggle has been brewing for more than three-quarters of a century. At last something definite is beginning to emerge. With you, this struggle may seem a very inconvenient thing,

threatening your investments and opportunities for peaceful trade. With us, it is a life-and-death struggle for ourselves and for our children's children. Their weal and woe for generations to come are being worked out now. I therefore venture to plead with you to have patience with us and to continue to give us your confidence."

Our United States can afford to respond to this plea affirmatively, and with unqualified good will.

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### THE DISEASE IN OUR BONES OF CONTENTION

**L**AW-ABIDING men and women of our country, common folk, confronted with our numerous bones of international contention, are disturbed with a variety of emotions, ranging from inquiry and suspicion to anger and disgust. As soon as they feel that we have buried one of these bones, another is dug up to take its place. The man of common sense considers it all unnecessary, as silly as it is incongruous. "Should we, for example, be jeopardizing the lives of our boys because of property rights in Mexico, Nicaragua, or China?" he asks. There is too much talk, he thinks. There certainly should be some way for human beings to settle at least their disputes over property without so much nonsense. And of course he is quite right.

The trouble is that few seem to see the way out of the mess. Most of us who think we know, it appears, don't. Even the statesmen seem to wander in fogs or to blind themselves with inconsequential matters. They see bones of contention, they expect bones of contention, some of them thrive on bones of contention, and some take bones of contention to be but a part of our natural order of things.

But there is something worse. There is a disease in well-nigh every bone of international contention. Bones of international contention will probably persist

as long as anyone now living survives. Look at the stuff. Analyze it. It is only a congeries of ill will, fear, ignorance, tribal superstitions, and miscalculated interests. Isn't it possible to get at this poison and to eradicate it? We think it is.

Just now, the poison in every one of our bones of international contention is due to one thing. That is this: No one seems to know how far our government should go to protect property and other rights of our citizens in foreign countries. Professor Borchard's article in this number answers the question better than anyone else known to us. But upon this subject all the texts on international law—indeed, all foreign offices—are quite vague. The texts are not to blame. Foreign offices are not to blame. International law is to blame. This means, of course, that we are all to blame.

It is proper under international law that a State should demand for its citizens abroad the protection of their property, but only in accordance with the laws of the State in which such property may happen to be. Every State has the right to decide the rights of foreigners within its limits. Indeed, a State has the right to expel an alien from its territory. But a government's obligations to its citizens abroad are, for the most part, mooted matters. The result is that we too frequently find one person jeopardizing the lives of all.

While it seems to be agreed that under international law a State has a right to make its own law, to exercise its own police power, to regulate aliens and their property, and that aliens are bound to submit to the local processes of law, and that force to protect property rights of citizens in a foreign country is excluded by the Porter-Drago Doctrine—indeed, by the Pan American Conventions of 1901 and 1910—yet the threat of force for

such a purpose is a frequent thing, especially in modern journalism.

The whole trouble is, as pointed out by Professor Borchard, that political rather than legal processes are usually employed. They often dominate.

Our government has no legal right to threaten the use of force for the protection of property rights in Nicaragua, Mexico, China, or elsewhere. A plaintiff State has no right to be judge, jury, and high executioner in its own case, where property rights are involved, simply because it is bigger and stronger than the defendant State. No defendant State should be obliged to submit to unjust demands simply because it is small, weak, and defenseless. No bone of contention between free, sovereign, independent States should present any insuperable difficulty. With due processes of law provided for and judicial machinery available, there is no excuse for an international war. But the processes of law, including adequate judicial machinery, are not sufficiently available. That is the poison in the marrow of our bones of international contention.

Manifestly, the cure for this disease cannot be in the direction of more political machinery. There is political machinery enough. The processes of diplomacy, of mediation, and other political forms of settlement, are amply provided for.

Of course, the ever-abiding need is for a more intelligent public opinion. Political machinery, if intelligently—that is to say, simply—set up, can be useful. It can never take the place, however, of intelligent direction. Intelligent direction depends upon an intelligent people. As pointed out by James Hartley Beal in the *Constitutional Review* of April, 1927, “any form of political organization that can be devised will, when left to itself, inevitably degenerate into a machine to serve the private interests of those who

are in charge of its operation and the interests of those who keep it in power.” Political machinery can be serviceable, but within a limited area. Within our States we do not delegate the ultimate control of our rights to political bodies. Thoughtful men in the United States are greatly disturbed at the increasing concentration of authority in governmental agencies. For them it seems to spell the doom of personal liberty and individual initiative. But they do not advocate the abolition of all political processes. They do, however, welcome every effort to promote the processes of justice.

And it is the firmer establishment of the principles of justice that makes up the medicine for our international disease. This is not primarily a political, but a judicial matter.

It is evident that judicial ways of settling international disputes are as much in need of an educated public opinion as political methods, and yet political events, especially in the international field, get the major part of publicity. People seem to be less interested in the slower, less spectacular processes of justice. When an arbitrator hands down a decision at The Hague affecting an interpretation of the Dawes Plan little, if anything, is said about it in the press. Public opinion is little affected.

And yet this form of settlement is the most important thing facing our contentious world. Since human beings have evolved judicial settlement as their best means of protecting their rights in the last analysis—indeed, since States have thus found it possible to settle their disputes finally and to the satisfaction of all parties, and since they have found no better way by which to achieve justice, either between persons or between States—it is not unreasonable to say that the extension of judicial settlement is the supreme need of States. In that way lies the future peace of the world, because in that man-

ner, and in that manner only, can acceptable decisions affecting certain vital interests be reached and issues ended. The cure for the disease in our bones of international contention is a further injection of the due processes of law, mixed with larger and larger amounts of intelligence and good will.

### TRIALS OF THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

**D**IFFICULTIES facing the Preliminary Conference on Arms, meeting in Geneva, are probably insurmountable. One reason for this is the fact that Russia is outside the conference. It is difficult to imagine countries close to Russia agreeing to any plan for the reduction of their armaments without at the same time affecting the military strength of Russia. Another reason for doubting the success of the conference is the persisting feeling of nervous ill-will still prevalent rather generally throughout Europe.

Amid these renewed efforts to solve the problem of burdensome armaments the chief weakness, however, lies principally in the method of approach. To bring about any general and effective reduction of armies and navies, there must first be a disarmament of policy. The difficulties besetting the Geneva Conference and reported from day to day are practically all due to the fact that the powers have the cart before the horse.

That these difficulties are numerous need cause no surprise. They are numerous. The State Department is cluttered with tons of reports setting them forth. It is all as unfortunate as it is unnecessary. While the British and the French, for example, might be brought to an agreement upon policies which would naturally lead to an agreement on the reduction of war machines, it is not reasonable to expect them to agree upon matters of land, sea, and air equipment in the first in-

stance. Beginning the other way is to compound the darkness.

For example, when the British propose to limit reserves, France objects. France believes that there can be no effective limitation of land armaments without taking into consideration the industrial and commercial resources of a country. To this neither the United States nor Great Britain agrees. Britain thinks it would be well, in the case of naval armament, to limit tonnage, the number of ships by categories, the caliber of navy guns and of torpedoes. The French reject this and argue for the limitation of naval armaments on the basis of "global tonnage"; that is to say, by granting to each nation a specific total tonnage with the understanding that each government would then be free to develop its tonnage in the different classes of ships as it may see fit. The objection to this "global tonnage" plan is that for each battleship of thirty thousand tons, considered necessary by such navy powers as Britain and the United States, France might build approximately twenty-five submarines. The same might be true of Italy. Furthermore, Britain and France can't agree upon a principle for the reduction of aircraft; too, the British argue that the limitation of military expenses should be subject only to the principle of publicity. The French contend that military budgets should be limited. The British hold that the carrying out of any agreement can rest only on mutual confidence and respect for treaty obligations, with the possibility of referring any dispute to some form of an international tribunal. But the French stand for a permanent commission with *quasi* powers of investigation and control.

Then, too, the Geneva Conference is embarrassed by the possibilities of regional agreements outside of the purview of the men in Geneva. The Japanese,

for example, take the stand that Britain, the United States, and Japan should be left free to go ahead with their three-power naval agreements. Italy does not wish to be hampered in any way in her attempts to develop armaments adequate to her needs. The Coolidge proposal bulks important in many of the discussions. And so it goes.

In the meantime the Interparliamentary Union plans at its conference in Paris next August to discuss the whole question of armaments. But this does not appear to us as particularly hopeful. One result of the Geneva Conference is that the whole problem has passed from unofficial speculations to official considerations. Unofficial action on the part of the Interparliamentary Union or other body might prove to be more embarrassing than helpful. If the Preparatory Commission, rather contrary at the moment to expectations, should agree upon a program for a subsequent conference on the reduction of armaments, the Interparliamentary Conference might well discuss such a program. Heretofore certain members of the Interparliamentary Union have rather leaned toward the French theory of some form of international investigation, supervision, or control of armaments; some of them to the view that budgets are a fair measure of armed strength. Of course, the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union would be opposed to these plans. It seems to be the American view that artificial agreements are not particularly promising as means of equalizing material war powers. President Coolidge's proposal shows that our government leans to the possibilities of limiting land and air armaments by regional agreement, and to the view that political factors are more important than economic conditions in the promotion of such an agreement. It is probable that the United States would be opposed to the limitation of private aircraft. Our gov-

ernment could not constitutionally accept any plan for the international supervision of the administration of an agreement limiting armaments. In any event, the whole matter is now in a condition of flux, beset with many difficulties, and in the hands of the governments. Of course, the members of the Interparliamentary Union are aware of all this and will conduct themselves accordingly.

It cannot be repeated too often that any hopeful measures for the reduction of armaments must begin in the realm of policy. In the earlier stages disarmament of policy will be a political matter having to do with treaties and other agreements. In its later phases it will have to do with arbitration and judicial settlement. After these matters have been measurably agreed upon and put into practice, then, and not until then, the reduction of armaments may be reasonably expected, for then the reduction will follow as a matter of course. This is the slower and more difficult way, but it is the surer, safer, more promising course.

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### IS THE PORTER-DRAGO DOCTRINE DEAD?

WE ARE as morally responsible under the Porter-Drago Doctrine as under the Monroe Doctrine. In the light of our problems, especially in Mexico, Nicaragua, and China, it is well to remind ourselves of this fact. This doctrine received extended and careful attention by the delegates of over forty nations in The Hague Conference of 1907, and after most careful phrasing it was accepted by the conference without change. The text of the doctrine as adopted reads:

"In order to prevent armed conflicts between nations, of a purely pecuniary origin, growing out of contract debts claimed from the government of one country by the government of another country as due to its nationals, the signatory powers agree not to resort to armed force for



the collection of such contract debts.

"This stipulation, however, shall not apply when the debtor State rejects or ignores a proposal of arbitration, or, in case of acceptance, makes it impossible to establish the *compromis*, or, after arbitration, fails to comply with the award.

"It is further agreed that the arbitration here considered shall conform to the procedure provided by Chapter III of the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, adopted at The Hague, and that it will determine, in so far as the parties should not have agreed thereupon, the validity and the amount of the debt and the time and mode of settlement."

This doctrine was signed in the form of a convention at The Hague October 18, 1907. Its evident purpose was to avoid armed conflicts of a pecuniary origin arising from contract debts, which may be claimed from the government of one country by the government of another country as due to one of its citizens.

The signing of this convention was heralded over the world as of prime importance. It was Convention No. two in a series of thirteen, considered second only to the historic Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. It is an interesting fact that this convention was ratified by both Mexico and the United States on the same day, November 27, 1909, Mexico without reservations, and by the United States with the reservation that recourse to the Permanent Court should be had only by agreement through treaties of arbitration concluded between the parties in dispute. It was adhered to by China, January 15, 1910, without reservations. Nicaragua adhered, December 16, 1909, with the reservation that in the case of debts arising from ordinary contracts recourse shall be had to arbitration only in the specific case of a denial of justice by the courts of the country where the contract was made; and with the further reservation that public loans secured by bond issues and constitut-

ing the national debt "shall in no case give rise to military aggression or the material occupation of the soil of American nations."

No nation with which this country is now in controversy has failed to ratify the convention setting forth the Porter-Drago Doctrine. The pertinence of this to our present situation is that property rights of our nationals in Mexico, China, or Nicaragua constitute no justification for our armed intervention for the recovery of contract debts alleged to be due any of our citizens in those countries, unless the debtor State refuses an offer by us to submit a given case to arbitration. There is no principle more clearly defined for us than this.

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## CHILE

**F**RRIENDS of South America are somewhat disturbed by the situation in Chile. Since the failure of the attempt to settle the Tacna-Arica dispute and the passing of President Alessandri, the political weather has not been altogether balmy in Chile. In February, upon the demand of Colonel Carlos Ibañez, Minister of War, the cabinet resigned, "so that a strong government may be formed to combat Bolshevism." Upon the "request of the President," Colonel Ibañez, for some time the real power in Chile, backed by the army and largely by the navy, formed a new cabinet. President Figueroa Larrain, at the request of his friends, announced that he would remain in office under the Ibañez premiership. Officials stated that the new government would stand opposed to the continuance of negotiations over Tacna-Arica and wage war "without quarter" against the opposition and the Communists.

It proceeded to act vigorously. February 23, Manuel Rivas Vicuña, former Minister of the Interior, a prominent figure in Chilean national life for years

and one of the editors of the most important paper, *Mercurio*, was ordered to leave the country at once. He is now residing in Washington. Five prominent deputies, senators, and newspapermen were then arrested. The government ordered the suspension of all Communist papers. The editor of *Diario Ilustrado*, who had opposed Ibañez, was arrested, in spite of the fact that his paper has been strong against Communism. The government exiled the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals. February 27 nineteen of the most prominent men of Chile were sent out of the country by steamer. Not altogether a happy February for Chile.

The month of March was not much better. At the opening of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice complained of certain occurrences as reflecting upon the judiciary, a charge aimed at the government. But hundreds of other persons were arrested and many prominent men deported. Some three hundred Communists, with their families, were sent to the island of Mas Afuera, five hundred miles west of Valparaiso, an island wholly without settlements. They were allowed to take building materials, domestic animals, and seeds. It was reported that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile believes the first thing to do is to clear up the Tacna-Arica mess and let the United States of America out of its impasse. When asked what Chile would do with these territories, he said, "Keep 'em." On the 18th of March the government removed all priests, teachers of classes of religion in the public schools, and chaplains, from government positions. This was done, it should be added, however, under the provisions of the Constitution of 1925, separating the church and the State. March went out like a lion, for at the end of the month the government was not only deporting Soviets; it was abolishing the positions of commercial attaché in some twenty-four legations.

The month of April seems to have had

no soothing effect upon Mr. Ibañez's fervid activities. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, brother of the President, refused to resign. He was arrested. Since Chile has no vice-president, Ibañez is both Prime Minister and acting President. This very influential gentleman declared the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to be vacant. The Chief Justice is now in Germany. Ibañez demanded the resignation of the Minister to London, the distinguished Mr. Mathieu. April 8 the cabinet signed a decree practically exiling the President. He is now enjoying a "vacation." Ibañez continued his rather wholesale demands for the resignations of ministers and consuls, announcing that his tasks were very great, but that his work had only just commenced. Since he is only forty-nine years of age, born of a sturdy farmer stock, and thoroughly trained in the military school, it is fair to presume that he will be an interesting factor in Chilean life for some time to come.

It should be noted that perhaps his most important act was the dissolving of the nitrates producers' trust, a step affecting the whole financial world. The dissolution of the trust means competition in sales, giving the advantage to the large producer. Since nitrates provide about 80 per cent of the government source of supplies, this move is of prime importance. The large producer will now be able to lower prices and to meet the competition of synthetic nitrates. It may be that Ibañez has thus killed the goose that lays the golden egg, for the lower export taxes will decrease the government income.

The fact is that Chile is another country now in the hands of a dictator. This dictator has dealt with veterans in the public service rather ruthlessly, quite in the manner of Mr. Mussolini. First Minister of War, then Minister of Interior, then Prime Minister, he is now supreme. As pointed out by *La Prensa*, of New York, "In the French Revolution they

decreed 'death to thieves' . . . The dictators of today aim their first shots at the incompetent, the immoral, and those who retard the progress of public service. And the bureaucrats' heads fall thick and fast."

It is difficult, however, for the old friends of Ambassador Beltran Mathieu, so long and favorably known in Washington, to understand his dismissal as Minister to Great Britain. Perhaps it is a part of the plan to inject new blood into the positions left vacant by the veterans of the old régime. It is an indication of the dangerous rôle Mr. Ibañez is playing. Chile is faced with the most critical period of her history. The hopeful factor in the premises is the restraint and moderation of the people. The situation is wholly Chilean. Where there have been protests they have been presented with restraint and sobriety. Love and respect for the fatherland are apparent everywhere. That is why, probably, we have heard so little in this country of the desperate struggle. Not the least hopeful of the factors in the situation is the quiet patriotism with which the discharged veterans are submitting to their fate. We have heard little criticism even from the exiles.

### IS CYNICISM CONQUERING OUR YOUTH?

**T**HERE are evidences that our youth are succumbing to the contagion of cynicism and pessimism. The orgy of crimes, especially in our larger cities, is in the main the handiwork of youth. Suicides in our schools and colleges are receiving considerable publicity. A great deal is being said about the immorality of youth. Leaders of churches, especially Protestant churches, seem to be unusually concerned about our boys and girls. The impression seems to be that Leopardi and Schopenhauer are occupying the boards to the ex-

clusion of our Matthew Arnolds, not to mention the Christian religion.

And yet the drabs in the picture are probably oversplashed. The lowering of athletic records day after day must indicate an improvement of the racial stock. The constant raising of standards in our universities is accepted by larger and larger bodies of students. Every college dean known to the writer is enthusiastic about his boys. The president of Yale University looks upon the college youth of today as "good kids." Recently Rev. Herbert A. Jump, of the college church at the University of Michigan, has informed the readers of *The Congregationalist* of a "College Students' Creed" adopted unanimously a short time ago by a party of forty undergraduates of the University. The creed is in itself a refutation of much of the criticism heaped increasingly upon our youth.

The creed, according to Dr. Jump, reads:

#### Belief in Youth

"We believe in the right-mindedness of youth. If we do not obey all the traditions of an earlier generation, we hope to bequeath, nevertheless, as wholesome a set of ideals to our children as was passed on to us.

"We suspect that we are, on the whole, less addicted to the mild falsehoods of conventionality, less guilty of the habitual hypocrisies of self-satisfied piety, than some of our forefathers.

"We know that the deepest truths by which we live are not new with us, but have always been in the world. We are trying, however, to translate them into real words and real deeds, suited to life in this year of our Lord.

"Meanwhile we do not want to be charged with neglect of the ancient validity of these principles because we choose to amend the customs in which these truths formerly expressed themselves."

#### Belief in Authority

"We believe in authority and cannot conceive of a solid social order without

the universal practice of the virtue of obedience.

"The authority of the past over the present, however, we do not admit. The authority of a majority to extinguish or assassinate a minority after it has outvoted the minority we do not admit. The authority of thoughtless habit we do not admit.

"But the authority of an intelligent conscience, corrected by wise reference to the mind and judgment of an intelligent public, we do admit. Him we call a sinner who violates the behests of this imperial conscience.

"The authority of scientific conclusions based on wide study of evidence we admit.

"The authority of inner and mystic influences coming either from the divine without or the subconscious within we admit.

"That many a conflict between these various authorities may come to pass does not surprise us. But out of these conflicts we believe that progress is born."

#### Belief in Spiritual Religion

"We believe in spiritual religion. By this we mean a deference to, and a reverence in the face of, a world of invisible realities.

"That this world of invisible realities abides in the being of a personal and infinite Spirit is a part of our faith, hard as it may be to pass on that conviction to one who does not already possess it.

"Traditional religion rich in forms and ceremonies and scriptures and codes of conduct interests us historically, but does not command us.

"The Church helps us to obtain spiritual religion when it is psychologically modern and ethically honest, but it offers us no assistance when it remains blind to the present economic injustices of society or encourages men to feel that they can come close to God by the use of sacred phrases on Sunday when on Monday those same lips deal with business lies or announce doctrines of unfraternal industrial tyranny.

"Jesus is to us an adequate leader and example. Many of his so-called followers and his so-called churches seem to have but slight acquaintance with the heart of his Gospel. But we hope to be of help in

making the institution of Christianity more Christlike.

"The Bible becomes more lovely to us as it becomes less magically supernatural.

"The law of love is difficult to apply, but our definition of a follower of Jesus is: a man who is trying to learn love and striving to practice love."

#### Belief in Evolution

"We believe in evolution. The infinite Spirit is overruling the course of time for high ends and for moral goals. Every aspiring soul is part of the force that will ultimately bring success to this evolutionary process. Every selfish soul is part of the opposition to be overcome by the forces of light.

"We consecrate ourselves to a following of the gleam, an imitating of Jesus, and a befriending of every human brother. Our prayers and our living we devote to the service of the greatest good to the greatest number. Thus we hope to be of use to man and acceptable unto the God who made us."

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### CREATIVE WORK AMONG THE NEGROES

NOT only our readers abroad, but those of our own country will be interested in the second annual awards by the Harmon Foundation for the achievement of Negroes in music, fine arts, sciences, business organization, and religious work. This Foundation, with headquarters at 140 Nassau Street, New York City, recently announced its second series of awards. It appears that Mr. Harmon offers \$4,000 in recognition of outstanding accomplishments among colored people. The awards are administered by Dr. George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

Seven first awards of \$400, with gold medals, and the same number of second awards of \$100, with bronze medals, will be given in the fields of literature, music, fine arts, business including industry,

science including invention, education, and religious service. Both white and colored persons are eligible for an eighth award of \$500, with a gold medal, which will be given to the individual making the most distinctive contribution during the year to the betterment of relations between the two races. As no music award was made in 1926, the fund in this field may be used this year, should the judges decide contributions merit such added recognition. It may be distributed by increasing the amounts of the first and second awards or by duplicating them.

Nominations and applications will be received by Dr. Haynes at 105 East 23d Street, New York, until August 15. Successful candidates will be named on or about January 1, 1928, and awards will be presented on Lincoln's Birthday, 1928.

"It is hoped by the Harmon Foundation" (said Dr. Haynes) "that in bringing public recognition to the exceptional accomplishments of colored people their achievement may be given a degree of distinction which has not been possible heretofore. The results of the first year of the series, which just closed, were most encouraging, in that such talent was discovered as that of Palmer C. Hayden, the artist whose fine paintings were executed in a small room in New York's Greenwich Village in the free hours he had from his work as a house-cleaner; James C. Evans, a former student of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose findings in radio were considered valuable contributions to science, and others who gave constructively to the various fields of endeavor.

"We are not trying to develop a contest for prizes, and for that reason the judges will not make award on the basis of the best submission in a given field, but only when an entry compares favorably with the finest achievement of its kind and is of national significance."

Poetry, short story, essay, book, newspaper editorial, or a play, all of which, except for the manuscript of a book, must have been previously published, may be

entered for the award in literature. The field in music includes song scores, instrumental scores for single instruments or ensemble, oratorios, and operas.

Painting, sculpture, drawing, engraving, modeling, or architecture are possible for nomination for the award in fine arts. The field of business, including industry, covers creative achievements in agriculture, manufacturing, mechanical and commercial enterprises; but, since group service through business leadership is the end sought, monetary results will be considered incidental by the judges. Achievements in any of the physical, biological, or social sciences or inventions of proven utility or promise may be entered for the award in science, including invention.

The field of education covers contributions to educational philosophy, organization, content, method or practice, and educational publicity. Unusual accomplishments in religious education, organization, or social service will be received for award in religion.

Five judges, persons of recognized standing in the type of work to be passed upon, will consider nominations and applications in each field of award. At least one of the judges in each field will be a Negro.

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**T**HE World Economic Conference will be reported at first hand for the readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. This Conference, called by the League of Nations, will begin its sessions on May 4. There will be at the Conference a strong American delegation, consisting of Mr. H. M. Robinson, Mr. Norman Davis, President O'Leary, of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Director Julius Klein, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and Dr. Alonzo Taylor. Banking, commerce, and agriculture are thus represented on the American delega-

tion by outstanding figures in each field. It might have been better if industry and labor were also represented, since the Conference is going to deal prominently with the question of production. Nevertheless, the American delegation will undoubtedly have a good deal to contribute to the Conference. The work of the Conference will be reported for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* by its Associate Editor, Mr. Leo Pasvolksy, who is now in Geneva and will attend the sessions.

**E**VERY lover of fair play hopes that the French lenders to Russia prior to 1916 will get their money back. During April M. Anatole de Monzie presided in Paris as the Minister of Foreign Affairs at plenary sittings marking the resumption of Franco-Russian negotiations. M. Rakowsky, Soviet Ambassador to France, headed the Soviet delegation. It is recalled that at the time the conference was suspended in July, 1926, the Soviet delegation had offered annual payments of sixty-five million gold francs on account of interest on the Russian debt to France, but the offer was not accepted, on the ground that that would be too great a reduction from the four hundred million francs which were yearly paid until 1916 by the Tsarist Government.

**A**MERICAN investments abroad together make up one of the major outstanding facts of international importance. Negotiations are under way for the flotation in the American market of foreign loans aggregating \$775,700,000, according to a study just concluded by Dr. Max Winkler, vice-president of Moody's Investors' Service. This figure is materially below the 1926 total and would seem to be at variance with views held by Secretary Hoover, who, according to a recent Washington dispatch, "expects American foreign loans during 1927

to continue in somewhat the same large volume as these investments were made during the last year."

Of the total, Dr. Winkler expects Europe to account for \$378,500,000, Latin America for about \$377,200,000, and the Far East for \$20,000,000. In the event that present negotiations should be successful, the total foreign financing for the current year will aggregate over \$1,000,000,000.

**T**HE Soviet Government during the month of April published its reply to the Italian note, announcing Italy's ratification of the Rumanian protocol annexing Bessarabia. The Soviet reply said in part: "The ratification by Italy precisely at this moment, which in the world's opinion is clouded by threats of war, is likely to aggravate these conditions and to upset the peace of Europe." This note, presented to the Italian Ambassador in Moscow, repeated the contention that the annexation of Bessarabia was "a barefaced violation of the rights of self-determination," and that it was concluded in Paris in 1920, "without the participation of Russia, without a plebiscite in Bessarabia, and that it is therefore without legal value and a brutal violation of the principles of peaceful adjustments in eastern Europe." Our own view is that the Bessarabia situation is but one of many evidences of the short-sightedness of the peacemakers in Paris.

**C**OLLEGE professors are sometimes stimulating correspondents. There is a letter before us from one of them which contains the following:

"I am not too well satisfied with your attitude toward the World Court. The only way peace can be assured will be by agreeing to leave every cause of difference to a court. Moreover, even if we do not go into the court, yet the way to outlaw

wars is to provide that nations that have a court and do not abide by its decisions shall receive no help or assistance from us (at any rate, pending action by Congress), and that the President shall enforce this.

"Even if court decisions are unjust—they will be occasionally—it is better than a free fight.

"I am afraid our State Department is playing into the Bolshevik hands as to Mexico. I happen to know more copper mining men than oil men. The former seem quite content with the government. It would be a fine stroke if we should offer to leave the oil questions to Brazil (or the Pope) or some Latin power. However, I am no partisan of any plan or even of the League. All I ask is a cordial attitude to the League."

**T**HE aggregate amount of saving deposits in Austrian banks has passed one billion shillings, or \$143,000,000. The increase from December 31 till January 31 was more than 45,000,000 shillings and about one-fifth of the total savings are hoarded up in the Central Savings Bank of the city of Vienna.

If one keeps in mind that this latter institute is a Socialist establishment, one finds that the Austrian Socialists have a remarkable partiality for capital, which theoretically they profess to fight.

**A**NOTHER evidence of the growing interest in international co-operation is the recent announcement of an "Institute of World Unity," with a lecture program and with discussion groups, directed by a well-known college professor in the summer community of Greenacre, Eliot, Maine.

The purpose of the institute, according to the statement, is to "make available to the general public, through the medium of a summer school, those findings of modern science and philosophy which tend to supply a new basis for faith in the possibility of human brotherhood and world co-operation. The contributions

and discoveries of the scientist making for a new ethics of mutual understanding and capable of vitalizing the idealism formerly nurtured by theology will be outlined by eminent authorities."

The program for the first season of the institute follows: August 1 to 6 daily lectures by Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, of Princeton University, on "Nationalism and Internationalism." August 8 to 13, lectures by Prof. John Herman Randall, Jr., of Columbia University, on "The Making of the Modern Mind." August 15 to 20, Prof. S. L. Joshi, of Dartmouth College, will lecture on "Comparative Religions." August 22 to 27, lectures on "Science and Religion" will be delivered by Dr. Kirtly F. Mather, of Harvard University. August 29 to September 3, Prof. William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, will give a course on "The Relations of East and West."

**M.** BRIAND, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, issued, on April 6, a remarkable proposal to the people of the United States. In this statement M. Briand addressed himself to the "living reality of a policy of peace" upon which the United States and France are "morally in full agreement." He said frankly that "France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any neutral engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries." While any such renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, to be effective, depends upon our Department of State and our United States Senate, it is important that this proposal should receive the widest possible attention throughout our country. We approve further M. Briand's opinion that "These two great friendly nations . . . would furnish to the world the best illustration of the truth that the immediate aim to be obtained is not so much disarmament as the practical application of peace itself."

# WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

## THE CHINESE CRISIS

**T**HE capture of Shanghai by the Nationalist troops may be regarded as the high-water mark of achievement on the part of the Cantonese movement, at least for the time being. Since that momentous event, the movement has been exhibiting signs of internal dissension which has so far precluded the possibility of its further development. This disclosure of the internal weakness of the movement has been particularly prominent in connection with the activities of the Communist groups within the movement.

### Communist Bid for Power

For some months past there has been a growing tension between the Communist and the moderate groups within the executive committee of the Kuomintang, or the Nationalist party, which controls and manages the Cantonese movement. The Communists, supported strongly by Michael Borodin, the Russian adviser to the Cantonese Government, were becoming more and more intransigent, until at the end of February things finally came to a head. It was decided by the various factions of the Kuomintang executive to hold a plenary session, and the moderates insisted that the meeting take place at Nanchang. The Communists, on the other hand, insisted on Hankow, their stronghold, as the place for the meeting. The principal opposition to the Communist proposal came from General Chiang Kai Shek, the commander-in-chief of the army, and, since no agreement could be reached, the conference was not held.

Following the failure of these negotiations, the Communists began a violent campaign against Chiang Kai Shek. A flood of circulars began to be poured out, in which Chiang was accused of being a "neo-militarist worse than Chang Tso-lin," and of having amassed a fortune of millions of dollars, and being, therefore,

now opposed to Communism. "Because of his opposition, Chiang Kai-shek," it was declared, "should be hated as much as Chang Tso-lin, and all laborers should rise against him."

At the same time, the Communists, on their own initiative, called a conference of the executive committee at Hankow and declared it the plenary session of the Kuomintang executive. The other groups not being present, the Communists proceeded to reorganize the executive committee with themselves in control.

### Communist Reorganization

At the Hankow meeting resolutions were passed providing for a complete reorganization of the Nationalist Government. These resolutions were as follows:

Provincial and special districts, as also Chinese citizens resident in foreign countries, elect delegates to the annual Nationalist congress of the Kuomintang; the annual Nationalist congress elects a Central Committee of the Kuomintang numbering 35 members; plenary sittings of this committee take place every three months. The Central Committee elects a political bureau of nine members and six candidates; appoints a War Council of 16 members and a special committee of 28 members, which committee deals with questions outside the sphere of competence of the Ministers of the Nationalist Government.

The Central Committee appoints the following ministers: Foreign Affairs, Justice, Finance, Transport, and Labor. The Plenum has appointed the following ministers: Labor, Hsu Shao-chen; Industry, Dr. Kun; Agriculture, Tang Pin-slang.

The War Council controls all land, naval, and aerial armed forces as well as all questions of their equipment, training, and supplies. The plans of the War Council have to be ratified by the Central Committee. The War Council consists of the following members: Chang Kai-shek, Tan Yen-kai, Feng Yu-hsiang, Tang Sheng-chi, Chen Chin, Li Chung-jen, Ho Ying-yin, Li Chi-sen, Chu Pei-



tek, Chang Fang-kuai. The civilian members of the War Council are: Wang Ching-wei, Sun Fo, Kuo Ming-chin, Sun Tsen-pen, Sui Chen, Tang Yien-tai. The presidium of the War Council is composed of the following members: Wang Ching-wei, Tang Yien-kai, Chiang Kai-shek, Tang Sheng-chi, and Cheng Chin. The meetings of the War Council are to be held every fortnight; its resolutions are given validity by the signature of four members. The appointment and dismissal of the commander-in-chief, the chief of staff, and corps commanders have to be ratified by the central committee.

Thus under the Communist reorganization the Nationalist movement became an almost exact replica of the Russian Soviet system.

#### Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communists

One of the first actions of the new Kuomintang executive was to depose Chiang Kai-shek from the important post of the President of the Political Bureau. The commander-in-chief was told bluntly to devote himself solely to army affairs and to leave the government to civilians.

At first Chiang Kai-shek accepted the situation, but before long he changed his attitude of passive acquiescence with the Hankow group to one of active opposition to them. Together with all the moderate elements in the Nationalist movement, he had been watching with growing apprehension the line of activity pursued by the Communists, and his apprehension at last led him to rise in arms against his former friends.

Acting under orders from Moscow, the Chinese Communists have been pursuing more and more insistently two lines of policy: the creation of utter chaos through a rapid spread of peasant uprisings, and the bringing about of conditions in which they would be able to confiscate foreign property in China. Both of these lines of policy would clearly bring China to a most unfortunate situation.

These developments at the seat of the government prevented Chiang Kai-shek from following up his brilliant victories in the Yangtse by further military advances. On the contrary, he had to turn his attention to the political situation and is now engaged in an attempt to wrest the control of the movement from Communist hands.

## COMMITTEE AT GENEVA ON CODIFICATION OF LAW

THE Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law has concluded its sessions at Geneva, according to a statement by the League of Nations recently received among other League documents by the Department of State.

The committee recommends that at least one more conference be held to consider questions which seem ripe for solution, and it is also decided to send out questionnaires on the subjects of "commissions to take evidence," "the legal status of consuls," "the classification of diplomatic agents," and "the competence of courts in regard to foreign States."

The summary of the work of the committee, prepared by the League of Nations and received at the Department of State, follows in full text:

GENEVA, April 2, 1927.

The Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law finished the work of its third session today. This work may be summarized as follows:

1. The committee examined replies from 30 governments on subjects submitted for their opinion as ripe for codification. These subjects are: Nationality, territorial waters, diplomatic privileges and immunities, legal status of ships owned by the State and used for trade, extradition and criminal jurisdiction of States with regard to crimes perpetrated outside of their territories, responsibility of States for damages suffered within their territories by foreigners, procedure of international conferences and the conclusion and drafting of treaties, suppression of piracy, exploitation of the produce of the sea.

In its report to the Council the committee, in view of the fact that these questions seem ripe for solution in the near future by means of international agreements, recommends the convocation of one or more conferences. It prepared a special report on the procedure which might be followed in the preparation for such conferences.

2. At its preceding session the committee decided that a certain number of subjects which had been studied by its subcommittees should be embodied in questionnaires to be addressed to governments for their opinions.

These questionnaires concerned were the communication in criminal matters of judicial and other documents; commissions to take evidence; the legal status of consuls; the classification of diplomatic agents; competence of courts in regard to foreign States.

The Netherlands Government having added to the agenda the question of future conferences on international private law, the nationality of commercial concerns, and the recognition of the legal status of foreign business houses, the committee decided to submit to the Council special reports on these subjects.

3. Three other questions were for various reasons postponed until the next session of the committee, namely: The legal status of private, non-profit making, international associations and private international foundations; conflict of laws in matters of domicile and limitation.

No further questions were referred to the subcommittee.

The committee finally drew up an opinion requested by the Council with regard to the admissibility of reservations to international conventions.

The date of the next session will be fixed later.

## WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN WORLD TRADE

THE National Foreign Trade Council has recently shown what might have been the conditions in world trade had it not been for the war. It indicates that the world has fallen short of the total amount of the merchandise exports it would have added to international trade by many billions. Their statement follows.

The world has fallen short by more than \$210,000,000,000 of the total of the merchandise exports it would have added to international trade if it had not been for the economic dislocation that accompanied and has followed the World War.

Complete figures for 1925 for the nations who do more than 90 per cent of the world's export trade shows that now, for the first time since the war, international exports are at par again. These 72 nations had an export trade in 1913 valued at \$19,466,300,000. Last year the corresponding figure stood at \$20,118,000,000, after reducing the \$30,215,200,000 worth

of trade actually reported to the 1913 buying power of the dollar. Since 1913 it has thus taken twelve years to bring a 3.4 per cent increase in the actual value of exports circulating in the world.

What world trade would have been had there been no war may be judged by the rate of advance in export trade that steadily progressed from 1900 to 1913. During those years, allowing for the inflation of gold, the annual growth in world exports was a little over 6 per cent. Had this growth continued, the world would have been doing \$41,500,000,000 of export trade at 1913 values instead of \$19,950,000,000, the actual figures. At 1925 dollar values it would have done \$62,100,000,000 instead of just over \$30,000,000,000, the actual figures.

Foreign trade has thus not filled the gap by half between the normal extent to which it would have satisfied the growing demand of human wants, had there been no war, and the extent to which it actually has met them. The accumulated shortages of these twelve years amount to the staggering total of \$210,000,000,000 at 1925 gold values, ten times our national debt, or \$140,000,000,000 at 1913 values.

World trade has now accelerated its pace to fill this gap. Instead of a 6 per cent increase, world exports have been gaining more than 10 per cent annually for the past three years. But the world will have to increase its exports at this rate yearly for more than thirty years to make up for the ground lost during the war. Even the United States, which gained almost 32 per cent in real exports since 1913 and has made the greatest gain of all nations in volume of trade acquired, is still more than \$2,000,000,000 behind the export trade it would have had if the pre-war gain had been uninterrupted.

The moral of these facts is that American foreign traders still have an immense service to the world ahead of them in helping to make up the shortage of necessary goods which the artificial war deflation of world needs has caused. We are still at least ten years short of catching up with our own normal foreign trading toward that end, and the rest of the world is a full generation in arrears.

The table showing how 72 nations of the world distributed these gains and

losses reveals a striking shake-up in 1913 alignments of trade power. Europe now holds but 49 per cent of the world's export trade beside the 62 per cent she did then. Her shortage is more than 18 per cent from her 1913 actual exports. This loss is weighted by a  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent deficit among the 14 nations of eastern Europe, but is gravely affected by the 14 per cent deficit still shown among the 13 much more important trading nations of western Europe.

As Europe has shrunk as an export continent, English-speaking North America has risen by 40 per cent, Latin North America and the West Indies by 52 per cent, and South America by  $5\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. Asia's increase is greatest of all,  $52\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; Australasia has expanded its exports by  $45\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and Africa by 45 per cent.

All these gains were not sufficient to make up the deficit caused by Europe, had it not been for the immense gains of Canada and the United States, by 40 per cent, which have added \$1,184,000,000 to the real values of world export trade since 1914.

The largest total gain of any country was made by the United States, with \$789,000,000, or a total of export trade  $31\frac{3}{4}$  per cent greater than that of 1913. Other countries in the world which have made remarkable gains are Yugoslavia, with an increase of \$78,000,000, or 339 per cent; British Malaya, with an increase of \$278,000,000, or 140 per cent; the Philippines, with \$51,000,000 increase, or 106 per cent; Japan, with \$315,000,000, or almost exactly 100 per cent; South Africa, with \$129,000,000, or 93 per cent; Canada, with \$394,000,000, or 85 per cent; Australia and New Zealand, with \$211,000,000, or  $45\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; and India, with \$187,000,000, or 24 per cent. Other countries which have more than doubled the value of their real export trade since 1913 include French Morocco, Honduras, the Sudan, Formosa (Taiwan), and the British Crown Colonies and Protectorates of Kenya and Uganda.

Outstanding among the countries whose losses have been severe is Russia, whose

export trade is \$557,000,000 behind that of 1913, or a 76 per cent loss. Weighting the values of Russian trade with the loss of some of its most valuable industrial territory, Russia's actual loss is still shown to be about 50 per cent. Although Germany is rapidly recovering its export trade, its 1925 figures show the next most important loss, one of 42 per cent from 1913 exports, with a consequent deficit of \$1,009,000,000. Other heavy losses are those of Belgium, with 35 per cent; the Netherlands, with 41 per cent; Spain, with 20 per cent; Portugal, with 46 per cent; Turkey, with 40 per cent; Rumania, with 33 per cent, and Bulgaria, with 25 per cent.

It is especially evident that the economic map of Europe has now been considerably altered by the appearance of new and vigorous industrial nations, notably Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Poland's export trade is now almost as great as that of the whole of Russia, Czechoslovakia's is twice as large as that of modern Austria, and Yugoslavia's overshadows that of Hungary. The four Baltic countries of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia did a combined export trade during 1925 of \$149,000,000, an export business that was six-sevenths as great as the whole of Soviet Russia in Europe.

Considering the difficulties that France has undergone since the war, it is noteworthy that France is the only Western European country, beside the Scandinavian nations, which has made an actual gain in its export trade since 1913. This gain of \$115,000,000 enabled the French to hold third place against Germany among the world's exporting nations up to the end of 1925. Since that time she has had to relinquish that place, however, as Germany's export trade by the middle of 1926 had reached, in 1913 values, just over \$1,512,000,000, exceeding that of France by over \$100,000,000.

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**It is only by labor that thought can be made healthy, and only by thought that labor can be made happy; and the two cannot be separated with impunity.—JOHN RUSKIN.**

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE BARRIERS

THE International Chamber of Commerce, at the suggestion of the Preparatory Commission of the International Economic Conference, has prepared a report on trade barriers. This report recommends that passport visas should be abolished and that the right of residence and establishment of foreigners should be the same as that enjoyed by nationals. Proposals for the improvement of rail, sea, and air transport are formulated. It recommends the establishment of uniform regulations for goods sent "carriage forward" by railway, the creation of a uniform goods classification, the standardization of rolling stock, and the adoption of the 24-hour time-table for passenger and goods traffic.

As regards sea transport, the report expresses regret that in certain countries there is still inequality of treatment between national and foreign merchant ships. It emphasizes the necessity of modifying the Maritime Ports Convention, concluded under the auspices of the League, and suggests the rapid disposal of the tonnage of State merchant ships, the abolition of subsidies, and the establishment of an international plan for the abolition of double taxation.

The report suggests that air transport should be freed in the initial stages from all barriers that might hamper or deflect its development. It urges, further, that an inquiry should be made into the possibility of introducing through bookings for journeys partly by air and other means; the sending by air of luggage in advance; of making certain that customs officers are on duty at the hour of arrival of goods airplanes, and of abolishing passports for short return journeys to neighboring countries.

The chamber of commerce, the report adds, would welcome the early conclusion of a general convention for the abolition of import and export prohibitions on the basis of the preliminary draft prepared by the League Economic Committee. It is also of opinion that the free movement of raw materials must be assured, and suggests that countries importing raw materials should grant reasonable and favor-

able tariff treatment to the manufactured goods of countries exporting both raw material and goods manufactured from them. The system of existing customs tariffs can be only detrimental to world restoration, the report states. International industrial *ententes* are an advantage to the participating industries, because they tend to eliminate ruinous competition.

It is noted that some of the fundamental difficulties encountered by trade and industry are caused by the continued instability of important currencies, and the hope is expressed that stabilization may take place as soon as possible. The report concludes with a proposal by the Austrian National Committee, endorsed by the International Chamber of Commerce, for the creation, under the auspices of the League, of an organization in which government representatives would have the opportunity to meet regularly and to study the conditions and needs of international trade.

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## NEW REVOLT IN THE RIFF

REPORTS from Morocco indicate that the group of Sinhaja tribes in the Spanish Zone, including the Beni Shibet, the Beni Zerket, the Beni Ahmed, and the Beni Seddat, are in open insurrection against the Spaniards. These tribes are situated in that area of the southern part of the Central Rif (which lies north of Taunat and immediately southwest and west of Targuist, which used to be Abd el Krim's headquarters), not far from the frontier of the French Protectorate.

Several small Spanish contingents and posts are reported to be isolated, and the deaths of four officers, including Major Ostariz, who commanded a column, are confirmed. Major Sanchez Guerra's column is reported to be retiring with difficulty. The Spanish authorities are hurriedly pushing on preparations for an advance into these disturbed regions. The wet weather has retarded all movements, but the Spanish air force is actively bombarding the district. All is calm on the French side of the frontier.

Later reports indicate that the revolt is spreading in the southern portion of the Spanish zone, very near the frontier of

the French protectorate. Shereef Sulitin Khamlishi, an important personage in the Rif, has gone over to the enemy. His secession and that of other members of his family brought matters to a head in the Sinhaja district. The Ktama tribe, the western neighbors of the Beni Seddat, rose, on March 26 invaded the tribe of Tarjut (their neighbors to the southeast), which joined the revolt. The Spanish garrison of an important strategic post at Bab Slib, judging the position untenable, crossed the frontier and took refuge in the French Protectorate, while at the same time a contingent of native troops was attacked and driven out of Sok Tnin. The effect upon the neighboring tribes was to induce them also to raise the standard of revolt.

Major Ostariz, who commanded that district, immediately reoccupied Bab Slib, but his convoy, following in the rear, was attacked and the greater part was captured. The Ostariz column immediately turned back to the relief of the convoy, but fell into an ambush and was cut up. An attempt was made by the Spanish troops in Ktama again to reoccupy Bab Slib, but was not successful. Under a vigorous enemy counter-attack the Spaniards were forced to retire northward.

## DUTCH-BELGIAN TREATY

**T**HE First Chamber of the Dutch States-General rejected on March 24 the Dutch-Belgian Treaty, which had been under discussion for several years. The treaty, which gives Belgium certain advantages on the Scheldt and authorizes the construction of two canals through Dutch territory from Antwerp to Moerdijk (on the Rhine) and from Antwerp to Ruhrort (Germany), was ratified by both chambers of the Belgian Parliament last July and by the Second Chamber of the Dutch States-General—by a majority of three—last November.

### Nature of the Opposition

A great deal of the opposition to the treaty in Holland has been focused on the proposed new canal to Moerdyk, principally on the ground that it would be a menace to the Rhine trade of Rotterdam and allow Antwerp unduly to compete with it. Antwerp, it was said, had de-

veloped to her present outstanding position as a port with the facilities provided under existing treaties, and this further concession ought not to be given to the prejudice of Dutch commerce. On the other hand, it was pointed out that the canal would not be completed for some 20 years; Rhine traffic would not remain stationary in the meantime, but was bound to increase, and better communications ought to be given, if asked for, in the interest of good relations, apart from treaty obligations.

The new Scheldt régime was opposed, as involving a surrender of sovereign rights and obligations, and because of the financial burdens to be assumed by Holland. Attention was also directed to the dangers to which, it was said, the riparian polder lands (lands reclaimed from the sea by means of high embankments) would be exposed by the powers conferred on the Joint Commission to cut dikes and divert the channel in the interests of navigation, so as to provide for the passage of ships of the size for which accommodation was being made in Antwerp. In the course of the debates the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, was asked for further explanations about the reservation in favor of Belgian warships, which, in spite of his previous assurances, is considered to lie behind the treaty, under which warships generally are excluded from the free passage of the Scheldt.

From the political standpoint, the general line of argument in opposition was that the lapse of Belgian neutrality, which had been guaranteed by the powers, was not a fact that Holland was bound to recognize. By it Holland had lost securities and safeguards for which she was entitled to ask rather than to make concessions. The new treaty could not be regarded as naturally resulting from the treaties which regulated the separation of the two countries. The traditional policy of reciprocity had not been followed in the negotiations. The Belgian need for an outlet was a fitting subject for negotiations on a reciprocal basis; but not the far-reaching annexionist demands which were made in 1919, under the influence of which, it was contended, the treaty had been made.

### Policy of Rapprochement

M. Colijn, the former Prime Minister, in the course of a speech in support of the treaty, pointed out that the revision of the treaty of 1839 was a direct consequence of the World War. The powers had declared that the Belgian status of neutrality had lapsed. For Holland not to have recognized this fact would have been to pursue a merely negative policy. The questions, therefore, were, what attitude Holland had to take up toward the situation created at the end of the war, and what aim her diplomacy must set before it. The answer was that Holland had to co-operate with Belgium in the clearing up of certain areas of friction and in the elimination of the intervention of third parties. There should be no surrender of territory or of sovereign rights.

M. Colijn said that he stood squarely beside the Foreign Minister in the policy he had pursued. His answer to objections that it disregarded the dangers of annexation was that there were extremists and annexationists in other countries, too, and he was confident that in Belgium the conviction that a policy of rapprochement must be followed would gain ground—not quickly, perhaps, but there was a possibility, and the way must be opened to that possibility.

Jonkheer van Karnebeek, in his final speech in defense of the treaty, said the standpoint of Holland was that there could be no thought of an attack on her sovereign rights. When Belgian neutrality lapsed, an alternative had to be sought in an understanding with Belgium. At that time the negotiations were conducted in a spirit which one of the present opponents of the treaty had then described thus: "We must have the will to a closer understanding with Belgium. There must be an awakening of confidence in a neighbor who has suffered so severely. We must make Belgium strong and flourishing." From that time practically the whole of the Dutch nation was in favor of the treaty until it was signed.

The delay in ratification in Holland was due to internal conditions which included political crises. As regards the Scheldt, there was no secret protocol in regard to warships. The Dutch right to exclude Belgian warships remained intact

and unrestricted. The present position in regard to navigation was not satisfactory to Belgium. As for the Moerdyk Canal, Belgium was entitled to a Rhine outlet under the Treaty of 1839. The present waterway outlets to the Rhine were unsatisfactory. In 1912 an improved waterway to Germany had already been demanded. It was known that the canal was one of the desired means. He did not share the view about the dangers to Rotterdam and Amsterdam. There might be some temporary shifting of business between the Dutch and Belgian ports, but in regard to coal, grain, and ore Rotterdam's position would remain unassailable.

### BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA

IN HIS inaugural address to the new Legislative Assembly, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India, made a number of very interesting statements regarding British plans for further advancement of constitutional government in India. He said:

I do not ignore the fact that there is a section of opinion in India which rejects the right of Parliament to be the arbiter of the fashion or the time of India's political development. I can understand the opinion, I can acknowledge the sincerity of some of those who hold it, but I can devise no means of reconciling such a position with the undoubted facts of the situation. But there is another section of opinion which, while hesitating to prefer so fundamental an objection to any right of Parliament to be the judge in these matters, would yet say in effect that it was indefensible for Parliament to exercise its judgment in any sense but that of granting India forthwith a wide, if not complete, extension of responsible power.

I have already stated my belief that, whether what the British people sought and are seeking to do in India will be approved or condemned by history, their own inherited qualities left them no alternative but to open to India the path in which they had themselves been pioneers and along which they have led and are leading peoples wherever the British flag is flown.

Moreover, in the success of the attempt to lead a friendly India towards self-government the self-interest and credit of Great Britain before the world are alike engaged and forbid her to contemplate with equanimity the failure to achieve a purpose which has been so publicly proclaimed.

But it is said the alleged sincerity of Parliament receives practical contradiction on the one hand by arbitrary executive acts, such as the detention of certain men without trial in Bengal, and on the other by the reluctance of Parliament to give a firm timetable for the completion of its loudly professed purpose of making India herself responsible within the Empire for her own government.

I share with all honorable members the desire to see an end to the necessity for the continuance of those measures. But the guiding principle in this matter must and can only be the interests of public safety, nor is the matter one that rests wholly or mainly in the hands of the government. Before releases can be sanctioned the government must be satisfied, either that the conspiracy has been so far suppressed that those set at liberty, even if they so desired, would be unable to revive it in a dangerous form, or, if the organization for conspiracy still exists, that those released would no longer wish to employ their freedom to resume their dangerous activities.

The government have always made it clear, and I repeat today, that their sole object in keeping any men under restraint is to prevent terrorist outrages, and that they are prepared to release them the moment they are satisfied their release would not defeat this object.

The other main ground for challenging the sincerity of Parliament is based, as I have said, upon the general method of approach Parliament has adopted towards the problem of India's constitutional development. Those who are anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce Parliament or convince it. I cannot emphasize too strongly that in this matter they are not likely to succeed in coercing Parliament, and that Parliament will resent any attempt to do so, under whatever shape the attempt is made. Moreover, it must inevitably be gravely disquieted by language which appears to be inspired by hos-

tility not only to legitimate British interests, but also to the British connection.

When Parliament invites India to cooperate in the working of the reformed constitution it does not invite any Indian party, as it was authoritatively stated the other day, to lay aside for the time being its demand for Swaraj. It does not desire that any party or individual should forego the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition to any action that the government may take, but it does invite Indian political parties to show whether or not the ultimate structure which Parliament is seeking to erect is one suitable to Indian conditions and Indian needs. If it sees any large section of Indian opinion, however vocal in its desire to further the cause of Indian self-government, steadily adhering to the determination to do nothing but obstruct the machinery with which India has been entrusted, Parliament is more likely to see in this evidence that the application of Western constitutional practice to India may be mistaken than proof of the wisdom of immediate surrender to India of all its own responsibility.

It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that a considerable part of the political thought of India has not allowed itself to be dissuaded by criticism or opposition from endeavoring to work the new constitution with a constructive purpose. Those who so guide their action are, in my judgment, proving themselves true friends to Indian constitutional development.

Propaganda in favor of altering the rules in the early stages of the game will have little effect on the mind of Parliament, but, on the other hand, it will certainly be influenced if it finds Indian legislatures exercising their responsibilities, albeit limited in a spirit of service to India, and tacitly assuming always that their real responsibility is greater than that which is expressed in any statute.

India is full of echoes of the Chinese events, which, of course, serve to render Great Britain's task there more difficult than it would have been otherwise. Nevertheless, Great Britain is proceeding with the stupendous work of organizing her vast dependency on a constitutional basis along the lines described by the Viceroy.

## GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

SOON after his return from Geneva, where he presided over the sessions of the League Council, Foreign Minister Stresemann delivered in the Reichstag an important speech on the subject of Germany's foreign policy. At the beginning of his speech he explained that he was adopting a new method of discussing international affairs. In past years, he said, he had been able to explain Germany's foreign policy by discussing her relations with the individual foreign countries involved in the questions of chief interest to her, such as reparations, the Rhineland, security, or the League. Recent developments all over the world, however, compelled her more and more to take other factors into consideration which lay outside her own foreign relations. These developments did not proceed directly from the problems of prime importance to Germany, but it had to be realized that they could exercise a more or less strong influence on those problems. He was thinking particularly of three big tangles of international questions—the events in the Far East, the serious antagonism between great countries whose policy was of immediate importance to Germany, and the surprising news of the last few days indicating elements of unrest in the Balkans.

### Balkan Unrest

It would be well to discount considerably the alarming reports concerning the political situation. As far as these matters could be judged from Germany, he did not think any acute danger existed. Herr Stresemann added somewhat cryptically, that in his opinion this conclusion could be drawn especially from the communications addressed by the Italian Government to the German Government during the last few days.

The desire to preserve Europe from any danger of war, Herr Stresemann continued, had taken such deep root in all countries that a breach of peace would be condemned by the whole world. But even the calmest observation of affairs could not fail to lead to the realization that a general consolidation of the international situation was far from being achieved. There was, therefore, every reason for

following with the closest attention even such events as did not seem to affect Germany directly. Germany's attitude was clear. She had only one great interest, and that was that there should be no disturbance of the efforts to achieve international co-operation in the reconstruction of Europe. They had nothing to gain from entanglements between any other powers whatsoever. Nor had they any reason to wish the countries of Europe to be divided into two camps, as before the World War. For Germany there was no question of a policy of special alliances, but only of a policy supporting the idea of understanding and the reconciliation of conflicting interests.

### Germany and Locarno

Thus the events under discussion did not and would not in the future alter German foreign policy in any way. This policy was determined by the Treaties of Locarno, the entry into the League, and the Berlin Treaty with Soviet Russia. It was obvious that in this situation she had to avoid any unnecessary entanglement. In so far as her collaboration might be called for, all she could do was to contribute her share to the work of smoothing out difficulties. He laid stress on this in view of suggestions that in the event of a dispute between other powers efforts would be made to drag Germany in on one side or the other.

Herr Stresemann expressed astonishment that certain Soviet newspapers should recently have expressed misgivings as to the German attitude toward the old question of the right of western European troops to march through Germany. The question had been exhaustively debated after Locarno. He referred to Article 16 of the League Covenant, the qualifying note of the other Locarno powers and the German-Soviet exchange of notes on the conclusion of the Berlin Treaty (the compatibility of which has never seemed quite clear to the rest of the world). He said that no other agreements on the question existed, and that there was no reason for fresh German declarations.

### Germany and the League

Turning to Geneva, Herr Stresemann argued that the last two meetings had



proved that Germany did right to enter the League. On the last occasion they had agreed to several provisional compromises after upholding their legal standpoint in long public discussions. The fact that the League Council had been able to stand these public discussions was proof of the stability of the League. Experiences at Geneva gave ground for expecting that the same loyal willingness for understanding shown by the German delegation in these discussions would be shown by the other side when the big outstanding questions came up. They were confronted by the fact that fulfilment of the desire for the evacuation of the Rhineland and the return of the Saar had receded rather than come nearer during the last few months. He would not go into the causes. They lay outside, not inside, Germany. As Foreign Minister he recommended awaiting developments without outbreaks of impatience, but this advice should not give rise to the idea of passive resignation on the part of the government. Herr Stresemann concluded with the hint that the right moment for the German application would be seized, and with the expected announcement that, although the evacuation of the Rhineland was hardly to be achieved without the good will of the other powers concerned, he did not consider it necessary to seek this good will by renewing old offers or making new ones.

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## GROWTH OF GERMAN TRUSTS

ACCORDING to the Berlin correspondent of the *London Times*, the reconstruction of German industry, which has been proceeding steadily since the end of the inflation period, has made remarkable progress during the last few months. The national taste for rather complicated organization often makes it difficult to follow the elaborate maneuvers of the various industrial and financial groups, but one general tendency is plainly discernible, the formation of "horizontal" trusts—*i. e.*, the fusion of a large number of undertakings of the same nature, as opposed to the "vertical" amalgamations which have for their aim

the combination under a single management of different types of processes combining the whole manufacture of certain kinds of commodities from the raw material to the finished article.

To appreciate the significance of this development, it is necessary to survey very briefly the history of German industrial organization. Ever since the end of last century German industry has been noted for the co-operation of employers in the effort to eliminate uneconomic competition. This effort, which was largely the result of repeated overproduction crises, was directed to the evolution of the cartel. Cartels may be described in general terms as associations of producers aiming at a monopolistic control either of prices or of output or of both. This object may be achieved either by merely fixing minimum selling prices without attempting to control output, or by the allotment to each particular firm of a definite percentage of the total output, or by the formation of a selling syndicate which controls both production and prices. An example of the latter kind, which imposes considerable restrictions on the activity of its members, is the celebrated Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, which was first formed in 1893 and was made compulsory by the government in 1915.

### Growth of Cartels

The cartel principle in Germany made rapid progress. While it was perhaps most successful in the "heavy" industries, where it was applied in almost every stage of production, from the raw material upward, it spread to nearly every industry (*e. g.*, the potash, chemical, textile, cement industries, etc.), and before the war the number of such associations ran into hundreds and the articles controlled by them into thousands. The policy of the cartels was for the most part moderate and aimed rather at the stabilization of prices in times of depression than at great increases during "boom" periods; but complaints were not infrequent that prices for raw and semi-manufactured goods were kept at too high a level, and in the coal industry especially this fact assisted the formation of "vertical" fusions of collieries with iron and steel works. Within the cartels themselves a new form

of industrial organization, involving a greater degree of fusion (*Interessengemeinschaft, Beteiligungsgesellschaft*) was evolved, which in its turn led to the formation of "trust" combinations, either by direct amalgamation or by holding companies.

After the war, under the influence of the rise in prices caused by the rapid depreciation of the mark, the stabilization policy of the cartels broke down. The enormous stimulus to industrial speculation given by the inflation led to the formation of huge vertical "concerns," of which the Stinnes Trust was the most typical example. But the return to normal conditions after the stabilization of the currency reversed the trend of development. "Vertical" combinations which had been formed in the "heavy" industries broke up under the storm of acute depression. The great "concerns" like that of Stinnes were disintegrated and a new phase of "horizontal" trust building made its appearance. While the cartel remained as the basis of the new type of industrial structure, it was felt that the mere control of prices and output was not sufficient, and that a more "rationalized" form of concentration was necessary. The top stories of the vertical structures were lopped off, with the result that the new combinations in the "heavy" industries were formed by the amalgamation of coal mines, blast furnaces, and steel works, the production of the finished article—*e. g.*, machinery, etc.—being left to separate undertakings. The advantages of this fusion of homogeneous groups are of course considerable, quite apart from the primary economies of mass production. Not only does it enable output to be adjusted to demand (which was the principal aim of the cartel), but by concentrating production on the most efficient units it lowers production cost and eliminates the waste of economic effort by closing down the less profitable works, whose struggle for independent existence constantly threatened the breaking up of the cartel in times of depression, while keeping up the level of the costs of manufacture.

#### New Steel Trusts

In the summer of last year the biggest coal, iron, and steel unit on the continent

was formed in the Ruhr—the Vereinigte Stahlwerke A. G.—by the fusion of four big groups, the Rhein Stahl, Rhein-Elbe-Union, Phoenix-van-der-Zypen, and Thyssen. This gigantic new trust, which started with a capital of 800,000,000 marks, controls between 35 and 40 per cent of the total production of the steel cartel (*Rohstahlgemeinschaft*).

The movement toward concentration has also made considerable headway in Silesia, where the Upper Silesian Iron Company and the allied Oberbedarf-Donnersmarkshütte group were combined with the Linke-Hoffmann-Lauchhammer trust—a large "vertical" concern of locomotive and wagon builders owning a considerable number of steel works in central Germany. Last autumn the break-up of this "vertical" trust was begun, and the Lauchhammer group of steel works was drawn into a new trust, the Central German Steel Works, which was founded with a capital of 50,000,000 marks, of which 33,000,000 marks is owned by the Linke-Hoffmann group and a minority holding by the Ruhr Steel Trust in exchange for its Weberwerke steel works in Brandenburg. The new trust will also acquire the Linke-Hoffmann holding in the Upper Silesian Iron Company. By this means the coal, iron, and steel works stretching in a belt from the Rhine to the Oder have been brought into "horizontal" combination. Meanwhile the wagon works of the Linke-Hoffmann group are to be brought into a wagon trust which is in course of formation, and the organization of a locomotive trust is also under discussion. At the beginning of the present year the process of "horizontal" trust building was carried a step further by the formation of a fine-steel combine, the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke A. G., with a capital of 30,000,000 marks, which was formed for the amalgamation of seven steel works in Krefeld, Duisburg, and Düsseldorf, under the leadership of the Ruhr Steel Trust, which holds more than one-third of the shares.

It is, of course, too early at present to tell how far the economies expected from this process of "rationalization" have been realized. The process of concentration is still incomplete, and accurate statistical data are not as yet available. But the experience of the Ruhr Steel Trust, short

as it is, seems to show that production costs have been considerably reduced, and that the gross output as well as the output per man has increased, though it must be remembered that conditions during the second half of last year were rendered particularly favorable by the British coal strike.

#### Coal and Gas

The progress of concentration has naturally made itself felt also in the coal industry, in which the Ruhr Steel Trust is largely interested; seeing that its quota in the Westphalian Coal Cartel amounts to over 20 per cent of the total output. Much progress has been made on the technical side, both in respect of modernizing plant and in the economies of coal and coke production and utilization. Last autumn a company was formed by the Westphalian Coal Syndicate in connection with a huge power scheme for the supply of gas for lighting and heating purposes to the principal towns in Germany, such as Hamburg, Munich, Berlin, etc., by means of high-pressure gas pipes from a central reservoir in the Ruhr. The capital of the new company has been provisionally fixed at 25,000,000 marks (£1,250,000), but it is anticipated that the actual operation of the plan will cost several hundred millions. Negotiations with the principal gas works in Germany for co-operation in the scheme are in progress, but it is too early at present to predict what the practical outcome will be. The formation of this ambitious design, which is expected to cheapen considerably the gas supply of Germany, is yet another example of the co-operative enterprise of German capitalism. The scheme has already stimulated the formation of a rival enterprise among the lignite producers of central Germany.

### BELGIUM AND THE GERMAN MENACE

ON FEBRUARY 15 M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied in the Chamber of Deputies to the interpellation, introduced a week before by M. Carton de Wiart, on the suppression of interallied military control in

Germany. After referring to the Locarno Agreement and its obligations, M. Vandervelde went on to speak of the Nationalist peril in Germany:

Since the Thoiry meeting, things [he said] had happened in Germany that were bound to shake confidence. It was true that Herr Stresemann had assured them that from the point of view of foreign affairs nothing had changed in Germany. But Herr Stresemann would not be surprised if those who had confidence in a Germany with an orientation towards democracy wondered what to think of the Germany of today, when the army was ruled as an independent power, where the great chiefs were nearly all men of the ancient régime, and where people did not promise to defend the Weimer Constitution except by honoring the past and its symbols. The changes which had occurred were not reasons for turning aside from the path they were pursuing, but they were grave reasons for treading prudently and with measured step. It need cause no surprise, moreover, if, in circles which yesterday were favorably disposed, it was now being asked whether Germany was effectively disarmed. Officially, of course, Germany was disarmed, and in many respects the official declaration corresponded to the reality.

#### Potential German Menace

M. Vandervelde then gave facts and figures already known and proceeded:

Beside what one sees there is what one does not see at the first glance, but discovers or guesses at. For the next few years Germany, left to herself, appears incapable of conducting, on the western front at least, offensive operations of a decisive character. On the other hand, her potential war power remains formidable. With a population approaching 70,000,000 and an industrial development which intensifies year by year, Germany could, even without an alliance, put in a few months millions of men on a war footing sufficiently instructed and powerfully equipped. Besides this, the restrictive provisions of the Treaty of Versailles relating to the manufacture of poison gas or military aircraft do not and could not prevent a development of the chemical industries and commercial aviation in such conditions that in a very short time Germany could transform the civil form of its activities into mili-

tary activity. In short, we find that after seven years of stubborn efforts the Allied powers have succeeded in breaking the machinery of aggression which Germany possessed almost intact at the close of the Armistice, in its three elements of organization, effectives, and material. But what they have not done and what it was not humanly possible to do is what Napoleon vainly attempted after Tilsit—to prevent millions of men disarmed by force and surrounded by peoples in arms from arming themselves anew some day, defensively or offensively.

In the face of such facts, two conclusions present themselves. The first is the very relative efficacy of measures of control; the second, that disarmament must be general or it will not come at all; and it is this that gives all the significance to the labors which have been proceeding for long months at Geneva for the assembly of the Disarmament Conference. It is to the realization of the ideal of peace that Belgium has continually given her modest support.

Mr. Carton de Wiart replied that the Foreign Minister's speech had not removed his fears.

M. de Broqueville, Minister of National Defense, while he said that he recognized the progress made since the Locarno agreement, expressed himself as uneasy concerning the military expenditure of Germany. He declared that at present Belgium was without means of defense against invasion.

## SOVIET-POLISH NEGOTIATIONS

THE Russian and the Polish governments have recently resumed negotiations for a security pact, which have been in progress intermittently for several months. The negotiations were begun soon after the signing of the Russo-German Treaty of Reinsurance and the Pilsudski *coup d'état* of April-May, 1926. The first stage of the negotiations ended in August, 1926, with a Soviet draft for a proposed pact.

### Soviet Draft of Pact

The Soviet draft provided four articles only. The first bound each of the parties to abstain from aggression and observe neutrality in the event of aggression by third parties; the second bound each party to abstain from political or economic

agreements directed against the other; the third referred all disputes which could not be settled through normal diplomatic channels to a Mixed Conciliation Committee, of which the membership, rights, and procedure were to be determined in a separate treaty; the fourth declared the treaty subject to ratification and valid for three years, which could be prolonged for another year when the signatories gave notice to prolong six months before the expiration of the treaty.

The draft has been criticised because Article I does not define aggression and Article III does not necessarily or expressly cover disputes arising previously to the date of signature—that is to say, out of the Riga Treaty (establishing the present eastern frontier). There is no provision for arbitration, and the conciliation procedure would be of limited value if there was merely a reversion to diplomatic negotiations when it failed.

### Polish Memorandum

In a memorandum submitted by the Polish Government on September 30 it was declared that the draft was a step forward in the negotiations and might lead to the conclusion of a pact, if due regard was paid to the interests of both countries. The Polish Government desired to stabilize its relations with Russia on the basis of the Riga Treaty; its aim was to insure the peace of eastern Europe, of which good relations between Poland and Russia were the keystone. Poland would agree to the neutrality clause in case of unprovoked attack and agree not to be a party to any international pact directed against the other signatory, on the strict understanding that obligations incurred by her as a member of the League of Nations were inviolable. Article II in the Soviet draft had, therefore, to be made clearer. More precise definition was also required of the term "aggression," of the case in which neutrality had to be observed, and of the whole conciliation procedure. The memorandum ended with an expression of readiness to enter into formal negotiations on receipt of a satisfactory reply.

The new negotiations begin at the point where they were left off by this exchange of memoranda and are being conducted in Moscow by the Polish minister there.

## CIVIL AVIATION AND DIS- ARMAMENT

The committee of experts in civil aviation, appointed by the League Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, ended its work early in February. Its terms of reference were:

(1) To examine the economic consequences which would follow a limitation of aerial armaments; and

(2) Proceeding on more general lines, to submit its observations and suggestions on the economic consequences of any method of limiting air armaments taking into account the needs of civil aeronautics.

The British delegates, Group Captain W. F. MacNeece, R. A. F., and Lieutenant Colonel I. A. E. Edwards, deputy director of air transport, were in favor of a system under which military interference with civil aviation was reduced to a minimum. France, Belgium, Rumania, and Poland appeared to consider the problem chiefly from the military point of view. The British opinion was that civil aviation ought to be able to develop freely as far as possible, outside the realm of military activities. With different types of aircraft, the two branches of aviation should develop in different directions.

In its resolutions the committee states that it is essential that no hindrance to the development of civil aviation should be produced by the application of any system for the limitation of aerial armaments. The following were among the resolutions adopted:

(1) It is desirable that the development of civil aviation should be directed solely toward economic ends and should be independent of military interests.

(2) Civil aviation should be organized on autonomous lines and every effort should be made to keep it separate from military aviation.

(3) If States intervene in any capacity, whether directly or indirectly, in civil aviation undertakings (private or State-owned), it is desirable that the State departments dealing with the matter should be independent of the departments dealing with military aviation.

(4) It is desirable that governments should refrain from prescribing the use of military features in civil aircraft matériel, so that this matériel may be constructed for provid-

ing the greatest possible measure of security and most economic return. In this connection and with a view to differentiating still further between matériel of civil and that of military aviation, it is considered particularly desirable that as far as possible the use of military aviation matériel in civil aviation undertakings and in the operation of air transport lines should be avoided.

## PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND THE UNITED PRESS

April 25, President Coolidge delivered an address in the City of New York at a gathering in honor of the twentieth anniversary of the United Press. The President announced the policy of our nation to be the promotion throughout the world of peace and good will based on better understanding through justice and fair dealing. After calling attention to the importance of the Government, of international trade, and of good will in the promotion of such a policy, the President explained his policy toward Mexico, Nicaragua, and China. In no instance is that policy a policy of aggression. In each instance he was convinced of an amicable settlement so far as the United States is concerned. He senses that America occupies a new position in the world and that "we shall have to bear the inevitable criticism and try to discharge the inevitable obligations which arise from this condition. Because some others have pursued that course it may be feared that we shall embark upon a program of military aggrandizement. Such, however, is not the spirit of the American people." The President's views, in their temper and import, were typically set forth as follows:

If, even where our national interests and the protection of the rights of our citizens are involved, we attempt to assist in composing difficulties and supporting international law, we must expect to be charged with imperialistic motives. In our international intercourse we must hold ourselves up to high standards of justice and equity. We should be able to take offense and quick to grant redress. The world knows that the whole genius of America always calls it to the support of the universal rights of humanity.

The civilization of the world has been accomplished by the acceptance and general observance of definite rules of human conduct. Our duty demands that it be clearly understood at home and abroad that we are unwavering in our faith in those principles.

## CONFERENCE FOR FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE CONDEMNS THE COOLIDGE VETO

THE President's veto of the bill for a plebiscite on the independence of the Philippine Islands has not passed unchallenged. The conference for Filipino independence, in a statement signed by Lucy Amy Whitaker, Executive Secretary, has just treated the whole matter without gloves. The statement, shorn of its less relevant parts is the case for the more radical opponents of the President's action. It follows:

President Coolidge's veto of the bill for a plebiscite of the Philippine people on the question of Philippine independence must immediately arouse all those who have the slightest regard for our obligations toward a subject people.

The bill, passed unanimously by both houses of the Philippine Legislature, did not provide for independence. It provided merely that the Philippine people be given the right to say whether they wanted independence or not. Governor General Wood vetoed the bill some time ago. It was immediately passed over his veto. Now President Coolidge answers the clearly expressed aspirations of the Philippine people by his veto, which is final.

There can be only one interpretation of this action of the United States Government in this case, which is to intensify American imperialist rule without regard to the wishes of the Filipinos.

The reasons given by President Coolidge for his veto stamp him as a prize hypocrite of world imperialism. He says, first, that the question of independence is "an abstract one;" secondly, that according to the bill, not all of the people of the Philippine Islands would participate in the plebiscite; thirdly, that the question of independence is "not so important" to the Filipinos as economic progress is for them.

Thus we have it all again—the old, familiar language of the complacent imperialist overlord—self-righteous, patronizing, but not yielding an inch.

"Independence is a very appealing word," says the President in his veto message. "Few people will vote against independence for themselves."

Here the cat is let out of the bag. It is admitted that we cannot have a plebiscite on the question of independence in the Philippines because the people of the Philippines would vote the wrong way—that is, they would vote for their freedom. Once such a plebiscite was taken, it would be impossible to continue the fiction that the Philippine people do not want their independence. The spectacle of a President of the United States referring impatiently to independence as merely "a very appealing word" indicates that we have developed greatly since 1776.

As to the charge that all the people of the islands would not participate in the voting, this is plain distortion. All those, except the small minority of semi-savage tribesmen, who are entitled to vote, *by act of the United States Congress*, would participate in the plebiscite, according to the bill which President Coolidge has vetoed. His sudden solicitude for these poor stepchildren is truly touching.

But if the President cannot offer honest reasons, he at least presents a variety of reasons. For instance, he says that the Filipino people and their leaders are not generally informed as to the material assistance given the islands by the United States since their occupation, and have no fair appreciation of what immediate withdrawal of the United States would mean. Alas! we are again unappreciative.

"In view of this lack of understanding," continues this consummate hypocrite, "a vote on the abstract question of independence would be not only futile, but absolutely unfair to them."

Obviously Mr. Coolidge's sense of fairness must be very highly developed indeed.

And then this final paragraph, which stamps the whole United States policy in the Philippine Islands as no different from that of the British imperialists or any other modern system of politico-economic exploitation of the colonies.

"A plebiscite on immediate independence would divert the attention of the people towards the pursuit of mere political power rather than the essential steps necessary for the maintenance of a stable, well-governed community."

If our condemnation of the United States Government policy appears harsh, it is plainly borne out by every word of the President's veto message.

# MOTION PICTURES, TRADE, AND THE WELFARE OF OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE\*

By HERBERT HOOVER  
Secretary of Commerce

**L**ATIN-AMERICAN friendship lies deep in the hearts of our countrymen. On both sides it has a profound root in a century of the common labor of the republics in North and South America in building in the new world a new form of government founded in a new conception of human rights. The supreme experiences of revolution; of the break from centuries of tradition; of civil and Indian wars; of subjugation of the wilderness; of building popular self-government, have been a common experience to all of us. It creates a bond of high sentiment and sympathy between us.

It has been a stupendous and heroic task, this conquering of vast wildernesses and at the same time working out the problem of a new form of democracy—a task that is yet far from complete. All men may be created free and equal, but they are not created with that sense of moral discipline and that sense of compromise between individual advantage and public right which is the basis of ordered liberty. To accomplish this through representative government means a long pilgrimage over the road of self-discipline, of universal education, of willingness to abide by the will of the majority, and of inspiration by an abstract conception—the love of country. Nor is this common task which these new world democracies have undertaken limited to the working out of the problems of ordered liberty for each individual; there is involved also the great thesis of the federation of State governments and of the relation between these different federated governments whose ideal is that the possession and enjoyment of each section of the western world should be by the people who directly inhabit it. For, just as we dedicated ourselves to individual freedom from domination of other individuals, so does our ideal demand freedom of each nation from domination by others.

This trying, testing, and constructive effort in the Western Hemisphere has been the greatest political experiment of history, and we can say with assurance that many of its obstacles have been overcome and many of its successes have been due to the transfusion of ideas and experience among this score of republics, each separately advancing some sector of it. We in the United States have learned much more than you recognize or realize from the many great laboratories of self-government to the south of us, and we have, perhaps, on our part contributed something of use to them.

But it is not my purpose to dwell upon those things. They have given not only a firm ground of friendship, but they have also given a new basis of international relations which has brought to the new world a degree of freedom from bitterness of hate and rivalry, conflict and war; a freedom from the development of material and spiritual well-being unparalleled in all the history of mankind.

Our races in the Western Hemisphere, with their widely differing origins, necessarily also differ widely in traditions, in laws, in customs, and in the practices of commerce. Some misunderstandings, some lack of appreciation of the high qualities and sincere purposes in each of us, are inevitable, even despite our best intentions. But because of common purposes among us of justice and respect for right; because of our union of faith in freedom and self-government, those minor frictions should become but the experiences which bring a better understanding of our mutual problems. It is increasing acquaintance between our peoples, with its illuminations of our mutual aspirations, our mutual desire for justice as the basis of our relations, that is the sole need for maintenance of co-operation between these republics.

The motion-picture industry, for example, has a distinctive place in the up-building of this acquaintanceship. The motion picture is not solely a commercial

\* Adapted from a recent address.

venture; it is not solely an agency of amusement and recreation; it is not solely a means through which the world has gained a new and striking dramatic art; nor is it solely a real and effective means of popular education. Beyond all this, it is a skilled and potent purveyor between nations of intellectual ideas and national ideals. But it can also transfer the worst within us as well as the best; herein there lies a heavy obligation upon this industry.

If we search into the channels through which acquaintance, appreciation, and respect may flow over our borders, we discover that in the last twenty years a vast new current has been added by the motion picture. It is the most penetrating and persuasive of all these methods of world communication. Literature, science, art, drama, the news, and the intermingling through commerce have been great forces of interpretation; but none are greater in their possibilities than the film. The transfusion among us of literature, science, art, and the drama tend to present the best of us, because our inferior products are seldom transported.

But, due to our separation from Latin America by the barrier of language, the penetration of intellectual ideas and social ideals between our nations by literature and drama is a slow and tedious process of translation from one language to another. They reach but a selected few, and that only after long periods of years.

Our news dispatches transmit events suddenly enough, but they convey between us but little of the true valuation of national character. The very haste of their preparation can give no adequate picture of any of us. The obscure processes of progress, national ideals, good will, respect, kindness, are not news. The dispatches carry faithfully accounts to each other of our crimes of violence, our personal attacks, our largest political failures, the price of cotton, hides, and copper. They occasionally carry the more sensational political debate from which a glimpse of our mutual problems and successes may be had. They sometimes carry our words of assurance and friendship on both sides. But, despite the invaluable services of press associations, no one will say that true international acquaintance and respect could be builded solely upon

what at least we in North America carry as first-page news.

I sometimes think that all this relationship between nations, especially when they are separated by language, is comparable with our relation to a strange family which comes to occupy a neighboring house. We do hear from it the disturbing noises, the occasional bursts of laughter; we hear cries of distress from the young in the process of discipline; we see the dog fights in their yard and notice if the new neighbor paints his front porch. These are, indeed, the news bulletins. But we see little or none of the finer qualities of home life—the affections, the self-denials, the joys and sorrows of this neighbor. We do not see the neighbors' family album. And it is so with nations. We have but little acquaintance with those fine flowers of their national accomplishments, of their national thought and ideals.

But the motion picture brings to this national interchange a new setting; it enlivens a new hope, and it presents a great liability. The distribution of pictures is almost instantaneous. It is but a question of weeks between the appearance of a great picture in Buenos Aires, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, and their appearance in New York and San Francisco. They speak a universal language. They reach the great mass of people of every nation. The moving picture draws aside the veil between the daily lives of peoples. It can arouse respect and it can bring contempt.

I am no theorist advocating that we eliminate the villain, the crook, the wastrel from our films in order to display the life of the United States as a completely goody-goody land; nor do I advocate that the pangs of poverty or injustice be expunged from the pictures of North America in order that our southern friends may gain the idea that we are the home town of Santa Claus. The legitimate drama has ever been told in these trappings and properties. But it has done more; it has, perhaps, expressed more than any other art the humor, the sentiment, the fine courage, devotion, loyalty, and self-sacrifice both in the home and in national life.

Nor do our pictures fail in this. We have had a score of pictures of different



lands in recent years, each year coming nearer and nearer to the highest ideals of dramatic art. They carry a fund of universal humor, of gaiety and appeal to the human heart. They bring dreamland to the boy in the street and the lonely herdsman on the plain. They can carry with it all a friendly acquaintance and understanding between neighbors and nations, a confidence in right-mindedness and an inspiration to friendliness.

If we had a deified censor of so inspired and so lofty a soul as to be able to sav what from South America could truly represent to us their fine progress and their great aspirations, and who could cut from our films those things which are our own humiliation, the picture would become the greatest vehicle of friendship yet devised by man. But the industry must be its own censor. I have a growing confidence in it. The proof is that today the lowest levels of morals and inspiration in the films are higher than the current stage itself. I trust in the good faith of this great body of men who dominate the industry in the United States to carry out this profound obligation—that is, that every picture of South American life shown to our people and every picture of North American life shown to the South American peoples should carry also those ideals which build for that respect and confidence which is the real guarantee of peace and progress.

I have mentioned that there are three pregnant forces which have made for acquaintance, respect, and friendship in our western world. They are the bond of our ideals in the pursuit of the same great political and social experiment, the interchange of intellectual and social ideas, in which I place the motion picture high in the hopes of the future, and, finally, our mutual trade and commerce. Up to the coming of the moving picture, international trade was the most intimate of the daily contacts between the peoples of the world. Some persons seem to hold that trade between nations has solely a money-making purpose, and therefore that it is more often a source of friction than of good will. Yet, as a matter of fact, it underlies the whole of our mutual civilization and it incidentally constitutes an obligation and a bond between all na-

tions. Trade, in its true values, is not commercial war; it is a vital, mutual service.

Great masses of people, both in our country and Latin America, would be irretrievably impoverished if our foreign trade were suspended for more than a few months. I would even go further and say that we could not keep the whole of these huge hordes of humanity alive nor this civilization from anarchy if it were to cease. And this is simply because nations are dependent upon the import of materials which they cannot themselves produce upon their own soil. Each of our nations has built up great populations whose daily life depends upon the maintenance of a vast complex of communications, transportation, power and whatnot, a large part of which would collapse did we not have the import of certain essential commodities which enter into their construction and operation.

It may be stated as a generalization that without the continuous interchange of tropical produce with that of temperate zones, whole sections of the world must stagnate and degenerate in civilization. The motive force of these vast exchanges is the citizens of each country who must migrate to other countries for the promotion of the sale of goods which they have to offer in exchange and to produce and purchase those commodities which they require at home. Thus we have a great intermingling of citizens of different friendly countries. If we would keep this flow of vital materials in motion, those strangers in the midst of every country must have protection in their lives and the property which they have lawfully acquired. The obligation to welcome and protect them is far higher a purpose than hospitality or than merely extending them opportunity to make money. It is a vital principle that goes to the roots of modern civilization.

But, beyond all this, these citizens abroad bear the representation of the character of their people, and by the propriety of their conduct they each of them can contribute to amiability and respect. So far as they represent the worst of us, they poison the wells of international friendship.

The volume of our international exchange is a yardstick of the comfort we provide for our peoples and it is the quotient of our mutual prosperity. Every nation loses by the poverty of another. The trade between countries of the Western Hemisphere has grown enormously since the World War. Our prosperity in the United States has enabled us in eight years to more than double the vast amount of products of Latin America which we purchase. And their prosperity likewise has enabled them to double the amount of goods which they can take from us.

Last year our imports from and exports to Latin America were near a billion dollars each way, with the balance somewhat against us. We buy more goods from some of our Latin-American neighbors than we sell to them; to others we sell more goods than we buy from them. Complaint in either case from the buyer or the seller has no economic foundation. The great web of international trade is no longer a simple exchange between two countries; it flows into a great common pool which finds its own proper balance. If we buy from Argentina less goods than we sell to it, we are with the other hand buying similar amounts of goods from Europe, which enables Europe in turn to purchase more from Argentina.

Our Latin-American neighbors are today largely dependent, each of them in their trade, upon the export of two or three predominant commodities. They possess vast natural resources which contribute to an increasing and more secure prosperity. We ourselves have passed through this same stage, and we found that this dependence upon a few specialized industries and exports brought us great hardships with every shift of world demand. The solution of this greater diversity lies in the development of these resources. For this purpose our neighbors to the south need the temporary service of imported capital for some years to come. Without it their progress must be slowed and the advancing standards of living of their people must be halted.

While Europe has been struggling with its stupendous difficulties of war reconstruction and able to furnish capital to Latin America only to the extent of a total of two hundred millions of dollars in the eight years since the World War,

we have been able to respond to their requests in an undiminished supply to the extent of one billion two hundred millions, or six times the amount from other sources. Thus the progress of productive enterprise in Latin America has marched without halt during the crucial years. I believe the blessings which they receive from this vast fund in development of their limitless natural resources will find parallel in the invaluable assistance we received from a similar flow of European capital during the long period following the Civil War. And capital moves today on far less onerous terms than then.

There is another form of trade where our mutuality of interest rises to its highest aspects—the exchange of scientific discovery and men trained in its application.

Our two great continents are still in the making of their material civilization. We are still engaged in every country in the expansion of our transportation, electrical power, the development and improvement of our agriculture. We are still busy pushing railways and highways across the plains and mountains. We are still bridging streams and digging our harbors and our waterways. We advance each year in protection of public health and of scientific discovery.

The experience in applied science and administration which each of us gains from these undertakings and from scientific research is the joint fund of all of us. Science knows no frontiers and it knows all languages. The men trained in its application in its larger aspects must be the product of our universities and colleges. The first institutions of higher learning in the Western Hemisphere were the universities of Peru and Mexico, established nearly three hundred and seventy-five years ago. They were open to students of all nations. That tradition of the open door has been maintained down to today in the many hundreds of universities and colleges now scattered through the whole score of republics.

At the present time something like two thousand young men and women of our different western countries are in attendance at universities in their neighbor countries. Brazilian students are in Argentine universities; Argentine students in the United States. Back and forth

they are carrying skill in application of science and the contribution of each nation to the higher learning. It would indeed be a noble thing if the numbers of these interchanges of students could be multiplied, for from them come added technical skill, leaders, and teachers of wider and wider vision. And we in the West can use about four teachers to every soldier. They are cheaper and vastly more potent for peace and human service.

And we have to work out a special problem of peace in the Western Hemisphere. We have found our solution easier because of our mutual interests, mutual ideals, and the particular character of our governments. Our ideals of individual freedom and the right of self-government quickly translate themselves into freedom for others.

Moreover, in democracies such as ours, with their shifting administrations, with their changing thought, with their debates unlicensed by tradition, we are unable to maintain intricate foreign policies if we wished—and fortunately it is so. Other more centralized forms of government have, perhaps, an apparent advantage, in that they can maintain continuity of policies over long periods of years. They can thereby establish and maintain alliances; they can perhaps successfully juggle with ententes and balances of power. The structure of our republics does make for high devotion of country, great willingness to sacrifice, and, therefore, sturdy strength in the direct issues of national defense and the protection of our citizens abroad. And from this fundamental character of our institutions lies the simplicity of our policies and the real safety of the Western Hemisphere from imperialism within itself.

In the development of our internal and social and political institutions we have yet much to do. Democracy itself was a challenge to the political systems of the old world. This system, which we have mutually created in the West, sought to raise the dignity of men by building government upon universal franchise. It set up the standard that the mainspring of permanent progress must come from an equality of opportunity to each individual under the stimulus of ordered freedom.

From it we have made progress unparalleled in history.

And we have traveled a century and a half away from the social conceptions of the old world, mostly on a road of our own.

We have all of us in this score of republics passed through periods of discord and disunion, struggles to overcome individual selfishness, the curtailment of unrestrained, irresponsible power. We have ascended a long way toward the land of comfort, of affection of national spirit, of devotion to the ideals of justice and orderly liberty.

Solution of our day-to-day problems lies in building upon our own social foundations, and I believe that in our success does the hope of humanity lie. In this endeavor our problems are mutual problems in every democracy of the west.

I have said that we of the American continents are making progress such as the world has never seen before in history—progress that is not to be measured in a single decade; but it is a progress that we can measure socially, economically, and politically, if we but look back over the period of each half century. And every step of progress increases the mutuality of interest in the new world.

In conclusion: In this inadequate attempt I have tried to lift our vision above the discords of the daily task toward this shrine of these common bonds of history, these vital mutualities of interest, this union of our ideals. The motion-picture industry may, perhaps, even to a larger degree appreciate the heavy responsibilities which lie upon it constructively to build up that acquaintanceship between the peoples in the West which will support these high purposes.

As we look southward and as we think of our own history, we admire in each of those peoples their heroic struggles for independence; their creation of the great institutions of human liberty; their success in overwhelming the mountains and the tropical jungle with the advancing frontiers of human welfare; their building of splendid cities and states in all their inspiring greatness; their development of education and science; their accomplishments in jurisprudence, in music, their inspiring additions to literature—all

of those things which mirror the soul of great nations.

We are fellow-travelers bound for the same destination.

## HOW FAR MUST WE PROTECT OUR CITIZENS ABROAD?

By EDWIN M. BORCHARD  
Professor of Law at Yale University

**I**N ALL the discussions in connection with the relations of the United States to Mexico, and in the controversies of the State Department with other countries on behalf of American citizens, it has been taken for granted that the United States was under a primary and immediate duty, legal and moral, to protect its citizens abroad. The privilege of protecting citizens abroad, and obtaining for them what may be called international due process of law, is indeed a doctrine of international law. It represents one of the most primitive institutions of organized society, the theory that when an individual member of the clan is injured the whole clan is injured and must proceed to defend him and redress the wrong.

The question arises whether this primitive doctrine is today the most practical, since it ultimately means that whenever a citizen is injured abroad, under standards of international law not always equitably or legally applied, the whole nation of which he is a citizen may find itself in war or diplomatic hostility. All the people are insurers with their lives and property against injury to a single citizen. The expense and damage thus incurred by the people as a whole may be utterly disproportionate to any injury sustained by the citizen. With the constantly growing integration of the world, the increasing amount of investments abroad, now more precarious than for a long time, a constant menace of war hovers over nations having citizens abroad or large investments on the part of aliens. Is it essential that peaceful citizens of both countries must be thus continuously subject to the danger of war?

The problem will be made clearer by an appreciation of the existing law and prac-

tice. It may be assumed that international law represents an ascertainable standard of conduct to which every State must conform, and that a foreign investor or property owner is entitled to demand the protection of that law whenever it is violated to his disadvantage. The means of assuring such protection are, in theory and law, though not always in actual practice, subject to certain rules. The State in which the investment is made is not deemed to be deprived of its normal governmental powers, of its right to legislate and to exercise its police power for the common welfare. Contrary to a common conception, no guaranty against impairment goes with the investment. And again, not only is the foreigner required to exhaust his local remedies before diplomatic interposition becomes proper, but interposition itself is, in theory, limited to peaceful forms, diplomacy, arbitration and mediation, if necessary. Immediate violence or armed force to protect property abroad is not a part of international due process of law. On this continent, particularly, it has been ruled out by the Pan-American conventions of 1901 and 1910. To the latter convention, still in force, both Mexico and the United States are parties. It reads:

The high contracting parties agree to submit to arbitration all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which may be presented by their respective citizens and which cannot be amicably adjusted through diplomatic channels, when such claims are of sufficient importance to warrant the expense of arbitration. The decision shall be rendered in accordance with the principles of international law.

In actual practice the system works with the utmost uncertainty, and politics, rather than law, is likely often to be the determining factor in the case; for the

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outcome will depend perhaps less on a rule of law than on the political strength or weakness of the complaining or defendant State and the political relations between the two. Thus the foreigner, member of a strong State, may obtain advantages beyond the reach of the member of a weak State. The individual is thus left in a precarious position, the plaything of politics, the victim of chance, whereas law, which in this field is usually readily ascertainable, should control the conduct and legal relations of all three parties concerned—the individual, the complaining State, and the defendant State.

Let us look at the situation as it now exists. A foreigner complains that the Mexican Government has injured him in violation of international law. Assume that he has exhausted his remedies in the Mexican courts. He complains to his Foreign Office. Whether he will obtain redress will probably depend on the strength of the clan (State) he belongs to. Assuming it to be a strong clan, like the United States, the Secretary of State will decide, in his own discretion, whether the individual's complaint should be espoused by the nation. The victim of the injury has no legal right to secure interposition. Whether the Foreign Office will espouse his claim, assuming that the Secretary believes it to be a proper one, will largely depend upon the strength of the claimant's nation, its general political relations with the defendant State, home politics, and numerous other considerations. If the claimants are numerous or influential, they are likely to exert political pressure to have their claims espoused. Policy and politics, therefore, rather than law, control the question of diplomatic interposition. Moreover, the Foreign Office must often act on *ex parte* evidence, and is without any judicial machinery to investigate all phases of the matter. Having espoused the claim, it often assumes positions from which it later finds it difficult to withdraw, and thus commits the nation to its unfortunate *ex parte* decision. Finally, if it does espouse the claim, it does so on the advice of its law officers, who may be quite wrong. In insisting under such circumstances upon the alleged rights of its citizens, as against the denial by a defendant country of any violation of international

law, the complaining country makes itself plaintiff, judge, and sheriff in its own cause. This can hardly be called a highly civilized system or one calculated to promote the peace.

Take the position of the defendant government. Often too weak to resist, it may yield to the pressure of a strong claimant government supporting a claim intrinsically unjust. Such defendant governments, if weak, have never succeeded in obtaining admission of their contention that the decisions of their municipal courts are final. Under such circumstances, interposition and intervention take place on the fiat of the complaining State determining for itself the law of the case. The resort to arbitration, instead of being regarded as a part of due process, is deemed a matter of expediency only. The suggestion recently made: that intervention becomes proper and arbitration may be rejected if the defendant State seems (to the complaining State) unlikely to be able to pay any judgment or award found against it, is not warranted by anything to be found in international law, but is an indication of the easy rationalization of force. A poor country, under the idea thus suggested, is to be invaded and controlled whenever a strong State charges it with violation of international law. It may not exercise normal legislative powers except with the consent of foreign States, and, worst of all, it may not even invoke arbitration, for it may be deemed financially unable to pay awards. On the other hand, a strong defendant State may violate international law and the legal rights of a foreigner, member of a weak State, with impunity. Imagine what would happen if a Latin-American State perpetrated a Chemical Foundation transaction against, say, British or American citizens. International law and peace are both impaired by methods in which violence is the *ultima ratio*.

It has been suggested that the divorce of pecuniary claims from politics and the substitution of law for force could be easily achieved by the obligatory submission of such legal disputes between nations to an international court. By the Pan-American conventions on pecuniary claims, this is indeed the agreed rule on the American continent. Under such a

system, the claimant would not depend for his rights upon the accident of nationality, the plaintiff State would be relieved from the pressure of politics and the continuous danger of war, and the defendant State could rely on law, instead of force, for the determination of its rights. Logical and sensible as this may seem, the fact is that the larger nations of the world have been unwilling, up to this time, except in the Pan-American Convention, to accept the obligatory jurisdiction of any court over these purely legal disputes. Article 36 of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice provides for such obligatory jurisdiction, but the strong nations are unwilling to commit themselves unreservedly to the judicial solution of legal issues. They prefer to rely on force when the occasion seems to them to require it. Only the insistence of the people who ultimately pay the price of force will induce these nations to adopt more civilized practices.

But is not the system of diplomatic protection, as now practiced, a source of constant danger? Can any qualifications be placed upon it that would be likely to command general support? I offer the following suggestions: Unless the foreigner and the defendant State, who are the parties primarily concerned, are given some other forum than the political, they are not likely to be willing or able to abandon the existing practice; nor will the plaintiff State leave its citizen without redress unless some other way of affording him the protection of international law is found. While there is some opinion that the citizen abroad takes his chances in going into a foreign country, and should accept the law and the local system of justice as he finds them, this doctrine has not commanded assent from strong States. The view has not prevailed, because it involves a possible violation of international due process of law, which every foreigner is entitled to claim. At present, he can invoke international law, if denied him in the country of residence, only by the interposition of his whole clan, under conditions that may permit politics and force to be the determining factors.

But if the foreigner were given an op-

portunity to invoke international due process of law, not in the local courts exclusively, but in an international court, it would be unnecessary for his Foreign Office and his fellow-citizens to become the insurers of due process of law in his behalf. An analogy from administrative law comes readily to mind. Throughout the Middle Ages and into the school of natural law of the eighteenth century the doctrine of resistance to unlawful acts of State was a principle of political theory. It was abandoned only when States created administrative or judicial tribunals in which they submitted to judicial determination the legality of their own acts. If States having a large population of foreigners would consent to be sued before an international court by the individual foreigner dissatisfied by the local decision and claiming a violation of international due process of law, it would be unnecessary for his fellow-citizens to espouse his claim, acting on *ex parte* evidence and *ex parte* views of his rights. The defendant State would also be assured of the application of law rather than force.

Some States, including the United States, are still unwilling to be sued generally, even in their own courts, let alone in international courts; but the fact that most of the civilized States now do permit such local suits would make the proposal no great novelty. The South American and European States, for the most part, permit themselves to be sued at the behest of an individual. If they could escape the burden of diplomatic interposition or armed intervention because of the alleged violation of an alien's rights as determined, not by an impartial tribunal, but by the Foreign Office of the complaining alien, they might be willing to permit themselves to be sued before an international court by the complaining individual. To what extent the complaining State should dissociate itself from the complaint, I will not undertake now to suggest. Perhaps it should aid him in his suit, if it considers the case meritorious, by paying some, or, if necessary, all, of the expenses; perhaps it should take an interest in having any award or judgment in his favor executed, though this, if experience is any guide, will rarely prove necessary.

Such a system as here proposed is practical, for it was adopted in the draft of the International Prize Court at the Second Hague Conference and before the Central American Court of Justice, established in 1907. It would assure the injured foreigner of the protection of law, would relieve the complaining State and its citizens of the dangers of mixing politics, force, and law upon *ex parte* determinations, and would relieve the defendant

State of the political pressure of diplomatic pecuniary claims, notably unjust ones. It would help to remove the shadow of war from essentially commercial relations. It would weaken somewhat the reign of force and proportionately strengthen the reign of law in international relations. The present system furnishes a constant factor making for war; that fact, with the manifest promotion of justice involved, should induce some support for its modification.

## SEAPORTS AND HINTERLANDS

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

ONE of the results of the World War was the creation of a number of States which were either completely deprived of, or insufficiently provided with, ports of egress to the sea. Those entirely deprived of egress to the sea were Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Those insufficiently provided with ports of egress were Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Russia.

In the case of Russia her best ports on the Baltic—Riga, Memel, Reval, Liban, and Hesingfors—are now in the possession of Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, and Finland, new republics, formerly part of the Russian Empire, which revolted against the Soviet Government of Moscow and proclaimed their independence. As long as Bolshevism reigns triumphant in Russia the present situation will endure. The men in power in Moscow know that the four republics on the shores of the Baltic could count on the support, both moral and material, of the civilized world if the present Russian Government should attempt, by force of arms, to restore the *status quo ante bellum*.

If, however, either by counter-revolution or by evolution, the present Bolshevik régime in Russia should be replaced by a sane and sound government, such as would allow the former Empire of the Tsars to be received once more into the comity of nations, it is more than doubtful if the Russian nation, with its population of over 160,000,000, would consent to its former ports of egress on the Baltic being permanently in the hands of foreign

States. The problem of Russia's egress to the sea, as it at present stands, therefore constitutes a menace to the existence of the Baltic republics.

In the case of Poland a solution (whether permanent or provisional remains to be seen) has been found by internationalizing the port of Danzig, transforming it into a free port, under the ægis of the League of Nations, and forcing Germany to concede to Poland a strip of territory, 40 miles in breadth, connecting Danzig with the Polish Republic. The creation of this Polish "corridor" has cut east Prussia off completely from the rest of Germany. This is obviously a highly unsatisfactory solution, but, for the time being at least, no better one can be found.

The problem of Czechoslovakia's communications with the sea has been solved, provisionally at least, by the Prague Government negotiating special privileges for Czechoslovak commerce in the ports of Hamburg and Trieste. These privileges and the transport of Czechoslovak goods across German and Italian territory depend, of course, on the good pleasure of the German and Italian Governments, and might be revoked at any time, in case of a conflict between the Prague Government and that of Berlin or Rome.

In the case of Yugoslavia, the problem of her sea-borne trade has also given rise to considerable anxiety and could easily lead to grave international complications. That kingdom, it is true, possesses five ports on the Adriatic—Sushak, Sibenico

(Sebenik), Spalato (Split), Ragusa (Dubrovnik), and the Bocche di Cattaro (Kotor). All of these are, however, very primitive and would have to be completely reconstructed before they could suffice for the commercial needs of the country. Such a reconstruction would not only be very costly, but would take years, perhaps decades, to accomplish.

If Jugoslavia had been allowed to retain the former Croatian port of Fiume, nine-tenths of her difficulties would have been eliminated. But as Italy, through the intermediary of Gabriel d'Annunzio and his legions, seized the port and refused to surrender it, Jugoslavia, being unwilling to precipitate an armed conflict, had to renounce her claims, legitimate though they were.

Some *déboché* had, therefore, to be found for Jugoslavia's ever-growing foreign trade, if a serious economic crisis was to be avoided. The Belgrade Government therefore invoked the rights Serbia had acquired by her victory over Turkey in 1913 and called upon Greece to concede to her a Serbian Free Zone in the harbor of Saloniki. This Greece did (such an arrangement having been provided for in the Graeco-Serbian Treaty of 1913, by which Greece's right to possess Saloniki was affirmed), but since conceding it has done much to render the concession illusory. This has mainly been due to the highly unsatisfactory fashion in which the Athens Government operates the 48 miles of the Belgrade-Saloniki trunk railway on Greek territory. Freight cars, which cover the 550 miles between Belgrade and Ghevgeli, the station on the Greek frontier, in a couple of days, take days and sometimes weeks to cover the few miles between that town and Saloniki. Then, to complicate matters still further, the Athens Government has created a Greek Free Zone, four times greater than the Serbian Zone. This completely surrounds the Serbian zone and cuts it off from all direct communication with the city of Saloniki. Meanwhile the trade and commerce of Southern Serbia, the natural hinterland of Saloniki, without which that port could not live, is growing by leaps and bounds. Skoplje (formerly the Turkish Uskub), the capital of Southern Serbia, has tripled its population in

five years and is still growing rapidly. Agriculture and cattle-raising are developing rapidly, and the exploitation of the immense mineral wealth of the province is making rapid progress. It is, however, in the power of Greece to strangle this development in its birth by the malorganization and maladministration of the Ghevgeli-Saloniki section of the Belgrade-Saloniki trunk line.

The Jugoslav Government asked to be allowed to extend its railway administration over this section, but the Greek Government refused to agree to this, declaring that it would be incompatible with Greek national sovereignty to allow a foreign country to operate a railway on its territory. As things stand, the attempt to transport the ever-growing commerce of Jugoslavia over this line resembles an effort to pour the contents of a hogshead through the neck of a pint bottle.

The existence of all these various ports of egress situated in one country, while their natural hinterland, whose commerce keeps them alive, lies on foreign territory, constitutes a series of international problems big with danger to the peace of the world. All countries are interested in finding a solution of the problem, as it stands to reason that as it exists today it hampers the free commercial intercourse of the whole world.

In the case of Poland the solution has been, as I have said above, the cession to that country by Germany of a narrow strip of territory, 40 miles broad, linking up Danzig with the Polish frontier. If a similar "corridor" was created between Ghevgeli and Saloniki, Greek Macedonia would be cut in two and the eastern section isolated from the rest of Greece. I doubt if the Athens Government would ever consent to such a proposal. Similar "corridors" from Czechoslovakia to Hamburg and Trieste are unthinkable, as neither Germany nor Italy would ever consent to such a mutilation of integrity of their territories. In the case of the Polish "corridor," the solution arrived at is, as I have said, unsatisfactory from a political point of view, as it has had the effect of bringing a Polish "Alsace-Lorraine" into being. It is notorious that Germany only consented to the cession of this "corridor"



under duress and because she was militarily powerless to resist its imposition. It is equally certain that she will only endure it as long as she is in a state of manifest physical inferiority.

This does not mean, however, that ethnographically any wrong has been done her. On the contrary, from that point of view the solution is eminently a *just* and *equitable one*. The population inhabiting the "corridor" is overwhelmingly Slav and has always been Slav. This is admitted by the Germans themselves, as can easily be seen on consulting the ethnographical maps issued by any reputable German cartographical institute. In order to fix the real responsibilities for the present situation, we must go back a century and a half, to the political crime committed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia—the first partition of Poland. The present troubles in that part of Europe are the *damnosa hereditas* of that act of high-handed usurpation. But the fact that Poland has a *moral* right to the possession of the territory lying between the Polish frontier and the sea does not render a solution, which cuts East Prussia off from West Prussia any more acceptable to Germany.

In so far, the danger of future conflict, therefore, exists and will continue to exist. It is, at the same time, difficult to imagine any circumstance short of military defeat at the hands of Germany which would induce Poland to retrocede to that country a territory inhabited almost exclusively by Poles. All that could be done would be to neutralize the means of communication within the "corridor," and thus diminish the chief sources of friction. At present the German railways from East Prussia to West Prussia, where they cross the "corridor," are operated by the Polish railway administration. This intervention of a foreign railway administration in the short sections of the various German lines running across the "corridor" undoubtedly opens up possibilities of conflict.

What, then, can be done to get rid of the anomalous situation created for the various hinterlands thus cut off from their natural ports of egress to the sea? The only solution which offers any prospect of success is the friendly intervention of neutral nations. This intervention would

aim at the application of the principle of right of way, prevailing in the case of private property, to international affairs. The owner of a property cannot be shut up within it by his neighbors and denied means of communication with the surrounding country. This freedom of egress is provided by means of roads, which are the property of the State or some local authority to which the State has delegated its rights. The right to use these roads is accorded to all property-owners in the region.

The problem of seaports and hinterlands is similar to that of the right of way in the case of private property. This would mean the regulation, by international intervention, of the right of way from each hinterland to its natural port of egress to the sea. This is the solution which the Yugoslav Government has proposed for the Ghevgegi-Saloniki problem. The Belgrade Cabinet proposed that an international consortium should be formed for the operation of the Ghevgegi-Saloniki section of the Belgrade-Saloniki trunk line. The operation of the line would be carried out in the interest both of Greece and Jugoslavia.

It was proposed that 20 per cent of the administration should be French, 40 per cent Greek, and 40 per cent Yugoslav. The president of the line and the higher personnel would be French, the lower officials and employees being half Greek and half Yugoslav. Greece would thus remain in sovereign possession of the territory and only the railway line would be neutralized and internationalized. If this principle should obtain universal recognition, all danger of conflict between the hinterlands and the countries holding the seaports would be got rid of. It might even be advisable to go a step further and entrust the whole administration of the railways to some neutral country as the tripartite control might lead to conflict. One section of the employees might, for instance, go on strike while the other was willing to work. It might, however, be difficult to get the two governments directly concerned to consent to renounce all participation in the operation of the line. A beginning could be made with international control and the system afterwards modified according to the dictates of experience.

## IN FAVOR OF OUTLAWING POISON GAS

SPEECH OF HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.,  
OF NEW YORK

In the House of Representatives, Friday,  
January 21, 1927

**M**R. FISH: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, a few days ago our distinguished colleague from Ohio (Mr. Burton) made a comprehensive and very able appeal for the ratification of the treaty now pending in the other body, to eliminate the use of poison gas in time of war between civilized nations, and asked for an expression of opinion from members of the American Legion who are also members of the House of Representatives. Our distinguished colleague was a delegate of the United States at the Traffic in Arms Conference in Geneva, where he proposed the protocol to abolish the use of poison gas, supported by the President of the United States, by former Secretary Hughes, by Elihu Root, by the present Secretary of State, by General Pershing, and by the General Staff of the Army and of the Navy. Yet, for some reason, no action has been taken upon that treaty. The United States has been the most earnest advocate of mitigating the horrors of war by abolishing the use of poison gas and doing away with man's inhumanity to man as far as is humanly possible in war. Are we sincere in our professions toward humanity; and if so, who is blocking the way? The American people are entitled to know the facts, and I propose to do everything within my power to present them to the public in the hope that the American people will make their wishes known.

I want to wholeheartedly indorse the stand taken by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Burton) to mitigate the horrors of war and in the name of common sense and humanity to urge immediate favorable action by the Senate. I believe that when this treaty is passed it will be a monument—a noble monument—to this noble man, who has fought so splendidly to advance the cause of peace and good will among nations. (Applause.)

We were the first nation to advocate the prohibition of the use of gas in warfare, yet we are the only nation that hesitates to take any action to put this treaty into

effect, and the reason is simply that the chemical industries of America, many of which profited during the last war, have formed such a lobby, combined with the American Legion, that they have been able to prevent the ratification of the protocol outlawing poison gas. That is the situation regarding the vicious propaganda sent broadcast at the expense of the chemical companies for selfish and mercenary reasons.

Every thinking man and woman in America knows that the use of poison gas in the last war was merely in its infancy; that most of the varieties of gas were harmless, such as tear gas, and that the combat troops on the front lines, by use of gas masks, were able to protect themselves; but toward the end of the war new and deadly gases were invented, invisible and odorless, such as mustard gas, known by the French as yperite and by the Germans as yellow gas. This was used toward the end of the war, and the troops on the front lines who encountered mustard gas know that it burned through the clothes; that it burned into the lungs and turned the lungs into water: that it burned into the eyes and destroyed the eyesight. Why outlaw dum-dum bullets, the poisoning of wells, and the spreading of fatal bacterial germs among the civilian population and not outlaw mustard gas?

This is why I am raising my voice here, because I anticipate that in any future war we will not have to deal alone with mild and harmless varieties of poison gas, but we will have to deal with yperite, or mustard gas, and Lewisite and others that are much more deadly to both combatants and noncombatants. But the main argument for the immediate adoption of this treaty is that unless you adopt such a treaty, in the next war countless women and children in crowded cities will be destroyed, will be massacred by the use of invisible and odorless poison gas, either shot by long-range guns or dropped in huge quantities from airplanes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT: I think some of us would like to have the technical situation explained as to why it is necessary to do anything more than we did at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of

Armament, because the impression prevails that as effective international agreements not to use poison gas were entered into at that conference as were possible by the nations that were parties to that treaty.

Mr. FISH: The gentleman from Ohio is here and if he would care to answer that briefly, I should be much obliged to him.

Mr. BURTON: I would say that the treaty framed at the Washington Conference is entirely ineffective. That treaty was signed by the United States, England, France, Italy, and Japan. It was not to be binding until all the nations agreed upon it. England, the United States, Japan, and Italy ratified the treaty. France refused for the reason, as the gentleman from New York has stated, that it included also a regulation of the use of submarines. Hence the treaty has no binding force.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT: Are not the United States, England, and Japan bound today not to use poison gas?

Mr. BURTON: No. They were not bound unless all combined in the agreement. France refused, and hence the treaty has not any binding force, although it was ratified by the Senate of the United States by a unanimous vote.

Mr. FISH: As a member of the American Legion and as one of its supporters, I deplore the fact that the American Legion has gone on record against this treaty. At the same time I do not believe for one moment that that represents the view of the rank and file of the veterans of the World War. (Applause.) I am absolutely confident that I can go before any American Legion post in the United States and get 90 per cent of those American Legion members to vote for the passage of this treaty to abolish poison gas in any future war. (Applause.) There is no question about it. I am also confident that the majority of the veterans in this House are against the use of poison gas. As chairman of a committee of three which drew up the preamble to the constitution of the American Legion, I deplore the fact that this great body of civilians who were veterans of the World War have been imposed upon by outside and selfish forces, who were able to railroad through a resolution putting the Legion on record against this pending

treaty. The Legion is a civilian organization composed of veterans "to make right the master of might and to promote peace and good will on earth." It was not organized for purposes of war and trying to prevent humane agreements among nations to lessen the horrors of war. It was simply because these big interests, the chemical interests of America, working silently but effectively, through skillful management, were able to manipulate it so that the resolution was presented to the Legion and adopted after a one-sided debate.

Mr. BULWINKLE: How were they enabled to do that, through what means, who was the driving force in the American Legion that brought it about?

Mr. FISH: My sole purpose today in rising is to point out the fact that the representative of the Legion here in Washington, John Thomas Taylor, vice-chairman of the legislative committee of the Legion, a lieutenant colonel in the Reserve Corps of the Chemical Section of our Army, has used his great influence and has associated himself with the chemical manufacturers and chemists as treasurer of a national chemical defense organization to spread all kinds of propaganda to the American people against this treaty, and try to make out that the use of gas in warfare was necessary and humane. The opponents of the protocol try to make believe that poison gas is a sort of pleasant perfume for the soldiers, and after inhaling it they were sent to the rest camps and then came back revived to fight again. The answer to that is that new forms of odorless, invisible, and deadly gas were discovered toward the end of the war and since, which will make the more harmless varieties used 10 years ago mere child's play.

Mr. SIMMONS: Is this propaganda being spread by the gas organization in its own name or in the name of the American Legion?

Mr. FISH: It is being sent out by a private publicity firm employed by the National Association for Chemical Defense, an organization financing this propaganda, and in the name of the American Legion, but not by the Legion.

Mr. RANKIN: Is it not a fact that John Thomas Taylor, of whom the gentleman speaks, has been promoted from a cap-

taincy to a colonel in that department since this resolution was passed through the national meeting of the American Legion?

Mr. FISH: I so understand it, but I have not verified it.

Mr. RANKIN: He has been promoted from a captain to a lieutenant colonel since this resolution was adopted by the American Legion.

Mr. FISH: As I have stated, my sole purpose is to show the public and the Legion who is behind the opposition to outlawing poison gas. The mothers of America are entitled to know the facts and whence this iniquitous propaganda comes. Once they wake up to the facts, they will make themselves heard at the other end of the Capitol.

I concur with the charges made by Representative Burton against John Thomas Taylor, a reserve lieutenant colonel in the Chemical Warfare Service, who represents the national legislative committee of the American Legion in Washington. Without malice or any personal grievances, I submit the following charges:

I charge John Thomas Taylor with having instigated the resolution adopted by the American Legion against the poison-gas treaty.

I charge him with having used his official position in the Legion to pull the wires and to railroad the resolution through the Legion convention.

I charge him with carrying on a tremendous propaganda, financed by the chemical industries, to defeat the poison-gas treaty in the Senate.

I charge him with having attempted to bamboozle the Members of the other body, which has to pass on the treaty.

I charge him with using the Legion contrary to the avowed principles of the Legion, as set forth in its preamble, to defeat this humane proposal.

I charge him with misrepresenting the views of the rank and file of the veterans and misleading our colleagues in the other body into believing that they will incur the wrath of the legionnaires if they vote for the gas treaty.

I charge him with being the treasurer of an association of chemical officials whose aim is to defeat the pending treaty prohibiting the use of poison gas.

I call upon Howard Savage, the commander of the American Legion, to immediately investigate the charges, with a view to preventing powerful interests and important individuals, both within and without the Legion, and paid employees, from using the American Legion for selfish purposes, and thereby blocking legislation in Congress to prevent humane agreements among nations to mitigate the horrors of war.

Mr. SIMMONS: The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Burton), in his statement, suggested a congressional inquiry into this matter. Speaking for myself alone, as one service man, I feel that the service men in the House would welcome an inquiry, not only into the activities of the chemical association, but the activities of the American Legion, and lobbyists in Washington, in order that we may keep the Legion absolutely clean of charges of this or any other character.

Mr. FISH: It might be advisable. In conclusion, I want to state that I will go along with the gentleman from Ohio at any time or at any place to try to do away with and abolish the use of all forms of poisonous gas in any future war, and, in my mind, unless we do so, poison gas in the form of Lewisite or mustard gas will become the means of conveying sudden and horrible death to countless noncombatants, particularly women and children, and will become the abomination and desolation of modern civilization. (Applause.)

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## MY SYMPHONY

To live content with small means, to seek elegance rather than luxury, and refinement rather than fashion; to be worthy, not respectable and wealthy, not rich; to study hard, think quietly, talk gently, act frankly; to listen to stars and birds, to babes and sages, with open heart; to bear all cheerfully, do all bravely, await occasions, hurry never; in a word, to let the spiritual, unbidden and unconscious grow up through the common; this is to be my symphony.—William Ellery Channing.

# I WISH I'D BEEN IN THE WAR

(Child's Complaint)

By ALBERT RICHARD WETJEN

(Reprinted by special permission from *The Saturday Evening Post*; copyright 1927 by the Curtis Publishing Company.)

Rockets at dawning when the barn cocks  
crow.

Ev'ry man ashen and his heart pounds  
large;

Ev'ry man shaking as the minutes go.

Only seven more before we charge.

Rockets at dawning, and the men breathe  
fast.

There's half the division going through.  
See the major sweating as he turns at last,  
And puts away his watch—stand to!

Three golden rockets bright against the  
gray.

Hear the whistles shrilling up the line!  
Heave up! Over! What's the Captain  
say?

Battalion, steady! Right, incline!

Seven down, eight down! . . . Damn the  
wire and mud!

Take open order! . . . How the hell  
can we see? . . .

Where's the major running with his face all  
blood?

Ten of us took cover here and now there's  
three.

Whistles shrilling out again! Bombers to  
the fore!

Forward the company! . . . What's  
left to run. . . .

Hold up, George! Watcher screaming for?  
Got it in the guts! Let 'im go! He's done!

Machine guns!—drop, you fools! Listen to  
the lead

Like angry bees in summer. . . . Damn  
the smoke!

Stretcher! Stretcher! clear away the dead!  
And once I thought the war was just a  
joke!

Up again, you blighters! . . . Golly, ain't  
it wet. . . .

Mills grenades to clear that traverse—  
so—

One last run for the crumbling parapet. . . .

Bayonets at the ready. Let's go!

Thrust! Hah! Use the butt. Guard again,  
there!

Smash 'im till he can't move any more.

Steel and butt and bullet—anything is fair.

Blood and mud and lead. That's war!

Glory and adventure! Hear the bugles call!

But, little brother, hide away and cry;

For it's nothing like the war you play at all,

When men you've learned to love go out  
to die.

Rockets at dawning when the barn cocks  
crow!

The best of the men will be the first to go!  
Choking with the chlorine, croaking in the  
lead;

Lying in the wire and wishing they were  
dead:

Bleeding from the gullet, burning up with  
pain;

The best go first, and they never walk again.

Stand here, little brother, and watch the  
colors go.

Aren't the generals pretty as they lead the  
show?

See the shiny buttons and bands of shiny  
brass.

And don't you feel all thrilly as the men  
march past?

But remember, little brother, a battle isn't  
fought

With bands and shiny buttons, exactly as  
you thought;

And soldiers don't look pretty charging  
through the mud;

And there isn't much adventure with gas and  
lead and blood.

So remember, little brother, when the bugles  
call,

The war they always talk of isn't like your  
war at all.

# INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

## BRITISH ANTI-STRIKE LAW

NOTE.—Following is the text of the Anti-Strike Bill introduced in Parliament by the British Government.

A bill to declare and amend the law relating to trade disputes and trade unions, to regulate the position of civil servants and persons employed by public authorities in respect of membership of trade unions and similar organizations, to extend section five of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, and for other purposes connected with the purposes aforesaid.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

### Illegal Strikes

1. (1) It is hereby declared that any strike having any object besides the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged is an illegal strike if it is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the government, or to intimidate the community or any substantial portion of the community, and that it is illegal to commence, or continue, or to apply any sums in furtherance or support of any such illegal strike.

For the purposes of the foregoing provision a trade dispute shall not be deemed to be within a trade or industry unless it is a dispute between employers and workmen, or between workmen and workmen, in that trade or industry which is connected with the employment or non-employment or the terms of the employment, or with the conditions of labor, of persons in that trade or industry.

(2) If any person declares, instigates, furthers, or takes part in a strike declared by this act to be illegal he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or on conviction on indictment to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

(3) The provisions of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, shall not, nor shall the second proviso to subsection (1) of section 2 of the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, apply to any act done in contemplation or furtherance of a strike which is by this act declared to be illegal, and any such act shall not be deemed for the purposes of any enactment to be done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute.

### Protection of Persons Refusing to Take Part in Illegal Strikes

2. (1) No person refusing to take part or to continue to take part in any strike which is by this act declared to be illegal, shall be, by reason of such refusal or by reason of any action taken by him under this section, subject to expulsion from any trade union or society, or to any fine or penalty, or to deprivation of any right or benefit to which he would otherwise be entitled, or liable to be placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under any disability or at any disadvantage as compared with other members of the union or society, anything to the contrary in the rules of a trade union or society notwithstanding.

(2) No provisions of the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1917, limiting the proceedings which may be entertained by any court, and nothing in the rules of a trade union or society requiring the reference of disputes to arbitration shall apply to any proceeding for enforcing any right or exemption secured by this section, and in any such proceeding the court may, in lieu of ordering a person who has been expelled from membership of a trade union or society to be restored to membership, order that he be paid out of the funds of the trade union or society such sum by way of compensation or damages as the court thinks just.

(3) As respects any strike before the passing of this act which is declared by this act to have been illegal, this section shall have effect as if it had been in operation when the strike took place.

### Prevention of Intimidation, &c.

3. (1) It is hereby declared that it is unlawful for one or more persons (whether acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm, and notwithstanding that they may be acting in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute) to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or happens to be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information or of persuading or inducing any person to work or to abstain from working, if they so attend in such numbers or otherwise in such manner as to be calculated to intimidate any person in that house or place, or to obstruct the approach thereto or egress therefrom, or to lead to a breach of the peace; and attending at or near any house or place in such numbers or in such manner as is by this subsection declared to be unlawful shall be deemed to be a watching or besetting of that house or place within the meaning of section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875.

(2) In this section the expression "to intimidate" means to cause in the mind of a person a reasonable apprehension of injury to him or to any member of his family or of violence or damage to any person or property, and the expression "injury" includes injury other than physical or material injury, and accordingly the expression "apprehension of injury" includes an apprehension of boycott, or loss of any kind, or of exposure to hatred, ridicule, or contempt.

(3) In section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, the expression "intimidate" shall be construed as having the same meaning as in this section.

(4) Notwithstanding anything in any act it shall not be lawful for one or more persons, for the purpose of inducing any person to work or to abstain from working, to watch or beset a house or place where a person resides or the approach to such a house or place, and any person who acts in contravention of this subsection shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.

### Provisions as to Political Fund

4. (1) It shall not be lawful to require any member of a trade union to make any contribution to the political fund of a trade union unless before the date upon which the con-

tribution is levied he has delivered at the head office or some branch office of the trade union, notice in writing in the form set out in the first schedule to this act of his willingness to contribute to that fund and has not withdrawn the notice in manner hereinafter provided; and every member of a trade union who has not delivered such notice as aforesaid, or who, having delivered such a notice, has withdrawn it in manner hereinafter provided, shall be deemed for the purposes of the Trade Union Act, 1913, to be a member who is exempt from the obligation to contribute to the political fund of the union, and references in that act to a member who is so exempt shall be construed accordingly:

Provided that, if at any time a member of a trade union who has delivered such a notice as aforesaid gives notice of withdrawal thereof, delivered at the head office or at any branch office of the trade union, he shall be deemed for the purposes of this subsection to have withdrawn the notice as from the first day of January next after the delivery of the notice of withdrawal.

For the purposes of this subsection a notice shall be deemed to have been delivered at the head or branch office of a trade union if it has been sent by post properly addressed to that office.

(2) All contributions to the political fund of a trade union from members of the trade union who are liable to contribute to that fund shall be levied and made separately from any contributions to the other funds of the trade union, and no assets of the trade union, other than the amount raised by such a separate levy, as aforesaid, shall be carried to that fund or directly or indirectly applied or charged in furtherance of any political object to which section 3 of the Trade Union Act, 1913, applies; and any charge in contravention of this subsection shall be void.

(3) All rules of a trade union made and approved in accordance with the requirements of section three of the Trade Union Act, 1913, shall be amended so as to conform to the requirements of this act, and as so amended shall be approved by the registrar of friendly societies (in this act referred to as "the registrar") within six months after the commencement of this act or within such further time as the registrar may in special circumstances allow, and if the rules of any trade union are not so amended and approved as aforesaid they shall be deemed not to

comply with the requirements of the said section.

(4) If the registrar is satisfied, and certifies, that rules for the purpose of complying with the provisions of the foregoing subsection have been approved by a majority of the members of a trade union voting for the purpose or by a majority of delegates of such a trade union voting at a meeting called for the purpose, the registrar may approve those rules, and those rules shall thereupon have effect as rules of the union, notwithstanding that the provisions of the rules of the union as to the alteration of rules or the making of new rules have not been complied with.

(5) Section 16 of the Trade Union Act, 1871 (which provides for the transmission to the registrar of annual returns by registered trade unions), shall apply to every unregistered trade union so far as respects the receipts, funds, effects, expenditures, assets, and liabilities of the political fund thereof.

#### Regulations as to Organizations of Which Established Civil Servants May Be Members

5. (1) Among the regulations as to the conditions of service in His Majesty's civil establishments there shall be included regulations prohibiting established civil servants from being members, delegates, or representatives of any organization of which the primary object is to influence or affect the remuneration and conditions of employment of its members, unless the organization is an organization of which the membership is confined to persons employed by or under the Crown, and is an organization which complies with such provisions as may be contained in the regulations for securing that it is in all respects independent of, and not affiliated to any such organization, as aforesaid, the membership of which is not confined to persons employed by or under the Crown or any federation comprising such organizations; that its objects do not include political objects, and that it is not associated directly or indirectly with any political party or organization:

Provided that the regulations made in compliance with the provisions of this section shall not prevent—

(a) An established civil servant from remaining a member of any trade union or organization of which he had, at the commencement of this act, been a member for more

than six months, if under the rules thereof he is or may become entitled to any payment during incapacity, or by way of superannuation, or on the death of himself or his wife, or as provision for his children; or

(b) A person who in addition to being an established civil servant is, apart from his service as such, also engaged in some other employment or occupation from being any member, delegate, or representative of a trade union or organization of which the primary object is to influence or affect the remuneration or conditions of employment of persons engaged in that employment or occupation.

(2) If any established civil servant knowingly contravenes any of the provisions of the said regulations he shall be disqualified for continuing to be a member of the Civil Service.

(3) In this section the expression "established civil servant" means a person serving in an established capacity in the permanent service of the Crown, and includes any person who, having been granted a certificate by the Civil Service Commissioners, is serving a probationary period preliminary to establishment.

#### Provisions as to Persons Employed by Local and Other Public Authorities

6. (1) It shall not be lawful for any local or other public authority to make it a condition of the employment or continuance in employment of any person that he shall or shall not be a member of a trade union, or to impose any condition upon persons employed by the authority whereby employees who are or who are not members of a trade union are liable to be placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under any disability or disadvantage as compared with other employees, and any condition imposed in contravention of this section shall be void.

(2) There shall be added to section 5 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, the following provisions, that is to say:

"If any person employed by a local or other public authority wilfully breaks a contract of service with that authority, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to hinder or prevent the discharge of the functions of the authority, he shall be



liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months."

#### Restraint of Application of Funds of Trade Unions, &c., in Contravention of Act

7. Without prejudice to the right of any person having a sufficient interest in the relief sought to sue or apply for an injunction to restrain any application of the funds of a trade union in contravention of the provisions of this act, such an injunction may be granted at the suit or upon the application of the Attorney-General.

In the application of this section to Scotland there shall be substituted therein for references to an injunction references to an interdict, and for the reference to the Attorney-General a reference to the Lord Advocate.

### LITHUANIAN-SOVIET TREATY

(NOTE—Following is the text of the Lithuanian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression, signed in September, 1926. The text is taken from the *Economic and Political Survey* of the American Library in Paris. The treaty was accompanied by an exchange of notes, the text of which is also given below.)

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the one hand, and the President of the Lithuanian Republic, on the other hand, convinced that the interests of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of Lithuania demand continuous co-operation, based on mutual confidence, and desirous of contributing, within the limits of their power, to the maintenance of general peace, have agreed to conclude a treaty for the development of the friendly relations existing between them, and have designated for this purpose, as their plenipotentiaries, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; George Chicherin, member of the TSIK, of the U. S. S. R., People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Serge Alexandrovski, plenipotentiary representative of the U. S. S. R. in Lithuania, and the President of the Lithuanian Republic; Mikolas Slyazhevichyus, Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic, and Yurgis Baltrushaitis, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of

the Lithuanian Republic, who, assembled at Moscow, and having exchanged their full powers, found in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following stipulations:

#### Article 1

The Treaty of Peace concluded between Russia and Lithuania at Moscow on July 12, 1920, all stipulations of which remain in full force and are irrevocable, continues to form basis of the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic.

#### Article 2

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic undertake reciprocally to respect, under all circumstances, the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability of their frontiers.

#### Article 3

The two contracting parties undertake to refrain from any aggressive actions directed against one another.

In case one of the contracting parties, despite its peaceful attitude, should become the object of an attack on the part of one or more third powers, the other contracting party undertakes not to give support to such power or powers in the conflict against the contracting party attacked.

#### Article 4

In case one or more third powers should conclude a political agreement directed against one of the contracting parties; or in case of a conflict of the nature envisaged in Article 3, paragraph 2; or, finally, in case one of the contracting parties, not being engaged in an armed conflict, a coalition of third powers be formed with the object of establishing an economic or financial boycott against that party, the other contracting party will not participate in such an agreement or join such a coalition.

#### Article 5

In case of conflicts which may arise between them, the contracting parties agree to establish commissions of conciliation, provided the conflicts cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic means.

The composition of the said commissions, their rights, and the procedure to be fol-

lowed, will be determined in a special agreement later to be established.

#### Article 6

The present agreement shall be ratified. Ratification shall take place within six weeks from the date of signature. The exchange of ratifications shall take place at Kaunas. The agreement is drawn up in the Russian and Lithuanian languages. In case of interpretation, both texts are considered authentic.

#### Article 7

The present agreement shall enter into force from the moment of the exchange of ratifications and shall remain in force for five years, with the exception of Articles 1 and 2, which remain in force for an unlimited period of time.

The present agreement shall remain automatically in force from year to year, providing one of the contracting parties does not express its desire, at least six months before the date of expiry of the agreement, to open negotiations with a view to establishing a new form for political relations between the two States.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiary representatives have signed the present agreement and have affixed their seals thereto.

The original act is drawn up and signed at Moscow in two copies on September 28, 1926.

G. V. CHICHERIN,  
SERGE ALEXANDROVSKI,  
MIKOLAS SLYAZHEVICHYUS,  
YURGIS BALTRUSHAITIS.

#### Soviet Note to Lithuania

Moscow, September 28, 1926.

*To Mikolas Slyazhevichyus, Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic:*

Mr. MINISTER,

In connection with the agreement signed today between the U. S. S. R. and the Lithuanian Republic, I have the honor to inform you of the following:

Invariably guided by the desire to see the Lithuanian, as well as any other people, independent, a desire frequently expressed by the Government of the U. S. S. R. in its declarations and in particular in connection with the note of the Soviet Government of

April 5, 1923, addressed to the Polish Government; and guided by the sympathies which the fate of the Lithuanian people calls forth in the public opinion of the laboring classes of the U. S. S. R., the Soviet Government declares that the fact of the violation of the Lithuanian frontiers that took place against the will of the Lithuanian people has not altered the attitude of the Soviet Government in connection with the territorial sovereignty determined by Article 2 and annexed remark to the Treaty of Peace concluded between Russia and Lithuania on July 12, 1920.

I have, etc.,

GEORGE CHICHERIN.

#### Lithuania's Reply

*To George Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:*

Mr. PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR,

In connection with the signature today of the agreement between Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honor to state the following in the name of the Lithuanian people:

1. The two governments have discussed the questions of principles resulting from the membership of Lithuania in the League of Nations. The Lithuanian Government, in the negotiations connected with the conclusion of the present agreement and in its signature, was convinced that the principle established in Article 4 of the present agreement, relating to non-participation in political agreements that might be concluded between third powers and directed against one of the contracting parties, cannot interfere with the fulfilment of the obligations imposed on Lithuania by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

2. The Lithuanian Government is convinced that the membership of Lithuania in the League of Nations cannot be an obstacle to the friendly development of relations between Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. At the same time the Lithuanian Government holds the opinion that, in view of the geographical position of Lithuania, the obligations resulting for Lithuania from her membership in the League of Nations, which, according to its basis idea, is to regulate international controversies in a peaceful and just manner, cannot enroach upon the desire

of the Lithuanian people to strive for neutrality—a policy which corresponds best with her vital interests.

I have, etc.,

MIKOLAS SLYAZHEVICHYUS,  
*Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic.*

## News in Brief

"IF GERMANY DOES NOT COMPLY with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles concerning the manufacture of airplanes and chemical products, the situation will become really dangerous," said the Minister of Foreign Affairs during a debate in April in the Belgian Senate.

THE BERLIN CITY COUNCIL is reported to be considering an offer from an American group to finance the building of between 50,000 and 60,000 new houses for the city. The amount of the offer is stated to be 160,000,000 marks, in which the group expects to make a profit of 60,000,000 marks in the course of a few years. The housing shortage in Berlin at the present moment is such that 75,000 families are unprovided for.

THE TIME OF PARIS-LONDON TRAVEL, would be clipped at least thirty minutes by a proposition offered for parliamentary discussion suggesting that passengers' baggage be examined on the train by customs officials.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL inaugurated in April a giant wireless station, said to be the biggest and most powerful radio plant in Europe. Leading speakers of the Soviet Republic broadcast speeches, in which they called attention to Russia's progress in technical and applied science.

FRANCE AND GERMANY SIGNED in April a commercial protocol in the nature of a preliminary agreement preparing the way for a final commercial treaty calculated to settle a number of important tariff questions,

including the admission of French wines into Germany. The final agreement, if approved, will grant the most-favored-nation clause to French imports into Germany, while, in return, France will grant its lowest tariff rates to German goods.

IT IS UNDERSTOOD that the leading Czechoslovak banks will pay 10 per cent dividends for 1926, as against 12 in 1925 and 14 in 1924.

KRASNAIA GAZETA, PUBLISHED IN RUSSIA, anxiously records the fact that the workers in various parts of Russia are erecting new churches. One has been built by workers in a textile factory in Vladimir which employs 7,000 hands; another by 2,000 workers in the "Red October" textile factory. Eight thousand men of the Yartzeff mills in the province of Smolensk, are following the lead of the other two factories. The new churches are erected alongside the old ones, which had been closed or converted into clubs or cinema theatres.

A BILL FOR FILIPINO PLEBISCITE on independence was vetoed on April 16 by President Coolidge. The bill had previously been vetoed by Governor General Wood and the veto rejected by the Philippine legislature. Thus it came to the President of the United States.

THE WELSH CHILDREN'S world wireless greeting will be broadcast for the sixth year in succession on Goodwill Day, May 18, 1927. It says: "We, boys and girls of the Principality of Wales and of Monmouthshire, greet with a cheer the boys and girls of every other country under the sun. Will you, millions of you, join in our prayer that God will bless the efforts of the good men and women of every race and people who are doing their best to settle the old quarrels without fighting? Then there will be no need for any of us, as we grow older, to show our pride for the country in which we were born by going out to hate and to kill one another. Long live the League of Nations—the friend of every mother, the protector of every home, and the guardian angel of the youth of the world."

LA PRENSA, A SPANISH NEWSPAPER in New York, has given a part of its space to publi-

cation of La Giralda, a paper edited by the department of Spanish in Pittsburgh University. *La Prensa* not only gives some of its space to Spanish students, but offers \$3,500 yearly in prizes for Spanish work in schools and universities.

THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva has received from its committee of experts on aviation a recommendation that agreements to limit civil and military aviation be for short terms. Difficulty in forecasting development of air transportation and the possibility of serious economic results of handicapping aviation developments are given as reasons.

THE GOVERNING BOARD of the Pan-American Union has approved a new draft convention for the Union, which is to be presented to the sixth Pan-American Conference. The convention retains the chief features of resolutions adopted at the five previous Pan-American Conferences. It adds, however, a provision for the deposit with the Union of the ratifications of diplomatic instruments. This provision will, it is hoped, simplify the formalities of exchanging ratifications.

RUSSIA AND SWITZERLAND have settled their controversy arising from the Vorovsky assassination. It is assumed, therefore, that Russia will be represented at the International Economic Conference meeting in Geneva in May.

CHILE'S CONSTITUTION OF 1925 amicably separated church and state. At the same time provision was made for the payment by the government of an annual subsidy of 2,500,000 pesos, to be continued for five years. On March 18, 1927, the present government decreed the removal of all priests from government positions. This principally affected teachers in public schools and chaplains in army and navy. All subsidies to church charitable institutions are to be permanently continued. In some cases they have been increased.

THE UNEXPLORED WILDERNESS OF BRAZIL was traversed by aviator de Pinado in a hydroplane in March. He followed the headwaters of the Plata and crossed the Amazon, reaching Manaus on March 19.

DR. KEMMERER, WITH A COMMISSION, finished revising the financial system of Ecuador and drew up twenty-four laws which were approved by Congress and are now in force. On March 30 Mr. Kemmerer arrived in Bolivia to perform the same service for that country.

ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR IMMIGRANT aliens coming to the United States makes New York State his future home, the Bureau of Immigration announces. More Mexicans than any other racial group entered the United States from July to February. Most of them went to Texas, which was second to New York in the matter of permanent abode of immigrants.

AMERICAN INDIANS, says Mr. Merritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, are no longer a vanishing race. Their number is now estimated at 350,000 and is steadily increasing. Their property is estimated at \$1,600,000,090. Seventy thousand Indian children are in schools. A number of Indians are holding responsible positions in State or Federal governments.

THE THIRTEEN CHINESE CLASSES in 120 volumes have recently been presented to the Library of Congress by Dr. Philip T. Y. Sze, nephew of the Chinese Minister to the United States. It is a recently published edition and is a notable specimen of Chinese typography and book-making. The library's collection of Chinese literature is one of the largest outside China.

LOCARNO, SCENE OF THE LOCARNO TREATIES, is to have an olive tree bearing many branches planted in its public garden. The mayor will plant the tree in soil made of equal parts of German and French earth.

ALASKAN TIDES AND CURRENTS have been charted and the observation published in a report by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Southeastern Alaska embraces an area of land and water of about 35,000 square miles, forming the northern link in a chain of waterways known as the "Inside Passage." This passage stretches some 800 miles, from Puget Sound to the Gulf of Alaska.

THE EDUCATIONAL SECTION of the Pan-Pacific Conference on Education, Reclamation

and Recreation adopted resolutions April 16 advocating: First, that vocational education programs be extended to include education in citizenship as well as training the individual for a specific vocation; second, that the interchange of ideas on child welfare be extended and parents educated to strive for the systematic co-ordination of the school and home; and, third, that the Japanese and Chinese languages be recognized for university credit in the United States.

THE FIRST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE on educational films was held at Basle, Switzerland, April 7-12. The primary object of the conference was to stimulate the use of educational films in schools all over Europe.

SECRET SIGNALING by means of an invisible ray is now being developed by British scientists under the British government for use in military communications. Similar signals were the subject of war-time experiments in the United States Bureau of Standards, and the signals were radiated, says the Department of Commerce, without interference and without detection.

DR. WELLINGTON KOO, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States, resigned his position as Premier of China on April 7.

TRIPPLICATE LOCKS FOR THE PANAMA CANAL, instead of the present duplicate locks, and expenditure of \$50,000,000 to increase the facilities were advocated by Representative Martin B. Madden, of Chicago, Illinois, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, in a conference with President Coolidge on April 18.

THE FIRST GOVERNMENT AIRWAYS ROUTE MAP under the commercial or civil aviation law is soon to be issued for the guidance of aviators.

A NEW SOURCE OF IRRITATION between Yugoslavia and Italy has arisen lately in Dalmatia. The property rights of Italians there are guaranteed by treaties and special pacts. A recent issue of the *Popolo d'Italia*, a paper edited by the Premier's brother, asks whether, in view of violations of treaties by Yugoslavia damaging Italian interests, the time has not come for Italy to denounce all treaties violated by Yugoslavia, especially the Treaty of Rapallo.

RHIEMS CATHEDRAL, COMPLETELY RESTORED as far as modern work can restore that of the thirteen century, will be turned over to the Catholic Church on May 26. Kings of France were formerly crowned at Rhiems—one by Joan of Arc. The repairs have been paid for by contributions from France and many other parts of the world.

THERE WERE 1,141 AIRPLANES in commercial and air mail service in this country in 1926. Their operations embraced aerial passenger service, express of merchandise, mapping, photography, crop dusting, exploration, news service, and many other uses. There were 387,852 passengers carried during the year.

A GERMAN GOOD-WILL SHIP, the *Vaterland*, has recently visited New York, where it returned an American flag captured during the war. The ship is sailing around the world, bearing an exhibit of German industrial products, and hopes to further commercial good will.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION, founded last year, held a conference at Prague April 18 and 19. The main theme considered was "What the school can do for peace." The subject was attacked on three lines: 1. Reports on work already done; 2. Obstacles encountered and their origin; 3. Plans for extending school correspondence, tours and exchanges.

THE BULGARIAN 21ST NATIONAL ASSEMBLY was closed by King Boris on April 16, after its ten turbulent sessions. A desperate but unsuccessful attempt has been made by the opposition to restore proportional representation. All parties, as well as the newspapers, are said to approve the peace policy of the present government.

THE GOVERNING BOARD of the Pan-American Union postponed its regular monthly session from April 6 to April 12 in order to honor the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Henry Clay. Clay was an ardent champion of the cause of the Latin-American republics during their struggles for independence.

ONE-DAY SHOPPING TRIPS from London to Paris will shortly be operated by the imperial

airways. An airplane will leave Croydon at 7:15 a. m., and passengers will have about seven hours in Paris before returning at 6:30 p. m. Should the service prove popular, a corresponding trip may be inaugurated, operating from Paris to London and back.

THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA announced, in the House of Lords, on March 30, that a commission to revise the constitution of India will be appointed next fall or within a year thereafter. The present constitution was put in operation in 1919. British statesmen believe that much has been accomplished under this constitution. But reforms are necessary now. The earlier date for the commission will be chosen if, in the meantime, Hindu-Moslem friction subsides and Indian co-operation can be looked for.

THE CALIPH OF MOROCCO has formally opened to the commerce of the world important zones about the port of Quemado, on the Mediterranean. Madrid considers this a proof of the solid basis upon which peaceful conditions are being established in Morocco.

CANBERRA, THE NEW FEDERAL CAPITAL of Australia, is to open formally on May 9. Although the British colony of Australia is 139 years old, the Federation of Australian States has existed for only 27 years. On May 9, 1901, the first Australian Parliament was opened in the temporary capital, Melbourne. The foundation of the permanent capital, on federally owned territory, was laid in 1913. The design for the city of Canberra is by an American architect and is said to be suggestive of the plan of our own Washington, D. C.

AN AGRICULTURAL CENSUS of the world is planned for the year 1930 by the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. European nations and the United States have already agreed to co-operate.

CLASSMATES OF WILLARD STRAIGHT in Cornell have established a fund in his memory which will be used to aid Chinese students. The Chinese Minister at Washington, Mr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, who is also a member of the class of 1901, Willard Straight's class, is to be consulted in selecting beneficiaries of the fund. During the last 20 years an average of fifty Chinese students have been working at Cornell yearly.

TREATIES FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES between Switzerland and Rumania and between Norway and Finland have recently been negotiated.

ITALY IMPORTS MORE GOODS from the United States than from any other country, according to Italian foreign trade statistics for 1926.

PREMIER MUSSOLINI OF ITALY and Count Bethlen, Premier of Hungary, signed, on April 5, a treaty of friendship, conciliation, and arbitration.

THE CHINESE INSTITUTE OF PARIS has recently been opened at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*. The Institute is intended to bring about a closer relation between the Chinese and the French by means of a common education.

THE PRAGUE FAIR, which opened in Czechoslovakia on March 20, had exhibitions from most of the countries of Europe, including Great Britain, Brazil, and the United States.

THE JITSUGO-NO-HAWAII, which recently issued a peace edition, has now brought out a number for southern California. The book is partly in English, partly in Japanese. Its dominant note is understanding, friendship, and peace between California and Japan.

IT IS ANNOUNCED FROM MANILA that the Anglo-American College at Foo-Chow, China, is to reopen, and needs two men teachers and two new women teachers.

A PAN-ASIATIC LEAGUE is under discussion in Asia, according to "International Gleanings from Japan." The advisability of regional groups of the League of Nations was discussed at the tenth conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Associations. Since that time a conference of representatives of Russia, China, Persia, and Afghanistan has met in Moscow to discuss a League for Asia which should be quite distinct from the League centered at Geneva.

A PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE on Education, Rehabilitation, Reclamation, and Recreation was held in Honolulu, April 11 to 16. It was called by the President of the United States, in accordance with a joint resolution of the Senate and House, to be held under the auspices of the Department of the Interior. Acceptances were received from

Mexico, Panama, Peru, Honduras, Japan, Australia, Canada, and the Philippines.

IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AMERICA from Europe is continuing in increasing numbers, according to a tabloid of international labor news just issued by the Department of Labor. A large number of Italian agricultural immigrants are expected in Paraguay; 96,887 immigrants have entered the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil, in the last year, and a group of Austrian immigrants recently has arrived in Ecuador.

AN AGREEMENT IS REPORTED to have been signed by the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway with the Japanese Yamashita Kisen Kaisha Steamship Company covering ocean transportation from Vladivostok to ports of Japan, China, India, and Europe. According to this contract, the railway is stated to have granted the steamship company the exclusive right to carry all ocean freight from Vladivostock which emanates from the Chinese Eastern Railway.

MR. MASSEY, CANADA'S FIRST MINISTER to the United States, took up his new duties in Washington in February. William Phillips, of Massachusetts, Ambassador to Belgium and former undersecretary of state, is the first minister of the United States to Canada.

CZECHOSLOVAK STUDENT ARCHITECTS will visit the United States early in the spring to study American architecture. This trip is arranged by officers of the American Institute of Architects, through Dr. E. Zimmer, president of Masaryk Academy of Work at Prague. At the same time forty engineering students from Czechoslovakia will enter this country under the auspices of the American Engineering Council and will be given practice work in American industrial plants.

THE EXPORT OF MOTION-PICTURE FILMS from the United States was less in 1926 than in 1925, according to a report from the Department of Commerce. Latin America has become the leading market for American films from the standpoint of quantity. Eu-

rope is still the chief consumer of American films from the point of value.

AYMARA INDIAN CHILDREN OF BOLIVIA have sent, through the National Young Women's Christian Association of this country, a large box of home-made toys to the Indian children of North America as an evidence of their friendship and good will.

REGULAR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS are being instituted by Yugoslavia with the Baltic States. Hitherto Yugoslavia, out of special regard for pre-revolutionary Russia, had no diplomatic representatives in States which were once parts of Russia, though it had consuls.

THE AUSTRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION of Vienna offers to Americans traveling in Europe several courses of study from July 18 to August 27, 1927. The subjects offered are the German language, sight-seeing trips with instructors, social problems and art; for teachers there are three courses on phases of education.

MR. JULIUS KLEIN HAS BEEN APPOINTED secretary general of the Inter-American High Commission, a body which has national sections in each of the twenty-one American republics.

### SOUFFLE D'EOLE

By LUCIEN LAURENT

*Bruis plaintivement  
Dans le vent,  
Harpe éolienne  
De ma peine.*

*Mon coeur que tu mords  
D'un remords  
Préfère au silence . . .  
Sa souffrance.*

*Il vaut mieux  
Souffrir sur les cimes  
Pour ses dieux,*

*Qu'aller aux abîmes  
Muets où s'éteint  
Le destin.*

## LETTER BOX

### A LOST OPPORTUNITY

"My son," as Oxenstiern, the eminent Swedish Prime Minister, is reported to have said in substance to a young man, "when you examine into world affairs you will be astonished to discover the little wisdom with which the business of nations is conducted." This reference comes back to the writer when he views the conduct, first, of Great Britain, and then of the United States, in dealing with affairs in China.

The sending of troops, and then more troops, to that country under the plea of protection for nationals manifestly provokes and must continue to provoke increasing opposition on the part of the Chinese and increasing contempt on their part for the efforts of our supposed Christian civilization.

What a wonderful opportunity was lost by the United States in connection with this whole business! Suppose at the very inception of Chinese difficulties we had said to the chiefs of the two rival Chinese factions: "We shall not send troops to your country. They would only intensify trouble. We expect to rely upon your good faith and your honor to see that no American life is taken and no American disturbed in the possession of his liberty and property." Quite aside from the point that this course would have been in the higher sense of the word Christian, it would also have been of the greatest possible service alike to this country and to China.

We have a right to believe that the Chinese are in their normal reactions not different from ourselves. We know that if we were placed upon our honor as a nation to do the right thing we would studiously avoid the performance of the wrong. We may, therefore, expect that the attitude of the Chinese would have been the same.

Not this, however, has been our course. We have believed that the accidental or, if you please, wrongful, killing of an American was in some way atoned for by the killing in turn of a hundred Chinese, and that the repeated killing of Chinese meant greater safety for Americans. The fact that the opposite was true, and in the present

state of human nature must be true, has not prevented us from relying upon force and guns rather than upon righteousness.

The idea which I am trying to convey has been illustrated in a minor way by the judicious protection many of our cities afford to their public parks and the flowers that adorn them. These cities, instead of putting up signs to the effect that "All trespassers will be arrested and fined." "The grass must not be trampled on or flowers plucked under penalty of fine," say in their notices something to this effect: "This property is the property of all the people, and the city relies upon its citizens to preserve undisturbed the property of all for the benefit of all." Is there anyone who thinks that it is better, under the circumstances stated, to rely upon force than to rely upon the good sense and good intentions of the vast majority of our citizens? In this way, without force or violence or the threat of it, citizens protect their parks in the most efficient manner possible.

Transfer this simple line of action to the field of nations. Would not our suggestion to the Chinese of reliance upon their honor be infinitely better than unavailing attempts to protect Americans by killing Chinese?

To take this line of action, which would have seemed to the writer to be Christian, as well as effective, seems not to have entered the brains of any of our authorities. We have blindly plunged ahead, killing right and left, with and without excuse. We will have as the reward of our action missionary efforts stopped, Americans driven out of China, and, to come to a more sordid plane, American business men infinitely injured. As the further reward of our conduct, we will reap years of hatred toward Americans.

Is it not to be hoped that at some time in the not-too-distant future nations will learn that their sovereignty ends at their own borders, and that they must rely, and can better rely, upon the good faith of other nations to treat their citizens fairly?

Think what a revolution in the thought of the world might have been wrought had our government taken such a position as I have indicated—a position which may not be regarded as theoretical or Utopian, but which analysis will show to be in the very highest degree practical and beneficial and taking count of individual and national psychology.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE WORLD OF WILLIAM CLISSOLD. By *H. G. Wells*. Two volumes. George H. Doran Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$5.00.

The habit of writing outlines is still strong upon Mr. Wells. This time, however, it is the philosophy of human life upon which he dwells. Past, present, and future furnish him with data. He strives to make them drift together in some sort of logical pattern which shall be in accord with the laws, as he conceives them, of social and political science. The vehicle of expression for these generalizations he calls a "Novel at a new angle." It would generally be considered a novel no more than Rousseau's *Emile*. It is much less significant. Fully two-thirds of the work has no story content. It is the rumination, not too well organized, of a garrulous elderly gentleman. Though occasionally neat, it is for the most part too voluble, too languidly discursive, to be valuable.

Whether or not Clissold, as a character independent from Wells, is responsible for the ideas of the book is a matter for each reader to decide for himself. The illusion is very tenuous, where it exists at all, and is finally broken when, in criticising a previous book of his "Cousin Wells," Clissold is made to say, "If a character may for once turn on his creator and be frank about him."

The book takes up all the after-war scepticisms and finds them mostly well grounded. Religion, current education, social customs, political doctrines, sex propriety, are all discussed volubly, cleverly, destructively. Yet Mr. Wells—or should we say Mr. Clissold?—believes that he is building up a constructive plan upon which the world may function more successfully.

It is difficult to extract from the maze of discursive thoughts anything so tangible as a plan. Yet the writer refers to what he has written as a scheme for "an economic world republic" which he proposes, rather wearily, to advertise and push.

Mr. Wells has written novels so much better and essays so much keener that we wish he had kept the two separate here and organ-

ized each after its own laws. The combination is, in this case, boring and profitless.

EUROPA YEAR-BOOK, 1927. *Michael Frabman, Ramsey Muir, and Hugh F. Spender*, editors. Pp. 642. Harper & Bro., New York; Europa Publishing Co., London, 1927. Price, \$5.00.

To readers of international books and news this year-book, the second of its kind, will be invaluable. Not only is it a "Who's Who" and directory for European politics, trade, science, art, and literature, but it contains valuable articles and statistics on all those topics. Migration, trade, agriculture, finance, education, armaments—all have special treatment. The main international associations are outlined, with the astonishing omission of the Interparliamentary Union, which we failed to find. Near the end of the book some pages are given to lists of Americans in Europe. These include government representatives, large investors, and newspaper men. A European bibliography and personal index complete this useful reference book.

SOUTHERN ALBANIA IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, 1912-1923. By *Edith Pierpont Stickney*. Pp. 195, bibliography and index. Stanford University Press, 1926. Price, \$2.50.

Southern Albania or northern Epirus, a long-disputed region endangering the peace of Europe, is a locality interesting from many points of view. Though the region is only a little larger than the State of Delaware, its geographical importance is great. It faces the heel of Italy, only about sixty miles across the neck of the Adriatic Sea, and, together with the northern section, has long been coveted by that country.

Economically, the south of Albania is less backward than the more rugged north. Its mountains, too, carry extensive forests, as yet scarcely touched, and there are believed to be great unexploited mineral resources there.

Greece, on linguistic and historical grounds, believes southern Albania rightfully belongs to her. Italy desires its control for strategic reasons. Albania herself, north and south, has a strong desire for national unity, and other Balkan States also desire her independence lest Italy or Greece become dominant in the peninsula.

This essay by Miss Stickney gives a brief historical survey of European events affecting

southern Albania before 1912 and a much more detailed account of its history from that date to 1923. The material which she has used is from the collection, largely unpublished material, in the Hoover War Library at Stanford University.

The recent flurry of excitement over the Treaty of Tirana, between Italy and Albania, and its ruffling of the peace of Europe, makes this a very timely document, as it is also scholarly and readable.

The manuscript was awarded the George Louis Beer prize by the American Historical Association in 1925.

JOHNNY APPLESEED. By *James Latimore Himrod, LL. D.* Pp. 28. Chicago, Historical Society, 1926.

The story of this different sort of pioneer in mid-America has struck the imagination of numerous writers. At least four works of fiction have been based upon his life, and dozens of magazine and newspaper stories have appeared from time to time about Johnny Applesseed. Traveling with his bags of seeds for company, this kindly, gentle soul rode back and forth between settled lands and the pioneer outposts, bringing to the frontier the apple seeds he begged from the cider-presses or from some well-grown orchard in the East. He planted for the scattered families and taught them how to care for the young orchards, returning year by year to continue his supervision until the trees were safe. As the outposts moved farther west, Johnny, too, pushed out, far as a single lonely cabin could be found.

To correct some of the inaccuracies which have crept into the Johnny Applesseed story, his grandson, who knew him well, has written this little brochure. As a character, Johnny already lives, from Miss Atkinson's novel, published by Harper in 1915. But a pamphlet of this sort is historically interesting as well.

A pageant play based on the story is included in the booklet.

SPANISH ALTA CALIFORNIA. By *Alberta Johnson Denis.* Pp. 537 Index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

Here is a subject of great potential interest. The early days of California were full of heroic and romantic interest. The penetration, from Lower California and from other parts of Mexico to the upper province,

now our State of California, is a rich and eventful story. Apparently, too, the author has spared no pains to gather her wealth, not to say clutter, of material. Unfortunately, however, the sentence structure is often so inverted and involved that to read a page is like translating from another tongue. The thought, also, in many spots jumps inconsequently from one point to another and back again. Will not somebody rewrite this formless, but probably valuable, collection of data, so we can read and enjoy the story of early California?

GENEVA OPIUM CONFERENCES: STATEMENTS OF THE CHINESE DELEGATES. By *Sao-ke Alfred Sze.* Pp. 163. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1926.

Dr. Sze was at the head of the Chinese delegation to the Washington Limitation of Armament Conference and to the two Geneva opium conferences of 1924 and 1925. As head of the delegations, he was spokesman for China. Therefore, his editing and publishing of these statements vouches for their accuracy. They appeared, of course, in the minutes published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Sze, a courteous and expert diplomat, now minister of China to the United States, says in his introduction to this book that one reason for its presentation in a volume is that he wishes to correct misleading newspaper reports sent out from Geneva and to stimulate the formation of a Chinese foreign news service.

In this connection we recall that Mr. Wiloughby, in his book on the Geneva Conference on Opium, devotes its closing paragraph to a strong indictment of the continual misrepresentation of American arguments in European papers during the conferences.

A brief introduction and two letters in annexes are all that this volume of Dr. Sze's contains besides the Chinese statements as reported by the League of Nations. It is a valuable contribution to the story of opium control and to China's attitude toward it.

ADDRESSES. By *Sao-ke Alfred Sze.* Pp. 131. Johns Hopkins Press, 1926.

This is a collection of five addresses delivered by the able Chinese minister to the United States, in the year 1925-26.

They treat of China's problems, her unrest and her general attitude toward the West. They are ably composed, restrained and straightforward. They explain much that Occidentals ought to know about China. Withal they are friendly in tone, if unequivocal in their exposition of fact.

It is such interpreters as these which are needed if East and West are ever to meet.

PLEASURE FROM PICTURES. By *Henry Turner Bailey*, Pp. 33. American Library Association, Chicago.

The American Library Association has been publishing a series of booklets under the general title "Reading with a Purpose." They are a series of reading courses, each compiled with comment and instructive criticism by an expert in the given field.

This little brochure by Mr. Bailey is, as anyone who knows the author would expect it to be, breezy, helpful and unostentatious. He has those qualities of a genuine teacher which win you to interest in his subject. He speaks from a lifetime of work in art and love for it. Therefore his list of books and comments on pictures are not only charming, but educational even to a beginner in art.

STORIES OF PORTO RICO. By *Elizabeth Kneip-ple Van Deusen*. Pp. 245. Silver Burdette & Co., New York, 1926.

This is a pleasing little school reader, designed especially for children of the seventh and eighth grades in Porto Rico schools. The stories are of Porto Rico children, their adventures and surroundings. It is written in natural, vivacious English, with the hope that pupils will learn to use more idiomatically the language of the United States. The familiar names and places serve to hold the interest of native readers. It would be a useful and instructive supplementary reader as well in the United States. Because the writer is a lover of beauty and poetry, her appreciation of the island, its inhabitants and its scenic loveliness, would be inspiring also to American youths.

UTOPIA IN CHAINS. By *Morris Gordin*. Pp. 272. Houghton & Mifflin Co., Boston, 1926. Price, \$2.50.

The writer of this book fled from Russia to the United States in 1912 to escape the terrors of the Stolypin rule in his own land.

An ardent socialist, he conceived that in a land where capitalism was at its highest there its fall and the advent of socialism were nearest. He longed for the coming of class revolution.

When, in 1917, news came of the revolution in Russia, Gordin was filled with joy. He wished to return to his old home; but it was not until 1921 that all obstacles were overcome, and, with a forged passport and under an assumed name, he set sail for Russia, the "Country of Proletarian Freedom."

The narrative is flowery for the first few chapters, full of rhapsody and bombastic visions. When, however, Gordin and his little shipboard commune reach the Soviet border, the style changes to quick, detailed narrative of things as they happen.

For three years Gordin worked for the Communist Party in different parts of Russia. Increasingly he found himself unable to escape the conviction that Bolshevism was a monster of brutal dictatorship, its methods unscrupulous and stupid. Reform from within seemed to be impossible. At last he admitted to himself that tyranny must remain the basis of the Russian régime. No freedom existed, either Proletarian or any other.

Disillusioned, he got himself transferred back to America, ostensibly to work here for the *Internationale*. But he carried secretly in his boots a counter-revolutionary document, written on sheets of cigarette paper.

His book reads like a truthful document. It probably voices the experience of many socialist idealists after they have been confronted with actual conditions in Soviet Russia.

THE PRESIDENT'S HAT. By *Robert P. Herring*. Pp. 219. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$3.50.

One is at a loss to decide whether the young author of this book is, himself, more concerned with the country through which the two young men of his tale tramped or with their casual talk by the way. The conversation wandered from cabbages to kings, seldom significant, if never banal. The reader, at all events, would prefer to know about the little-traveled region in which they climbed up to Andorra, the hidden republic among the Pyrenees.

This one gets, delightfully, but quite indefinitely, through the fresh outlook of the youths, who enjoy their stops by streams to

eat, bathe, and nap, quite as much, apparently, as they do the bits of the Charlemagne myth upon which they continually stumble. The little towns which have lived undisturbed for eleven centuries among their mountains are casually sketched. There is a bit about the natives, more about the lunches and dinners and beds.

The Republic of Andorra, itself, the objective of the whole trip, is so incidentally handled that one feels afresh how unimportant is a goal compared to the thrill of approaching it. Just what does constitute the interest of Andorra? Is it solely the difficulty of access? We are compelled to refer to guide books for real information. Even inaccessibility will soon be lost, however, for the trampers found to their distress that bus routes are soon to climb even to Andorra.

WAR, PATRIOTISM AND PEACE. By *Leo Tolstoy*, Pp. 124. Vanguard Press, New York, 1926. Price, 50 cents.

The anti-war convictions of the great Russian novelist are too familiar to need recapitulation here. A member of the old Russian ruling class, he early learned to resent war and all other forms of oppression. By choice he lived as a peasant, though born a Count. He worked with his hands and wrote the novels which have made him famous.

But his pen was busy, too, almost up to the time of his death, in 1910, trying to win people to his views on brotherhood.

The articles and letters republished here are a valuable part of the history of the European peace movement.

The Vanguard Press is republishing, at a nominal price, numerous other books, of the sort which have questioned the prevailing social order. Among them are William Morris' "News from Nowhere" and Bellamy's "Looking Backward." There are other books more modern, of a radical trend, and another classic, though abridged, George's work on the single tax, "Progress and Poverty."

MAN IS WAR. By *John Carter*. Pp. 398, index, maps. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1926. Price, \$3.50.

"Civilization has harnessed to the use of war the primitive forces which are as old as

man; rhythm, vanity, herd instinct, and rallying instinct. Their symbols are the fife and drum, the uniform, the regiment, and the flag. Against these the peace-mongers storm in vain, for they are so deep in human nature that they can never be eliminated."

John Carter, whose sources for this book are, he says, "ten years of youth in a dozen different countries and a score of cities," takes up, one after another, the tools devised by man for building a world and finds them sure to build for war as well as for cooperation. And this because of man's inherent nature.

The fearless, clever manner in which he attacks his subject is arresting. He looks upon political bodies and finds them sure to collide with each other. He looks at the League of Nations, and though it can prevent some difficulties, it has, says the author, seen some forty wars since its inception, after which it probably stopped one. He considers, too, that British statesmen have made the League machinery an almost perfect instrument for British diplomacy.

He discusses proletarchy, theocracy, diplomacy, and in each he sees seed of more conflict than harmony. Communism and capitalism, not quite separable in practice, both hold menaces. Of the two, only capitalism is workable; but it is full of pitfalls.

Mr. Carter seldom swerves to actual bitterness, though the "Diplomatic Dictionary" at the end of the book is caustic enough. He seems rather to be honestly trying to uncover the facts.

A few harassing problems may, he concludes, be solved by man. Certain present dangers may quite probably be overcome; but in each topic his logic takes him always to the dead level of this: "The world will find peace when man is extinct; for man is war."

There is no joy visible in his conclusions. He frankly speaks of "danger spots" as though war were a calamity. He seems to share the world longing, if not its dream of peace. Does it not occur to Mr. Carter that this longing is also rooted deep in man? The whole book, in fact, is a testimony to the great human dream of peace. And who dare prophesy that so deep a hunger may not one day harness even the rhythm, the vanity, and the mass instincts of the race to the service of its dream?

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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Founded 1828 from Societies some of which began in 1815.

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes *Advocate of Peace*, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

## FEES

The minimum fees for membership:  
Annual Membership is five dollars;  
Sustaining Membership, ten dollars;  
Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;  
Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

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\* Emeritus.

# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—e. g., addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The international Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1860, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forestall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

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\* 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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## "A NOTABLE INFLUENCE FOR PEACE"

(The following editorial appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Wednesday, May 18. Every member of the American Peace Society will be deeply gratified by this gracious statement from that widely circulated journal especially and effectively devoted to the promotion of a better international understanding.—THE EDITOR.)

**B**ECAUSE of the very great influence for peace among nations that has been exerted by the American Peace Society for nearly a hundred years, it is not too early to call attention to the fact that next year there will be celebrated a centenary of activity in that particular field which should give fresh courage to the many men and women who are laboring unselfishly that nations do away with war.

"From the small beginning of the society founded by William Ladd on May 8, 1828, there has grown up an organization the ramifications of which extend indirectly into every corner of the civilized globe. In this auspicious hour, when nations seem to be striving earnestly to see the light that shall not only shine in darkness, but dispel forever the heavy shadows that have been pressing so close to earth, it is well to take thought for what William Ladd envisaged for the future when he laid the foundation of the American Peace Society, while living for nearly thirty years in the town of Minot, Maine. Born in 1778, he is to be honored equally with the Society's centennial when the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth is to be celebrated next year.

"It was therefore most fitting that the State Senate of Maine recently adopted a resolution setting forth the great debt that the United States owes to this Apostle of Peace who, reads the resolution, 'was to the cause of a law-governed world what Elijah Parrish Lovejoy of Maine was to the freedom of the press and to the abolition of slavery, . . . what Neal Dow of Maine was to the cause of temperance.'

"Turning to the American Peace Society as it is today, we find identified with the Society some of the most representative men and women of the United States. No President perhaps has done more to assure confidence in the organization than Theodore E. Burton, member of Congress from Ohio, who has associated with him in the work those who loyally and quietly advance the interests of the organization wherever these interests square with world pacification. In the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, of which Arthur Deerin Call is the editor, the Society possesses an organ which, never officiously, asserts a considerable influence among its many readers. Located in Washington, the Society can look far and wide across the seas and mountains for such regions where perhaps its word may be heard for the benefit of those to whom peace has not always been the better way out of international difficulties.

"It is for this reason that it seems wholly apropos to speak a word of praise for the American Peace Society as it nears its one hundredth year of activity. Those of the present generation can hardly conceive of

what it meant in those early days to be as one crying in the wilderness. But the fact that it is vigorous and active today, that it has survived difficulties and surmounted obstacles, should be sufficient to prove the merits of the Society. Elihu Burritt, the "Learned Blacksmith," as he is called, came after Ladd, and walked in his footsteps. Burritt went across the seas to carry his message of peace among the nations. The future historian of world peace will have to reckon with both these names to make history complete."

### THREE CONTRIBUTIONS BY OUR UNITED STATES TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

**I**F WE were to judge by the much that is laid before us in printers' ink we should all be forced to join in one lugubrious wail of gloom and woe. We are asked to turn to China, to the Balkans, to Central America, to Geneva, and we are told that the whole world hates the United States. The outlook for the world is only dark. As some one has recently remarked, "the more one contemplates the world, the better one understands why new-born babes are red in the face."

But things are not usually as totally bad as they seem. As Mark Twain said of Wagner's music, "It is not half so bad as it sounds." The peace movement is not dead. Like every good movement, it suffers from two forces: First, the hard-boiled porcupines, the wicked opposers; and, second, its lunatic friends, the half-baked gelatitudinarians. Pondering upon these two groups of extremists, one is reminded of the names of poor little Miss Flite's birds, her "Wards in Jarndyce," such as "Plunder," "Precedent," "Jargon," "Gammon," and "Spinach."

Peace for the world is a longing of the ages. That is why we have had the peace plans of Virgil, Dante, Erasmus, Crucé,

Grotius, Henry IV, William Penn, St. Pierre, Rousseau, Kant, Ladd. Some of the peace efforts of men have been religious in their quality, such as those of the early Christians, of the Church of the Middle Ages, and later, of the Quakers. Some have been political and legal, such as illustrated by the military alliances set forth in the Bible, by the Greek Amphictyonies, by the Roman Empire.

Our Union of free, sovereign, independent States is itself an expression of the will to peace. Our country has made many contributions to the peace of the world. Attention is here called to three of these contributions. They are very real.

In the first place, it may be claimed for our country that it offers to the peace of the world the greatest peace conference, certainly of modern history, the Federal Convention of 1787. That convention was no flash in the pan. It was a natural evolution out of a long colonial experience in international affairs, out of a variety of colonial plans for union, out of a give and take between many commercial groups through a number of States. It was the flower of seed sown in the Declaration of Independence and fertilized with the blood of the American Revolution. It flowed from an experience of a decade with a confederation of free, sovereign, independent States. The delegates to that convention met with the purpose of establishing peace between the thirteen free, sovereign, independent States. Because of their handiwork we maintain today peace between forty-eight free, sovereign, independent States, and that without the coercion of arms. The fruits of their endeavors have endured. Our union of free, sovereign, independent States is the oldest union existing under a continuous constitution in all the world. Other nations concerned to promote peace between themselves may well afford to study that convention. In any event, it is one of our

very great contributions to the peace of the world.

Our country offers to the peace of the world also the greatest peace program, at least of modern history. We have shown that it is possible to organize a Federal Union of free, sovereign, independent States, and at last to maintain peace between those States. The program based upon the equality of States, and upon the principle that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, is a workable program. It assumes just government to be a government of laws and not of men. The government itself is founded in and is controlled by the law. In case of dispute between States, or between a State and our government, there is a way for the settlement of the dispute without resort to war. Disputes between the States or between the States and the Government are settled in accordance with the principles of law and equity, backed only by the sanction of public opinion. Thus sovereignty with us in matters of the States is founded not in arms, but in consent. Since this program works to the satisfaction of all parties, it is a very great program. In all the history of the world there is no greater program for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

And, third, our country offers to the peace of the world a very great peace society, a peace society that achieves peace daily, often in acute international disputes, some of which might readily lead to war. That peace society is our Department of State. It is made up of men chosen to represent us in the international field. They represent us in matters involving international debts, revolutions in foreign countries, commercial treaties, international conferences of various kinds, the adjudication of claims of our citizens against foreign countries, disputes between foreign powers. It conducts a diplomatic foreign service with missions in

fifty-one countries. It conducts a consular service in four hundred ten cities of fifty-seven countries. It has a total personnel at home and abroad of over four thousand. It is a peace society that works. It is a very important contribution which we of the United States make to the peace of the world.

The friends of peace, especially in this country, can afford to recognize these three major contributions to the cause they aim to promote. Not to do so is to merit the charge of sentimentality commonly made against all our work. If we disassociate our ideals from these practical enterprises, we find ourselves primarily concerned not only with sentimentalities but unrealities. As Professor Hocking of Harvard University phrases it in his *Man and the State*, "Sentimentality means subjective value shrinking from application to fact; it accepts feeling at its face value, while rejecting the thought and action which the feeling means." As social and economic ideals belong together, different phases of the same thing, so our peace ideals and our peace behavior are different phases of the same thing. The denial of either destroys the other. America has made three distinct contributions to the peace of the world. The constructive peace worker will remember them, make use of them, and mould his thought and action accordingly.

#### WHAT DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THINK?

**T**HE National Civic Federation renders a service by trying to find out what it is we American people think. Before one can reply with dignity and intelligence to those preaching what may appear to be un-American propaganda, it is of some importance that we know what it is the American people think.

The National Civic Federation, with headquarters on the thirty-third floor of

the Metropolitan Tower, New York City, in its attempt to find out what it is the American people think, asks twelve questions. We print them in their entirety with the hope that everyone of our readers will answer them and send the replies to Ralph M. Easley at the headquarters of the Federation.

"1. How far should the United States go in protecting the lives of its nationals in foreign countries?"

"2. How far and in what manner should the United States protect the established property rights of its citizens abroad?"

"3. How far and in what manner should the United States protect the lives and property of American missionaries abroad?"

"4. Should the United States favor the arbitration of all questions, including those which involve national honor and vital interests, such as 'Sovereign Rights,' the Monroe Doctrine, the recognition of Soviet Russia, the Japanese Exclusion Act and the restrictions in our general immigration laws?"

"5. In the face of a forcible collection of a debt from a weak Latin-American republic by a European nation, or an attempt forcibly to require compensation for any injury inflicted upon the nationals of a European nation by a Latin-American republic, would the United States be justified, under the Monroe Doctrine, in intervening with a view to working out an amicable settlement between the two nations?"

"6. What is meant by 'American Imperialism'?"

"7. Are all wars 'futile, suicidal and criminal'?"

"8. Would 'outlawing war' prevent war?"

"9. Would the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico and the lifting of the embargo on arms necessarily spell war?"

"10. In view of the unsettled conditions in the world today—with practically every country, except the United States, preparing for contingencies, as disclosed in the discussions at Geneva; with 48 per cent of the world's gold in our vaults and with our increasing trade in all markets of the world, to say nothing of the unpopularity

of our country growing out of war debt settlements—should we fully support the National Defense Act of 1920 and especially the programs of the Military Training Camps Association and the R. O. T. C.? Or, on the other hand, being actually and economically the most powerful nation on earth, should we set an example to the world by adopting a policy of complete disarmament?"

"11. What grounds, if any, are there for the popular belief that 'the World War was a war to end war,' and that our boys went overseas with that high purpose, and only that, as an objective?"

"12. What justification, if any, is there for the demand that the State Department should conduct its international negotiation 'in the broad light of day'?"

## BALKANS FOR THE BALKANS

"**B**ALKANS for the Balkans," heard increasingly in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece, does not seem to fit well with the Treaty of Tirana, concluded November 27 last, between the governments of Italy and Albania. Albania is one of the Balkans. Italy's treaty with her, without reference to the three other Balkan States, is thought, especially by Yugoslavia, to be a serious menace to the public peace of Europe. A very slight acquaintance with the history of Europe will lead one to realize the importance of any serious disturbance in the Balkans.

The Treaty of Tirana is looked upon as an intervention in the internal affairs of the Balkan peninsula by a non-Balkan power. Intervention in the internal affairs of the Balkans has frequently been the curse of that section of Europe. What is commonly called "the Balkan question" involves no serious problem within the Balkans themselves. Our best information from informed persons living in the Balkans is that the Balkan people, if left to themselves, could have settled their own difficulties throughout the last fifty years, either by diplomacy or, if need be, by force

of arms; and that they are able to run their own affairs now. According to our best information, all the troubles and complications in the peninsula have been due for the most part to outside influences.

Proof of this seems to be readily available. In a no insignificant sense, the last great war was largely influenced by Austria's ambition to extend her rule to the Aegean, to seize the port of Saloniki, to develop her policy of *Drangnach Osten*. Russia hoped to seize Constantinople and to possess the Dardanelles with the view of obtaining free communication between her Black Sea territory and the outside world. The realization of either of these conflicting ambitions presupposed the subjugation of the Balkan States. It was the interest of each to keep the peoples of the Balkan peninsula weak and separate, for the creation of a strong Balkan confederation would have been fatal to each of these political designs. As a consequence, Austria and Russia encouraged and fomented racial jealousies and animosities throughout the Balkans. Austria, aided by Germany, took Bulgaria under her wing, while Russia acted as the protector of Serbia. Greece, the third Balkan nation, looked to France and England for support. At that time these three Balkan States were, as regards population and territory, practically on an equal footing. In its past history each had at one time or another ruled over the whole peninsula. Each, therefore, thought itself justified in aspiring to dominion throughout the peninsula. Under these circumstances it was easy for the outside powers to envenom these jealousies and to keep the Balkans in a state of turmoil.

Then came the war. Forthwith the Balkans underwent a sudden and dramatic change. The Austrian Empire dissolved into its component parts. Russia became quite a different thing. The Serbo-Croat provinces rallied to Serbia

and Montenegro and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, popularly known as Yugoslavia, with over twelve million inhabitants, came into being.

Thus, for the first time during a century, the peoples of the Balkans felt that they had at last a chance to work out their destinies without the interference of foreign States. "The Balkans for the Balkans" was increasingly heard in the land. This was particularly true of Yugoslavia, which, because of her greater number of inhabitants—Bulgaria and Greece having approximately five million each and Albania less than a million—has attempted to assume something of a leadership in the peninsula.

Balkan statesmen, believers in the "Balkans for the Balkans," have talked very much about mutual friendship and good will as the basis of any hopeful confederation for the maintenance of freedom and independence in that area. For some months there has been a distinct and steady improvement in the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Statesmen on both sides of the line are talking of a union of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as a step in the right direction. No one is bold enough to say when this union will take place. Yugoslavia proposes to exercise no coercion in this direction. It is realized that any union between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, to be effective, must be freely agreed upon. It is a fact that race, language, and religion offer no insuperable obstacles to such a union.

The relations between Yugoslavia and Greece are complicated only by the question of a free port for Yugoslavia at Saloniki. Considerable progress has been made toward the settlement of this question.

In short, there seems no reason why Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece should not be united by bonds of friendship and economic advantage.

There remains for the peoples of the Balkans the question of Albania. Albania is a strip of territory bordering the Adriatic, lying between Yugoslavia and Greece. It consists of about eleven thousand square miles, with a population of about 800,000, about the population of Cleveland, Ohio. The Albanians have little in common, either in language or customs, with their Slav and Greek neighbors. They are an extraordinarily fine race physically, intelligent, and with a high respect for their plighted word; but they are a mountain people, living in tribes, under their local chiefs, quite backward in their economic and political development. It is estimated that only 90 per cent of them can read and write. They pay taxes in any shape or form with marked reluctance. They are turbulent and difficult to govern. Throughout Albania there is very little trade or commerce, its natural wealth in minerals and forests remaining quite undeveloped.

Yugoslavia insists that she has no desire to occupy or annex Albania; that she does not desire one inch of Albanian territory. She has no disposition to add eight hundred thousand people alien in race, customs, and mentality, to her present dominion.

Yugoslavia's faith in the "Balkans for the Balkans" leads her to insist that Albania must be allowed to work out her own salvation in peace and independence. She holds that the Balkan peoples, if they are to maintain their liberty and independence, can permit no non-Balkan power to establish a political footing anywhere on the territory of the peninsula.

It is because of these facts and this attitude that the treaty concluded in November last between the governments of Rome and Tirana has aroused so much opposition. Yugoslavia holds that the treaty constitutes no guarantee of Albanian independence, because Article I of the treaty

provides that both Italy and Albania recognize and accept the principle that any action directed against the political status of Albania is contrary to their reciprocal political interests. But the political status of Albania is at this time a government of Achmed Zogu, who seems little interested in the "Balkans for the Balkans" and who holds his position as President and Premier with precarious uncertainty. Action against this political person might meet with the unanimous support of the people of Albania. The Italo-Albanian Treaty, therefore, by blocking the will of the people, may itself constitute a menace to the political independence of Albania and to the public peace of the Balkans. If 90 per cent of the inhabitants of the Albanian Republic should desire to change their President, such a step, by the terms of the Treaty of Tirana, might be opposed by the Italian Government. Achmed Zogu would be maintained in power by Italy against the will of the Albanian people, and this, if necessary, by force of arms. In other words, an Italian protectorate has been created in Albania. A foreign government has obtained a footing in the peninsula, constituting a potential menace to the principle of "The Balkans for the Balkans." Perhaps the chief objection to this is that it seems to open the door to a variety of grave adventures.

One wonders why the Treaty of Tirana was necessary. Albania is a member of the League of Nations. Her independence has been recognized by all the powers, including Italy. Any attempt by any country or government to interfere with Albania would at once call for diplomatic action by every member of the League.

So strong is the support of "The Balkans for the Balkans" that any attempt to land an armed force in Albania by Italy or other power will be looked upon as a serious menace to the peace, not only

of the Balkans, but possibly of Europe and the world. But, even if the Italian Government does not proceed to this extremity, the pretension that under the Treaty of Tirana it has the right under certain circumstances to do so can only create a dangerous situation as long as that interpretation of the treaty prevails. From this distance it would appear that the treaty is increasing the support of the theory of "The Balkans for the Balkans."

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### PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

**T**HREE Pan-American Conferences have been held in Washington during the month of May. One, the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference, which closed May fifth; another, the Second Pan-American Conference on Uniformity of Specifications, which adopted its final resolution May eleventh; and, third, the Inter-American Commission on Commercial Aviation, extending from the second to the nineteenth of May.

These conferences have undoubtedly been useful. The commercial conference aimed at the reduction of certain tariffs, the lowering of internal taxes imposed on non-luxury goods, and the elimination of other barriers to inter-American commerce. Whether or not improvement be made in any of these directions, the Conference promoted acquaintance and understanding.

This is true also of the other conferences. The Conference on Uniformity of Specifications concerned itself with such practical problems as the classification and packing of goods, with the nature of samples, with associations of producers and exporters, and other aspects of uniform specifications and products. The adoption in general of the same names for identical products would go a long way toward facilitating commerce. The conference

dealt with these problems, and also with various reports relative to the prevention, control, and combating of plagues and diseases which affect animals and animal products as well as fruits and vegetables. It seems to be a fact that the classification of wool based on the diameter of the fiber employed generally in the United States and England is not the system employed in Latin-American countries. It appears that binding fleeces of wool with sisal twine is a practice injurious often to the wool. It was natural that the conference, therefore, should recommend the publication of a bulletin devoted to the study of these commercial, industrial and agricultural matters, especially with the view of a greater simplification and standardization. It was further recommended to the principal associations of manufacturers and exporters in the United States to adopt as rapidly as possible the decimal metric system for their transactions with Latin America. Our lethargy in this matter is surprising. Ordinary business sense would seem to require that our exporters at least indicate the metric equivalent in their bills of lading and shipping documents alongside our corresponding American measurements.

The rules drawn and approved by the Inter-American Commission for the Government of Commercial Aviation in the New World were signed by delegates from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Salvador, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. By the terms of these rules it was agreed that every power has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air space above its territory and territorial waters. Private aircraft was defined as including all classes of aircraft except those commanded by persons in active military services, and aircraft exclusively employed in posts, customs, police, and other State services. The

resolutions set forth that non-contracting States shall be excluded from the privileges set forth by the terms of the agreement, and that every aircraft engaged in international navigation between the contracting States shall be provided with a certificate of air worthiness issued by the State. Aircraft personnel shall also be certified. The conference devoted much time to the restrictions upon the transportation of certain articles as a measure of public safety and to other matters. But here again the important fact is the fact of the conference itself. The whole matter of the law affecting aviation is a simpler thing because of this conference.

The latest style of talk condemns Pan-Americanism as a myth. These conferences were themselves a refutation of such a view.

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## INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION IN PARIS

**A**S ANNOUNCED heretofore in this magazine, the Twenty-fourth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union will meet in Paris from Thursday, August 25, to Tuesday, August 30. The Conference will be held in the French Senate, commonly known as the *Palais du Luxembourg*, which is on the left bank of the Seine and not far from the *Pantheon*. The Conference will be opened Thursday morning, August 25, promptly at 10 o'clock a. m.

The agenda of the Conference has just been announced as follows:

1. Election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

2. General debate on the report of the Secretary General. Mr. Dandurand, leader of the Senate and member of the Executive Committee of the Union, will open the debate.

3. The Fight against Drugs of Addiction. Rapporteur: Dr. Jaroslav Brabec, Senator (Czechoslovakia), President of the Czechoslovak Group of the Union.

4. A European Customs Understanding. Rapporteur or rapporteurs to be nominated later.

5. Technical Plan for the Reduction of Armaments. Rapporteurs: Herr Munch, former Minister of Defense (Denmark); M. Maxence Bibié, Deputy (France); Herr Sollmann, member of the Reichstag (Germany), former Minister of the Interior.

6. Methods for the Codification of International Law. Rapporteurs: Signor di Stefano - Napolitani, Senator (Italy); Prof. Walther Schücking, member of the Reichstag, President of the German Group of the Union.

7. Communication of the names of the delegates of the groups to the Interparliamentary Council from the XXIVth to the XXVth Conference. According to Article 12 of the Statutes of the Union, each group shall nominate its two delegates to the Council at least a month before the opening of the Conference. Nominations are to be transmitted to the Interparliamentary Bureau and by the latter to the Conference.

8. Election of a member of the Executive Committee to take the place of M. Fernand-Merlin (France), the retiring member. According to Article 16 of the Statutes, the retiring member is not eligible for re-election and his place must be taken by a member belonging to another group.

All the rapporteurs have been asked to prepare summaries of their reports, which, together with the texts of the resolutions to be submitted to the Conference, will be printed in the "Preliminary Documents" of the Conference and sent in good time to all its members.

The managers of the Conference have arranged the following schedule: The sittings will be held each day from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m., and again from 3 p. m. to the close. The first session, Thursday morning, August 25, will consist of opening addresses, to be followed by a general debate on the report of the Secretary General. This debate will continue through the afternoon session of that day and



through the morning session of Friday, August 26. On the afternoon of Friday, the subject for the discussion will be "The Fight against Drugs of Addiction." Saturday, August 27, the morning and afternoon sessions will be devoted to a debate on "A European Customs Understanding." Sunday, August 28, will be free. Monday, August 29, there will be a debate throughout the morning and afternoon sessions on "The Technical Plan for the Reduction of Armaments." Tuesday, August 30, will be devoted to a debate on "Methods for the Codification of International Law." In the afternoon of that day the usual elections will take place.

For the information of our American delegates, attention is called to the fact that the American group of the Interparliamentary Union is, under the terms of the statute, entitled to twenty-four delegates. The French group has, however, generously offered to receive in Paris all members of parliaments who are members of the Union and who may wish to be present at the Conference. The delegation from each group may, therefore, be accompanied by a certain number of members who will not be entitled to take part in the debate and the voting, but who may be present at the sittings and participate in all the festivities and receptions. There will, therefore, be two classes of members: delegates with the right to take part in the debate and the voting, and members who may follow the debate. Each delegate or member may be accompanied by his wife or his daughter, who will be invited to the festivities and receptions.

As provided by the statutes, all members will be asked to contribute toward the expenses of the Conference. The Council has fixed the personal subscriptions of members at fifty Swiss francs and those of ladies at twenty Swiss francs, or ten and five dollars, respectively. The sub-

scriptions will be collected by the Interparliamentary Bureau, to whom checks should be made. It is provided that a member who has entered his name but is prevented from taking part in the Conference may be replaced by another member of his group.

Members of our United States Congress who have already signified their intention to attend the Conference in Paris are: Senators, Henry F. Ashhurst of Arizona, Lawrence D. Tyson of Tennessee, Claud A. Swanson of Virginia, Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, and Millard E. Tydings of Maryland; and Representatives Fred Britten of Chicago, Emanuel Celler of New York, E. Hart Fenn of Connecticut, Andrew J. Montague of Virginia, Stephen G. Porter of Pennsylvania, A. Piatt Andrew of Massachusetts, Roy G. Fitzgerald of Ohio, Jed Johnson of Oklahoma, Fred S. Purnell of Indiana, Edgar Howard of Nebraska, Hatton W. Summers of Texas, and Theodore E. Burton, President of the American group, from the State of Ohio. Ex-Representatives Richard Bartholdt of Missouri and William D. B. Ainey of Pennsylvania, both life members of the Interparliamentary Union, will attend the Conference, as will Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American group. Many of these delegates plan to sail on the *Republic*, August 3.

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## PEACE IN NICARAGUA

**T**HE Nicaragua settlement, arranged with the aid of Colonel Henry Stimson, has not left the situation as settled as it might be. We were given to understand that our special representative, Mr. Stimson, had brought both sides to the controversy to an agreement. We were told that this agreement provided for the complete disarmament of both the Conservatives and the Liberals; that there

was to be an immediate and general peace, so that the new crops could be planted; that there was to be a general amnesty for all persons in rebellion or exile; that property occupied or confiscated was to be returned to its owners; that Liberals were to be admitted to the Diaz Cabinet; that there was to be organized a Nicaraguan constabulary on a non-partisan basis and under the command of American officers; that there is to be an election in 1928 under American supervision, and that a sufficient force of American marines is to continue temporarily in Nicaragua to guarantee order, pending the organization of the constabulary.

But it is said that Sacasa's rebels have not all surrendered; that, indeed, these rebels have since fired upon American soldiers and killed some of them. There have been deaths upon both sides. It may be that hostilities will be prolonged. *La Prensa*, published in New York, said in its leading editorial on May 17: "The settlement of the conflict cannot be left to be brutally decided by the physical and technical superiority of the American forces. Instead of lessening the gravity of the situation, it seems to be increasing hour by hour. Some one must intervene, cordially, fraternally, to save the Republic from its present danger. None better than Hispanic-America could carry out an 'intervention' without 'intervening', and it would be a crime if mediation between the contending factions in Nicaragua should not be undertaken, or left until too late . . . this is, probably, the most propitious moment for the sister nations of Nicaragua to offer their good offices."

We suspect that the suggestion of *La Prensa* will not be found acceptable. Mr. Diaz is the President of Nicaragua. The United States has supported him more and more overtly. We have gone so far in this direction that our government will probably not retrace its steps. It will

probably see the Stimson proposals carried through "if it takes all summer." Such a course would seem probable for a man like Mr. Kellogg.

Furthermore, Henry L. Stimson declared in Panama, May 19, that the war is over in Nicaragua. According to Associated Press, the President's personal representative stated that during the previous week the Liberals and Conservatives had turned over to the Americans over six thousand rifles, nearly three hundred machine guns, and five million rounds of ammunition. He said that no American marine or sailor had fired even a single shot against either the Liberals or the Conservatives. He granted that Dr. Sacasa, Liberal President, at Puerto Cabezas, had a small group of men about him, but that they do not represent Liberal opinion or the feelings of the army under General Moncada. Mr. Stimson said the two fatalities of American marines resulted from an attack by bandits. There was no clash between the Americans and the Liberals. He asserted that the Americans are now organizing a constabulary to supervise the elections, in which the Conservative's President, Adolfo Diaz, could not, under the terms of the agreement, be a candidate.

Our latest information is that Dr. Sacasa has left Nicaragua. Our hope is that what appears to have been a rather elaborate scheme on the part of certain interests with backings in Mexico to play the game of high politics at the expense of innocent lives is now at an end.

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**M.** BRIAND'S suggestion of April 6 that France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement to renounce all war between France and the United States was heralded in the press as already a matter of practical politics. Mr. Borah expressed the hope that M. Briand would follow up his suggestion by putting his proposition in the form and terms of a

treaty. We are not informed that any government has taken notice of M. Briand's proposal. Government officials, either in Europe or America, do not seem to have been over much impressed by the suggestion of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Officials seem to sense certain difficulties in the way. The Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, under date of April 29, said that he had run across some of these difficulties in his conversations with officials in Paris. It was there pointed out that France is most insistent upon a rigid interpretation of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, articles providing for mutual guaranties and sanctions. Would not such a pact with Washington, it is asked, exempt the United States, alone of all nations, from the automatic penalties for aggression set forth in Article 16? Would it not correspondingly open the way for France to claim privileged exemption from her recognized duty in case of a controversy involving the United States? This is but one of the difficulties involved in the simple arrangement proposed. In our judgment, when M. Briand's suggestion is incorporated in the terms of a treaty, if such it ever be, it will be found to be so relatively unimportant that it will receive little consideration.

ONE aspect of the work of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is impressively set forth in a recent announcement that seventy-four volumes of "The Economic and Social History of the World War" have been published thus far. According to the press, twenty-three volumes are in preparation, thirty-five are in the hands of editors for revision, ninety-one monographs are still to be delivered and authors are now at work on eighty others. Of the seventy-four volumes published, fifty-five are full volumes, contain-

ing ninety-five monographs, and nineteen are half volumes. They are in English, French, German, Italian, and Swedish.

The aim is to make this the largest and most complete history ever published. The editorial staff includes twenty-five present and former Cabinet ministers. Among the English editors and authors are Hilary Jenkinson, Professor A. B. Keith, Professor A. L. Bowley, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Thomas Middleton, C. D. H. Cole, Humbert Wolfe, Sir William Beveridge, Thomas Jones, John Maynard Keynes, and Sir Josiah Stamp. Austrian and Hungarian authors are Dr. Alexander Popovics, Dr. Gustav Gratz, Dr. Emanuel Adler, General Kerchnawe, Count Albert Apponyi, and Baron Joseph Szterenyi. The French editors and authors include former Premier Edouard Herriott, Professor Raoul Blanchard, C. J. Gignoux, Paul Masson, Henri Truchy, and General Georges Chevalier. Dr. Otto Baumgarten has written on "The Effect of the War upon Morals," in the German series. Other German contributors are Dr. A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Professor Max Sering.

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THE divining rod, somewhat to our surprise, has its international implications. Dr. Raoul Braun-Fernwald, of the Council of the Austrian Ministry of Education, has recently called attention to the fact that there is an International Society of Dousers (*Internationaler Verein der Wuenschelrutenforscher*), which has about three hundred members in America, Europe, Australia, and Africa. This society aims to defend the interests of the dousers and to investigate the question of the divining rod by the help of geologists, physiologists, and other learned persons.

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WHAT took place on the Potomac the year 1800, what is now going on in India, happened May 9 in Australia—

a capital city took its place among the other capitals of the world. The name of this new capital is Canberra. It was an historic occasion, participated in by the most prominent persons from all the walks of life. The opening of the door of the new Parliament building was one of the public ceremonies of the day. The Senate and the House of Representatives met in the evening. Peoples everywhere will congratulate the Commonwealth of Australia upon this new era of its unity and aspiration. We of the United States especially congratulate the States of Australia; for Mr. Bruce, speaking for the whole people of Australia, said that they looked to the history of the United States as a hopeful augury for the future of their country. It is a matter of common agreement that the men who for a quarter of a century have been laboring in the interests of an Australian federation turned constantly in their efforts to American political history.

We of this country are gratified that Canberra has been built on the design of an American architect, but also because that architect had the wisdom to include in his designs of the Parliament house a replica of the Speaker's chair in the House of Commons at Westminster. May 9, from now on, will rank as a most important day in the history of Australia.

**T**HE World Peace Foundation of 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, has announced that on May 1 Raymond Thomas Rich, recently National Field Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association, has been chosen General Secretary of the World Peace Foundation, to succeed Dr. Edward Cummings, deceased. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is pleased to congratulate the World Peace Foundation upon this appointment and to wish for Mr. Rich every success in his important new field.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

**T**HE Manchester Chamber of Commerce recently gave a luncheon, to which Mr. A. B. Houghton, our Ambassador to London, was invited as the guest of honor. At this luncheon Mr. Houghton made a speech, in which he pleaded for co-operation between the two countries, while deprecating the idea of an Anglo-Saxon alliance. Another speaker at the luncheon, the Earl of Derby, took the occasion to suggest that a good deal of American criticism of Britain is based on lack of first-hand knowledge. He referred particularly to Senator Borah, to whom he extended an invitation to come to Great Britain. This incident led, later on, to a rather diverting exchange of comment between our Chairman of the Senate

Committee on Foreign Relations and his would-be British host.

#### Ambassador Houghton's Speech

In the course of his speech, Ambassador Houghton said:

You will expect me, I suppose, to say something to you of the relations between Britain and America. I find this always difficult. I dislike, frankly, those engaging phrases which seem almost inevitably to offer themselves on occasions like this. I believe, as a matter of course, that the future of the world—its peace, its happiness, its general well-being—depends largely, and sometimes, I think, altogether, upon the existence of a sound and cordial understanding between the British and American peoples. In fact, I may go even farther. I believe that, fundamentally, the basis of

such an understanding already exists, not because of any marked regard or liking we may or may not feel for one another's excellent qualities, not because of a common language, not because of ties of blood, but because, being what we are, it is inevitable we should look out on the world and its affairs from very much the same point of view.

Our immediate interests, of course, are not always identical. Nations, like individuals, have to earn their living: each people has its own special interests to consider and protect. But I do believe that in that larger realm of affairs which necessarily concerns and involves us both we ought to find a measure of agreement easy. We certainly think in much the same terms. We have much the same scale of values. We want the same kind of world. Consciously or unconsciously, we seek the same kind of future. So much, it seems to me, we may accept without hesitation or discussion. And it offers us an opportunity which, I think you will agree with me, is unique in human history. We have no need to discuss so obvious a fact.

The question for us to consider here and at home is, What are we going to do with that opportunity? For it is in our hands to do with as we will. We may make much of it, or we may make little of it. How can we use it best? Now I hasten to assure you that I have no possible intention of trying to answer that question. I doubt, in deed, if it can be answered, except gradually and as the years bring us increased knowledge and, we may hope, a greater sympathy and wisdom. The answer to it will depend far more upon what we do than upon what we say. But perhaps I may add that, in my opinion, even now a little more patience, a little more belief in one another's essential good faith, and, above all, a little more effort to understand the difficult problems each people is facing will take us a long, long way.

Of one fact I do feel sure. Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador in Washington, I was glad to see, emphasized it in an address the other day. We shall do well not to seek to develop those wholly natural and helpful relations between the British and American peoples into anything like an alliance. The idea may be tempting; that Anglo-Saxon alliance of which we hear from time to time may have its attractive aspects.

There are moments when it may seem to offer an open and easy way to obtain results we all desire. Nevertheless, I believe the idea to be wholly false.

To bring the British-speaking peoples together into an armed and exclusive group, prepared, if need be, to enforce their collective will by force, would, if it were possible, tend neither to promote peace nor to assure our mutual security. Its result would only be to unite all the rest of the world against us. It would slowly, perhaps, but very definitely, make an end of peaceful progress. It would turn this earth of ours once again into an armed camp, and in the end precisely what we sought to avoid—a war—would result. And out of such a war, we may be sure, neither honor nor safety nor profit to any people could possibly emerge. We may have to fight side by side again in the future, as in the past; that we do not know. But if the need arises, which God forbid, let it be for a cause and for a reason which brings us instinctively together, not by a calculated arrangement which might of itself tend to bring about the catastrophe we dread.

Aside from that one danger, which I think the sound common sense of both peoples makes negligibly remote, I can see only good—good to ourselves and to the world—in a closer approach between the British and American peoples. There are many useful agencies at work to promote this approach. I need hardly enumerate them here, unless, possibly, to emphasize the work of the English-speaking Union, which has done and is doing so much in America, as well as in Britain, to encourage and develop a better understanding.

#### Lord Derby's Invitation to Senator Borah

Lord Derby devoted his remarks principally to the desirability of more Americans visiting Great Britain and more British visiting the United States. Turning directly to Mr. Houghton, Lord Derby said:

I wish, sir, some of your most prominent citizens not occupying real official positions would pay visits to this country. And pardon me if I mention one particular name. There is one prominent politician in America who always seems to think that we are the ogres in England that we have been for some years painted as being, not only in America,

but in every country of the world. Would you allow me, sir, through you, to send a most cordial invitation to Senator Borah to come and stay—if he will do me the honor—as long as he likes with me, and I will take him through industrial Lancashire.

He is a man who knows industry and knows what peace means to industry. And let him go through industrial Lancashire, and see the millions that are dependent on the industry of that county—millions who recognize that peace must prevail if industry is to flourish. Then, I think, he will see that in this country there are many millions of men of the same opinion as himself in thinking that we must do everything in our power to maintain the peace of the world. I send this invitation to him in all friendliness.

Lord Derby added that he felt that at this moment no stone should be left unturned that would help in some way to contribute to a better understanding between one nation and another, and that would tend to banish for all time the feeling that the people of this country were exercising a policy of grab.

#### Senator Borah's Reply

The purport of Lord Derby's speech was cabled to Senator Borah by the *Manchester Evening News*, which received the following reply:

Replying to your telegram, I do not need to be shown that the English people are not ogres. I have never said anything of that kind and never thought anything of that kind; quite the opposite. I should like to know upon what Lord Derby bases his desire to enlighten me upon this particular subject. I appreciate his missionary spirit, but really I do not feel in need of his gospel of enlightenment.

I have no doubt there are millions in England just as anxious for industrial peace and for world peace as Lord Derby indicates. I have no doubt their enlightened conception of industrial justice and international justice are quite as exalted as Lord Derby indicates.

I trust they will, together with Lord Derby, exert their influence along these lines on their government in the Chinese affair. China is going to be the acid test of whether the nations which have been preaching peace

want peace; which have been preaching international justice want international justice; whether the industrial peace which we covet for our own people is to be extended to other peoples.

I would really like to visit England, and hope I may find an opportunity to do so. My mission, however, will not be that of hunting wild game such as ogres, but to see and to know better a people whose highest encomium is that of always having been loyal to their own flag—an attribute which prevails rather strongly in the United States and is, I think, worth preserving.

WM. E. BORAH.

#### Lord Derby's Comment

Lord Derby's comment on Senator Borah's reply was as follows:

My invitation to Senator Borah was made in all seriousness. I have always felt that Senator Borah was typical of that section of the American public who think that Great Britain is always out to get what it can for itself, regardless of the interests of others. I may be entirely misinformed, and I confess that my only information is derived from abbreviated newspaper reports.

If I am wrong I apologize; but, right or wrong, I should be much honored if Senator Borah would pay me a visit at Knowsley in the autumn, and I would undertake that he should have free and unfettered communication—at all events in Lancashire—with representatives of all three parties in this State.

I have not the honor of Senator Borah's personal acquaintance, and I am therefore consulting the American Ambassador as to the most appropriate way in which to send the invitation; but I hope Senator Borah will accept this from me as being a public invitation to him to pay me a visit, and I can assure him of a most hearty welcome.

With regard to arrangements for any tour he might make, that must be left for me to arrange with Senator Borah after I have ascertained whether he will accept the invitation and how much of his time he can spare to spend in England.

No further comment on the matter has yet been made by Senator Borah.

## PREMIER POINCARÉ ON FRENCH FINANCE

**I**N a speech delivered on May 2 at Bar-le-Duc, Premier Poincaré took occasion to review the current financial and political condition of France. The speech was received with a great deal of interest all over France, as well as in other countries.

### Faith in Country's Destiny

M. Poincaré called attention to the fact that the remarkable improvement in public affairs in France had been characterized as miraculous. It was nothing of the kind, but rather the logical result of a change of parliamentary habits, the natural consequence of co-operation for the common task of financial rapprochement between men who, on account of their political differences, had been accustomed to regard one another as adversaries. The French people had thus realized the gravity of the danger which menaced them.

When the present government was being formed, a fall in the franc was in progress and was leading to imminent ruin. Many persons, both in France and abroad, regarded it not merely with resignation, but as affording the prospect of base gains, without reflecting that their transient profits would soon be lost in a general catastrophe. In other quarters there had been the murmur of an ill wind of pessimism, as financiers, professors, and publicists heralded in strident tones the tempest which must overwhelm the franc.

The treasury was steadily emptying, the deficit increased day by day. They were at the mercy of outside circumstances, and to those most in a position to judge the situation it had seemed so desperate that they began to say, "Knock at the stranger's door, seek credits at once, even at the risk of entering into engagements you cannot fulfill." He had refused to listen to these prophets of evil. He had met their like in the war. In the financial struggle it was as it had been in the struggle for the soil of France—the first condition for success had been faith in the destiny of the country.

### Consolidation of Results

Similarly, M. Poincaré continued, he did not doubt that the people would courageously accept the sacrifices necessary for balancing the budget, strengthening the revenue, and restoring the exchange. These sacrifices would be heavy. They would take the form partly of economies in administration and partly of taxes, both direct and indirect, and would have to be borne by the entire population, because it would be impossible to raise the necessary revenue among a minority. On the other hand, the entire population would profit from the improvement. This was clearly apparent.

The budget for 1926 was the first since the war to show a surplus. That of 1927 had been balanced and it had carried important sums earmarked for the redemption of the debt; the prudent estimate of receipts had been demonstrated in the first months of the year, and on the firm basis of the psychological elements, which had perhaps been so long neglected, the treasury had become less impoverished and the currency sounder. The effect of these things need not be exaggerated and must also not be misunderstood. But when a State wished to inspire confidence, particularly when it had a large floating debt and its fate depended in part upon public credit, the first laws to which it must conform were those of honesty and good faith. It must not scare the lender; it must consider its engagements sacred.

It was the task of Parliament to consolidate these results in framing the budget of 1928. Whether in the way of revalorization or stabilization, nothing was possible unless the budget remained balanced and the treasury was solvent. Without these two, stabilization was but a vain and illusory gesture, and for his own part he was determined not to connive at any vote which prejudiced the budget equilibrium so painfully achieved. He well recognized that the task of the Minister of Finance, always thankless, was doubly so in a period preceding the general election.

M. Poincaré went on to refer to the position of the State towards its officials in view of the recent decision of the Federation of State Employees to join the

Confédération Générale du Travail. He made it clear that the State would not tolerate any weakening of its authority over its officials or any interference with its own prerogatives. France, he declared, was not an experimental field open to Bolshevist imperialism.

#### Opposition to Protective Tariff

There is one financial measure of the Poincaré Government which has aroused considerable opposition. It is the new tariff bill, for which M. Bokanowski, the Minister of Commerce, is demanding early action in Parliament.

The most formidable protest against the bill so far has come from the Committee of Economic and Fiscal Action, a powerful organization which represents general trade interests, exporters, agriculturalists, consumers, and transport companies. The committee has issued a manifesto, in which it calls attention to the dangers of the measure and the precipitous way in which it has so far been dealt with. The bill, which, with the table of duties, forms a document of 850 pages, was published on March 4. The Customs Committee of the Chamber has since then examined it with unusual rapidity, has made it even more protective than it was, and is expected to have its report ready by the end of this week, so that Parliament can begin to debate it as soon as it reassembles. The Committee of Economic and Fiscal Action objects strongly to this haste in dealing with a measure which "will have considerable repercussion on our social life and also on our foreign relations. In particular, there is no doubt that the stronger protection which it accords to important classes of producers will result in a general increase in the cost of living." The committee, after pointing out that a certain number of economic groups have already protested against "the exaggeration of the ultra-protectionist tendencies which seem to have inspired the decisions of the Customs Committee of the Chamber," utters its own warning and announces that it has prepared "a series of extremely well-documented reports showing the serious consequences which might result from a hasty vote of the measure."

## CHINA AND THE POWERS

ON APRIL 11 the consular representatives in Shanghai of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy called in a body at the Chinese Bureau of Foreign Affairs and presented identical notes regarding the Nanking outrage. The notes were received by Kuo Tai-chi, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, and Bei Tsung-chi, the local Nationalist General, on behalf of General Chiang Kai-shek, who was away from the city.

#### The Demands of the Powers

The note contained three points: First, the Powers demanded adequate punishment of the commanders of the Chinese troops responsible for the murders and injuries to foreigners and in respect of material damage; second, they demanded an apology in writing from the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist armies, including a written guarantee that the Nationalists will prevent a repetition of such incidents; third, the Powers demanded complete reparation in respect of personal injuries and damaged property. The last paragraph of the note stated that unless the Nationalist authorities demonstrate within a reasonable time to the satisfaction of the Powers concerned compliance with the terms, the Powers will take such measures as they consider adequate.

Immediately following his meeting with the consuls general, Bei Tsung-chi, the Nationalist chief of staff, granted an interview to press correspondents stating that he was immediately forwarding the Powers' note to Chiang Kai-shek, and that a reply will shortly be forthcoming from the Nationalist Government.

#### Chen's Reply to the Note

The reply to the note was made on behalf of the Nationalist Government by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eugene Chen. In his reply to the American and the British notes, Mr. Chen said that the warships of these nations "bombarded defenseless Nanking." Otherwise the reply to the five Powers was identical. The following is a summary of the reply to the American note:



*Reparation.*—The Nationalist Government is prepared to make good all damage to the American consulate in Nanking on the ground that, whether or not such damage was caused by northern rebels or by others, the fact remains that an American consulate on Chinese territory has been violated.

With regard to reparations for personal injuries to nationals of the United States and other material damage, the Nationalist Government is prepared to make reasonable reparations except in cases where it is definitely proved to have been caused by the British and American bombardment or by northern rebels or by *agents provocateurs*.

*Proposed Inquiry.*—The demands for the adequate punishment of the commanders of Nationalist troops for murder, injuries, indignities, and material damage assumes the guilt of the Nationalist forces capturing Nanking. While this guilt is contradicted, a rigid government inquiry is being conducted in order to ascertain the actual facts, and the Nationalist Government proposes that the question of punishment should await the findings either of the inquiry by the Nationalist Government which is now in progress or of an international commission of inquiry.

As the laws of the nations prohibit the bombardment of cities of friendly States, the Nationalist Government proposes that such a commission of inquiry should also investigate the circumstances of the bombardment of the unfortified city of Nanking.

*Expression of Regret.*—With regard to the demand for an apology from the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist forces, the Nationalist Government proposes that this should await the determination of the question of guilt.

In the meantime it repeats the expression of regret which the Minister of Foreign Affairs communicated to the United States Government when the violation of the United States consulate was reported.

Mr. Chen's reply failed to satisfy the Powers and a new note is being prepared.

#### Chiang and the Communists

In the meantime the conflict between General Chiang Kai-shek and the Han-

chow Communists reached a culminating point. The Hankow Government dismissed Chiang from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist armies, ordered his arrest, and directed other Nationalist generals to march against him. In reply to this, Chiang announced his separation from the Hankow Government and organized a moderate Nationalist Government of his own at Nanking.

Some observers in China believe that Chiang's break with the Communists opens the way for an understanding between him and Chang Tso-lin. Such an understanding is probably a long way off, but it is a fact that underground conversations have been going on for some time. Chiang's policy appears to be to show no definite friendliness either to the north or to the foreigners until he has brought his fight with the extremists to a successful conclusion.

#### Russian Supplies for China

Documents seized at the Soviet legation in Peking show conclusively that the Soviet Government has been supplying the Nationalists with money and munitions. One particularly instructive document, marked "very secret," is a statement of the munitions delivered to the first Kuominchun (Feng Yu-hsiang's) Army during the six months July to December, 1925. It includes 24 big guns, 90 machine guns, 21,970 Russian rifles, 4,000 Japanese rifles, 22,000 shells, 18 million Russian S. A. cartridges, two million S. A. German cartridges, half a million Japanese S. A. cartridges, and 10,000 hand grenades with spare parts and accessories. A footnote states that in December, 1925, there had begun to arrive at Urga for Feng Yu-hsiang from Moscow 25,000 rifles, 32 million cartridges, 140 machine guns, 42 big guns, 42,000 shells, 10,000 hand grenades, 5,000 swords, 10,000 chemical shells, 30,000 gas masks, ten flame-throwers, six aeroplanes, and certain minor items. All the munitions mentioned in the text of the document were delivered, but there is no information as to the consignments mentioned in the footnote. The document is signed "Kireff" and dated April 4, 1926.

These deliveries apparently enabled Feng successfully to attack Tientsin during this period. But the simultaneous defeat of Kuo Sung-ling (the general who rebelled against Chang Tso-lin), followed by the flight of Feng into Mongolia and the retirement of the Kuominchun from Peking, probably upset the plans for assisting Feng's army on the large scale mentioned in the footnote.

#### Supplies for the South

Simultaneously Moscow was busy supplying the southern army, and in a draft telegram signed by Egoroff, the Soviet military attaché in Peking, dated July 4 and addressed to General Galents at Canton, it is stated that the cost of the supplies delivered to Canton up to December was \$2,500,000 roubles. The supplies consisted of 5,250,000 cartridges, 20 Maxims, seven mountain guns, 7,000 shells, 10,000 chemical shells, 40 bomb-throwers, nine aeroplanes, and sundries. The greater part of these munitions had already been sent from Vladivostok. The Canton Government must pay immediately for their transport from Vladivostok to Canton. It was necessary to insist that Canton make payment for the supplies already delivered or to be delivered; also the dates of payment were to be fixed. In future, Canton orders would be executed as far as possible, but only for cash payment.

There follows another message from Egoroff to Borodin at Canton, dated August 27, which stated that there had accumulated at Vladivostok 1,300,000 Russian S. A. cartridges, 1,200,000 Japanese S. A. cartridges, and 8,200 shells. In a week there would have been accumulated 7,000,000 German S. A. cartridges, 8,000 shells, and so on. The cost of these was payable on delivery. The message concludes:

Communicate immediately about situation on the Kiangsi-Fukien frontier; also the result of negotiations about the going over of some units to the Nationalists.

An earlier message from Egoroff to Galents, dated June 15, refers to the time required to execute orders, queries the arrangements about payment, and asks for information as to what extent the Nationalist army was provided with mu-

nitions and the distribution of divisions.

A financial report by Egoroff, dated October, shows to the credit of the War Ministry, remitted through the Dal Bank, 33,877 gold dollars, and among the items on the debit side shows a remittance of 14,800 gold dollars to the group at Canton, for which the Dal Bank's *aviso* is attached.

Kissenko, chief of the South China group at Canton, reporting to Comrade Suvaroff, under date January 16, 1926, makes the following, among other, statements:

Chinese generals and officers are not only completely ignorant as regards the art of war, but are also unbalanced in other respects. Even common routine work can yield desirable results only with Russian advisers. Their moral influence on officers is beyond doubt.

Egoroff writes several remarks across this document, and says that one copy is for Karakhan (then Soviet Ambassador to China).

## FINANCIAL CRISIS IN JAPAN

ON APRIL 22 the Japanese Government declared a banking moratorium. This drastic measure was the culminating point in a series of financial disasters in Japan, to which the attention of the world was directed on April 6 by the most conspicuous instance—that of the suspension of payment by the great firm of Suzukis. Suzukis owed huge sums to the Bank of Formosa (or Taiwan), some estimates putting the total amount at \$150,000,000, and that bank followed the firm. The government was then immediately concerned, and after a long night conference asked for a special ordinance authorizing the Bank of Japan to give unconditional support to the Bank of Formosa. The ordinance was refused by the Privy Council, and the government of Mr. Wakatsuki resigned. The new Cabinet was forced to intervene with a still more drastic measure of a different kind. Financial panic prevailed and in the capital and the provinces there was a severe run on the banks, several of which closed their doors.

#### Financial Panic Abating

By the end of April the panic abated considerably and confidence began to re-

turn. The change was due principally to the Bank of Japan's action announcing that it was prepared to make advances to any bank, irrespective of whether there had been previous transactions between them. In preparation for such possible advances the Bank of Japan has decided to issue as new currency notes of 50 and 200 yen denomination.

An authoritative financial observer has described the recent runs on the banks as "caused almost entirely by the maddened psychology of the general public." The same Japanese authority declared that the amount drawn out by depositors was "quite insignificant," and that voluminous issue of banknotes by the Bank of Japan during the period of panic was "due to the anxiety of the city banks to be prepared for possible runs."

With a view to keeping up the rate of the yen the government has decided to ship 10,000,000 yen of silver bullion to Shanghai in the immediate future.

#### Two Government Measures

The Government has drafted two important measures which it has presented to the Diet. One of these measures deals with the guarantee for the Bank of Japan against possible loss; the other, with the State help for the Taiwan Bank.

The Bank of Japan bill is drafted along the following lines: First, it will apply mainly to losses incurred by the bank after the moratorium has expired. Secondly, it will provide for the removal of various limitations on securities accepted by the Bank of Japan, thus facilitating the bank's acceptance of realty and other immovable property and mortgages as security for advances. Thirdly, the estimated aid to the Bank of Japan will be determined shortly, but the final figure will be left until twelve months after the expiration of the moratorium. Fourthly, the Fifteenth Bank and other private banks which have suspended business will be given the special favor of applying for advances from the Bank of Japan.

The plan for the Taiwan Bank, which closely follows the late government's scheme, authorizes the Bank of Japan to advance 200,000,000 yen without regard to security, and government bonds to that amount will be given to the Bank of Japan. The government is determined to maintain Japanese credit abroad, and the whole of the Taiwan Bank's foreign obligations will be met. It is proposed that for the future the Taiwan Bank shall function only as a Japanese industrial bank; its foreign business will be taken over by the Yokohama Specie Bank and its note issue by the Bank of Japan.

## THE NINETY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

Held at the Office of the Secretary and Editor, Room 613,  
Colorado Building, and the Cosmos Club,  
Washington, D. C., May 7, 1927

#### STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF THE MEETING

**T**HE Board of Directors was called to order in Room 613, Colorado Building, at 10 o'clock a. m., by Hon. Theodore E. Burton, the President.

The following were present: Hon. Theodore E. Burton, President; Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Secretary; Hon.

David Jayne Hill, Hon. Frank White, Hon. Frank W. Mondell, Hon. Henry W. Temple, Mr. Felix M. McWhirter, and Mr. Lacey C. Zapf.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I think we had better begin. Shall we have the reading of the minutes?

**MR. CALL:** The minutes of the Board of Directors for a year ago are printed

and in your hands. The minutes of the Board of Directors, which do not appear in that document, are the minutes of the special meeting of the Board of Directors on February 25, which I will read as follows:

**MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY**

February 25, 1927.

The meeting was convened at 9.00 o'clock p. m., Dr. Thomas E. Green presiding.

Voted that Dr. Arthur D. Call, George M. Maurice, and Lacey C. Zapf be empowered to select the names of persons to be approached with the view of getting them to serve as Directors of the American Peace Society.

The meeting adjourned at 9.15 o'clock p. m.  
(Signed) A. D. CALL, *Secretary*.

**THE PRESIDENT:** You have referred to the 98th Annual Report, and that is for last year?

**MR. CALL:** Yes, sir.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Now, the announcements, such as are to be made, what are they?

**MR. CALL:** The principal announcement today is that our meeting is planned to end with a luncheon at the Cosmos Club. Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer, who has been a member of the General Staff of our Army for longer than any other man living, author of the new book entitled "Statesmanship or War," has consented to be present and to make some remarks. Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, in his speech the other night before the American Society of International Law, devoted considerable time to General Palmer's book, referring to it very highly. Of course, everyone here will be at the luncheon at 1 o'clock today.

**MR. WHITE:** I have been a little bit leery of these peace organization propositions, and I hesitated a little about even taking part in this meeting, but I would like to know really a little more about our organization. I do not think I will be able to attend the luncheon today, because I have an engagement at 12.30 which I shall have to attend. In a social meeting, especially if a person has had a pretty good luncheon, he is liable to unburden himself a little and tell what it is all about.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Well, we shall go over that some this morning, probably. Could you not be present, even if you were late, there at the luncheon? The conversational part will probably be afterwards, and you will have to take your luncheon somewhere.

**MR. WHITE:** I have that appointment at 12:30, and would probably not be able to get through until close to three.

**THE PRESIDENT:** It is unfortunate so many of our directors are absent. Dr. Green, of the Red Cross, is down in the flood district. He is one of the most active directors. Mr. George M. Morris, who is almost always present, has a professional engagement in New England that has called him away. Others, Mr. Stanfield, Dr. Stocking, and the rest, are unavoidably detained elsewhere. However, we shall of course proceed. The next is the report of the President.

**REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT**

*To the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.*

**DEAR SIRS:** Pursuant to the provision of Article 7 of the Constitution of the American Peace Society, which requires that the President shall make an annual report of his work, including the work of the Executive Committee, to the Board of Directors, your President submits respectfully the following as his report for the fiscal year 1926-1927, this being the ninety-ninth year of the history of this Society.

**Executive Committee**

Your Executive Committee has held nine regular meetings during the year. Minutes of each of these meetings have been sent regularly to the members of the Executive Committee. Dr. Arthur Deerin Call has continued as Secretary of the American Peace Society and as Editor of the *AVOCATE OF PEACE*, and Mr. Leo Pasvolsky has served as Associate Editor. Miss Louise Anderson has served as Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. On January 15, 1927, Mr. Lacey C. Zapf was made Business Manager of the American Peace Society and Mr. W. I. Smalley was named as his assistant. The names of all our officers appear elsewhere in this report.

### The Finances of the Society

During the fiscal year 1926-1927 the following persons contributed from \$5.00 to \$250.00 to the work of the Society:

George G. Barker, F. E. Barrows, A. T. Bell, Mrs. H. A. Brayton, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Brewer, Fred Britten, Miss B. G. Brooks, J. I. Buchanas, David S. Carll, Emanuel Celler, J. Wilkinson Clapp, Miss Alberta J. Cromble, Frederic Cunningham, R. H. Dana, Melville Dewey, Franklin W. Fort, Sidney J. Freiberg, William P. Gest, Miss Ada H. Hersey, Miss Eleanor Maude Hicklin, Mrs. Isabel Howland, George H. Judd, Joseph Lee, William H. Luden, James McGrath, John J. McSwain, Miss Anna G. Matson, Mrs. J. N. Mills, Henry C. Morris, William A. Oldfield, L. H. Pillsbury, Mrs. Louis Prag, Jackson H. Ralston, H. G. Ramsberger, George E. Roberts, Adolph Sabath, E. J. Siller, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Sprague, Theodore Stanfield, Rev. G. V. Stryker, S. W. Sturgis, Henry W. Temple, S. H. Thorndike, William Thum, George Holden Tinkham, J. A. Tufts, William O. Tufts, William H. Tuthill, M. J. Van Sweringen, William C. Warren, George W. White.

The budget of our Society is divided into three parts: First, the Department of Home Office; second, the Department of Field Work; third, the Department of Publications. The budget for the Department of Home Office for the year 1926-1927 provided for an expenditure of \$15,500. The amount actually spent in this department for the year May 1, 1926, to May 1, 1927, was \$18,666.78.

The budget for the Department of Field Work provided for an expenditure of \$1,800. The amount spent in this department for the year May 1, 1926, to May 1, 1927, was \$500.

The budget provided for an expenditure of \$8,200 in the Department of Publications. For the printing and mailing of the *AVOCATE OF PEACE* \$7,886.93 was spent for the year May 1, 1926, to May 1, 1927. For the same period \$164.75 was spent for printing and distribution of various pamphlets, and \$528.25 was spent for the printing of cards, envelopes, etc. The total amount spent under this department for the year was \$8,579.93.

The budget provided for an expenditure of \$25,500 for the year. The total amount spent was \$27,746.71. This excess of expenditures is due to the salaries of the Business Manager and his assistant, neither of which was contemplated by the budget. As a matter of fact, the Society

has operated with the lowest possible expense for the year.

The reserve-fund investments, May 1, 1927, totaled \$9,000.

### The Permanent Peace Fund

Once again it is a pleasure to record the debt the American Peace Society owes to the labor and foresight of the Reverend George C. Beckwith, D. D., who, as agent, secretary, and editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for a generation, founded the Permanent Peace Fund.

The Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund hold their annual meeting in May of each year. After this meeting an accounting is made to the American Peace Society of the income received by the Trustees from real estate, bonds, stock, etc., and of the expenses in connection therewith. A check is then mailed to this Society covering the net income from the fund. This amount last year was \$7,206.96.

At the last annual meeting of the trustees of this fund it was voted that a committee of one be appointed to go to Washington and visit the American Peace Society for the purpose of ascertaining just what the Society is doing in the cause of peace. The Reverend Horace H. Leavitt, a relative of Dr. Beckwith, was appointed. He visited the Society in April. He reports that the fund is growing in value.

Your President suggests that the Trustees of this Permanent Peace Fund should be thanked by our Board of Directors, not only for their continued careful attention to this trust in memory of Dr. Beckwith, but for their uniform faithfulness and courtesy in the matter.

Your President also suggests that a vote of thanks be extended Dr. George W. White, Treasurer of this Society, for his counsel and guidance in our financial matters.

### Board of Directors

The President is grieved to report the death of one of the Directors and one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, the Honorable William B. McKinley.

According to the Constitution, the Board of Directors shall be constituted as follows:

"The President (*ex officio*), Secretary (*ex officio*), Treasurer (*ex officio*), Executive Committee (*ex officio*), and forty-eight other Directors, duly elected and accredited at the ninety-fourth annual meeting of the American Peace Society, held in the city of Washington, D. C., May 26, 1922."

Never have all the States had representatives on our Board. Since the employment of our new Business Manager, Mr. Lacey C. Zapf, the following Directors, representing their respective States, have been added:

E. T. Meredith.....	Iowa
F. M. McWhirter.....	Indiana
William Allen White.....	Kansas
E. P. Morrow.....	Kentucky
C. H. Howard.....	Missouri
Col. Frank White.....	North Dakota
C. L. Hyde, Sr.....	South Dakota
J. J. Esch .....	Wisconsin
Frank W. Mondell.....	Wyoming

The thirty-one States still unrepresented on our Board are as follows:

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia.

It is the purpose of your officers to get a Director from each of these States at the earliest possible moment.

#### The Work of the Main Office

Before the United States entered the World War, it was the policy of the American Peace Society to organize and to coordinate branch societies in various parts of the country. At that time we had a number of affiliated societies. In the light of our experience with that method of work, we are not convinced that it would be wise to take it up again. We are finding it better to confine our major labors to one place. This is the main office of the American Peace Society. Of course, the burden of this work falls upon the shoulders of Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Secretary of the Society and Editor of its magazine, having just ended his twenty-

first year of official connection with the Society and his twelfth year as Secretary and Editor. During the year he has been chosen again to serve as Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union; he has seen come from the press his new volume "Our Country and World Peace," containing his six addresses before the Estes Park Conference of the Young Men's Christian Associations, Colorado, during July, 1926; he has attended the meetings of the Study Commissions of the Interparliamentary Union and of the Assembly of the League of Nations during August and September last, in Geneva, Switzerland. He received an LL. D. degree from Howard University in June, 1926. He has continued as Editor of the Society's magazine. I cannot speak too highly of Dr. Call's faithful and able services to the traditions of this Society.

Mrs. Arthur Deerin Call has continued during the year her efficient and unselfish work as the Society's Librarian. Under her direction, 451 items have been added to the Library during the year. Including 159 books in French, 130 in German and 33 in other languages, but excluding pamphlets, current magazines, atlases, dictionaries, and cyclopedias, the Library contains today 3,506 volumes. The Library contains 234 bound magazines. During the year the Librarian has secured also a number of old publications, many of them of historical importance and long out of print. Among these are copies of the "Friend of Peace," "The Calumet," and the "Advocate of Peace," all prior to 1839; there is a copy of a circular letter of the Massachusetts Peace Society dated 1816; there are two addresses before the Hartford Peace Society—one of 1829 and the other of 1831. The Librarian has succeeded in securing a bound volume of "The Christian Mirror" from August, 1825, to August, 1827, complete, in which many of William Ladd's articles on peace were first published.

The Directors will be interested to know that the Library contains "A Memoir of William Ladd, 'The Apostle of Peace,' by John Hemmenway, a second edition, revised and enlarged, in Mr. Hemmenway's own handwriting. This

edition has never been published because of the lack of funds.

A recent evidence of the service rendered by the American Peace Society is to be found in the "Bibliographical List of Official and Unofficial Publications Concerning the Permanent Court of International Justice," reprinted from the Court's Second Annual Report, with a preface by Jacob ter Meullen, Librarian of the Peace Palace at The Hague, containing many references to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

### The Society's Centenary Celebration

Your Directors are aware that the American Peace Society is to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary next year, the Society having been founded May 8, 1828.

Such a celebration should be headed by a committee of the most distinguished men and women throughout our country. It pleases me to report that the Honorable Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, has kindly agreed to serve as Honorary Chairman of such a committee.

The Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Maine have already shown marked interest in this coming celebration. The nature of this interest is set forth in the following self-explanatory resolution, which unanimously passed both houses in March last.

WHEREAS, William Ladd, known in this country and abroad as *The Apostle of Peace*, was to the cause of a law-governed world what Elijah Parrish Lovejoy of Maine was to the freedom of the press and to the abolition of human slavery, what John Neal of Maine was to the extension of the suffrage, what Dorothea Lynde Dix of Maine was to the advancement of prison reform, what Neal Dow of Maine was to the cause of temperance;

WHEREAS, William Ladd was born May 10, 1778;

WHEREAS, William Ladd founded the American Peace Society, May 8, 1828;

WHEREAS, William Ladd did his major work for peace between nations while living for nearly thirty years in Minot, in the State of Maine;

WHEREAS, The American Peace Society, which William Ladd founded, with its head-

quarters now in Washington, D. C., plans to celebrate in May, 1928, the one-hundredth-fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Ladd's birth and the one-hundredth anniversary of the Society's organization; *be it Resolved by the people of the State of Maine by this joint resolution of their House of Representatives and Senate*, That they heartily endorse the efforts of the American Peace Society thus to recall and to honor the memory and services of William Ladd;

That this legislature respectfully request the Governor of the State of Maine to express to the American Peace Society the appreciation of the people of Maine for its purpose thus to honor its illustrious former citizen, and to do what he may consider lawfully proper to aid such efforts;

That the Governor of the State be requested to appoint a committee from the most distinguished residents of the State, to include the presidents of Bowdoin, Colby and Bates Colleges, the president of the University of Maine, the Commissioner of Education, and such others as he may deem wise, to aid in such a commemoration:

That the American Peace Society be invited to hold these centennial and sesquicentennial exercises in whole or in part in the State of Maine;

And that this resolution be given the widest publicity, to the end that the interest and support of every loyal citizen of Maine, especially of her boys and girls, may be enlisted in this most worthy memorial celebration.

A number of cities have asked this Society to hold its celebration within their gates. This includes such cities as Toronto, Canada; New York; Philadelphia; Cleveland, Ohio; and Portland, Maine.

It is believed that the celebration might well devote itself to a consideration as some such topic as "Our Country's Contributions to the Peace of the World."

In my talk with President Coolidge I stated that perhaps the strongest urge from any place has been for Portland, but I think we both agreed that that was so far from the center of things that it would be difficult for the President to attend the meeting.

Now, I am inclined to think that it would be well to have a special committee appointed to consider that subject of the

centennial celebration. One of the first things that must be decided is a place of holding it. In many respects I would think Washington is a favorable place; but, as you all know, Washington believes that it has a sort of advantage as a meeting place for civic and other gatherings, and there is less attention and aid given to such a gathering than in some other cities. I think Cleveland will make a strong effort to get the meeting. Philadelphia I have not heard from recently, but is it a convention board, or what is it, that is seeking to have the meeting held there?

MR. CALL: The Chamber of Commerce, I think, of Philadelphia.

MR. ZAPP: The Chamber of Commerce, the convention board, the Mayor, and the Hotel Association.

THE PRESIDENT: What is the comparative amount of anxiety, if I may call it such, or desire, as between Philadelphia and New York?

MR. ZAPP: There is more from Philadelphia. The greatest interest seems to have been manifested by Cleveland and Toronto thus far.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not think it would do to hold it in Toronto.

MR. ZAPP: They are on quite an active campaign for it.

THE PRESIDENT: If it is held in Toronto, there is one point about that. It would stress friendship between the United States and Canada. There would be that advantage in regard to it, and it is a place fairly central. You would say Cleveland and Toronto had shown the greatest interest?

MR. ZAPP: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: That question of location is one that ought to be decided at an early date. I do not think there is any society in the United States upon which a stronger eulogy could be expressed than upon the American Peace Society. Organized in 1828, it has continued during 100 years its effort for arbitration and peace among nations. Among its prominent members in the middle of the last century were Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was a member of its Executive Committee as well as the Board of Directors. The speech of Charles Sumner on peace, which

is regarded as a standard oration on the subject, was delivered before the American Peace Society. William E. Channing was closely associated with the Society. Joseph Storey, the jurist, was very much interested in it; and then from south of Mason and Dixon's Line such as William Wirt and John C. Calhoun. The same interest has been manifested in later years by a number of very prominent men. Andrew Carnegie was a very ardent friend, I may say, of this Society, and other public men have served on its Board of Directors. Its activity has been well defined. In the first place, this is not an ultra-pacifist organization.

I occupied the position of President from 1911 to 1915. I withdrew in 1915 because of some political connections at that time; but during those four years I found it necessary, in presiding at the annual meetings, which were rather largely attended, to repress, as best I could, certain sentiments looking toward, I might almost say, a policy of non-resistance. Peace with justice has been the cornerstone of this Society. We have promoted in every possible way the framing of treaties of arbitration. We have favored a world court, with proper reservations. We have especially taken a stand in favor of the codification of international law. In the opinion of many, the development of international law—the codifications of such principles as already exist and the framing of new ones—is a most important step toward peace. The Society, by communication with legislative bodies, by seeking to exercise its influence in the framing of treaties and their ratification, has been in touch with public affairs; that commenced as long ago as in the forties, when one of the first petitions for the settlement of international difficulties by arbitration was brought forward by this Society.

The Secretary, Dr. Call, and others, in co-operation with other members of the Society, have framed propositions pertaining to legislation. They have appeared before congressional committees, and perhaps the most important work has been the publication of its periodical, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. That publication, as a New York lawyer expressed himself



to me a few days ago—a leading New York lawyer—is far and away the best publication on international affairs that is published in this country. Dr. Call is the Editor and Mr. Pasvolsky is the Assistant, and I suppose they are furnished items by a great many others. It has copies of treaties made, accounts of the proceedings of the League of Nations, steps looking toward peace in Europe and America, and comment on international movements. I can name, perhaps, two periodicals in the country that have some comparison with it: *The Journal of International Law*, which, however, is a publication for international lawyers, with rather a limited circulation; and a publication recently established in New York City, called *Foreign Affairs*. That is a publication that I rate next to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. But it is altogether different. That maintains the disposition that all phases of international questions should be presented. For instance, in one of the recent issues it had an article by President Calles of Mexico sustaining the policies of Mexico in recent years. That, furthermore, is a quarterly and of a different type from the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

It is earnestly desired that the circulation of this periodical be increased. It goes now to colleges and is used, I may claim, as a kind of a text-book by a great many who are considering the subject. In addition to that, it is desired that there shall be a department here which shall keep track of conditions in different parts of the world—in the United States, of course, first of all; Latin America, the British Commonwealth and possessions, continental Europe, and the Far East. It is possible, in view of the touch that the Secretary and officers of this organization have with the State Department and with the ambassadors and ministers here, to obtain information on these subjects, perhaps, more readily than any publication in the country.

We are, of course, now engaged in not merely increasing the membership and increasing the circulation of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, but in providing an endowment. Between now and the 8th of May next year a very active campaign will be conducted in that behalf. Any organization which

seeks an endowment or seeks further funds labors under this very considerable disadvantage, that there are so many colleges and different institutions that are now seeking to enlarge their endowments that it is a difficult matter. On the other hand, I think there is a disposition on the part of those of means to contribute to worthy objects surpassing anything that has ever existed before, and we have some hopeful prospects in that regard.

It will be necessary to provide for the added expenses of the organization in the coming year in the conduct of this campaign. That is one of our main immediate tasks to be performed. I think there is a feeling in this Society which is of the utmost importance. In the first place, it is the one organization which has maintained a consistent record through a hundred years in the advocacy of arbitration and peace and international good will, without indulging in any phantasies or futile operations, which are sure to fail, and I look for a great future for it.

I think the world just now is considering as never before the subject of peace. There are international meetings. There is a burning appreciation of the horrors of war, of the fact that victor and vanquished suffer in an equal degree or in a similar degree, and a realization that there is a better way of settling controversies between nations than by war. For this reason this Society desires to make an appeal to the country for co-operation, for financial support, and we desire the assistance of you gentlemen who are joining as Directors from your respective States in that regard, not wishing to impose upon you any undue burden, but hoping that you have an interest in the cause of peace, and that you will co-operate with us in that regard; for there is no movement, national or international, which deserves more attention or more commendation or active support than efforts for the peace of the world.

If another war should occur, no one can tell what its awful consequences would be. It is for all those of advanced thought, who have the real welfare of our own country and other countries at heart, to take every possible step to inaugurate an era of peace and co-operation.

The next in the order of business is the Secretary's report. Dr. Call.

### SECRETARY'S REPORT

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the principles of our Society's Constitution, your Secretary submits his report for the year ending April 30, 1927. Since President Burton has reported and our Business Manager, Mr. Zapf, will report still more fully the business aspects of our Society, your Secretary will call attention especially to something of the nature of his efforts during the year to meet the purposes and to fulfill the spirit of the American Peace Society.

#### Certain Difficulties in the Way

The year has marked the tenth anniversary of our country's entrance upon the war of 1914-18. Many observers have expressed themselves as disheartened and disillusioned because the ideals widely heralded a decade ago seem so far from realization. They point to the evidences of coercion by a number of great Powers against China; to our troubles with Mexico and Nicaragua; to our failure to compose the dispute between Chile and Peru over their respective rights in Tacna-Arica; to the threats of Communism, not only in Europe and the Far East, but in our own hemisphere; to the criticisms of parliaments and the rise of dictators; to the threatened breakdown of the spirit of Locarno, in relations between Italy and Yugoslavia as regards Albania; to the apparent breakdown of the Geneva Conference for the Reduction of Armaments; to the peril of disruption of the League of Nations due primarily to the apparent inherent conflict between the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League, a conflict stressed by Germany, now a member of the League; to the irreconcilable views of the United States on the one hand and of the members of the League on the other, especially as to the Permanent Court of International Justice; to the divergent interests of minority groups, particularly within the newly organized political units of the world; to the continuing suspicions, hatreds, and fears between many of the States of Europe. These are but a few of the discouraging difficulties confront-

ing thoughtful men and women concerned to do away with the methods of war.

The difficulty runs deeper. The very people most actively concerned to end the war system are themselves often in marked disagreement. The task of ending wars between nations is sadly handicapped by these differences between the peace workers. It is a pathetic thing that the cause of peace is so obscured by its friends. The reason for it seems to be rooted in divergent philosophical conceptions.

Extremists are very active. It is probably well that they are. International as well as all other human progress seems to have been due largely to the attrition of opposing views, themselves often extreme and wholly unsound. There probably is little logical defense for the extreme pacifist, with his theoretical belief in an unworkable doctrine of non-resistance; or for the extreme believer in the efficacy of brute force as the only safeguard of a nation's integrity. Somewhere between these two extremes, if philosophy has any contribution to make to right thinking, must lie the solution of man's major problem, the problem of war. The work of the American Peace Society is modified by this principle. It has been so throughout the last year.

But the difficulties facing the work are not so easily explained. They are not so simple. Even between these extremes the shades of opinion seem well-nigh infinite. There is a type of person who appreciates the desire for peace, but who believes that wars cannot end any more than plagues, floods, famines, and fires can be made to cease; that wars seem, like them, to be expressions of the Divine will. It is held by some that national groups are non-moral if not immoral in nature; indeed, that groups of persons are never as ethical as the individuals composing them. Even the individuals are torn between confidence in and fear of their fellows. Social beings are but admixture of virtues and vices. Knowing this, men succumb easily to fears. This seems to be the nature of man. If this be true of individual men, it is the more so of groups. Conflicts ending in war are, therefore, it is argued, inevitable.

Going a bit further into the matter, there are those who argue that groups, including nations, cannot base their policies upon trust and confidence, because trust and confidence by one group will not generate trust and confidence in another unless this trust and confidence be sacrificial, unless they show a willingness on the part of the group to give up something, to share in the troubles of the other, even to the point of equalizing at least in a measure unequal advantages. These things groups will never do; therefore conflicts are inevitable. It is argued that nations will not give up their rights, and that therefore there is no hope for trust and confidence, the only basis of an enduring peace.

It is believed by some that civilization is in a moral chaos. The reasons for this are variously stated and interpreted. For example, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1927, stated it thus: "Inter-group relationships are increasingly becoming more important than intra-group relationships, without becoming as moral." This, if true, is most discouraging, especially for the United States, because our country, basking in economic power and luxury, with our tariffs and immigration policies, is inciting envy and fear, and we may be contributing to the moral chaos. Our peace policies may not be sufficiently sacrificial to be helpful or hopeful. Our economic and military resources, if we are unwilling to share them unselfishly, may stand in the way of any peace program which we may appear to support. Whatever our professions may be, as long as our unequal advantages continue, we shall be feared. Being feared, we shall have to maintain military force sufficient to preserve such advantages as we possess. What is true of us is equally true for the other great Powers of the world. Thus, it is held, the moral chaos is quite complete, and all plans for establishing a permanent peace between nations as now ordered are simply chimerical.

Belief in these things is undoubtedly the reason for certain highly intellectual but extreme "pacifists." Indeed, if these things be true, it would be difficult to disprove in logic the philosophy of the non-resistant. Granted that nations are immoral, granted that the problem is to

make them moral, it is reasonable to conclude that reform must begin with the disassociation of the reformer from the immoral nation, and the showing by the sacrifice, if need be, of certain advantages which the reformer may possess, how the immoral government should conduct itself.

#### Reaction to These Problems

The American Peace Society is not unaware of this logic of the extremist. It does not, however, accept his premises. It cannot, therefore, accept his conclusions. Surely the injustices of war are not of Divine origin. Trust and confidence are not idle dreams. Groups, including States, are often moral. They frequently express their morality in practical ways. Canada and the United States have given evidence of their morality along three thousand miles of unprotected boundary for over a century. The freeing of Cuba, the building up of the Philippines, the return of the Boxer Indemnity money to China, the arbitration of many international disputes, the efforts to settle the Tacna-Arica disputes, all by our own Government, were not wholly devoid of morality. Throughout her remarkable history in world affairs, Great Britain has frequently behaved with conspicuous morality. The same thing is true of France; indeed, of probably every other nation of the world. It is unjust, therefore, to condemn the family of nations as a moral chaos.

The American Peace Society accepts the fact that any hopeful work in behalf of a peaceable settlement between States must be done with the co-operation of States; that it is good judgment to work as best it can with those primarily and concretely responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs. Perhaps somebody should hen-peck the Government. Ill-tempered jabs and uninformed criticisms may be better than no jabs or criticisms of any kind. Phrase mongering and cantankerous disputes over mere opinions will probably continue, possibly as long as human beings remain human. The American Peace Society, however, is more and more concerned with concrete situations and attainable achievements. Thus, if the peace movement is to arise above the failures of a century, it must co-

operate with governments, our own included. It is not necessary to believe that our Government is right at all times; but it should be perfectly clear that any achievement in the direction of peace between nations, as far as our country is concerned, must be brought about by the President of the United States, working through his Department of State, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and where appropriations are involved, with the co-operation of the House of Representatives. These are the persons whom we have chosen to be responsible in these all-important matters. The American Peace Society has throughout the year continued to co-operate as best it could with these our chosen representatives.

#### Our Country's Three Contributions to the Peace of the World

The foreign policies of our United States are not entirely vicious. Our statesmen are quite mindful of the fact that the longing of the ages is for peace among men. The peace plans of the great men—Dante, Erasmus, Crucé, Grotius, Henry IV, William Penn, St. Pierre, Rousseau, Kant, and the rest—are not wholly unfamiliar to our chosen representatives. The teachings of the religions are not closed books. The political achievements of the ancient world, States co-operating with States, in a variety of forms, and through the long centuries, are our common heritage.

Indeed, our United States offers to all interested to overcome the evils of war three outstanding contributions:

First, a very important peace conference, perhaps the greatest peace conference in the history of the world; second, one of the greatest peace societies in existence; third, in all probability the greatest peace program, at least, of modern times.

The peace conference meeting in Philadelphia in 1787, known as the Federal Convention, was a very important gathering. The men gathering there set up a Federal Union of free, sovereign, and independent States, based upon the principle of equality, with the result that our league of nations, known as the United States of America, is today the oldest Union of States, and not the least successful, of all the unions of States.

A very great peace society is our Department of State. This Department represents many hundreds of men laboring continuously in Washington and in various cities around the world for the purpose of promoting friendly intercourse between our country and other Powers, of avoiding irreconcilable disputes, of promoting the interests of peace in countless practical situations as they arise day by day.

The greatest of peace programs, measured by actual achievements throughout a period of one hundred thirty-eight years, is our very Union of States, based upon a government of laws and not of men, upon the consent of the governed, and, in case of disputes between States, upon the principle of judicial settlement in accordance with the principles of law and equity. With us, sovereignty within a State consists not so much in force as in the consent of its members. With us, the Government itself is founded in the law to which it is subject. With us, freedom is not license; it is freedom to consent to the order agreed upon. Under this program, we now behold forty-eight free, sovereign, independent States living together without threat of war. The same thing is true of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of other unions of States; but for us it is peculiarly true of our own Union of States.

#### OTHER MATTERS

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors it was voted that we should prepare a history of the American Peace Society, to be completed in time for the Centennial Celebration. This work is sufficiently advanced, so that the Secretary seems justified in assuring you that it will be completed in time.

It was also voted that there should be prepared, in honor of the Centennial Celebration, an index of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Your Secretary hopes that this will be finished also within the coming year.

The work of the Society in the interest of the codification of international law has been encouraged by the work of the Special Committee appointed by the League of Nations; by the prospects of the pas-

sage by the Congress of a resolution inviting the President to call an international conference, with the view of promoting the codification of international law; by the work of the American Society of International Law, at Montevideo, Uruguay, and especially by the work now going on by the Commission of Jurists at Rio de Janeiro.

It is a pleasure to report that Mr. Leo Pasvolosky, Associate Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, is now in Geneva, attending the Economic Conference, and that he will report the conference for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

As suggested by President Burton, the Society needs the resources with which to develop in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, as a service bureau for the members of the Society, the following: First, a Department for Latin America; second, a Department for the British Commonwealth of Nations; third, a Department for Continental Europe; fourth, a Department for the Near East; and, fifth, a Department for the Far East.

Your Secretary is convinced that the cause of peace between nations needs particularly just now a thorough-going history of the peace movement; a résumé of the causes of modern wars as interpreted by both sides to the controversy; and an account of the rise of international law, particularly with reference to its relations to war and peace.

The American Peace Society might well extend its service as an international peace research institute with the view of making clear the peace movement and its history; the way in which incidents of an international nature which once threatened war, but which were nevertheless settled peaceably; and a statement of the causes of war, especially since the discovery of America. More specifically, your Secretary is convinced that there is a wide demand for a statement, in handy and readable form, of the origin, nature, and history of the peace movement, particularly of those incidents when war was threatened, but settlement was reached without resort to arms. The disputes between nations which resulted in war would form, unfortunately, a long series; but these disputes, too, need to be studied. The results of such studies would appear,

naturally, at irregular intervals. A preparation of these two series would enable the research institute to issue in a convenient form a summary, yet accurate, study of the origin and nature of the peace movement and its constant progress; and, likewise in handy form, an account of the rise of international law relating to war and peace.

The American Peace Society, functioning in such cases as a peace research institute, would of course take care to avoid duplication of work already accomplished.

The series contemplated would not endeavor to collect arbitration cases or cases of judicial settlement, but to examine the concrete instances which have been peaceably settled, in order to see how similar instances may be settled in the future. The series on modern wars would not aim to establish the guilt of one or the other party regarding the outbreak of the war. Such would be a long and difficult process. There are still doubts as to the causes of certain wars of the past. The authoritative statements of each side, however, may be presented, and from an analysis of these conflicting statements it would be possible to suggest how the resort to arms might have been avoided, even to show a better way for possible future belligerents. The plan is definite as to the purpose, but necessarily it is not precise as to the methods, as these would have to be determined by investigation.

As an example of the difficulty of the undertaking, take the war between France and Great Britain, which broke out in 1793 and which, with slight interruptions, continued until the Battle of Waterloo, some 22 years later. The French historians maintain to the present day that Great Britain was the aggressor. British historians maintain that France was to blame. Richard Cobden, after his analysis of the facts of the case, came to the conclusion that his country, Great Britain, was to blame—a view held by the historian Lecky in his earlier years, but rejected later, upon a more careful examination of authorities. The only feasible way, therefore, seems to be to allow each of the parties to a conflict to state its case at considerable length, and to accept each statement as correct for the purposes of analysis.

The publications of each of the series would necessarily differ in size; but, to effect the purpose of the plan, each number of the series would need to be such that it could be easily read. The idea is not to issue a large, unwieldy publication of archives or documents, thus competing with other publications, but to present the matter in a somewhat popular form.

#### The American Peace Society Stands upon the Record

It is amid these facts that the American Peace Society has continued throughout the year to promote international peace through justice, to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, without deviating by a hair's breadth from the principles upon which our Republic is founded. It is for these reasons that the Society has come to the end of another year unswerving in its loyalty to the United States and to a more perfect union of all nations based upon laws and not men, upon the free consent of the governed, and to the settlement of disputes between nations in accordance with the principles of justice.

#### Our Centennial Celebration

It is because of these facts that your officers have during the year, in spite of certain financial difficulties, made bold to enlarge its activities, to show its faith by a step of high resolve, to arrange for an appropriate celebration of its one hundredth anniversary in May of next year.

The employment of Mr. Lacey C. Zapf as Business Manager is an evidence of this purpose. Mr. Zapf has specialized in foreign trade and international maritime law, in the newspaper field, and in government affairs. For the last six years he has served as Secretary of the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce. The nature of his work will be set forth in his report.

It is proper, however, for your Secretary to call attention to some of the plans already arranged for the Centennial Celebration of the Society next year. Reference has already been made to this matter by President Burton.

It would probably be best to place the conduct of the celebration under a general committee, to be known as the "Centennial Celebration Committee." At the head of

this committee, as Honorary Chairman, will be the President of the United States. The President of the committee may be the President of the Society. The general committee will serve in an advisory capacity. The labors of the committee will be carried on by an Executive Committee and a Director of the Conference. The Executive Committee and the Director will set up three working committees, to be known as, first, Committee on Program; second, a Committee on Finance; and, third, a Committee on Organizations. In other words the organization might be substantially as follows:

#### Centennial Celebration Committee

Honorary Chairman—Calvin Coolidge.  
Chairman—To be chosen by the American Peace Society.

Director of the Conference—To be chosen by the American Peace Society.

Executive Committee—To be composed of the Honorary Chairman, Chairman, President of the American Peace Society, Director, Chairman of Committee on Program, Chairman of Committee on Finance, Chairman of Committee on Organizations, and such others as these may invite.

#### Three Subcommittees:

1. Committee on Program.
2. Committee on Finance.
3. Committee on Organizations.
  - (1) Business and Finance.
    - (1) Business.
      - (a) Fabricators.
      - (b) Merchants.
      - (c) Producers of raw materials.
    - (2) Finance.
      - (a) Banking.
      - (b) Investment bankers.
  - (2) Religion and Education.
    - (1) Schools and colleges.
    - (2) Press and Platform.
    - (3) Church and Missionary.
  - (3) Peace and Patriotic Societies.
4. Committee on Resolutions.

It is proposed that each of these group committees shall have an executive officer, who shall be *ex officio* a member of the General Centennial Celebration Committee.

Of course, all this is subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

#### In Conclusion

The American Peace Society may well face its one hundredth anniversary unafraid. Its purposes are worthy. It continues to fulfill a need. Its record is a series of achievements of which every American may be proud. Its supporters

today, as for a century, rank among the leading men and women of our Republic. The thing it aims to accomplish is the answer to the cry of peoples everywhere. Your Secretary firmly believes, after twenty-one years of rather intimate association with its work, that the American Peace Society is following, humbly and all too ineffectively, the will of God.

THE PRESIDENT: The Secretary's Report will be published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*?

Mr. CALL: The reports of officers are usually published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

THE PRESIDENT: There is material there that is distinctly original, at least in its form of statement and arrangement, and I think it so valuable that it ought to be printed.

Now, the next thing in order is the report of the Treasurer.

Mr. CALL: Mr. White just telephoned that he is detained, but hopes to be here later. I have the financial report. What is your pleasure? Shall I read the details or the summaries?

THE PRESIDENT: How long would it take you to read it all?

Mr. CALL: It would take five minutes, perhaps.

Mr. WHITE: If you cannot give us the substance without the details, then we ought to have the details.

Mr. CALL: There are not many details. (Mr. Call read the report of the Treasurer, as follows:)

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

R. G. RANKIN & Co., ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS

Members American Institute of Accountants  
NEW YORK, May 13, 1927.

Mr. GEORGE WHITE,  
*Treasurer, The American Peace Society, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We have examined the accounts of The American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1927, and submit herewith the following:

Exhibit "A," cash account for the year ended April 30, 1927.

Schedule "1," Reserve Fund investments as at April 30, 1927.

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the accompanying statement of cash, together with the statement of Reserve Fund investments, accurately accounts for the cash receipts and disbursements of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1927, and correctly sets forth the Reserve Fund investments as at April 30, 1927.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.,

*Members American Institute of Accountants.*

Exhibit "A"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

*Cash Account for the Year Ended April 30, 1927*

Balance of cash on hand and on deposit May 1, 1926.....	\$382.26
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RECEIPTS

Membership, including subscriptions to <i>ADVOCATE OF PEACE</i> .....	\$1,804.98
Special subscription to <i>ADVOCATE OF PEACE</i> .....	369.32
Sales of pamphlets and books.....	119.93
Contributions .....	834.00
Subscriptions from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	7,460.54
Permanent Peace Fund Trustee .....	7,206.96
Interest on bank deposits.....	72.32
Income from Reserve Fund investments.....	444.22
Investments sold:	
Puget Sound Power and Light, preferred stock.....	962.52
U. S. 4¼'s Liberty bonds.....	300.00
U. S. Treasury certificates of indebtedness.....	13,000.00
Interparliamentary Union refund .....	32.89
Miscellaneous income .....	19.13
	32,626.81
Total .....	\$33,009.07

## DISBURSEMENTS

*Department of Home Office:*

Salaries—Secretary, Office Secretary, Editor, and Assistant Editor .....	\$12,386.25	
Salaries—Clerks .....	1,239.61	
Office rent .....	1,683.00	
Postage, express, telegrams, etc.....	349.21	
Office supplies .....	206.83	
Office equipment .....	143.80	
Telephone .....	112.56	
Library .....	186.78	
Newspapers and periodicals .....	43.00	
Letter service, mimeographing, etc.....	993.47	
Entertainment .....	100.00	
District of Columbia personal tax.....	61.50	
Miscellaneous .....	116.99	
		\$17,623.00

*Department of Field Work:*

Travel expense, Mr. Call.....	115.00
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*Department of Publications:*

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	\$7,886.93	
Printing and distribution of pamphlets.....	164.75	
Miscellaneous printing—envelopes, cards, etc.....	528.25	
		8,579.93

*Investments:*

First mortgage 6½ per cent notes of Poretzky, Siher and Rosen .....	6,000.00	
		32,317.93

Balance cash on hand and on deposit April 30, 1927.....	\$691.14
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*Represented by—*

National Metropolitan Bank—checking account.....	\$461.38	
National Metropolitan Bank—savings account.....	209.36	
Petty cash on hand in office.....	20.40	
		\$691.14

## Schedule "1"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

*Reserve Fund Investments as at April 30, 1927*

	Par value.	Price.	Market value
Real-estate notes of R. N. Taylor, 6 per cent, due February 15, 1929; secured property, 510 Rittenhouse Street .....	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
First mortgage 6½ per cent note of Poretzky, Siher & Rosen, due November 1, 1929; secured property, 1262 Holbrook Terrace N. E.....	1,500.00	1,500.00	1,500.00
First Mortgage 6½ per cent note of Poretzky, Siher & Rosen, due November 1, 1929; secured property, 1270 Holbrook Terrace N. E.....	4,500.00	4,500.00	4,500.00
	\$9,000.00		\$9,000.00

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. W. WHITE,  
Treasurer.



**THE PRESIDENT:** This report of the Secretary and the report of the Treasurer will be received and filed. The next report is that of the business manager, Mr. Zapf.

#### REPORT OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

The present program of the Business Department is divided into three major activities: (1) Board of Directors, (2) Endowment, and (3) Membership.

##### Board of Directors

Your President has already referred to the results of efforts to get a representative group of men and women to make up a full Board of Directors.

##### Endowment

Special letters, some signed by the President of the Society and some by the Secretary, have been sent to 84 persons who are known to possess wealth and who might wish to contribute toward an adequate endowment for the Society.

A booklet, entitled "Essential Facts," about the American Peace Society, accompanied these letters.

An appeal has been made for an endowment that will produce a minimum of \$50,000 per annum.

A well-known philanthropist of New York sent a special representative to Washington for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the American Peace Society. He spent the major portion of the day in the offices of the headquarters and was entertained at a luncheon conference by the President of the Society.

A prominent business man of Chicago has manifested interest in our appeal. He has asked for detailed information relative to income and expenditures of the Society over a period of years.

The annual income of the Society for a number of years from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace amounted to \$31,000. This subvention has gradually been reduced to \$7,500 for the year 1925-26 and to \$3,750 for 1926-27. As set forth in the annual report of Directors for last year, the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace will not continue the annual contributions to the Society.

At the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in December of 1911, it was voted to make the American Peace Society the agent for their general educational work in the United States. This vote carried with it an important subvention. In the light of this, the American Peace Society moved in 1911 to Washington, organized and entered into commitments, so that it could perform its obligations under the terms of that arrangement. As indicated above, this financial support continued in substantial amounts for some years. Although the Society is without advice that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace wished to discontinue the agency arrangement with the Society for carrying on its educational work in the United States, the financial contributions therefor have gradually declined from \$31,000 in 1916 to a total of \$3,750 for the present year, and discontinued entirely thereafter.

This curtailment of revenue has necessarily thrown a distressing burden upon the officers of the Society and forced retrenchments in various directions that have been not only detrimental to the American Peace Society, but, it is believed, contrary to the spirit of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, founder of the Endowment and long a loyal supporter of the American Peace Society.

The income of the Society from the Permanent Peace Fund has averaged \$6,721.92 during the past five years. As pointed out by your President, the amount from this fund for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1926, was \$6,407.83. The amount for the year just closed was \$7,206.96.

Rev. Horace H. Leavitt, one of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund was a welcome visitor at the headquarters during the month of April. He explained that at the request of the Board of Trustees he wished to learn first hand about the activities of the Society and its plans for the future. After his visit to Washington, Rev. Leavitt wrote to Dr. Call, as follows:

"I have read your little pamphlet (Essential Facts) with genuine interest and find it

most helpful. I wish you would send me four more copies that I may in turn send one to each of my fellow Trustees with a covering letter. I think it will do much to give them a sympathetic reaction to your work and its projected enlargement.

"I enjoyed my visit with you and feel repaid in the personal contact thus secured."

### Membership

A revival of interest in the cause of better international relations and world peace is indicated by the results of work in the Membership Department. This interest is reflected particularly in the character of letters from persons who have long been members of the Society, but who have been lax in financial support.

It is gratifying to note that many of the Directors have taken out four Contributing Memberships at \$25 each. This character of support enables the Membership Department to send the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* to many persons who may later be induced to take out memberships and become regular contributors to the work of the Society.

Several of the Life Members of the Society have likewise taken out four Contributing Memberships at \$25 each.

A test mail membership campaign has been carried on since February of this year. Special letters and copies of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* have been sent to selected prospects. This work has resulted in—

8 new memberships at \$5.....	\$40.00
12 new memberships at \$25.....	300.00
28 contributions from Society members, totaling.....	318.00
7 contributions from non-members, totaling.....	170.00

or a total revenue, as of April 30, for the three-months' period, amounting to \$828.

In preparation for a nation-wide mail membership campaign, a special booklet has been printed. It describes briefly what the American Peace Society is, what it does, and its plans for the future.

This campaign was started on April 29. From two to three hundred letters and booklets are being sent out each day. This drive is expected to be completed about the middle of May. This mailing will in-

clude approximately 10,000 carefully selected prospects in all parts of the country. In this list of prospects are the names of about 800 men who will be asked to take out at least four Contributing Memberships at \$25 each.

This campaign will be repeated in the early fall. During the summer months special attention will be devoted to follow-up work on selected groups of persons and to preparation for the fall drive.

As funds become available the membership work will be expanded.

Present members of the Society may aid the Directors very materially in this membership work by talking to their friends and acquaintances about the American Peace Society.

One member recently sent in the names of ten persons, members of a study group on international relations, asking that they be invited to become active in the work of the Society. This member had referred to the American Peace Society in an address before the study group.

Many of the members of the Society are constantly in demand as speakers on subjects of international relations. This affords them opportunity to refer to the Society and call particular attention to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* as a valuable medium through which persons may keep in touch with current political and economic developments throughout the world.

In the fiscal year 1925-26 there were 563 members of all classes, paying a total of \$1,339, an average of \$2.38 per member. For the period ending April 30, 1927, there were 511 members of all classes, and the revenue received was \$2,086. The average rate per member was \$4.08. For the months of January, February, March, and April of 1926, the income was \$563 from 220 members, an average of \$2.60. For the same months of 1927 the revenue was \$1,277 for 228 members, an average rate of \$5.60 per member.

In the year 1925-26 there were 469 renewals at the average rate of \$2.37 per member. The following year there were 449 renewals at the average rate of \$3.17. During January, February, March, and April of 1926 there were 206 renewals at \$523, making an average renewal of \$2.54 per member. For the same period this

year the renewals were 199 at \$812, or an average renewal of \$4.08 per member.

In addition to the copies of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* that go with the memberships, there were 142 paid subscriptions in 1925-26, producing \$284. In 1926-27 the paid subscriptions were 123 at \$2 each. Most of these were by libraries.

The Society continues its mailing list of about 3,000.

#### Recommendations

It is recommended that the mail membership campaign, which is to be resumed in the early fall, be supported by special speaking campaigns arranged so that Directors may address commercial, educational, professional, religious, and other groups in their respective States; that in the larger and more important centers special meetings be arranged, so that the President of the Society may be the principal speaker.

It is recommended that arrangements be made so that the Secretary of the Society may be available for a speaking campaign to include States and sections where Directors are not yet appointed.

It is recommended that the Directors get in touch with the members of the Society in their respective States, with a view to getting their support at meetings and in any work that may be undertaken. The Business Manager will furnish each Director with the names and addresses of members in the various States. All letters can be prepared and posted from the Washington office, or sent in bulk to each Director for signature and posting.

It is recommended that each Director send in the names and addresses of special persons whom they would wish the Washington office to undertake to interest in the work of the Society.

It is recommended that a publicity man be secured for the special membership drive in the fall and to work up interest in the plans for the century celebration.

It is recommended that a Membership Committee be appointed, composed of members of the Board. The duty of this committee will be to plan and supervise the membership work of the Society and to co-operate with the Business Manager, who will serve as secretary of the committee.

It is recommended that a special Finance Committee be appointed from members of the Board. The functions of this committee will be to devise ways and means of raising revenue for current operating expenses; of securing an adequate endowment; and to recommend to the Board annual budgets for the various departments of the Society. The Business Manager could act as secretary of this committee.

#### Proposed Budget of Expenditures for Six Months, May 1, 1927, to October 31, 1927

The Business Manager suggests the following budget for the ensuing half year:

##### A—Department of Home Office:

1. Salaries (Secretary, Editor, Associate Editor, Business Manager, Office Secretaries)	\$9,150.00
2. Office rent	\$41.50
3. Postage, express, telegrams, etc.	225.00
4. Office supplies	250.00
5. Office equipment	150.00
6. Telephone	60.00
7. Library	87.50
8. Newspapers and periodicals	75.00
9. Letter service, mimeographing, etc.	1,000.00
10. Annual meeting	25.00
11. Books and pamphlets	25.00
12. Entertainment	50.00
13. Publicity man (one month)	400.00
	<hr/>
	\$12,339.00

##### B—Department of Field Work:

1. Traveling expenses	600.00
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##### C—Department of Publications:

1. Printing and mailing of <i>ADVOCATE OF PEACE</i> , pamphlets, and miscellaneous	6,386.00
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\$19,325.00

THE PRESIDENT: That report will be received and filed. It shows that the business manager has commenced this work with an appreciation of what is needed and with a good deal of interest in promoting the interests of the Society and in enlarging the scope of its operations. Without objections the report will be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

Next are the reports of committees. Dr. Call.

Mr. CALL: I know of no committees to report.

THE PRESIDENT: Then the next is the election of officers.

Mr. CALL: Under our Constitution it is the business of the Board of Directors to elect a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Editor, and a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee, as well as one or more honorary Vice-Presidents.

Mr. MCWHIRTER: I move, sir, to reelect the President, Secretary, and the Treasurer of the organization.

THE PRESIDENT: The ballot will be cast. I wish to say for myself that I am extremely reluctant, in view of my other duties, to accept re-election—and of course a man is a little less active when he reaches the age of three-quarters of a century to undertake work—because I feel that there should be a person who would give more time to it. My interest in the American Peace Society and my confidence in what it can do is such, however, that I am at least willing to accept the nomination.

Mr. WHITE: I second the motion and move that the Secretary cast the ballot.

Mr. CALL: May I say just a word with reference to the Senator's remarks? It is a very great sacrifice for Senator Burton to do what he is doing. He is a member of the House and he is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the House. He is President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union and he is active in all of its affairs. For him to take time to function as President of this Society is a real sacrifice.

Mr. WHITE: My experience is that active men make better officers.

THE PRESIDENT: It is not a question, of course, except devoting the time to do justice to the position.

Dr. HILL: I may be permitted to remark that the positions occupied and the interest in those positions on the part of our President make him so highly qualified to be our leader that we cannot let him go. We are very glad to claim him, to have the results of his large experience

and his clear intuition of the necessities of the moment.

THE PRESIDENT: That is very kind, Dr. Hill, very kind indeed.

Mr. TEMPLE: My silence is assent to what has been said and not disagreement.

THE PRESIDENT: If there are no further remarks, the motion is in order. That included the President—

Mr. MCWHIRTER (interposing): The statutory officers.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: In regard to the selection of directors, is there any action necessary upon that?

Mr. ZAPF: The gentlemen will find in the folders the nominations that were sent to all of you by mail, in accordance with the Constitution, a sufficient length of time in advance of this meeting, and it requires now, under the Constitution, merely your election of these people at this session or their elimination, as you may prefer. You will find there proposed for directors list No. 2. Those are the new proposals and their nominations have been sent to you recently. I think they are listed there in alphabetical order. If you care to have them read, I will read them and you can vote on them one at a time or as a whole.

Dr. HILL: Those names in list No. 2 are names of persons who are proposed and have not yet been elected, and have as yet not signified their disposition as to joining?

Mr. ZAPF: They have not been approached.

THE PRESIDENT: Then a motion that they all be invited to serve as directors is in order.

Mr. ZAPF: Under the Constitution I believe that they must be elected at this meeting, and then the executive officers proceed to extend the invitation.

THE PRESIDENT: Then the motion is that these men be invited to act as directors and chosen as directors in case of acceptance?

Mr. ZAPF: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Without objections, I declare the gentlemen elected. I will sub-

mit the motion that the two Vice-Presidents be chosen for next year.

(The motion was put and carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: When it comes to honorary Vice-Presidents, gentlemen, we are at liberty to leave anybody off here or put anybody on that we choose.

(The following honorary Vice-Presidents were nominated and their election was moved, seconded, and carried:)

Mr. Elmer E. Brown  
 Mr. Geo. Burnham, Jr.  
 Mr. W. H. P. Faunce  
 Mr. William P. Guest  
 Mr. Chas. Cheney Hyde  
 Mr. George H. Judd  
 Mr. Ellhu Root  
 Mr. Jas. Brown Scott  
 Mr. C. F. Thwing

Mr. CALL: There are one or two other matters about which I need your help. One is that you have heard the President say that the Interparliamentary Union is to meet in Paris, and you have heard him say that I am going. Well, I do not feel that I ought to go away from my job without the advice and consent of the Board of Directors of this Society. I shall have to leave here about the 5th of August and I shall return, sailing probably about the 29th of September. I do not want to do a thing like that without the advice and consent of this Board.

THE PRESIDENT: It does mean an absence of about two months or a little more, but your qualifications for performing the duties of Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union seem to make it necessary for you to go. Then you would probably go on to Geneva and be there at the session of the League of Nations beginning on the first Monday of September. You would go from the Interparliamentary Union at Paris to Geneva, and then there is a meeting at Lausanne, too?

Mr. CALL: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Beginning when?

Mr. CALL: The 25th of August.

THE PRESIDENT: You would not attend that?

Mr. CALL: I could not attend that.

THE PRESIDENT: You could not do that and attend the Interparliamentary Union, both?

Mr. CALL: No.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, we regret your absence here, but I do think that it is desirable that you should go, because, I may say, it is not going to be a burden in the matter of expense on the part of the American Peace Society?

Mr. CALL: No.

Dr. HILL: Mr. President, I move that the Board approve the visit of the Secretary to Europe, as suggested, in connection with the Interparliamentary Union?

Mr. McWHIRTER: I second the motion.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: Is there anything necessary to be done in regard to this Centennial Meeting in May of next year?

Mr. CALL: I think it would be well, in the light of the time that we have at our disposal, to move that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

THE PRESIDENT: The thing, in my opinion, is that we ought to have consultation at least by others outside of the Executive Committee.

Mr. CALL: Oh, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: The Executive Committee, I suppose, could call others in?

Mr. CALL: The Executive Committee could, I think.

THE PRESIDENT: The Executive Committee could choose members outside their own organization for that purpose?

Mr. CALL: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: I would think, Mr. McWhirter, that you might be called upon for advice about that meeting next year. Generally speaking, in the management of things of this kind, I believe in a smaller rather than a larger body. It works more quickly and they could probably meet together more promptly. Is there a motion to that effect?

Mr. McWHIRTER: I move that the Executive Committee be authorized and empowered by the Board to take such steps as they deem necessary to see that the fullest prosecution be given to the purposes of the Centennial Meeting.

THE PRESIDENT: That would mean that they might call in others to cooperate with them?

Mr. McWHIRTER: Yes.

(The motion was carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: Is there any other business, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. CALL: No other business, sir, from my point of view. I move we adjourn.

(The motion to adjourn was put and carried.)

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., a recess was taken until 1 o'clock p. m., at the Cosmos Club.)

#### After Recess

At the meeting at the Cosmos Club, after the luncheon, the following occurred:

THE PRESIDENT: Now, gentlemen, Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer is here and we want to hear from him. General Palmer has served in Cuba, in the Philippines and in China, and on the Canal Zone and in France, and has had as wide a military experience as anybody

in the army. He has been on the General Staff for a considerable time. He has recently written a book, "Statesmanship or War," which is right in line with the subject in which we of the American Peace Society are now engaged. This book has very recently been commented upon by Secretary Hughes in a meeting of the Society on International Law, and if anyone wishes to read a eulogy which is appreciative he ought to read the introduction to the book written by ex-Senator Wadsworth, of New York. General Palmer, at the special request of Senator Wadsworth and the Senate Military Affairs Committee, was made adviser to both the committees of the House and the Senate on Military Affairs in formulating the Military Act of 1920. We would like to hear from General Palmer. (Applause.)

## Armaments, War, and Peace\*

By BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN MCAULEY PALMER

PRESENT-DAY discussion of the armament question presents a very remarkable conflict of views. One very earnest gentleman says that he is opposed to armaments because armaments provoke war. Another equally earnest gentleman says that he is in favor of armaments because armaments prevent war. Each of these two gentlemen is exactly one-half right and one-half wrong. If the first gentleman will say I am opposed to *offensive* armaments because they tend to provoke war, he will be entirely right. If the second gentleman will say I favor *defensive* armaments because they tend to prevent war, he, also, will be entirely right. They are both right in believing that the question of armament has a profound practical bearing upon the problem of war and peace, but they are both wrong in believing that the question at issue is a question of armament or disarmament. The real question is a question of type. History is full of proof that offensive armament provokes war, and it is equally full of proof that the lack of defensive armament invites war. The way to world peace lies between the Scylla of militarism and the Charybdis of pacifism.

Everybody will accept the abstract principle that we should cultivate true defensive armament and avoid provocative armament. But the practical difficulty is that there are great differences of opinion as to what is necessary for defense. Even the Kaiser insisted that his mighty military machine was necessary for legitimate defense and was therefore a safeguard of world peace.

Right at present we are in the midst of a controversy bearing on this question. You will remember that in the Washington Armament Conference of 1921 Secretary Hughes was trying to establish a ratio of capital ship tonnage as between America and Japan. For a long time Japan resisted this proposal and finally accepted it only on condition that we should agree with her to suspend the further construction of fortifications in the Far East. This meant that we should give up our plans for fortifying Manila Bay and the island of Guam. Secretary Hughes accepted this proposal, and ever since then he has been severely criticized by many military and naval experts. They allege that in accepting this proposal he placed the Philippines at the mercy of Japan, and therefore weakened our national defense.

\* An address before the ninety-ninth annual meeting of the American Peace Society, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C., May 7, 1927.

Now let us consider this matter for a moment. On this subject I am able to speak from some knowledge of the facts. I have had rather long service on our General Staff, and in 1915, while stationed in the Philippines, I was a member of a Board of Officers, under the Presidency of General Liggett, which made a prolonged study of the whole problem of Philippine defense.

Now, when we talk about defending the Philippines, what we really have in mind is their defense in a possible war with Japan. Let us consider this situation for a moment. The Philippines are a long way from America and they are near Japan. Any effective plan for the defense of the Philippines means that we must have a navy, fortified bases, and a system of communications strong enough to cross the Pacific and defeat Japan in her own strategic area. It means that we must build up a military and naval organization strong enough to defeat Japan in her own front yard. Now it must be obvious to any unbiased person with elementary common sense that such a military and naval organization based upon the American continent and strong enough to defend the Philippines from Japan would be strong enough to attack Japan. From Japan's point of view such an armament would be an offensive or provocative armament and not a defensive armament.

Suppose Great Britain should maintain a navy, naval bases, and naval communications strong enough to *assure* the defense of Jamaica against all possible enemies. As Jamaica is British territory there might be a specious justification for such a course. But how would it look to us? A naval and military establishment strong enough to accomplish this ostensibly defensive object could instantly be converted into a powerful instrument of attack against the continental United States as well as against the Panama Canal. We would resent such an organization and would be forced to arm ourselves against it. Such an armament would be a provocative armament. Similarly, an American military and naval establishment strong enough to assure the defense of the Philippines from an American base would be a potential instrument of attack. However sincere our defensive

aims might be, we could instantly employ the instrument for aggression in the Far East. Japan would justly regard it as a mailed fist stretched across the Pacific.

Such a military and naval organization would almost certainly provoke a war with Japan. And this was the situation that confronted us when the Washington Conference met. There were wars and rumors of war. Thanks to the measures taken to prevent them, their manufacture was well under way.

The trouble is that military and naval experts are sometimes so saturated with military and naval facts that they overlook certain political facts which have a fundamental bearing on war and peace. Just as soon as Mr. Hughes accepted the principle that we would not go on with a policy tending to provoke war, the whole situation changed. The Japanese were then prepared to sit down with him and with the representatives of Britain and France to find a rational solution of the problems growing out of their island possessions in the Pacific. They sat down together and talked it over like gentlemen. The result was a very simple common-sense agreement. They agreed that each of them would recognize the rights and titles of each of the other three. America promised Britain and France as well as Japan that she would respect Japan's rights and titles in the region of the Pacific. Japan promised Britain and France as well as America that she would respect America's rights and titles in the region of the Pacific. And finally they further agreed that, in the event of any future controversy on these matters between any two of them, all four would sit down together again and again talk it over like gentlemen. This is quite a homely solution, but it is such a solution as gentlemen are apt to reach when they sit down together and frankly talk things over.

This is the gist of the famous Four-Power Treaty. Will it prevent war in the Pacific? Of that we cannot be absolutely certain. Even the wisest human contrivance may sometimes fail. But we can be certain that the alternative proposal of solving it by armament competition will almost certainly provoke the war. But will all of the four powers respect the treaty?

May not one of them be tempted to treat it as a scrap of paper? Possibly. But it is not likely that any one of them will yield to that temptation. Imperial Germany tried that experiment a few years ago and found that it did not pay. She learned that lesson, and that the plighted word of nations can be violated only at their peril. The world learned that lesson, and the offending power no longer exists. Autocratic Hohenzollern Germany, with her whole political philosophy, is gone. A liberal constitutional Germany has replaced her in the family of nations.

In spite of all adverse criticism, the Washington Conference was a great triumph of good faith and common sense. It is the first example of armament restriction upon an important scale in the history of the world. We gave up a policy of provocation and exchanged it for a policy of rational co-operation in the Far East. Japan left the conference confident of the good faith of the United States. This has been reflected in our Far Eastern policy ever since. Our success was largely due to the method adopted by Secretary Hughes. He, the statesman, supported by the responsible civil heads of the government, laid down the formula and then called in the naval experts to work out the technical details of the formula. With his formula thus completed, he submitted it to the assembled representatives of the great powers in the hearing of the world. World public opinion immediately accepted it in principle before it went to the technical naval attachés of the several nations. This is the secret of his great achievement. If Secretary Hughes had called a preliminary conference of naval experts to seek the formula, they would probably be working at it still. The successive conferences at Geneva have taught us that in the making of technical agenda there is no end. Secretary Hughes refused to be lost in any such smoke cloud. He asserted the supremacy of responsible statesmanship over the technical agencies of warfare.

If the statement of the world would solve the land armament problem, they would do well to follow the method adopted by Secretary Hughes. The states-

men should hold the *preliminary conference*; they should determine the underlying *political formula*, and then let the technical experts work out the purely technical details. Heretofore they have reversed the logical procedure. So far, the efforts of Geneva have been futile because she has tried to get the tail to wag the dog. In the long run this always leads to futility.

We all agree that war is an evil that should be prevented. The world is almost unanimous in this. But when it comes to the means of preventing war, there is the greatest possible difference of opinion. Most of us see the danger of extreme militarism and most of us see the folly as well as the danger of extreme pacifism. All over the world, sensible men and women are beginning to seek a safe middle ground between these two extremes.

Perhaps the first approach to this safe middle ground would be to get a satisfactory definition of war. Very often, when we really define an evil and find out just what it is and just what it is not, we are taking the first real step toward abating that evil. We are living in an age when for the first time in history certain bodily ills, such as diphtheria and typhoid, are being prevented and cured. Our fathers tried to cure them for thousands of years without success because they did not know what they were. The first step toward prevention and cure was to find out the real nature of the evil that is, to define it.

This brings us to the question, *What is war?* Now I must confess that the scientific definition of war, when I first heard it, did not help me much. It was so profoundly simple that I could not understand it. I found it in a scientific treatise on war written about a century ago by a great German philosopher, Karl von Clausewitz. According to Clausewitz, "*War is not a separate or distinct thing in itself. It is simply a phase of politics.*"

If you will reflect on this definition for a moment, you will see that it is true. *War is simply a special form of political action in which the parties to a political controversy resort to force as a means of attaining their political ends.* We are ac-



customed to think that no two things can be more unlike than warlike international relations and peaceful international relations. Von Clausewitz startles us when he reminds us that they are simply phases of the same thing—human politics.

There is a great deal of false reasoning about war, both by civilians and soldiers, because that definition is not understood. Take, for example, the much-discussed subject of the causes of war. Volumes have been written on that subject; and yet, from the standpoint of Clausewitz's definition, there is no such thing, *per se*, as a cause of war. There are many causes of political controversy, and any political controversy under certain conditions may take the violent form of political action known as war. Take, for example, the American Civil War. When we look at it superficially, we might say that slavery caused it. It did cause violent political controversy. This controversy finally took the form of war because the American political system at that time was so defective and weak that it could not prevent a disgruntled minority from appealing to force. The same problem was solved in Brazil without war, because the political institutions in that country could solve the political problem involved by purely political means.

The definition of war also suggests two distinct types of armament—a defensive type and an offensive type. Washington was born long before the time of Clausewitz, but the distinction was clearly in his mind. Washington's policy, stated in Clausewitzian terms, would be something like this:

"We should rely on just dealings with other nations. We should attain our political ends through understanding and peaceful negotiation. But, lest some aggressor should impose the other form of political action, known as war, upon us, we should maintain ourselves in a 'respectably defensive posture.' If we do this, other nations will not be tempted to depart from peaceful methods of political action in their dealings with us."

In other words, from his standpoint, Clausewitz's definition would suggest a purely defensive institution. He desired to prevent political action from taking the special violent form known as war.

But Frederick the Great would have construed the Clausewitzian concept as follows:

"When a political controversy cannot be settled in the ordinary peaceful way, it takes a special form of political action known as war. Now, in this second form the issue is settled not by the best cause, but by the most force. Therefore, if I am always prepared to exert superior force, I can attain my political ends without reference to the merits of my cause. Therefore it should be my policy always to be ready for instant attack. The main element of my system should, therefore, be a striking force always ready for surprise attack."

It will thus be seen that Clausewitz's definition of war suggests two distinct types of armament—Washington's type, which he designated as a "respectably defensive posture," and Frederick's type, which was a truculently offensive posture. The one is highly conservative of peace, and the other is highly provocative of war. Washington proposed to eliminate war as an irrational political process. Frederick proposed to employ war as a positive means of political advantage. Both of these great statesmen designed military systems suited to their several points of view. Washington's countrymen rejected his; Frederick transmitted his to his successors.

Washington must stand in a very real sense as the creator of the American political system. But the Federal Union, with its well-balanced institutions under the Constitution, was only a part of his political plan. As a necessary sanction for ordered peace, both at home and abroad, he also insisted upon a well-regulated system of defense appropriate to republican institutions—not a system of defense based upon a standing army, but a system of defense based upon the people themselves. It is true that he also recommended a regular army, but the regular army, as he conceived it, was to be a small special force to garrison the western frontier and for other strictly limited uses. He considered that an army of the people, led by competent officers from among the people, must be an essential and integral part of an enduring government by the people. It will go far toward an understanding of

several crises in our history if we will bear in mind that our fathers accepted one-half of Washington's political testament and rejected the other half.

Space does not permit an examination of the reasons why our fathers rejected Washington's plan. That is a long story and is connected up with the prolonged controversy between Federalists and the State Rights extremists that began in Washington's administration. We can say, however, that if Washington had had his way we should have had a national citizen army in all essential respects like the Swiss army of today. This would have been the foundation of our defense against invasion. We should also have had a small regular army to guard Panama and Honolulu and to do certain other things that citizen soldiers cannot do; and we should have had a navy to protect our commerce and our foreign interests; but both the regular army and the navy would have been regarded as auxiliary forces, designed to do certain special things that citizen soldiers cannot do. According to Washington's plan, his *army of the people must have been the true first line of national defense.*

Now, when I say that we should have had a citizen army like the Swiss army, I do not mean that we should have had universal and compulsory service, as the Swiss do. Switzerland must get a large citizen army out of a small population. Our problem is to get a relatively small citizen army out of a large population. If we should adopt the Swiss system *in toto*, we would have an army of more than nine million men. We do not need that many. If one young American in every seventeen will *voluntarily* take the training that every young Swiss *must* take, we will have enough for an American adaptation of the Swiss system. The fact of the matter is that we already have the parts of such a system. We have our national citizen army, composed of the national guard and the organized reserves. This is the logical American counterpart of the Swiss national army. We also have training camps and courses of training in the schools and colleges. These form the logical American counterpart of the Swiss recruit training centers. If we should couple these together as they should be coupled together,

we would have an Americanized Swiss system and we would also have the kind of an army that Washington had in mind as the foundation of our defense. It would be essentially a defensive army available at once to prevent invasion. It would serve Washington's purpose, but it would be a very poor army from the standpoint of Frederick the Great. Frederick was not content with repelling invasion. On the contrary, he wanted another kind of an army, so that he could invade and conquer other countries.

It may now be interesting to consider how our history might have been modified if Washington's sensible plan had been adopted.

For example, let us take the American Civil War. This is a very striking example of a normal political controversy that finally assumed the violent phase of political action known as war. Let us examine this situation for a moment. A growing political majority, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, proposed to restrict and ultimately to extinguish the institution of slavery. The minority recognized that it must ultimately yield to this majority if the controversy was to continue under normal political forms. Being tenacious of its views, the minority chose the alternative of avoiding political defeat through secession and war. It will be interesting to inquire whether this transition was influenced in any way by the fact that our fathers had rejected Washington's "respectably defensive posture" as an integral part of their political system. Was the issue of war or peace affected in any way by the general state of disarmament that was so characteristic of the American family of States in the period from 1850 to 1860?

Before indulging in pure guessing as to what might have been, it may be interesting to study the only other modern instance in which a group of States attempted secession from a Federal Union; for secession was also attempted in Switzerland. In 1847 a minority group of the Swiss cantons formed a separate confederacy, or Sonderbund, as it was called. This was the result of a sectional controversy, partly economic and partly religious, that had extended over a number of years. Shortly after the Sonderbund was

formed the Federal Diet, representing a majority of the cantons, met and ordered the new confederacy to dissolve. This meant acceptance of majority rule or war. The Sonderbund mobilized its troops and the rest of the cantons mobilized their troops; but, as the country had a uniform military organization, the number of organized battalions was strictly proportioned to population. As the cantons not in the new confederacy had a majority of the population, they had a majority of the organized battalions, with every prospect of maintaining their majority until the end of the voting. There was a little preliminary maneuvering and skirmishing, but the campaign ended in a few weeks because the Sonderbund decided that under the circumstances it would be better to negotiate. Political groups do not provoke war when they know that war will certainly lead to defeat. With a willingness to negotiate once manifested, a non-military solution of all political difficulties was speedily attained and Swiss unity was more firmly welded than ever. The Sonderbund recognized that in a correctly organized country like Switzerland, potential bullets are apportioned on the same equitable basis as actual ballots. Switzerland actually had the kind of an army that Washington wanted his country to have. If there had been a similar territorial organization in America in 1861, there would have been an even greater numerical preponderance against secession; for every battalion in the seceding States there would have been three battalions in the rest of the country. We should have too much respect for the intelligence of the Southern leaders to credit them with a deliberate resort to arms under such circumstances.

We may safely assert that the proximate cause of the Civil War was our national unpreparedness. Our fathers had accepted Washington's governmental system as embodied under the Constitution, but they had rejected his "respectably defensive posture." If the disgruntled minority had not been lured into war by an encouraging prospect of military success, the problem of slavery must have been solved in America as it was solved in Russia and later in Brazil, by normal political means. Emancipation must then

have proceeded with gradual adjustment and just compensation, without confiscation of property, without the impoverishment of the South, without war, and without the horrors of reconstruction.

Political machinery for the peaceful adjustment of political controversies is of great importance; but its advocates should not overlook the fact that the American federal system, with its President, its Congress, and its Supreme Court, failed to adjust the one and only serious *casus belli* that ever arose between the States. Indeed, the Supreme Court not only failed to settle the controversy, but went far toward precipitating the appeal to force. This phase of the situation is fully developed in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Mr. Lincoln said in substance, "You must not extend this institution of slavery, and eventually it must be put in the way of ultimate extinction."

"But," said Mr. Douglas, in substance, "the Supreme Court has already settled that issue against you in the Dred Scott decision. You have no right to resist its extension into the Territories or to attempt its extinction elsewhere. Therefore, as a law-abiding citizen, you have no right to agitate the question."

"But," said Mr. Lincoln, in substance, "that decision was *wrong*. We refuse to accept it as a guide of political conduct. We propose to reverse it by legitimate political means. We will ultimately change the composition of the court and, if necessary, we will amend the Constitution itself."

In short, the Civil War grew specifically out of the fact that a growing political majority, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, proposed by legitimate political means to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court. We must not forget that courts are concerned with what the law *is*, while human progress is frequently concerned with what the law *ought to be*. And yet the existing political machinery, including the same Supreme Court, must have eventually settled the slavery question equitably without war if Washington's testament of a "respectably defensive posture" had been accepted as a part of our political system.

Let us now consider the political origins of the World War. When we finally went

into that great conflict it was recognized that it was a war of autocracy against liberal civilization. It is strictly true that we went into war to make the world safe for democracy. But it was a war of autocracy against democracy in 1914 just as much as it was in 1917. We had drifted so far from Washington's practical wisdom that we did not know what it was all about. Indeed, the World War was simply the last chapter of a century-old reaction of autocracy against the modern democratic movement which our fathers originated in America in 1776 and which entered Europe in the French Revolution. Autocracy was completely and consciously organized for this conflict, with the appropriate military institutions of the offensive type as an integral part of its political system. The democratic nations, as a group, were not organized even for defense. America had rejected Washington, the great prophet of her political birthright. Britain had been deaf to the recent warnings of Lord Roberts. In this situation lies the true cause of the World War. It was like the interaction of a *high area* and a *low area* in producing a tornado. There was a *high area* of aggressive military organization in the region of autocracy and there was a *low area* of under-preparedness in the region of democracy. Hence the inevitable storm.

Provocative militarism is a just indictment against the Central Powers. But in an impartial inquiry we must not overlook our own contributory negligence. It takes a *low* barometer as well as a *high* barometer to produce a hurricane. If the English-speaking liberal nations had followed the advice of Washington and Lord Roberts, to include true defensive arrangements in their several political systems, autocracy could not have had the stimulus of alluring opportunity. With Britain and America in a "respectably defensive posture" in 1914, the German general staff could not have found the situation favorable for the resort to force. But, more important still, if Britain and America had been in such a posture continuously since 1870, it would have been politically impossible to maintain and foster autocratic militarism, even in Ger-

many. It was the lure of world conquest as a feasible military adventure that made the German people endure so great a social and financial burden. Without this stimulus, Germany must have adjusted her military organization to meet real defensive requirements. This must have prevented the pre-war armament competition. It must also have modified Germany's internal political organization. With no external political motive for maintaining the aggressive conquest machine, it could not have been maintained as a national school for the suppression of liberal thought. It was the laches of the English-speaking peoples that made the War Lord and *Welt Macht* possible.

Our historical survey justifies us in reaching the following conclusions:

(a) If the American people had adopted Washington's "respectably defensive posture" as a part of their political system, the Civil War could not have occurred.

The history of the Civil War shows that even the most perfect executive, legislative, and judicial institutions cannot insure a peaceful solution of a political controversy if one of the parties to the controversy elects to assert its will by resort to arms. It shows that if the American people had also been armed and disciplined for their own defense, the ordinary agencies of the government must have solved the slavery question without war, because in these circumstances the disgruntled minority could have found no temptation to resist the will of the majority through force. It also suggests that even an environment of complete disarmament cannot prevent war between two political groups when one of these groups finds its interest in an appeal to force.

(b) If Britain and America as well as France had been in a "respectably defensive posture," the World War would have been impossible. The absence of appropriate defensive organization among the liberal nations encouraged the autocratic nations in their militaristic program and gave them the stimulus of probable victory. It was only through militarism supported by the lure of world conquest, that autocracy was able to resist the growth of modern liberalism.

So long as there are political contro-

versies, there will be potential tendencies toward war, for war is simply a special violent phase of political action. As population and wealth increase, these controversies must become more numerous and more complex. Nevertheless, an effective organization of world peace is practicable under two conditions: The first of these conditions is that the nations, as free sovereignties, seek and encourage all effective means of friendly conference and just understanding. The second condition is that the peace-loving nations severally maintain themselves in an attitude of genuine but non-provocative defense so strong that their collective might will discourage any hope for a successful resort to force.

If these two conditions are satisfied, there is no problem affecting humanity that cannot be solved by the human mind without resort to war. But it must be distinctly understood that the two conditions are inseparable. The most perfect machinery for peaceful international adjustment can go half way and only half way. The World War came, not because there were inadequate means of peaceful negotiation, but because one of the parties was deliberately organized and determined to assert its might through war, while the other party was so weak and disorganized as to encourage that enterprise. Our examination of Swiss and American experience suggests that even a super government cannot prevent war unless its member States are in a "respectably defensive posture."

America's world position is unique. She is the only nation capable of impregnable defense without making her defensive posture even remotely a provocative gesture of offense. By neglecting the cultivation of this God-given heritage in the past, she has suffered from two great wars which should have been avoided. If she cultivates it in the future, she will not only insure her own security, but will extend her influence and example toward better world organization. If she neglects it, she will not only risk her own peace, but will encourage the rise of new militarisms to disturb the peaceful development of world politics. As in the days of Washington, our wisest policy is

still to be found in a "respectably defensive posture."

If it be true that war is a phase of politics, it implies that each nation should have sound military institutions as a part of its political organization. It also implies that the means of war should be completely subordinate to constructive statesmanship. Prussia had such an organization expressed in terms of aggressive autocracy. Switzerland has such an organization appropriate to the defensive needs of a democratic State. Washington vainly proposed such an organization for us. For this reason America presents the astonishing spectacle of a partially organized democratic republic, still unprovided with a planned and ordered machinery of defense adapted in kind to the political ideals to which she is committed. This is the keynote of her history, the cause of her greatest perils in the past, the secret of her present financial burdens, and the unsettled question upon which her future destiny depends.

With a national debt exceeding nineteen billion dollars as the penalty for unplanned defenses in the past, and with an annual expenditure approximating \$600,000,000 for the unplanned military and naval programs of today, there would appear to be purely fiscal reasons for placing the national defense upon a business basis. This demands a comprehensive study of the whole problem of national security with a view to arriving at a final solution in which all of the several military and naval services and agencies are mutually co-ordinated and in which each such service and agency is assigned its proper rôle and mission as a part of the whole.

But can this great problem be solved by existing agencies of the government? The answer is, *No*, because there is no agency in our government competent to weigh and decide upon the many conflicting *ex parte* views as to what the functions, dimensions, and proportions of the several elements of the national defense should be. Congress appropriates for the navy and the army separately, without any prior settlement as to the proper joint relations and missions of the land forces and the sea forces. One committee in each house prepares legislation based more or less on

the navy's *ex parte* view as to what these joint relations and missions should be. Another committee in each house prepares legislation based more or less upon the army's *ex parte* view as to what these relations and missions should be. Congress eventually passes legislation adopting unco-ordinated parts of both *ex parte* views. These things happen because the members of the committees have access only to *ex parte* views, there being no agency for bringing conflicting *ex parte* views together into open court with the view of joining issues and arriving at the truth. This situation was bad enough when the land and sea forces only were involved. It is greatly aggravated by the appearance of the air forces as claimants for a proper place in the program of national defense.

All this implies that we need a *co-ordinating* agency in our government designed to *co-ordinate* the land, sea, and air forces as properly proportioned parts in a coherent and economical structure of national defense. But this does not tell the whole story. We also need a *subordinating* agency, designed to *subordinate* military and naval policy to the essential aims and ideals of the modern democratic state. This cannot be done by military and naval experts. Here their views must be *subordinated* to the constructive aims of statesmanship. This is the true meaning of the old Anglo-American tradition that the civil authority should be superior to the military authority.

Theoretically, the necessary co-ordinating and subordinating power is in the hands of the President as Commander-in-Chief. But it is obvious that, with his other great and growing responsibilities, he has no time for this added burden. The answer seems to lie in the formation of a central department of national defense, having general supervisory power over the land, the sea, and the air forces. Unless there is a cabinet officer responsible for the national defense as a whole, and charged with keeping it in line with our national political ideals and economic programs, the tasks of co-ordination and supervision must remain where they now are, in the overburdened hands of the President.

This leads us to a broader international aspect of the armament problem. America has an exceptional opportunity to further the cause of armament reform. She is not only in a position to advocate the best solution; she is also in a position to give an example of the effectiveness of that solution while she is waiting for other nations to adopt it. The ideal system of defense by a citizen army, supplemented for certain special purposes by a rigorously restricted standing army, is her traditional military policy. It is, therefore, the system that she should perfect without waiting for the concurrent action of other nations. The principal practical objection that the world can urge against it is its relative novelty on a large scale—the fact that it has never been perfected except upon a small scale in Switzerland. That this is true is unfortunately America's fault.

In neglecting to develop her "respectably defensive posture" in a form appropriate for the democratic state, she not only neglected to contribute her part toward world stability, but denied her sister democracies an example which they should have received from her. To this extent she is responsible for certain practical misgivings as to the intelligence of democracies and their stability under stress. To this extent she aided the anti-democratic reactions of the past century. If she had followed Washington's injunction to *keep* the world safe for democracy, it might not have been necessary to fight a war to *make* the world safe for democracy.

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*Man is not, by nature, a wild, unsociable creature; it is the corruption of his nature that makes him so; yet by acquiring new habits, by changing his place and way of living, he may be reclaimed to his original gentleness.*

Plutarch.

*The air is common to men; the earth also; where every man, in the ample enjoyment of his possessions, must refrain from doing violence or injury to those of another.*

Hugo Grotius.

# INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

## U. S. AND WAR DEBTS

### TEXT OF BRITISH NOTE

The Honorable FRANK B. KELLOGG, *Secretary of State of the United States, Washington, D. C.:*

SIR: The attention of His Majesty's Government has been drawn to the letter on Allied War Debts, addressed to Prof. John Grier Hibben, president of Princeton University, by Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the United States Treasury, which was published on March 17th. So far as this letter deals with matters of domestic controversy, His Majesty's Government have, of course, no desire to offer any comment upon it; but the letter also contains certain specific references to the position of Great Britain; and His Majesty's Government feel bound to point out that on points of cardinal importance these statements do not correspond with the facts as known to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government feel that, in justice to themselves and in order that public opinion in both countries should have a fair opportunity of judging the position, it is essential that they should frankly bring such points to the attention of the United States Government.

#### Mr. Mellon Quoted in British Note

2. In the first place, Mr. Mellon states that the United States "agreed to furnish the Allies dollars with which all their purchases in the United States should be consummated, and, what is more, we agreed to lend them these dollars"; but "when the United States purchased supplies and services from France and the British Empire" they "did not get these francs and pounds on credit; they paid cash." The United States "are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in the common cause; but neither abroad nor in the United States has it been suggested that if this is to be done, the United States are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain."

This statement implies that the United States Government lent the British Government all the dollars required to purchase supplies in America, and that, over and above these loans, they paid dollars to Great Britain for the services and supplies they required from the British Empire, and that these dollars were retained by His Majesty's Government for their own purpose. Such, of course, is not the case. All the dollar payments made by the United States for their sterling requirements in Great Britain—which though considerable were of course smaller in amount than the war loans to the United Kingdom—were taken into account in fixing the total amount of the war loans advanced to Great Britain and were applied directly to the purchase of supplies in America or to the repayment of debt. The arrangements made are clearly and concisely stated in an article published in "Foreign Affairs" (April, 1925) by Mr. Rathbone, who was during the War Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury.

Mr. Rathbone's explanation was as follows:

"For its own war purposes in Great Britain, France, and Italy, the United States did not borrow pounds or francs or lire. Our Treasury was obliged to procure these currencies for the use of our army abroad. We bought pounds, francs and lire from the governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and made payment therefor in dollars here. The dollars thus obtained by Great Britain, France, and Italy were applied by them towards the cost of their war purchases here, and thus the amount of the dollar loans required by these countries from our Treasury was diminished in a corresponding sum."

#### Denies Loans Covered All Purchases in America

It will be seen that the United States Government did not lend the whole of the money required for British purchases in America, but that the dollars received from the United States Treasury in payment of sterling provided by Great Britain were used to cover a corresponding part of Great Britain's dollar

requirements, and only the net dollar requirements were covered by loans from the United States Government.

This arrangement was obviously equitable and satisfactory to both parties, and was in fact originally suggested by the United States Government, in a letter dated December 3, 1917, from Mr. Leffingwell, then Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, to the British Treasury representative in Washington, which includes the following paragraph:

"I assume that your government will use the dollar fund thus received for meeting its dollar requirements for purchases here and would therefore reduce correspondingly its requests for dollar advances from the United States Treasury."

The dollar payments to Great Britain were thus regularly applied to reduce the dollar advances to Great Britain, so long as the latter continued; when they ceased, in 1919, the dollar payments by the United States Government were utilized to reduce the debt incurred by Great Britain. The statement made in Mr. Mellon's letter on this point appears to His Majesty's Government to be likely to give a very erroneous impression of the facts.

#### Statement on Reparations Declared Incorrect

3. His Majesty's Government now pass to Mr. Mellon's contention that the payments made to the United States Government in respect of the British war debt impose no burden on the British taxpayer.

Mr. Mellon states that "all our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States." So far as Great Britain is concerned, this statement is incorrect. The receipts of Great Britain during the financial year 1926-1927 from Germany on account of reparations represent approximately one-quarter of the payments made by His Majesty's Government to the United States Government, and their prospective reparation year 1927-1928 (assuming that they are transferred in full) will fall substantially below one-half of the payments due to the United States. Even if the receipts from Germany on account of army costs (which represent a partial reimbursement of the expenditure incurred by His Majesty's Government on the maintenance of their forces) and on account of the Belgian war debt (which represents a payment on behalf of Belgium) are included, the total receipts of Great

Britain from Germany in either of these years will not exceed one-half of her payments to the United States. There can be no dispute as to the facts; the figures are published by the agent general for reparation payments and are fully available to the United States Treasury.

4. When he comes later to deal with the position of Great Britain, Mr. Mellon does not in fact compare British receipts from Germany alone with British payments to the United States Government; he compares the total receipts of Great Britain from reparations and interallied debts, together with the payments due by her to the United States Government. He gives figures purporting to show that Great Britain will receive \$2,000,000 (£412,000) more this year than she pays to the United States, \$15,000,000 (£3,090,000) more next year, and \$70,000,000 (£14,403,000) more in 1928-1929. While he admits that "in the past two years Great Britain has received about \$100,000,000 (£20,576,000) from Germany, France, and Italy less than she has paid to the United States," he adds that "it is equally true that, from this year on, Great Britain will every year receive from her debtors a substantial amount more than she will pay to us; so that her American payments will not constitute a drain upon her own economic resources."

#### Statement on Payments to Britain Disputed

5. This statement is also inaccurate, both as regards the past and as regards the future.

From April 1, 1919, to December 31, 1926, Great Britain has paid the sum of \$828,500,000, or £170,500,000, in respect of the debt to the United States Government, whereas the sums received by Great Britain on account of reparation, Belgian war debt, and Allied war debts up to the same date amount to £41,000,000 (\$200,000,000), leaving a deficit of £129,500,000 (\$628,500,000).

There seems no special reason to select the past two years only, as is done in Mr. Mellon's letter, but the position as regards this period is that during the first two years of the operation of the Dawes Plan (1924-1925 and 1925-1926) the receipts of this country from reparation (including Belgian war debt) and Allied war debts together fell short of British payments to the United States Government by approximately £50,000,000 (\$243,000,000).

6. As regards the financial year 1926-1927,



the share of the United States in the Third Dawes Plan annuity in respect of reparation and Belgian war debt amounts to £12,000,000 and the receipts from interallied war debts to £8,500,000, or a total of \$20,500,000, as against the payment due to the United States Government of £33,000,000. During the following year (1927-1928) the share of the United Kingdom in the fourth Dawes annuity in respect of the Belgian war debt and reparation should amount to £14,250,000 and the receipts from interallied war debts to £10,500,000, or a total of £24,750,000, as against the payment of £33,000,000 to the United States. The share of the United Kingdom in the fifth and subsequent Dawes annuities (i. e., after the 1st of September, 1928) for Belgian war debt and reparation should amount to £22,400,000, and this, together with the payments from interallied war debts (assuming the French war debt agreement to have been ratified and neglecting past deficits in British receipts as compared with payments) would be sufficient to cover the current payments due to the United States Government. Whether the payments from the Dawes annuities included in the above calculations will, in fact, be received depends, of course, upon whether it is found possible to transfer the full amounts provided for by the Dawes Plan.

7. But even if the full Dawes payments continue to be received for 60 years from now onwards, the present value of the receipts of Great Britain from reparation and Allied war debts together would be less than that of the payments she is obligated to make to the United States Government on account of the British war debt, assuming interest at 5 per cent to be added to payments and receipts in the past and future payments and receipts to be discounted at the same rate.

#### **Admits Desire to Collect Debts to Cover Payments**

8. It is quite true that His Majesty's Government have frequently declared that their policy is to recover such a sum in respect of their war loans to the Allies as, with the reparation receipts of Great Britain, will suffice to cover the annual payments which they have to make to the United States; but this situation has not yet been reached, and up to the present the British taxpayer has had to find the greater part of the payments to the United States from his own resources, even after applying all receipts from repara-

tions and interallied debts to this purpose and using none of these receipts as a set-off against the interest which has to be paid on the loans raised in Great Britain out of which advances were made to the Allies. In no circumstances will Great Britain receive from reparations and interallied war debts, taken together, more than she pays to America. The policy of His Majesty's Government on this subject has been repeatedly declared. It is not their desire to retain for their country anything out of receipts from reparations and interallied war debts. In the event of their receipts from interallied war debts and reparations exceeding the payments made by them to the United States Government, they have undertaken to reduce proportionately the payments due to be made to Great Britain in respect of interallied war indebtedness, and a provision to this effect appears in the various war debt funding agreements which His Majesty's Government have signed.

#### **Private Debt Included as to Bank of France**

9. It is not clear on what basis the calculations cited by Mr. Mellon have been made, but it appears probable that error has arisen on the following points:

(a) Receipts from Germany. The figures mentioned by Mr. Mellon appear to relate to the total receipts of the British Empire from the Dawes annuities; but these include receipts in respect of the costs of occupation as well as in respect of Belgian war debt and reparation. The receipts in respect of costs of occupation represent a partial reimbursement of expenditure incurred by Great Britain; they are thus not available to enable payments to be made to the United States without imposing a burden on Great Britain, and must be left out of account for the purpose of the present calculation. Further, the British Empire reparation receipts have to be distributed between Great Britain and other parts of the Empire, the share of Great Britain having been agreed at 86.85 per cent of the total. The balance is not received by the British Treasury.

(b) Receipts from France. A more important error is contained in the figures given by Mr. Mellon of the receipts of Great Britain from France. These appear to include the sums which were due by the Bank of France to the Bank of England in repayment of an advance made during the war.

This loan was a private transaction and

is not an intergovernmental debt. The payments are made to the Bank of England and not one penny thereof accrues to the British Treasury or the British Government.

They are thus entirely irrelevant to the question of the extent to which the British taxpayer can meet payments to the United States Government out of receipts from reparation and allied war debts.

It should be added that, while the British taxpayer receives nothing from this commercial debt of the Bank of France, he has to meet very large market debts incurred by the British Treasury in the United States before the United States Government entered the war. Since April 1, 1919, the British taxpayer has paid \$680,000,000, or £140,000,000, on this head, over and above the payments made to the United States Government.

10. These facts and figures appear to His Majesty's Government sufficiently to controvert the statement put forward by Mr. Mellon that the payments made to the United States Government in respect of the British war debt will not constitute a drain on British economic resources. But much more might be said.

It must be remembered that, in addition to paying their own debts to the United States, the British people are sustaining the full charge for the advances made by His Majesty's Government to the Allied Governments to enable them to finance the purchase of necessary commodities during the war, not only in Great Britain, but also in neutral countries.

The capital sums lent for this purpose amounted to a net total of about £1,350,000,000 (\$6,600,000,000), which, with interest accrued during the war period, amounted on July 1, 1919, to over £1,450,000,000 (\$7,000,000,000), or nearly double the debt which His Majesty's Government had themselves contracted at that date with the United States Government.

#### **Borrowed by Government from its Own Nationals**

This amount was borrowed by the British Government from its own nationals, and in respect of this debt the British taxpayer has had to pay interest at over 5 per cent each year since, making a total annual payment of £72,500,000, which will continue until the debt is paid off by further and additional contributions from British taxpayers. No

relief from this burden can be looked for from receipts from reparation and Allied war debts, for in no case will those receipts amount to a greater total than that of British debt payments to the United States Government.

11. Whereas the United States Government is receiving from Germany a share of the Dawes annuities estimated to cover its reparation claims in full, and at the same time obtain from Great Britain repayment, with interest at 3 per cent, of the full amount of war loans it advanced to Great Britain, Great Britain will retain for herself nothing of any payments she receives in respect either of reparations or of interallied war debts, but will apply all her receipts towards part payment of her liabilities to the United States. Any balance that remains she will pay out of her own resources, and in any case she will have to support the entire burden of her war losses and of the war loans she herself made to her allies.

#### **Declared to Be Set Forth in Spirit of Friendliness**

12. His Majesty's Government have set out these considerations in no contentious or controversial spirit. On the contrary, their desire is to maintain and to promote a friendly understanding between the two great English-speaking nations, on whose co-operation great issues for the peace and progress of the world depend. They view with great misgiving the divergence of opinion and the estrangement of sentiment which is growing up in regard to these war obligations. It appears to them to be the task of British and of American statesmen to do what can be done to alleviate this difference of view by setting out frankly and fairly the facts of the case and the policy adopted on either side; but the controversy can only be intensified if public opinion in America is guided by statements of facts in regard to their European debtors which to those debtors appear inaccurate and misleading.

It is for this reason that His Majesty's Government regret that there should have been issued, under the authority of the Secretary of the United States Treasury, a series of statements in regard to Great Britain which, for the reasons set out above, appear to them not to represent accurately or completely the facts. They trust that the United States Government will take steps to remove the unfortunate impression that has

been created by the issue of this statement. The position and policy of the British Government in regard to these international payments is well known and the records are easily available; but if at any time further information is desired by the United States Treasury, His Majesty's Government will be happy to furnish it.

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

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
H. G. CHILTON,  
(*For the Ambassador.*)

### SECRETARY KELLOGG'S REPLY TO BRITISH NOTE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, *May 4, 1927.*

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Chilton's note of May 2, 1927, in which he communicated to the Government of the United States the comments of the British Government on certain statements contained in a letter dated March 15, 1927, from Mr. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to Mr. Hibben, the President of Princeton University.

The Government of the United States regards the correspondence between Mr. Mellon and Mr. Hibben as a purely domestic discussion and does not desire to engage in any formal diplomatic exchanges upon the subject.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Esme Howard, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., C. V. O., Ambassador of Great Britain.

### SECRETARY MELLON'S STATEMENT

Secretary Mellon's statement follows:

The Treasury Department has no desire to enter into a controversy with the British Government on the subject of allied war debts, but inasmuch as the British Government, in an official note to the American State Department, has seen fit to challenge the facts and figures contained in a letter addressed by the American Secretary of the Treasury to the President of Princeton University, the Treasury deems it its duty to present the facts as it knows them, and to endeavor to explain existing differences.

It should be noted at the outset that the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to

President Hibben was in answer to a statement put out by members of the faculty of Princeton University, urging a reconsideration of the debit settlements and was directed specifically to their arguments.

It was not intended as a communication, direct or indirect, to the British Government, and that government was referred to only as an incident to the general thesis therein set forth.

It should be noted, in the second place, that the figures in the British note are apparently used in a technical accounting sense so that, for instance, the term "allied war debts" excludes debts for war stocks.

Similarly, payments received from Germany are used in the most strictly limited sense, and do not include such items as receipts on account of army of occupation.

### Differences in Terms

While not admitting it, the British Government's note does not deny that the sums specified in my letter were actually paid by the people of France, Germany, and Italy, but says in substance that some of the sums paid accrued to the benefit of the Bank of England, others to the dominions, and apparently, from our reading of their figures, such items as payment for war stocks are not considered by them as accruing to the benefit of the exchequer on account of war debts.

This is the real cause of the apparent disagreement as to facts. There is no basis of comparison when, for instance, payments on account of war debts, as used by the American Treasury, include the payments on account of war stocks sold, but such an item is not included by the British under the head of war debt payments.

Again, there is bound to be disagreement when the American Treasury Department, in discussing payments received from Germany, includes all payments, while the British Government, in answer, confines itself to payments strictly on account of reparations and Belgian war debt. Under such circumstances there is not a disagreement as to fact; there is simply a failure to join issue.

### Chief Point Upheld

But even these differences of interpretation are material only in respect to the period prior to September 1, 1928. The British Government admits that, beginning on that date, assuming that the French agreement is

ratified, it will receive from its own debtors and from Germany sums "sufficient to cover the current payments due to the United States Government."

This, it should be noted, is the principal point made in the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to President Hibben, and the accuracy of this point is now officially confirmed by the British Government.

The first statement to which the British Government takes exception is one advanced by me in reply to the argument that the loans made by the American Government during the war should be considered as contributions to a common cause, in which I pointed out that there was merit in such a contention only if the proposed adjustment was a mutual one and to be applied on a strictly equal basis between us and our debtor nations.

I pointed out that the dollars with which goods and services were purchased in this country were furnished to our associates on credit, whereas the pounds with which we purchased goods and services in Great Britain were paid for in cash. I then went on to say:

In other words, we paid cash for the goods and services necessary to enable us to make our joint contributions to the common cause. Our associates got the goods and services purchased in this country necessary to enable them to make that part of their joint contribution on credit. Here is the fundamental reason which explains why we ended the war with everyone owing us and our owing no one.

We are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in a common cause; but neither abroad nor in this country has it been suggested that if this is to be done we are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain, so that the goods and services they sold us might constitute their contribution to the common cause.

#### Transactions Declared Different

This the British Government does not deny: That we paid cash for goods and services obtained in Great Britain, and that for the most part they received goods and services in this country on credit; but they say this is misleading, because they used the dollars purchased by us in Great Britain for future purchases in this country.

The point seems to me immaterial. The dollars they received from the American Government increased their available cash resources, while the promissory notes we received did not increase our available cash resources.

For the purchases made by Great Britain in the United States, dollars were furnished by the American Government by borrowing from its own citizens, the British Government giving its obligations to the American Government for the equivalent.

For the purchases made by the American Government in Great Britain, the United States Government did not borrow pounds from the British Government, but borrowed dollars from its citizens with which to purchase the pounds, and actually paid cash to Great Britain.

Had the transactions been identical in form, the British Government would now hold obligations of the American Government to cover purchases made in Great Britain, just as the American Government holds obligations of the British Government for purchases made in America, and, obviously, cancellation could not be urged on a one-sided basis.

#### Debts and Reparations Divided

The fact that the cash employed in purchasing pounds was borrowed from American citizens and not from the British Government is the distinguishing difference, and any program of cancellation which does not allow for this difference gives the United States no credit on the amount of its war debt for purchases made in Great Britain and other countries.

The British note refers to the statement in my letter to President Hibben that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States. The Princeton and Columbia professors had stated that "we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries."

My letter pointed out that in reaching the debt settlements based on the debtors' capacity to pay, only incidental consideration was given to the reparation payments to be received by the debtor countries from Germany.

In other words, I pointed out that we endeavored to make settlements which the debtors could meet from their own resources

without too serious a burden on their economic life. We have always claimed, and claim now, that the debts due us are in no way connected with German reparations.

I then went on to point out that it now appears that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States.

#### Britain Meant to Be an Exception

There was no intention to include Great Britain in the statement that enough was received from Germany alone. The British situation I covered later. That sentence, as originally drafted, contained the words "except Great Britain," but these words in the final copy were inadvertently omitted. The error was an obvious one and was corrected by the text immediately following.

It is not believed that any injustice to Great Britain has resulted or that the British Government could have been misled in view of the fact that on the page text following Great Britain's position is segregated and treated separately from that of our other debtors, and in the case of Great Britain we enumerated specifically the payments to be received, stating that they will be received not only from Germany, but from France and Italy as well. I said:

"Finally, we come to Great Britain. Under the agreements with France, Great Britain will receive from France approximately \$71,000,000 this year, from Italy approximately \$19,000,000, from Germany approximately \$72,000,000, and will pay us \$160,000,000."

In the light of this very clear and definite statement, it is rather surprising that the British Government should lay stress on what the context showed to be a typographi-

cal error, immediately corrected, and go to such lengths to disprove a statement which was already completely covered.

The British Government also questions certain figures given as to payments received by Great Britain from France, Germany, and Italy.

#### British Figures Used

These figures were taken from the attached table,\* showing the estimated payments and receipts of Great Britain during a twelve-year period. The figures are inclusive figures and are derived from the best sources available to the Treasury.

I do not understand that the British Government challenges the accuracy of these inclusive figures in so far as they represent amounts paid and to be paid by the peoples of Germany, Italy, and France to Great Britain, but that it contends that all of these sums will not inure to the benefit of the British Treasury, and therefore cannot be held to relieve the British taxpayer directly, though they unquestionably and materially add to British economic resources.

Even so, it is not understood why the British Government apparently fails to include in its figures the payments made by the French on the debt incurred in respect of war stocks sold.

From our standpoint, the amount paid this year by the French Government on account of the \$400,000,000 of supplies sold the French Government after the war constitutes a payment on account of the war debts beneficial to the American Treasury.

#### Bank of France Case

In so far as the payments from the Bank of France to the Bank of England were con-

\* RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
During Twelve-Year Period, 1924-1936  
(In thousands of dollars)

Years	Sums to be received from:			Grand total of receipts	Sums to be paid by Great Britain to U. S.	Surplus of payments	Available for Great Britain
	France (1)	Italy (2)	Germany (3)				
1924-25	58,282		45,487	103,769	159,965	56,196	
1925-26	50,369	9,733	56,782	116,884	160,260	43,376	
1926-27	71,052	19,466	72,479	162,997	160,525		2,472
1927-28	69,348	19,466	87,141	175,955	159,775		16,180
1928-29	85,165	19,466	127,471	232,102	160,995		71,107
1929-30	32,363	19,466	125,142	176,971	160,185		16,786
1930-31	60,832	19,466	124,118	204,416	160,360		44,056
1931-32	60,832	19,466	125,175	205,473	159,520		45,953
1932-33	60,832	20,041	125,815	206,688	171,500		35,188
1933-34	60,832	20,041	125,815	206,688	183,340		23,348
1934-35	60,832	20,041	128,912	209,785	182,220		27,565
1935-36	60,832	20,041	128,912	209,785	181,100		28,685

1—Includes payments by France on account of advances of Bank of England, less gold to be returned, and on account of war stocks debt.

2—Includes payments by Italy on war debt, less gold to be returned.

3—Includes all receipts from Germany under Dawes' plan.

£1 = \$4,8665.

cerned, they were included in the figures set out in the table, because in the report presented by M. Clementel, the French Finance Minister, in 1924, known as the "inventaire de la situation financiere de la France au debut de la Treizieme Legislature," the statement is made that the Bank of France was simply acting as an intermediary, and that the loan was made to the Bank of France for the benefit of the French Government.

Moreover, the published report of the Finance Commission of the French Chamber of Deputies indicates that the 1927 budget of the French Government includes an item of 1,200,000,000 francs to be paid to the Bank of England under the head of reimbursements of foreign commercial debts which the treasury must meet in 1927.

In this connection, carrying as it does the implication that no government was involved, the statement of the British note that "this loan was a private transaction and is not an intergovernmental debt" is not strictly accurate.

It was in the light of these facts and in the absence of any official statement as to the responsibility of the British Government to the Bank of England that these payments were included in my statement of international payments on account of war debts.

If the British Government was obligated to indemnify the Bank of England, the payments would serve to reduce a contingent liability which, if not paid by France, would become an added burden to the British taxpayer.

#### Burden on Taxpayers

But, irrespective of the application of the large payments which Great Britain has received and will receive this year from the governments of Germany, France, and Italy, I desire to point out that the Columbia and Princeton professors had claimed that the payments to this country would impose a tremendous burden of taxation on friendly countries for the next two generations. This is the statement which I challenged.

The note of the British Government makes it entirely clear that I was correct in challenging the accuracy of that statement; for, whatever differences there may be as to the payments to be received and made by Great Britain in the years 1926 and 1927, the

British Government admits that after the 1st of September, 1928, it will receive from its debtors enough to cover current payments due to the United States Government, assuming the agreement with France is ratified.

The two points most stressed by the advocates of debt cancellation are that capacity to pay is not a fair basis of settlement, and that the agreements that have been negotiated will impose on those debtors with whom we were associated in the war a heavy burden over a very long period of time.

#### Aims in Letter to Hibben

What I desired to emphasize in the letter to President Hibben was that there could be no fairer measuring stick than capacity to pay, liberally interpreted, and then to bring out the all-important fact, apparently overlooked, that some of our debtors have already reached the point, and others are about to reach it, where, taking into consideration all payments on account of war debts and war indemnities, our principal debtors are receiving or will receive more than they pay us.

In other words, in the near future, balances on international payments resulting directly from war debts or Dawes payments will be in favor of our principal debtors. The purpose of the Hibben letter was to make this clear to the American people.

I have in this statement confined myself to answering the criticisms of the Hibben letter contained in the British note. It seems to me wholly undesirable to enlarge the field of possible differences by commenting on other phases of the British note, and the failure to do so should not be interpreted as an agreement with all of the views therein set forth.

It seems to me, however, that the reference to the share of the Dawes annuities to be received by the United States, "estimated to cover its reparation claims in full," is rather unfortunate in view of the very limited claim presented by the United States on account of reparations as contrasted with those presented by our associates in the war.

#### Britain and America Contrasted

The payments on account of reparations which the British Government is receiving are based in part on claims, such as pensions and separation allowances, of a char-

acter not included by the United States in its reparation bill.

I have no desire to comment on the statement of the policy enunciated in the British note, to the effect that Great Britain will retain for herself nothing of any payments she receives in respect of either reparations or interallied war debts, but will apply all of her receipts toward payment of her liabilities to the United States.

By implication, this means that should the United States further reduce British obligations to the United States, the British Government would cancel a like amount of obligations due to it from its debtors.

It is very obvious that the British Government would neither lose nor gain in such a transaction. The United States Government is, however, in a very different position. The British Government is both creditor and debtor. The United States Government is a creditor only, and every dollar of debt cancelled by the United States represents an increase by just that amount of the war burden borne by the American taxpayer.

## News in Brief

A BUST OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING was among the six unveiled on May 6 in the Hall of Fame, on the campus of New York University. Mr. Channing is associated with the history of the beginnings of the peace movement in America. He was a colaborer with Noah Worcester, and it was in Channing's study, on December 26, 1815, that the Massachusetts Peace Society, later to be merged in the American Peace Society, was formed. Channing was one of the first officers, a signer of the Society's Constitution, and for many years a vice-president.

THE BALKAN STATES CELEBRATED in Prague the fiftieth anniversary of their liberation from the Turkish yoke the last two weeks in April. A commemoration service for the fallen in the Russo-Turkish war and other Slavs and Rumanians who died in the cause of liberation was held in the Orthodox

Church of St. Nicholas. Other meetings were held, at which speeches were made by representatives of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Russia, and other countries.

YUGOSLAVIAN SCHOOL CHILDREN to the number of 200, accompanied by their teachers, made a tour of study through Bohemia, Moravia and other portions of Czechoslovakia the first part of May.

AUSTRIA IS NEGOTIATING IN AMERICA for a loan of forty-two million dollars to finance the electrification of the State railways.

OF THE IMMIGRANT ALIENS who were professional people, coming into the United States during the first three-quarters of the present fiscal year, teachers outnumbered all the rest. Next in order of numbers were professional engineers, electricians, clergymen, musicians, physicians, architects, officials, literary and scientific persons, actors, lawyers, sculptors and artists, and editors. There were altogether 8,878 professionals for the period.

TRAFFIC IN THE PORT OF ANTWERP rose from a total tonnage of 20,201,628 in 1925 to 22,794,895 tons in the year 1926. In both years British tonnage led the list, with Germany second and Belgium third.

CUBA HAS BEEN PASSING through severe economic depression lately, due to low prices in world markets of her basic commodities. President Machado of Cuba recently visited the United States, hoping to obtain a revision of the treaty of 1903 with the United States and readjustment of her differential tariff rates.

THE EMILE DE LAVELEYE PRIZE of the Royal Academy of Belgium has been awarded for the first time to a non-European, Professor Seligman, of Columbia University. He is internationally known as an economist and taxation authority.

AIRPLANES AND SEA PLANES for the first time in history played a major rôle in the extensive relief work conducted by the Red Cross in the Mississippi Valley. A squadron of twenty-seven, assigned to the Red Cross by the Army and the Navy, were the means of saving hundreds of lives and have made it possible for the organization to cope with

a situation unprecedented in American history.

THE FRENCH REGIMENTS which have been stationed in the Saar area are being withdrawn to French territory. At its last meeting, in March, the Council of the League of Nations settled that the evacuation should be completed within three months and that in the meantime an international force of railway police, not more than 800 in number, should be formed to safeguard the Allied railway communications through the district. These 800 men will be the first international military force constituted under the League of Nations. No steps seem to have been taken so far to bring the force into being, but it is understood that it will be composed mainly of officers and men drawn from the Allied armies of occupation.

THE RUMANIAN MINISTER OF LABOR has submitted to the industrial organizations concerned the first draft of a bill regulating the work of women and children. The bill as drafted gives effect, in the main, to the Washington conventions.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Mead will sail for England on May 21 to spend the summer in Europe, returning from Cherbourg on September 10. They go to renew relations with European peace workers and to come into closer touch with post-war conditions and the new agencies for international organization. They will spend half of their time in London, but will visit Leipsic, Berlin and other German centers and will spend three weeks in Geneva.

Mrs. Mead recently has returned to Boston from a month's lecturing tour in the West, in behalf of international friendship, preceded by a week in New York, where she gave addresses at All Souls Church and the Broadway Tabernacle and before various schools and societies. On her western trip she spoke in Pittsburgh, Columbus and Indianapolis, also at Antioch College, the Indiana State University and various Indiana colleges, as well as at the Western Reserve University in Cleveland and at Buffalo, Rochester and elsewhere.

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE met in Geneva, May 4, with some fifteen hundred delegates present at the opening. All

the countries of the world except Spain and Liberia were represented, including non-members of the League, the United States, Russia, and Turkey.

The International Economic Conference has been a real success, the American delegation has declared. The resolutions adopted, it added, will powerfully affect opinion in Europe, aid the world and beneficially influence future national legislation and international agreements.

After summarizing the main achievements of the conference in the direction of agriculture, commerce and industry, the American delegation's statement continues:

"Every step taken along the lines laid down will be progressive, and public opinion will force civilization to follow the path toward progress which the conference has clearly marked."

THE KING OF SPAIN ASKED that no expensive celebration of his silver anniversary, May 17, be held, but that money be given to the needy instead. He preferred to have the government mark the anniversary by the formal establishment of the Ibero-American university, which is to be built near Madrid. It will probably be built, as to construction, on American lines; possibly that of Harvard. In instruction it is to follow the best traditions of the ancient universities of Spain, notably that of Salamanca. There will be provision for scholarships for Hispanic-American students.

SEVERAL CO-OPERATING INSTITUTIONS and organizations are working to secure the ratification of the Turkish-American Treaty, which failed of ratification in the last Congress. The committee claims that the Lausanne Treaty is better than any substitute could be, and ought to be passed by the 70th Congress before the present temporary arrangement with Turkey expires, as it will do June 1, 1928. The organizations co-operating are: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Council on Turkish-American Relations, Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East, National Council of the Congregational Churches, Near East College Association, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association.



THE THIRD PAN AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE met in Washington May 2-5. All American nations were represented and important resolutions were passed, many of them on matters in which Latin America thinks that the United States is unfair. Resolutions for investigation work provide that the Pan American Union shall carry them on.

DELEGATES TO THE PAN AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CONGRESS were invited to take a two weeks' automobile trip by the American section of the Pan American Highway Education Board. They visited various industrial plants in the United States.

THE PAN AMERICAN AVIATION COMMERCIAL CONGRESS met in Washington May 9-19. At this conference Argentina carried two important provisions to be incorporated in the treaty draft to be submitted to the Pan American Congress. One was the principle of opening aerial navigation to all nations on the same principles as maritime navigation; the other the prohibition of the carrying of arms, munitions, or explosives on commercial aircraft, in order to clear commercial air navigation from the suspicion of war activities.

THE SECOND PAN AMERICAN STANDARDIZATION CONFERENCE met under the auspices of the Interamerican High Commission, in Washington, May 6-11. Its work was chiefly the discussion of standardization of qualities, in goods for international trade.

A CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA and certain Indian States was held at Simla in May, to discuss the greater control of the production and consumption of opium in these States.

THE RUSSIAN WAR COMMISSAR, addressing the Soviet Congress in April, emphasized Russia's need for preparedness. He stated that 1,000,000 men in America were undergoing military training in volunteer organizations, and referred to an alleged boast of the American Secretary of War in 1924 to the effect that American industry could be placed on a war basis over night.

THREE INDEPENDENCE DAYS ARE CELEBRATED in Latin America in May. May 14, 1811, was the beginning of Paraguayan independence; May 20, 1902, marked the inauguration of the first President of Cuba. May 25 is the day celebrated by the Argentine Republic, because on that day, in 1810, began her prolonged struggle against Spain.

IN SPITE OF COMMUNIST OPPOSITION, Easter Day in Russia was celebrated with crowded churches and the old picturesque customs.

PRINCESS JULIANA OF THE NETHERLANDS entered upon her majority on April 30. She celebrated her eighteenth birthday on that day, when a general holiday was observed, pageants and banquets marking the occasion. On May 2 she was ceremoniously made a member of the Privy Council and took up her duties associated with the administration of government.

THE BALTIC AND WHITE SEA CONFERENCE, having long outgrown its title, is to change its name after July, to the Baltic and International Conference. The only European countries not represented in the conference this year are Ireland, Rumania, Lithuania, and Greece.

JAPAN HAS RECENTLY BEEN PASSING through a financial strain, culminating suddenly with the collapse of the Suzuki firm of merchants, one of the largest in the country, with which was involved the Bank of Formosa. The Prime Minister's proposal of state assistance was turned down by the Privy Council, with the result that the government fell, and there followed an immediate run on other leading banks. A three weeks moratorium was the drastic solution applied and it apparently solved the financial situation. Political consequences are more far-reaching.

THE AREA WHICH HAS BEEN FLOODED by the Mississippi River will need to be replanted to the amount of several million acres. At least 1,000,000 acres will need to be financed, for seed and feed requirements, by relief agencies, according to Mr. Warburton, Director of Extension in the Department of Agriculture. The Red Cross has already set aside \$250,000 to replant northeastern Arkansas and southeastern Missouri.

THE INAUGURATION OF A DE LUXE PULLMAN train service between Paris and Amsterdam

was the occasion of a demonstration of French-Belgian-Dutch amity, with banquets in Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam. The train is to be called the Northern Star and, beginning May 15, will run daily in both directions.

DR. C. C. WU, son of the late Dr. Wu Tingfang, former Chinese minister to the United States, accepted in May the portfolio of Foreign Minister in the Nationalist Government set up at Nanking by the supporters of General Chiang Kai-shek.

JOHN G. FOSTER, Consul General of Ottawa, will retire in July, 1927. Mr. Foster has been for 30 years in the United States consular service, most of this time in Canada. He will be succeeded in Ottawa by Irving N. Linnell, of the State Department.

REVISION OF THE DAWES PLAN was stressed at the recent sessions of the United States Chamber of Commerce as a necessary issue in international politics of the near future.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW BALKANS. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Pp. 179, maps. Harper & Bro., New York, 1926. Price, \$3.00.

Here is a book which clears up some of the very foggy ideas many of us have about the Balkan States. It is popularly presented, simplified with numerous maps, and, except for the fact that two of the maps have been exchanged and are above the wrong titles, they are extraordinarily pertinent to the text.

If Mr. Armstrong had gone more deeply into the economic causes of rivalries in that part of Europe, his book would have gone more nearly to the root of things. He does indicate some of the more obvious economic matters in dispute, however, and to go more thoroughly into them would, perhaps, have changed the character of his book. It is far from superficial as it stands.

Since the volume was published, affairs in the Balkans have darkened considerably.

Italy has laid a hand on Albania and has agreed to the Rumanian claim on Bessarabia. Both events may have far-reaching, perhaps disturbing, results.

To quote Archibald Cary Coolidge in the introduction, "The eternal 'Eastern Question'—the immediate cause of the World War—is still with us." Are the new-found liberties and opportunities of the Balkan peoples to be wisely used? Will these States be able to manage their own affairs, to hold off improper foreign control? Or are the Balkans to be, as before, the pawns of the rest of Europe?

GERMAN AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS. By *Kuno Francke*. Pp. 134. Index. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1927. Price, \$1.50.

Dr. Francke, professor emeritus of the history of German culture at Harvard University, interprets the spirit of modern Germany in the four essays collected in this volume. As is natural from the trend of his courses at Harvard, this modern outlook he finds best expressed in the German literature of the moment, so he studies rather carefully, and in beautiful English, the work of Foerster, Steiner, and, much more in detail, of Keyserling. To the work of these German writers, and somewhat, too, to that of Werfel and Thomas Mann, Dr. Francke adds his own observations, gathered from three post-war visits to his fatherland.

The place of Germany in the dangerous new state of affairs in the world is what Professor Francke is trying to determine. He sees dangers, not only to Germany, but to all Europe; but he also thinks he finds indications that Germany has her face resolutely set toward peace. She has thus far avoided dictatorship on one side and anarchy on the other, and has made long strides in organizing freedom. If, as seems to him possible, Germany can save herself from becoming the center of war between East and West, she must, he thinks, make herself the center of peace.

In Europe, but also in America and elsewhere, he advises those of German descent to work along their natural bent, which is not, he thinks, national politics, but in patient understanding of others and careful laying of foundations of unity between State and people.

ISLANDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN: A HOLIDAY. By *Paul Wilstach*. Pp. 337. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1926. Price, \$4.00.

MALLORCA THE MAGNIFICENT. By *Nina Laryea Duryea*. Pp. 280. Index. Century Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

Of the making of many travel books there is no end; but it is in the spring of the year that would-be travelers search the shops for lore of distant lands. There are, each spring, many new books, but not all, unfortunately, are both appealing and helpful. For some reason the conscious reporter is not always the best person to convey the peculiar magic of any given locality. Here, however, we have two most delightful books and they tell of delightful places. They can be read with anticipatory joy by him who has a free and wandering foot, and with almost equal pleasure by one who is bound to the porch chair or hammock.

Music and poetry lurk in both titles. The first calls up instantly a vision of those "sprinkled isles, lily on lily, that o'erlace the sea." But not all the magic of the title lies in the picture evoked; it also promises drama and legend. For the Mediterranean, dotted with more than 500 islands, "is of all waters most venerable in story." Some of its islands are rocky and sterile, mere nightmares for the mariner. Others, like those chosen by Mr. Wilstach, have especial attraction. He visited, he says, only those which invited to an informing or amusing experience.

With this general plan he begins his book with an interesting résumé of facts gathered from his mariner's chart. Then comes the real voyage. First, Mallorca, "inspirer of Chopin"; then Corsica, with its echoes of Seneca and Napoleon. Elba next, and more stories of Napoleon. Monte Cristo, the sterile granite crag which suggested Dumas' novel, but upon which he never set foot. Sardinia, with the costumes and songs of its populace, is followed by Sicily, the spot which had long cast a spell over the dreams of the author. He enjoys not only the history clinging to each spot in his itinerary, nor even its beauty alone; Mr. Wilstach has the urge of the truly travel-minded to observe and enjoy the people.

Malta, Corfu, and little Tinos are visited. Then we reach Crete, rich in Greek mythology, Homeric reference, and old civilization. It was here that the discovery of ancient Cnossos, in the first year of this century, proved an old civilization on the island, "more distant from the age of Pericles than that age is from our own."

This book is not only for easy-chair voyages; it is good, too, for the traveler, for it gives at the close two pages of travel notes indicating steamship lines to the various islands; it has an index and, joy to the reader, a clear end-paper map.

The second of the two books singles out the largest of the Balearic group of islands and concentrates upon that. Mrs. Duryea has a charm as a raconteuse quite different from that of Mr. Wilstach, but for a detailed description, perhaps even more engaging. With a live sense of color, she paints vividly cities, countryside and palaces, churches and cathedrals. The history of Mallorca is long and proud. Footprints of Phœnicians, Romans, Moors, Spaniards, and Frenchmen are all here; but Mallorca remains always, to herself, Mallorcan only. Mrs. Duryea manages to sift out the dry dust of history and presents salient points in vivid, dramatic narrative.

The sweet cleanliness of all Mallorca, so different from much of the rest of southern Europe, is emphasized by her, and also by Ralph Adams Cram, the celebrated architect, who writes the introduction to the book. The dignified beauty of the palaces of Palma, many of them with Saracenic façades; the beauty of the cathedral in that city, which has been called one of the four finest in all the world, she gives us. But she adds that to call the cathedral "correct" is misleading and savors of smugness. It is, rather, a place that appeals to the heart; it is, of all the churches belonging to Spain, the most "affectionately disposed to its worshiper."

Two chapters, especially, stand out from all the excellent reading the book contains. One is headed "Modern Life in Mallorca." For its delicious humor and pleasant interpretation it is well adapted for reading aloud in some leisurely, congenial company. The other is entitled "Beaches." This is a masterpiece of unstudied, but poetic, English. In it she describes many stretches along the jagged coast-line of Mallorca.

There are "invisible little beaches quite innocent of events," beaches where "the shadows of their cliffs fall darkly and strange echoes beat about them as though from winged things of evil." There are still nooks without ripple, "mirrors for the beauty which encircles them." There are jolly little beaches into which drop streams like "liquid jade leaping from rocky crests"; beaches surrounded by terrace gardens cascaded with roses; beaches where the water always sings. Then, "the beach at Artá is another matter. Here the full majestic power of the sea has its way. There is no singing here. Rather the deep notes of an organ, as the great waves roll in from the horizon, bringing a breath of vast distances and profound depths. The two miles of sand receive their magnificence and power sturdily, seeming too proud to show any mark on their white flanks where the blow strikes. . . . The dignity of these proud stretches of sand makes one feel that every grain realizes it is part of a star."

The book is well illustrated from photographs. Its only lack is a map, so dear to the stay-at-home traveler.

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THE FIRST CIVILIZED AMERICAN.** By *Phillips Russell*. Pp. 323. Brentano, New York, 1926. Price, \$5.00.

The title would perhaps be more accurate if Mr. Russell had called Franklin *one* of the first civilized Americans. Washington, we may admit, was always really more the English land-owner than a new American type. Jefferson, however, was certainly not only civilized in the sense in which Mr. Russell uses the word, but, too, a man of the new type, strictly an American product. Franklin, however, was pre-eminently an original genius. He was a self-made man, a born diplomat, a humorist of a new type—indigenous, perhaps to this country—a philosopher and a scientist. In fact, his mind had many facets. Further than all this, though Mr. Russell does not mention it, Franklin, in spite of some 25 years passed in foreign capitals, in spite of his striking cosmopolitanism, managed always to maintain the integrity of his natural self. He was always and everywhere the new type—an American—observant, practical, canny, benevolent, and tolerant.

Mr. Russell's book is salty with the tang of Franklin's personality. It presents much

more of his youth than of his maturity, more of his spicier side than of his solid dependability or diplomatic triumphs. Like many of the new biographies, it lops one-sidedly in its endeavor to avoid main-traveled tracks. Thus far it fails of being the ideal biography. One needs to read some older book along with this in order to get the balance of truth. Yet the book is delightful and human, written with modern naturalness, if not uniformly with finish. For example, early in his life Benjamin, says Russell, being "low in his mind" from recent illness, wrote "like a pious Dutch Uncle" to his sister Jenny. In the letter Ben. mentions a present he had bought for her. He had considered a tea-table, but discarded the idea as too frivolous. So he sent a spinning-wheel, "since the character of a good housewife," he said, "is far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman." "Jenny was a dear, good little body," goes on Mr. Russell. "No doubt she wrote a dutiful letter of thanks to her big brother from abroad. And then made a face. A spinning-wheel!"

The book gives much of its story in letters by Franklin and others. It is an excellent way to throw the emphasis upon the human note rather than the political. Life, says the author, had been discovered by Franklin to be "a thing not to be hated nor abstained from; but to be lived, even in its more disagreeable aspects, with a stout heart and a sustaining humor."

With this philosophy in mind, Mr. Russell has developed his story. The result is an entertaining, instructive volume—an intimate portrait of America's greatest early diplomat.

**DIE VÖLKERBUNDSATSUNG.** By *Hans Wehberg*. Pp. 160. Hensel & Co., Berlin, 1927. Price, 3.00 marks.

For readers of German, this discussion of the League of Nations and its legal, political, economic, and other work will prove valuable. It gives the point of view of a German pacifist of trained intelligence, and especially upon the much-discussed Berlin Treaty with Russia. The brochure was originally published last year, but the edition was exhausted in a few months. This is a second edition.

Hans Wehberg is the editor of *Friedens-Warte*, a peace magazine published in Berlin, now in its 27th year.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

*It is the first of its kind in the United States. It was one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.*

*Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."*

*It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.*

*It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.*

*Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.*

*It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.*

*It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.*

## FEES

The minimum fees for membership:  
Annual Membership is five dollars;  
Sustaining Membership, ten dollars;  
Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;  
Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

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# WHY JOIN THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828.\*

It is a non-partisan, non-sectarian corporation, aiming to promote a better international understanding.

It was formed by the merging of many State and local societies, the oldest of which—the New York—dated back to 1815.

It early offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a Congress of Nations.

In 1840 it published a large volume "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," which anticipated every essential principle embodied in the Hague conferences and the international courts.

It offered a prize of \$500 for the best review of the Mexican war, and the literature thus evoked was a contribution to American history.

Much of the best literature of the peace movement was originally produced for the annual meetings and conferences of this Society—e. g., addresses by Channing, Ladd, Emerson, Sumner, Jay, Burritt; and writings of Francis Wayland, Jonathan Dymond, Beckwith, Whittier, Payne, Trueblood, and various others.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843, and to all of these congresses it has sent accredited delegations.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress

in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

This Society kept a representative at The Hague during the first Conference, 1899, when the International Court of Arbitration was created.

Its Secretary and Editor was in Paris during the Paris Conference, 1918-19.

It helped to originate and to foster the observance of the eighteenth of May—Hague Day—by the peoples of the world.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

Its Secretary is the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He was Director of the Twenty-third Conference held in Washington, October, 1925.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

*The World War has left to humanity everywhere its supreme challenge—to perfect now, in this generation, the will and the way to forestall the devastating ills of war. The time is now. By another decade it will be too late. A world-wide campaign of education is the only basis of our abiding hope. The call to the culture and the learning of the world, to the expert, is to "inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."*

\* 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."

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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## CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION MOVING ON

**B**ESIDE the work of the officers of the American Peace Society in the interest of the celebration of its one hundredth anniversary in May, 1928, the three outstanding facts for June are the addition of representatives of higher education to the Society's Board of Directors, of representatives of five additional States to the Board, and the beginning of a Program Committee.

The four representatives of higher education who during the month have come on to our Board of Directors are as follows:

Dr. Philip Marshall Brown, professor of international law at Princeton since 1915. Prior to that time he was stationed as a member of the United States diplomatic corps at Constantinople, in Guatemala, and from 1908 to 1910 he was our American Minister to Honduras. He is associate editor of the *American Journal of International Law* and the author of several books on international relations.

Dr. Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College, Massachusetts, and since 1920 chairman of the Institute of Politics. During the World War Dr. Garfield served as United States Fuel Administrator. In 1888 he began the practice of law in the State of Ohio and later served as president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. William Mather Lewis, president of George Washington University since 1923,

is now president-elect of Lafayette College, which position he will assume in September. From 1917 to 1918 he served as executive secretary of the National Committee of Patriotic Societies. From 1921 to 1923 he was director of the Educational Service Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Dr. Robert E. Vinson, who has succeeded Dr. Charles Franklin Thwing as president of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. From 1916 to 1923 he was president of the University of Texas.

Directors, representing their respective States, who have accepted their elections during the month, are as follows:

John M. Crawford, president of the Parkersburg Rig and Reel Company of Parkersburg, West Virginia. For some years Mr. Crawford has been a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. He took a leading part in organizing the International Chamber of Commerce, representing all important commercial nations except Russia.

Clarence H. Howard, president of the Commonwealth Steel Company of St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Howard helped to organize the Junior Chamber of Commerce. He has been one of the most active supporters of the Boy Scout movement in the United States. He was a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States for many years and a member of the American delegation in 1920 that organized the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris.

Silas H. Strawn, senior member of the law firm of Winston, Strawn & Shaw, of Chicago, Illinois. He is chairman of the board of directors of Montgomery Ward & Company and of banks and other corporations. He was the representative of the United States to the Special Conference at Peking on Chinese Customs Tariffs and American member of the Chinese Extraterritoriality Commission. He is one of the American directors of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Tyson S. Dines is senior member of the law firm of Dines, Dines & Holme of Denver, Colorado. He is a director and officer in a number of producing and transportation companies. He is director of the United States National Bank in Denver. He is chairman of the board of the Agnes Phipps Sanatorium for Tuberculosis. He was formerly President of Central College at Fayette, Missouri.

Oscar Wells, president of the First National Bank of Birmingham, Alabama. He was governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Texas, until he became president of the bank in Birmingham in 1915. In 1923 he was president of the American Bankers Association.

The Program Committee, charged with the responsibility for the selection of topics for discussion at the Centennial Celebration Conference, has been started. Upon the invitation of President Burton, Dr. Thomas E. Green, a Director of the American Peace Society and Chairman of the Speakers' Bureau of the American Red Cross, has accepted the chairmanship. Upon the invitation of Dr. Green, the following have already accepted membership upon this committee: Hon. P. P. Claxton, of Oklahoma, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, and Hon. E. T. Meredith, formerly Secretary of Agriculture in President Wilson's Cabinet. Others already invited to serve upon this

committee are as follows: Franklin D'Olier, vice-president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America and formerly president of the American Legion; Hon. John J. Esch, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission; Dr. David Jayne Hill, formerly Ambassador to Germany; Judge Edwin B. Parker, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Silas H. Strawn, of Chicago; James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State in President Wilson's Cabinet.

President Coolidge will serve as Honorary Chairman of the Centennial Celebration Committee.

During the month it has been gradually developed that the celebration should be international in scope, with prominent speakers from all parts of the world to tell of peace work in their respective countries. At the present time there is some sentiment in favor of a conference out of which may come a sane and practical peace program upon which all thoughtful persons can stand and for which they may together labor with the hope of practical achievement.

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### THREE POWER NAVAL ARMAMENT CONFERENCE

**A**T THIS writing the Three Power Naval Armament Conference at Geneva, opening June 20, is barely under way. Good men and true look upon this method of approaching the problem of war and peace as the most hopeful. We shall not argue the question here.

The effect of the American proposals at Geneva for the further scrapping of warships has been officially outlined. If the plans set forth in the American proposal were adopted on the basis of 300,000

tons of the cruiser class for the United States and the British Empire and 180,000 tons for Japan, and 250,000 tons in the destroyer class for the United States and the British Empire and 150,000 tons for Japan, the following is an approximate estimate of the tonnage that would have to be scrapped, provided that existing programs of construction were brought to completion.

The United States would have to scrap immediately about 60,000 tons of auxiliary combatant surface vessels and 80,000 additional tons of such vessels upon the completion of the present building program.

The British Empire would have to scrap about 60,000 tons of auxiliary combatant surface vessels upon completion of the present building program. Japan would have to scrap about 40,000 tons of auxiliary combatant surface vessels upon the completion of her present building program.

If the plans outlined in the American proposal were adopted on the basis of 90,000 tons of submarines for the United States and the British Empire and 54,000 tons of submarines for Japan, no scrapping of submarines would be necessary until present building programs are brought to completion.

Most of all vessels to be scrapped under the American plan are now or soon will be obsolete.

This plan stops competitive building, which is the chief objective of this conference, avoids scrapping of new construction, and permits moderate replacement and building programs within clearly defined limits.

If a lower limit of total tonnage of the cruiser, destroyer, and submarine classes were agreed to, the scrapping programs would be correspondingly increased and

the possible building programs would be curtailed.

The official American memorandum circulated at the opening sessions of the conference contains the following technical details:

1. The proposed new treaty to supplement the Washington Treaty should be conterminous with it and contain provisions for extension or modification similar to those of the Washington Treaty. It might be desirable to provide for the possibility of reconsideration in the event that the requirements of national security of any contracting power in respect of naval defense are, in the opinion of that power, materially affected by any change of circumstances.

2. Provisions for the limitation of auxiliary naval armament should be by classes of vessels as follows:

- (a) The cruiser class.

- (b) The destroyer class.

- (c) The submarine class.

- (d) An exempt class, not subject to a limitation.

3. Limitations by total tonnage in each of the several classes should be modified as necessary to provide for transition from the *status quo* to the final tonnages in each of the several classes.

4. The United States, while suggesting tonnage limitation at various classes, will accept as low a total tonnage limitation in each of the several classes of auxiliary vessels, on the basis of the principles of the Washington Treaty ratio, as the British Empire and Japan will accept.

The following definitions were set forth:

The cruiser class shall include all surface naval combatant vessels which are of standard displacement of more than 3,000 tons and not exceeding 10,000 tons and not carrying guns exceeding eight inches in caliber.

The destroyer class shall include all surface naval combatant vessels of standard displacement of 600 tons and not more than 3,000 tons, which have a designated speed greater than 17 knots.

The submarine class shall include all vessels designed to operate below the surface of the sea.

An unrestricted class to include vessels of limited combatant value. The technical definition of vessels to fall within such a class should be the subject of future agreement.

The proposal relating to replacements follows:

The age limit for replacement in the several classes shall be as follows:

1. Cruisers, twenty years.
2. Destroyers, fifteen to seventeen years.
3. Submarines, twelve to thirteen years.

Proposals for tonnage limitations by classes:

#### Cruiser Classes

For the United States, 250,000 to 300,000 tons.

For the British Empire, 250,000 to 300,000 tons.

For Japan, 150,000 to 160,000 tons.

#### Destroyer Classes

For the United States, 200,000 to 250,000 tons.

For the British Empire, 200,000 to 250,000 tons.

For Japan, 120,000 to 150,000 tons.

#### Submarine Class

For the United States, 60,000 to 90,000 tons.

For the British Empire, 60,000 to 90,000 tons.

For Japan, 36,000 to 54,000 tons.

In order to provide for the transition from the *status quo* to the proposed definitive tonnage limitation in the cruiser and destroyer classes, it is suggested that during the transition period existing cruiser and destroyer tonnage be considered together, and that the tonnage to be scrapped be the excess over the combined cruiser and destroyer tonnage limitations. Replacement in each class should, however, only be permitted within the allowed maximum tonnage of that class. As applied to cruisers on the basis of a total tonnage of 300,000 tons and to destroyers on the basis of a total tonnage of 250,000 tons, the proposal would work out as indicated below:

(a) The total combined tonnage of both

cruiser and destroyer classes of vessels of all ages shall not exceed at any time:

For the United States, 550,000 tons.

For the British Empire, 550,000 tons.

For Japan, 330,000 tons.

(b) The total tonnage of the cruiser class, less than twenty years old from date of completion, shall not be augmented so as to exceed:

The United States, 300,000 tons.

The British Empire, 300,000 tons.

Japan, 180,000 tons.

(c) The total tonnage of the destroyer class, less than fifteen years old from date of completion, shall not be augmented so as to exceed:

The United States, 250,000 tons.

The British Empire, 250,000 tons.

Japan, 150,000 tons.

(d) All excess in the allowed combined tonnage of vessels of the cruiser and destroyer classes now existing shall be scrapped. The choice of vessels to be scrapped shall be made by the power whose vessels are to be scrapped. Within the allowed tonnages, no vessels scrapped shall be replaced until the date when she would have reached the age limit of her class.

## COL. LINDBERGH DELIVERS EUROPE'S MESSAGE OF GOOD WILL TO AMERICA

**R**EPLYING to President Coolidge's address of welcome, in the city of Washington, June 11, Colonel Charles A. Bergh said:

"On the evening of May 21 I arrived at Le Bourget, France. I was in Paris for one week, in Belgium for a day, and was in London and in England for several days. Everywhere I went, at every meeting I attended, I was requested to bring a message home to you. Always the message was the same.

"'You have seen,' the message was, 'the affection of the people of France for the people of America demonstrated to you. When you return to America take back that message to the people of the United States from the people of France and of Europe.'

"I thank you."

## M. BRIAND'S PROPOSAL

ON APRIL 6, 1927, M. Briand memorialized the tenth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War with some remarks through the *Associated Press* to the American people. Seventeen days later, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler wrote to the editor of the *New York Times*, calling attention to this message, "quite without parallel in our history." He called it an "epoch-marking offer." It was then that M. Briand's proposal received wide publicity, both in this country and abroad.

The effect in this country is illustrated by the almost simultaneous appearance of three carefully prepared peace plans looking toward treaties to embody if not the letter the spirit of M. Briand's proposal. One, made public May 29, bears the imprint of the American Foundation and takes the form of a draft treaty suitable for universal application. It embodies the principle of arbitration and judicial settlement of a universal and compulsory character. A second was prepared by Professors Shotwell and Chamberlain, of Columbia University, and announced on May 30. This, too, is a draft treaty, but for a limited number of civilized countries. It is an American adaptation of the Treaty of Locarno and also of the principles of arbitration and conciliation illustrated by the Arbitration Treaty of 1908 and the Wilson-Bryan treaties of 1914. This plan contains no clause providing for compulsory arbitration. The third model treaty was drafted by Francis B. Sayre, Professor of Law at Harvard University and son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson. This plan provides for a series of treaties, covering even matters of national honor, vital interests, and the interests of third parties. It looks toward a greater use of the World Court than does either of the others. It gives jurisdiction over five kinds of dis-

putes to that court—a plan closely related to the projects originally adopted by the Committee of Jurists for the establishment of the court.

Since M. Briand's proposal has had this wide influence, it will be well to recall the exact wording of the proposal.

Here is a translation of the full text of the vitally important paragraph in M. Briand's statement of April 6:

"For those whose lives are devoted to securing this living reality of a policy of peace, the United States and France already appear before the world as morally in full agreement. If there were need for those two great democracies to give high testimony to their desire for peace and to furnish to other peoples an example more solemn, still France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries. The renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is a conception already familiar to the signatories to the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaties of Locarno. Every engagement entered into in this spirit by the United States toward another nation such as France would contribute greatly in the eyes of the world to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which the international policy of peace is being erected. These two great friendly nations, equally devoted to the cause of peace, would furnish to the world the best illustration of the truth that the immediate end to be attained is not so much disarmament as the practical application of peace itself."

This proposal has not met with unanimous approval. It has been charged that such an arrangement would prevent France from fulfilling her engagements under the Covenant of the League, should that body at some time view the United States as an aggressor. Some hold to the view that no agreement not to go to war is worth the paper upon which it is written; for, if France were to violate our

Monroe Doctrine, interfere with our immigration policy, or attempt to transfer the general management of our foreign relations to the League of Nations, no promise not to go to war would stop either our resentment or, if need be, our action. Some hold to the view that M. Briand's proposal was simply a rhetorical outburst characteristic of the man. Some doubt that he spoke in any sense for France. Others hold that his proposal, addressed to a group of newspaper men, should in no sense be considered official; for it will be noted that he did not say that France is ready to agree with the United States to outlaw war as between themselves, but that, if it were necessary to give to the world any further evidence of their enduring friendship, she would be willing to do so. We are inclined to accept all of these views.

But the fact is that M. Briand's gesture, like Mr. Lindbergh's flight to Le Bourget, has given rise to a friendlier talk and a kindlier atmosphere. The net result of such an experience, of the many working upon the possible treaties, can be but wholesome. If Premier Poincaré in his Sunday sermons, now begun again, is the more logical, Minister Briand is the more hopeful. They both represent realities in the spirit of France. M. Poincaré has achieved imperishable renown with the internal policies of his country; but M. Briand has wrought still more remarkably by ameliorating ill will across the Rhine, by spreading the beneficence of Locarno, and by arousing a better good will among the peoples generally.

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## THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT GENEVA

**T**HE reason more is not heard in this country of the Economic Conference, referred to elsewhere in these columns, is due to the fact that it dealt almost en-

tirely with economic conditions in Europe. We were represented in the conference, and the part played by our delegates was not wholly negligible. Our delegates have spoken in high terms of the work accomplished, but our business men do not seem to consider the conference of prime importance for America.

Other non-European countries played an effective rôle in the labors of the various commissions. Dr. Hyder, for example, represented India in the Commission on Agriculture, and Sir Ness Wadia, of the same country, did effective work in the Commission on Industry. Without these gentlemen the conference would probably not have learned of the improvement of labor conditions in India. Furthermore, throughout the proceedings the various countries of the British Commonwealth worked together, although each section retained its own position on certain questions. True, the members of the British Commonwealth did not always agree, particularly on certain matters regarding tariffs. Australia is particularly dependent upon a protective tariff for her infant industries. Sir David Gordon, of that country, felt called upon to remind the conferees that the requirements of Australian policy must be left to the Australians to decide.

On the whole the conference brings satisfaction to all interests, particularly to the labor factions, because workers of the world have been calling for such a conference for years. Fundamentally, the importance of the conference must be measured by its effects upon the future of the capitalistic system.

It was pointed out in the International Trade Union Conference six years ago that the economic disorganization accentuated by the war has been due to the impotence of capitalism to reorganize production in such a way as to insure the well-being of the masses of the people.

The Congress went on to say that even "when the means of production are socialized," it will be by means only of a normal production scientifically and continually developed, to the end that collective and individual well-being can be obtained and guaranteed for all persons and in all countries. The International Trade Union Congress, held in Rome in 1922, held: "This economic equilibrium cannot be brought about unless all the peoples are called upon to participate equally in this common task of restoration." The Labor Conference of 1921 adopted a proposal to instruct the governing body of the International Labor Office to take in hand the organization of an international conference, in which all the nations would take part, a conference for the discussion of the question of unemployment and, further, the restoration of normal economic conditions throughout the whole world. The recent conference in Geneva was such a conference.

The disquieting rift in the conference came toward its close, from the Russian representatives. The Moscow delegates prepared a resolution calling for official recognition of two economic systems, the Communistic and the Capitalistic—the Soviet and the rest of the world. The resolution went on to say that these two systems "can operate amicably, each in its own sphere and with each other." At a garden party given in honor of the Soviet delegates by merchants of Switzerland, General Sokolnikoff declared that the capitalistic countries must decide whether to collaborate with Russia or to resort to armed intervention, as in China—a rather strong statement.

Yet in spite of this fact, in spite of the many delegates from the many nations, representing vastly diversified class interests, and the opposition of certain statesmen, the majority of the resolutions were passed unanimously.

The work of the conference related to the world economic positions under the heads of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture. The commissions on Commerce and Industry gave rise to a contest between the free trade and the protection countries. On the one side was England, with a number of minor free-trade European countries; on the other stood the majority of European countries and America. One side found the dislocation of international distribution due to tariffs to be at the bottom of the world's troubles, while the other found the cause of the dislocation to lie in the lack of consumption, which can be met only by raising the purchasing power of the masses. The Commission on Commerce expressed itself against further increases in tariffs and recommended their gradual reduction. It also advocated the conclusion of commercial treaties on the basis of the most-favored-nation treatment. In the Commission on Industry no little attention was given to international cartels, favored particularly by France. On this point the workers' delegates stood for the international registration and control of cartels. The whole question of unemployment received extended discussion in the Commission on Industry.

The last of the three commissions was concerned with agricultural questions. The work of this commission was of less interest, because agriculture has been less affected by the crises of the last few years than has industry and trade. This commission suggested, however, the importance of extending the agricultural co-operative system with the object of increasing direct contact between producer and consumer and of developing a system of cheap agricultural credit.

Perhaps the chief benefit of the conference lies in the fact that it has largely turned the minds of statesmen from political to economic problems. It was a United States of Europe in action.

Such an international conference will prove to be of great value. As a result of it all parties realize more clearly the nature of existing governmental trade barriers. The way is open for more long-term treaties securing equality of treatment. It will be easier to abandon excessive tariffs for bargaining purposes and those export duties imposed for the purpose of reducing foreign trade. Government subsidies will become less popular. Customs duties will tend to become more stabilized. The language of trade will become simpler, because of a greater standardization. Foreigners within a State will receive greater fiscal and legal equality of treatment. Certain onerous import and export prohibitions will be more easily rescinded. But, more important than any of these, later economic conferences will be able to profit by the studies of this, and to advance the more easily the economic welfare of the world.

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### THE NEW NOTE IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

**I**T WOULD not be just to speak of Great Britain's recent foreign policies as in any sense passive. The rather sudden outpouring of British activities in Egypt, in China, and now in Russia rank next to the transatlantic flight of Charles A. Lindbergh, both in interest and importance.

Egypt, taken over from the Turkish Empire in December, 1914, as a British protectorate, has continued to draw rather heavily at times upon the resources of British statesmanship. Indeed, it was found necessary to terminate the protectorate in February, 1922. Under the draft constitution promulgated in April, 1923, Egypt is a sovereign State under an hereditary monarch, Ahmed Fuad Pasha, and a representative government. Considerably over 90 per cent of the popula-

tion are Moslems. The army is under the control of the British, in spite of the fact that a large share of the Egyptians contend that the army should be controlled by the Egyptians. This is particularly true of the Nationalists, led by Zaghlul, who realize that the movement toward an Egypt for the Egyptians depends upon the control of the army. It is this movement on the part of the Zaghlulists, aiming to get rid of the British element in the army, that has aroused Great Britain to send two warships to Alexandria and one to Port Said. British statesmen have not forgotten the murder in 1924 of Sir Lee Stack while serving as British commander-in-chief of the armies in the Sudan.

Another evidence of Britain's activities was her decision on May 17 to break off relations with the Chinese Nationalist Government. This step was taken because Nationalist troops had overrun the British concession and because of anti-British propaganda, particularly in Hankow. These British activities are attributed in part to the activities of the Communists in China. In any event, no one can doubt the positive nature of Britain's policy in the Far East.

The situation in China is probably related to the severing of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia. Evidently Great Britain feels that the Soviet Government has frequently violated the trade agreement by carrying on propaganda subversive of British interests. She feels this strongly, for Russian representatives in London were ordered to leave within ten days. Britain has made approaches to Germany with the view of being able to march armies across Germany should Russia attack Poland. In the meantime it is reported that the British have notified Premier Mussolini that now is no time to start trouble in the Balkans.



In the main, however, Britain's new virility seems to be directed against military espionage and subversive activities carried on by the Soviets. There seems to be little doubt that the Russian Communists and representatives of the Third International have abused diplomatic privileges, not only within the United Kingdom of Great Britain, but in British territory overseas. Followers of recent Russian history will recall the Zinovief letter, detailing instructions to British Communists, outlining methods for the sedition of the British army with the view of achieving a successful armed insurrection. The *Manchester Guardian* does not believe, however, that in these more recent instances, there have been specific acts of a seditious nature, such as tampering with the army, organizing breaches of the peace, or preparing for armed insurrections. This well-informed journal raises the question how the breaking of diplomatic relations with Russia can be expected to overcome Communist propaganda. There are British Communists as well as Russian Communists in England. Manifestly, they cannot all be deported. What is to be done?

The spread of Communists' doctrines seems to be a fact. Shall it be left free to go on? Within a year Sir Austen Chamberlain, when invited to break with Russia, and when he had as much ground for doing so as he has today, said in the House of Commons that a breach would "give us no weapon for fighting disorder or disloyalty or revolution within our own borders, would create division where we seek union, and would in its echoes abroad increase the uncertainty, increase the fears, increase the instability of European conditions, which it is and ought to be our chief object to remove."

There can be no doubt, however, that the foreign policy of Great Britain has within the last few months greatly stiff-

ened. At the moment the result is less tranquillity throughout Europe.

So serious is the situation that there has been much talk of uniting England, France, and Germany against Russia. The whole matter has gone rapidly into the realm of bargaining. In our judgment, most of this talk of war sounds hollow and premature. There is throughout France a widespread and very deep opposition to Bolshevism, but it seems unreasonable to expect France and Germany to fight side by side in any war, at least within a generation. Furthermore, there is among the peoples of Europe no stomach for war.

And yet it is reasonable to suspect that the Anglo-Russian rupture is of grave importance. As long as England was friendly to Russia it was easy to believe in the "Spirit of Locarno," and that in spite of the treaty between Germany and Russia known as the Rapallo Pact. It is not so easy now. The situation is not improved by Germany's pledge to Russia not to authorize a hostile army, under any circumstances, to traverse German territory—seemingly a violation of Germany's engagements with the League of Nations. Indeed, the Council of the League looks upon the situation, of which the Anglo-Russian break is a symptom, as the makings of a possible war. This view is strengthened by rumors of a new terror in Russia, of the flight of foreigners from Moscow, of "masked executions" in many parts of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, extending from Vladivostok to the Caspian and from southern Russia to Leningrad. There are reports of preparations throughout Russia for a war with Poland. Is all this disturbance a cause or an effect of recent British policy?

Our opinion is that the new activity in the Foreign Office of Britain is primarily due to the fact that English statesmen, sensing the gravity of the conditions in

China and in Egypt, seeing the importance of the Russian problem, have decided to remind the wrangling peoples that England is to be reckoned with. Evidently the spirit is not dead that led Shakespeare to put into the mouth of Philip the Bastard the final words of "King John":

Come the three corners of the world in arms,  
And we shall shock them. Naught shall make  
us rue,

If England to itself do rest but true.

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### ANOTHER SARAJEVO?

**T**HE assassination on June 6 of M. Voikoff, Russian Minister to Poland, in the city of Warsaw, by Boris Koverde, a young Russian monarchist bent upon avenging the murder of the Czar, naturally recalled the assassination of the hereditary Archduke of Austria and his wife in the city of Sarajevo, in Bosnia, June 28, 1914. This latter was the immediate cause of the World War. Similarly, the assassination of Voikoff has threatened serious results. It has strongly colored the relations between England and Russia, stirred up France, agitated the League of Nations, and started loose talk in all the capitals of Europe. It is another illustration of a psychology little understood as yet by the scientists, a psychical attitude accountable for a long list of latter-day assassinations—of Jaurès in Paris in the early days of the war, of Kurt Eisner, of Haase, of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, of Rathenau and Erzberger in Germany, of Matteotti in Rome, and many others under the White Terror in Hungary and a similar terror in Bulgaria. Indeed, early in June, according to reports from Riga, the Cheka officially proclaimed the revival of the Red Terror in Russia, and proceeded to shoot ex-officers and members of the aristocracy on a sickening scale. The Russian

papers indicate a widespread bitterness over the murder of Voikoff and a feeling that it may mean war. Associating the murder with London's severance of diplomatic relations, not a few of the editorials charge England with the blame. The issue, in its larger phases, seems to lie between Bolshevism and Capitalism. In any case it is an expression of nervous tension which so complicates the problem of living together, especially in Europe. The incident of M. Juraskovitch, an employee of the Yugoslav Legation at Tirana, capital of Albania, arrested by Albanian police on the charge of espionage, with the result that Belgrade broke off diplomatic relations with Albania, is a milder illustration of the same tension. It brought Britain, France, and Italy into the discussion and added to the pile of tinder which seems to need only the right kind of an assassination to start a sizeable conflagration.

There is a limit to the number of Sarajevos which the peace of Europe can stand.

And yet we doubt that there exists in Europe today a government foolhardy enough to initiate an attack upon another. This view includes Russia. Indeed, there is a "too proud to fight" sentiment openly expressed in Russia. The formula runs: "The workers and peasants contemptuously spurn capitalistic provocation." Furthermore, Russia needs credit. Trade must go on. The reviving business interests of Europe, with a few exceptions, could not survive a war. Then, too, there are the war-cursed people to reckon with. European fathers and mothers know the meaning of war.

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**T**HE Sixth International Conference of American States is to meet in Habana, Cuba, January 16, 1928. The program, unanimously approved by the Gov-

erning Board of the Pan-American Union at its meeting April 12, 1927, has just been announced. It relates to the re-organization of the Pan-American Union, to matters of inter-American juridical nature, to problems of communications, to intellectual co-operation, to economic and social problems, and to reports on treaties, conventions, and resolutions. Readers of this magazine will be particularly interested in that portion of the program relating to the codification of international law, involving the consideration of the results of the Commission of Jurists which assembled recently at Rio de Janeiro.

ACCORDING to the Italian Minister of Finance, Signor Volpi, the Italian Government does not now intend to make further foreign loans. Speaking before the Chamber of Deputies early in June, the Minister expressed optimistic feeling over the financial and economic situation in Italy. Doubting the possibilities of a surplus for the current year equal to that of the preceding year, he believed that Italy would be able to maintain a balanced budget. The actual expenditures represent an increase over the estimates, but this is also true of the revenue. For ten months of the financial year 1926-1927 there was an effective surplus of 225,000,000 lire as against the estimate of 190,000,000. It is the purpose of the government to maintain the lira at its present level. During the year Italy's trade balance shows a deficit; but the Minister believes that this will be offset by the increased trade and, during the summer, by the income from tourists.

IT SOUNDS strange to modern ears that human slavery should remain a problem to be dealt with in various parts of the world. Over four thousand slaves were

released recently in North Burma. The Governor of Burma estimates that from four hundred to five hundred remain to be released, but that this cannot happen before next winter, "owing to the necessity of punishing the tribes who were the authors of the attack on the slave-releasing party in the 'Triangle' in which Captain West, of the Gurkha Rifles, was killed."

THE situation in Rumania seems to be easier. King Ferdinand, thought to be suffering from cancer, is reported to have recovered from an attack of influenza. The Stirbey Cabinet has issued a proclamation declaring its loyalty to the dynasty and to the Regency Act, passed in January, 1926. Prince Stirbey seems to have solved the political crisis, at least temporarily, by forming a non-party ministry. The Prince remains Premier and takes over the offices as Minister of the Interior, Minister of Finance, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Under such circumstances it would seem to be easy for the cabinet to function with comparative unanimity. It is planned to hold a general election on July 7. The Premier assures the people that the elections and the press will be "free and uncontrolled." Friends in this country of M. Nicholas Tipulescu, the Rumanian Minister in London, will be interested to know that he has been asked to accept the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

THOMAS G. MASARYK was elected President of Czechoslovakia May 28, 1920, for a period of seven years. At the elections in May this year he was again elected head of the Czechoslovak State for a similar period. It would appear that, except for death, he may be expected to continue his business as President indef-

initely, for it is provided in the Constitution that, while no one may be elected for two successive terms, this provision shall not apply to President Masaryk. Of course, the President has his opponents, but he seems to have had no difficulty in getting the required three-fifths majority. Many in America became acquainted with Dr. Masaryk during his years of sojourn among us. From this distance we are ready to agree with Dr. Spinna, a German member of the Coalition Cabinet, that the election of Dr. Masaryk is but "an example of the application of sound statesmanship and of good common sense." The vote in the Parliament was as follows: Of the 434 representatives present, 274 voted for Dr. Masaryk, 54 for the Communist candidate, 104 were blank, and 2 votes were considered void. Thus, on the first ballot the President secured 13 votes above the number required by the Constitution. Following the election the President received an ovation in the House. After a salute of twenty-one guns, the singing of

the national anthem, and greetings from the regiment which bears his name, the President, accompanied by M. Svehla, Prime Minister of the Republic, drove in an open carriage back to the Castle through streets thronged with cheering people. To the general satisfaction expressed in the press generally, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* would add its congratulations not only to President Masaryk, but to all the people of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

**T**HE public debt of the United States during the period from the time when it reached its peak, August 31, 1919, to May 31, 1926, was reduced from \$25,478,592,113.25 to \$19,799,997,975.73. During the last year, ending May 31, the gross debt was reduced still further, to \$18,747,596,077.79. At the present rate of reduction the total debt of the United States will be wiped out by 1946, providing, of course, the ratio between our income and expenses remains the same and nothing happens to break the spell.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

**A**FTER a year and a half of preparations, the International Economic Conference, convoked by the League of Nations, took place in Geneva on May 4-23. It has been the first important economic parley on an international scale in the history of the world, and its results are likely to stand out as real achievements in the direction of greater good will among nations and greater prosperity in the economic life of the world.

### Composition and Character of the Conference

The conference was made up of one hundred ninety-seven delegates, coming from practically every country of the globe. All the members of the League of Nations were, of course, represented; but the conference also contained delegates from such non-member countries as the United States, Soviet Russia, Turkey, and Mexico. Nearly all the delegates had been appointed by the governments, but were present at the conference in only individual capacities. There were also sev-

eral members specially invited by the Council of the League.

The preparatory committee for the conference and the Economic and Financial Section of the League Secretariat had prepared an enormous amount of documentary material for the work of the conference. Moreover, each delegation was accompanied by a group of experts, one hundred and fifty-four in all. Thus the problems that had been placed before the conference by the agenda of the preparatory committee had received a great deal of study.

The conference devoted the first four days of its sessions to general discussions at plenary meetings, in the course of which one or more members of each delegation had an opportunity to make a general declaration. Then for two weeks the conference settled down to committee work, in the course of which its various resolutions were drawn up and co-ordinated. Finally, there were two more days of plenary sessions, which culminated in an unanimous adoption of the conference report, with Soviet Russia and Turkey abstaining from vote altogether and the American delegation and several labor members making special reservations with regard to the resolution on international cartels.

There were three committees at work, dealing respectively with commerce, industry, and agriculture.

#### Principles of Liberty of Trading

The Commerce Section of the Conference Report deals primarily with the question of freeing European trade from the obstructions which have been impeding its development since the war. The first part of the resolutions deals with liberty of trading, the second with form of tariffs, and the third with tariff levels and commercial policy. In the third part it is declared that "recovery from the effects of the war has been unduly delayed, and that the foreign commerce of all nations is in greater or less degree seriously hampered by existing obstacles to trade."

The report then gives the conclusions which the conference reached, and which it based on four propositions—viz., that harmful effects are being produced by high and constantly changing tariffs; that a

substantial improvement in economic conditions can be obtained by increased facilities for international trade and commerce; that tariffs, though within the sovereign jurisdiction of separate States, are not a mere matter of domestic concern, but greatly affect the trade of the whole world; and that some of the causes that have produced the increase in trade barriers since the war have largely disappeared, while others are diminishing.

Proceeding from these premises, the conference declared that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." This policy should be carried into effect by efforts along four lines: (1) Immediate action by separate States to remove or diminish barriers that hamper trade, starting with those imposed to counteract war disturbances. (2) Bilateral action in the form of commercial treaties. (3) The abandonment of the practice of imposing *tarifs de combat* in advance of negotiations. (4) An effort by the economic organization of the League of Nations "on the basis of the principles enunciated" by the conference to secure "further action by the respective States with a view to promoting the equitable treatment of commerce by eliminating or reducing the obstructions which excessive customs tariffs offer to international trade."

#### Discriminations and Indirect Protection

The report condemns the practice of penalizing imported goods by means of differential internal taxes, and declares that, as the free movement of raw materials is essential for a healthy development of world trade, export taxes should be as low as fiscal requirements and exceptional and compelling circumstances permit, and should, in any case, not be discriminatory. The conference, having in mind the need of restoring the system of long-term commercial treaties, and recognizing that any such system must be built up on the mutual grant of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment, recommended that this important guarantee should be given the widest and most liberal interpretation, though it is for each State to judge in what cases and to what extent this funda-

mental guarantee should be embodied in any particular treaty.

From the question of tariff barriers and commercial treaties the report turns to certain indirect means of protecting trade and navigation. Subsidies, direct and indirect, among which are especially mentioned the granting of credits and guarantees, are regarded as mere palliatives, involving the hidden danger that the greater the number of countries which resort to them, the more difficult will it be for others to refrain from following their example. So-called "dumping" should be reduced to a minimum by the establishment of universally stable conditions of production and commerce and the reduction of excessive duties.

#### Industrial Agreements

The conference, in dealing with industry, and especially European industrial conditions, took as its central problem "the question of how costs, and therefore prices, could be reduced without injury to the consumer or the worker." With this object, it considered (1) "rationalization" in its various aspects, and in this connection (2) international industrial agreements, and (3) the collection and exchange of information.

By "rationalization" is meant the adoption of methods of technique and organization to secure the minimum waste of effort or material. The report declares that rationalization must be applied with care so as not to injure the legitimate interests of the workers.

The report then turns to the question of industrial agreements, which has recently attracted close attention and on which the discussions at the conference revealed a certain conflict of views. The conference laid down no conclusion of principle, but recognized the growth of agreements as a development which may be either good or bad, according to the spirit in which they are constituted and operated and the measure in which those directing them are actuated by a sense of the general interest. The field of operation for agreements being limited to certain centralized branches of production and to products supplied in bulk or in recognized grades, such agreements cannot by themselves be regarded as a remedy for

the present causes of economic trouble, but within limits they may serve to improve the organization of production and reduce costs by the better utilization and development of plants and the more rational grouping of undertakings. By these means and by checking uneconomic competition and diminishing industrial fluctuations, they may make employment more stable while benefiting the consumer by reducing the costs of production and distribution. Nevertheless, agreements may involve danger if they encourage monopolistic tendencies and unsound business methods.

The conference therefore lays down that agreements ought not to lead to an artificial rise of prices, and that they should not restrict the supply to any particular country of raw materials or basic products, or without just cause create unequal conditions between the finishing industries of consuming and producing countries or other countries similarly placed. No special system of supervision over agreements is recommended in the report, but it is suggested that national legislation should not place an obstacle to the attainment of the benefits which such agreements might secure by exhibiting a prejudice against them as such.

#### Significance of the Conference

These are the principal results obtained at the conference. Looking at the whole report of the conference, one may say that the conference was in substantial agreement on commercial policies, but faced considerable disagreement on questions of industry and agriculture. Hence, its commerce resolution are clear and contain definite proposals, while its resolutions on industry and agriculture are vague and merely scratch the surface.

The conference has left many important questions for further study by the Economic Organization of the League of Nations. This will necessitate a reorganization of the Economic Committee of the League Secretariat and its considerable enlargement. As a result of this, it may be quite possible that the emphasis in the work of the League will gradually shift from political to economic. The problems discussed by the conference were mainly European in character, and the

action proposed for the future is mainly European in its implications. This being so, the League ought to be able to act as an excellent center for co-ordinating and directing further work along the lines indicated by the conference.

The presence at the conference of Soviet delegates demonstrated that Russia is not as yet prepared to re-enter Europe or the world on the same basis as the other nations. The Soviet delegates demanded from the conference an explicit statement recognizing the feasibility of a "co-existence of the capitalistic and the communistic economic systems." They threatened to leave the conference when this demand was refused. But they finally compromised on a very mild formula, which merely demonstrates the impossibility of reconciliation between Russia in her present mood and the rest of the world.

In the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* the reader will find the text of the closing speech at the conference, delivered by President Theunis, which gives a clear picture of the work and the achievements of the conference from its own point of view.

#### American Participation at the Conference

The American delegation to the conference followed a policy of not putting forth any definite proposals, but of keeping a vigilant watch over the decisions of the conference from the point of view of the special position of the United States, both as a non-member of the League and as a more or less self-gravitating economic territory.

At the end of the conference, the American delegation issued a statement in which they said:

The American Members feel that the conference has been a very real success in its earnestness, its spirit of co-operation, and its actual recommendations. Although in no case taking the form of binding agreement and dealing largely with European economic conditions, the resolutions adopted by the conference will powerfully affect public opinion in Europe and throughout the world and will have a beneficial influence on future national legislation and international agreements. . . .

We feel that this conference can only be

judged correctly if considered as part of a process. Much good work in the direction of economic reconstruction had been done before this conference convened. A great deal will remain to be done after it adjourns.

Immediately after the Armistice, there was disorder everywhere—in some localities, chaos. There has been much progress in these post-war years. The object of this conference was to speed up this progress.

It is too early to judge the results of this conference, but we of the American delegation feel that a very earnest effort has been made to get the essential problems clearly stated. Every step taken along the lines laid down by the conference will, we are convinced, be a progressive step. But, in the last analysis, the result will depend on the parliaments and peoples of the different countries. The path towards progress having been clearly marked, public opinion, enlightened by such discussions as those of this conference, will force civilization to follow it.

#### BRITISH BREAK WITH RUSSIA

**A**FTER a long period of more or less strained relations, accentuated in the last few months by the violent anti-British Communist activities in China, the British Government has finally brought its difficulties with Moscow to a head by denouncing the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement and breaking off diplomatic relations with Russia. The crisis was precipitated by the sudden and drastic action on the part of the British police in raiding and searching the offices of the Russian Trade Delegation and of the Russo-British trading corporation, the Arcos. In the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* the reader will find the principal documents dealing with the breaking off of the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia.

#### Details of the Arcos Raid

The offices of the Arcos and of the Russian Trade Delegation, which are located in the same building, were raided as a result of information received by Scotland Yard to the effect that a certain document recently stolen from government files was hidden there. The warrant for the search of the building read as follows:

*Search Warrant*

Official Secrets Acts, 1911 and 1920

In the City of London

To Superintendent Thompson, Detective-Inspector Greer, Inspector Stubbings, and other of the constables of the police force for the City of London and the liberties thereof, and to each and all of the constables of the said police force:

Whereas information upon oath hath been this day laid before me, one of the aldermen of the said city, &c., that there is reasonable ground for suspecting that an offense under the Official Secrets Act, 1911, has been or is about to be committed at 49 Moorgate Street in the said city, occupied by and known as Arcos, Limited, and the Russian Trade Delegation; these are, therefore, to require you forthwith to enter, if necessary by force, and to search the said premises so occupied as aforesaid and every person found therein and to seize any sketch, plan, model, article, note or document, or thing of a like nature or anything whatsoever which is or may be evidence of an offense against the said Official Secrets Acts, 1911 and 1920, having been or being about to be committed, which they, the said constables, may find therein or on any of the persons found therein, and with regard to or in connection with which they, the said constables, have reasonable grounds for suspecting that offenses against the said statutes have been or are about to be committed, and to bring the same and all persons found therein before me or some other justice of the peace for the said city, to be dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand this 12th day of May, 1927.

C. A. BATHO,

*Alderman, Justice of the Peace  
for the City of London.*

Armed with this warrant, the police surrounded the Arcos building and broke down the doors, which the employees present refused to open for them. In the course of their search they found it necessary to blast their way into a number of safes. A large number of documents were taken away from the raided building.

**Diplomatic Rupture with Moscow**

On the basis of the documents found during the raid, the British Government

became convinced that there was no longer any doubt as to the fact that the Soviet Government has been persistently violating the promises made in the Trade Agreement not to conduct any subversive propaganda in Great Britain or elsewhere against her. The decision of the Cabinet to denounce the Trade Agreement and break off diplomatic relations came about a week after the Arcos raid, and was announced to the Parliament by Premier Baldwin on May 24 in a long and comprehensive statement.

The whole incident caused a number of lively debates in the House of Commons, in the course of which the government's policy was supported by the Conservative majority and attacked half-heartedly by the Liberals and the Labor Party. Following Premier Baldwin's announcement of the Cabinet's decision to break with Russia, the Labor Party introduced a motion protesting against the Cabinet's decision and demanding that so important a step should be preceded by an inquiry by a select committee. The Labor motion was rejected by 367 votes against 118, and a Conservative motion was substituted for it, approving the government's decision. This motion was adopted by a majority of 248.

The Soviet Embassy in London was requested to withdraw itself and its staff, as well as the staff of the Arcos, within ten days. The request made by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, that certain members of the Trade Delegation staff be permitted to remain in London to wind up current affairs, was refused, Sir Austen Chamberlain stating in reply that only such Russians will be allowed to remain in Great Britain as have legitimate trade reasons to be there.

The Russian Government has requested the German Embassy in London to take over the care of Russian interests, while British affairs in Moscow will be handled by the Norwegian Legation.

**Reactions in Moscow**

On May 28 the Acting Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Litvinoff, handed to Mr. Peters, a member of the British Mission in Moscow, the Russian reply to the British note terminating diplomatic relations with Russia. In this



note Litvinoff stated that he "resolutely denies again all charges of violating the Trade Agreement of 1921, reproaches the British Government with unwillingness to regulate differences by negotiation, and asserts that the British Government from first to last based its allegations on forged materials, while the Soviet Government meticulously pursued a loyal and correct policy." He went on to declare that the British Government must bear the consequences of sacrificing the interests of the British masses. The Soviet Government remains convinced that the time is near when the British people will find it possible freely to realize their peaceful aspirations and insure the re-establishment of direct friendly relations. Then he added:

It is evident to the whole world that the fundamental cause of the rupture is the defeat of the Conservative Government's policy in China and an attempt to mask this defeat by a diversion directed against the Soviet Union, while the direct reason is the British Government's desire to divert public opinion from the failure of the absurd police raid on the Arcos and Trade Delegation premises and to save the British Home Secretary from the scandalous position in which he found himself, owing to this raid.

Discussing Mr. Baldwin's statement, the Soviet Trade Commissar, Mikoyan, declared that the Soviet Government's financial and commercial obligations already incurred would be duly met, in spite of the breach of official relations.

The Soviet Government had, he said, expected such a breach and had taken its measures. It would not, therefore, cause serious difficulties for the U. S. S. R., but "England would soon find it is more serious for her." In consequence of the rupture of official relations, commercial transactions which, according to contract, had to be settled in England would henceforth be settled on Soviet territory, as all Soviet organizations in Great Britain would as soon as possible be liquidated.

#### Canada Breaks with Moscow

On May 26, after a five-hour sitting of the Canadian Cabinet, Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, announced that Canada would take the same course as Great Britain and terminate immediately

the Trade Agreement of 1921 with Russia.

Mr. King pointed out that while the evidence now in the possession of the government did not disclose any espionage or subversive propaganda so far as the Soviet Trade Commission at Montreal was concerned, yet certain conditions of the Trade Agreement had been violated in respect of the clause requiring the Soviet to refrain from "hostile actions and from conducting outside its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire." Mr. Baldwin's statement in the British House of Commons and the evidence before the Canadian Government made it clear that this agreement had been violated. The termination of the Trade Agreement did not mean the discontinuance of trade with Russia, which had been steadily increasing, but it would mean that certain quasi-diplomatic privileges enjoyed by the Soviet Trade Commission in Canada would be abrogated. Canada would continue to trade with Russia, but without any preferential tariff arrangement.

Mr. King noted that the termination by Great Britain of the Trade Treaty with Soviet Russia automatically terminated the Treaty for Canada, which had become a party thereto by an order in council under Mr. Meighen's government in 1921.

In respect of diplomatic relations, Mr. King said that all negotiations with the Soviet hitherto had been carried through by the British Foreign Office, and the net result of the action taken would be really only in respect of the abrogation of certain trade privileges now enjoyed by the Soviet Trade Commission in Canada under the treaty.

## BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM HANKOW

ON MAY 17 the British representative at Hankow, Mr. Newton, informed the Nationalist Government of his government's decision to break off relations with it. On that day he handed the Nationalist Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eugene Chen, a note in which he recited the reasons for the British Government's de-

cision on the break and announced his withdrawal from Hankow.

#### Text of the British Note

Mr. Newton's note read as follows:

SIR: As the representative of His Britannic Majesty's Minister, acting on full instructions received by him from His Majesty's Government, I am directed to make to you the following communication:

(1) The authorities in Hankow for whom you act as spokesman have freely announced their intention and claimed their ability to assume the full responsibilities of a modern government. Actuated by a sincere appreciation of the ideas of the Chinese people and anxious not to disregard any régime which might eventually substantiate a claim to speak either on behalf of the Chinese nation or of an important section thereof, His Majesty's Government have gone out of their way to meet the aspirations which you claimed to voice, and they hoped for a response in a spirit of sincerity and statesmanship. With the full authority of His Majesty's Government His Majesty's Minister entered into frank and friendly discussions with you at Hankow on his arrival in China, and subsequently dispatched a personal representative to Hankow in order to maintain contact. Yet within a month of His Majesty's Minister's departure from Hankow, the British concession was overrun and Southern troops, admitted for the purpose of restoring order, remained there in unjustified possession.

Nevertheless, in order to give still further evidence of a willingness on their side to do their utmost to put their relations with all sections of the Chinese people on a satisfactory footing, His Majesty's Government made an agreement surrendering the greater part of the safeguards hitherto maintained for British nationals in the concession and placing the ultimate responsibility for the proper administration of the area in the hands of the Southern authorities. On January 27 His Majesty's Government furthermore communicated generous and far-reaching proposals to you through Mr. O'Malley, offering to waive a number of British treaty rights by their own unilateral act.

(2) Despite the continuous proof of sincerity and good will given by His Majesty's Government in these and many other

ways, conditions for British subjects in the areas then controlled from Hankow grew worse and worse, and a campaign of abuse and anti-British propaganda continued until general insecurity for trade, property, and even life reached such a point that British subjects had to evacuate every port west of Hankow. The Province of Hunan, which was the first to change control on the advance from Canton to Hankow, was reduced to a state of almost complete anarchy. Other provinces suffered likewise in proportion to the extent in which Communist influence invaded them from Hankow.

Of the conditions existing at Hankow itself it is hardly necessary to speak. The trade of the port is at an almost complete standstill, whilst the withdrawals of so many of its residents evinces sufficiently the general feeling of insecurity. At Chiangkiang, despite your specific assurances to the contrary, the British concession was overrun, British property and the British consulate were occupied, and a climax, which shocked the civilized world, was reached in the murderous outrages at Nanking on March 24.

(3) While there is no change in British policy towards the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people wherever authoritatively enunciated, it is clear that those for whom you speak have failed to make good their claim to govern in accordance with standards of a responsible modern government. They have even shirked the responsibility of accepting the studiously moderate terms presented to them for settlement of outrages at Nanking. His Majesty's Government have accordingly been forced to the conclusion, which I now convey to you, that my retention as representative of His Majesty's Minister at the seat of a régime so totally incapable of discharging the responsibilities of a civilized government is both useless and undesirable, and in accordance with instructions I am therefore leaving Hankow forthwith.

#### Foreign Minister Chen's Reply

In his reply to the Newton note, Mr. Chen disclaimed his government's responsibility for the anarchical conditions which spread over the Yangtze provinces and culminated in the murderous outrages at Nanking. He expressed the view that "it is only by statesmanship born of knowledge and vision that the British Govern-

ment will be able to meet the aspirations . . . of Nationalist China."

The reply then spoke of the British naval and military reinforcements and stated that the British Government "pretends that it is Communist influence and not their own blunder which has agitated and inflamed Nationalist China."

Mr. Chen indignantly denied the statement that the Nationalist Government of Hankow is "a régime totally incapable of discharging the responsibilities of a civilized government," and declared that "the Nationalist Government at Wuhan is the sole depository of state power in Nationalist China . . . and is alone competent to reach an enduring settlement with the British Government and people."

### BRITISH NOTE TO EGYPT

ON MAY 30 Lord Lloyd, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, handed Prime Minister Sarwat Pasha a sharp note on the subject of army administration in Egypt. The question of the Egyptian army, which has given the British considerable trouble during the last few years, has now at last been brought to a head, and there is an apparent determination on the part of London to settle it more or less definitely, once for all.

#### Circumstances Leading up to the Note

The immediate occasion for the note was the decision of a committee of the Egyptian Parliament to recommend the suppression of credits for the Sirdar or commander-in-chief of the army. Until the murder of the last British Sirdar, Sir Lee Stack, in 1924, the Egyptian army was under recognized British control and command; but no one was appointed to succeed Sir Lee Stack, and the execution of his functions fell upon his assistant, Huddleston Pasha, and was later delegated to the Inspector General, Spinks Pasha, who became Acting Sirdar.

The new position of Spinks Pasha as Acting Sirdar has never been formally recognized by the Egyptian Government, and his powers and authority have been steadily undermined by a series of administrative acts carried out by successive Egyptian ministers of war. The effect of these acts has been a gradual diminution

of British control over the Egyptian army, the reinstatement in important positions of officers who on critical occasions had taken a political part in opposition to Great Britain, and also an increase in the numbers and equipment of the army.

A situation was thus being created in which the control of the armed forces of Egypt was gradually passing into the hands of the extremist anti-British majority of the Parliament, led by the Parliament's President, Zaghul Pasha.

#### Development of Zaghulist Policy

The decision of the Parliament committee with regard to credits for the Sirdar was a stage in the development of a consistent anti-British policy conducted by the Zaghulists. They have seized avidly on any pretext for the demonstration of hostile feeling toward Great Britain, and just before the last army move staged such a demonstration in connection with the High Commissioner's recent visit to Minia, in Upper Egypt.

Lord Lloyd went to Minia on April 30 at the invitation of the local notables, and many of the officials of the province were present at the reception tendered him. The news of this, when it reached Cairo, caused an interpellation to be introduced in the Parliament demanding from the government an explanation of this show of friendly feeling toward the British. Although the Prime Minister explained that Lord Lloyd's visit was entirely private and not official, the extremist elements in the Parliament launched a bitter attack against British interference in the internal affairs of Egypt.

A resolution put forward mainly by the Zaghulist left was unanimously passed. It stated that the chamber repudiated the behavior of the officials and notables and looked to the government to do its duty. The latter part of the resolution referred to a demand made in the course of the debate that the Mudir and other officials should be punished for being present at the receptions.

The decision to suppress the Sirdar credits was directly in line with this policy.

#### Arguments of Egyptian Nationalists

The Egyptian Nationalists argue that the army is not within the scope of the British declaration of February 28, 1922,

whereby the autonomous status of Egypt was recognized by Great Britain, because, on the one hand the question was never discussed by the Milner-Zaghlul Mission in 1920, or by the Egyptian delegation to the British Government in 1921, and on the other hand, even if it did come within the declaration, British control of the Egyptian army is incompatible with ministerial responsibility to the Egyptian Parliament.

The British position in the matter is that the question of the army did not come into the 1921-22 discussions simply because the army was under complete British control, and that it was taken for granted by both sides that Great Britain, having undertaken the defense of Egypt against outside aggression, the safeguarding of imperial communications, and the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, could not remain indifferent to the condition or the fate of so important an organization within the country as the Egyptian army.

#### Zaghlulist Bid for Power

But the Nationalist elements, led by Zaghlul, have for some time come to a realization that their principal chance of success in the bid for power, which they have been making ever since the end of the war, is in seizing control of the army. To secure this control, it was necessary either to eliminate the British officers or completely to undermine their influence and authority. The Zaghlulists were unable entirely to get rid of the British element in the army, but its authority was greatly circumscribed, and today the Egyptian army may be regarded as being well on the way to becoming an important political machine.

It appears, however, that in their latest move in this direction the Zaghlulists have overreached themselves, so far as British passivity in the matter is concerned. Besides emphasizing in the note presented to Sarwat Pasha the special British interest in the Egyptian army and requesting the Egyptian Government to put forward proposals as to how the necessary British co-operation in the military affairs of the country may be most effectively insured, the British Government has dispatched two warships to Alexandria and one to Port Said.

## MUSSOLINI ON THE FASCIST POLICY

ON MAY 26 Signor Mussolini delivered a long address before the Chamber of Deputies, in which he discussed the general policy of the Fascist Government and its program for the future. He did not deal with Italy's foreign, financial, or economic policy, stating that he would take up these questions in a speech before the Senate, which he contemplates making in the near future. He dwelt particularly on the health conditions of the Italian nation, certain administrative reforms, and the general policy of the government, especially with respect to proposed changes in the parliamentary system.

#### Population and Administration

Signor Mussolini said that he considered it an error to say that Italy was overpopulated, and he urged Italians to maintain one of their greatest qualities and to be prolific. Great nations, he added, began to decline when their population began to decrease, and he strongly hoped that in 1960 Italy's population would total 60 millions. He had already imposed a tax on bachelors to encourage marriage, and if it should prove to be necessary he would not hesitate to introduce a tax on childless marriages.

Speaking of the recently created provinces, he expressed his intention of referring in the future to that of Bolzano as "Bolgiano," in order to familiarize the chamber with its Italian traditions, which years of Austrian domination had failed to eliminate. In any case, he declared, even if the whole province were inhabited by pure Germans, Italy would always retain and defend the Brenner frontier. Some alarm had been raised beyond the Alps by the presence of Blackshirts along the frontier. "It is ridiculous," said Signor Mussolini, "to believe that any danger could arise from the fact that a few hundred militiamen (less than 1,000) are doing relief duties on the Franco-Italian frontier."

The Fascist Party, he continued, would govern the country until its program had been fully carried out, and he himself would remain in power for at least 15 years, as his successor had not yet been

born. Next year would be devoted to the economic situation, to the application of the trade-union reforms, and to the re-organization of the fighting services.

#### Future of the Parliament

With regard to the parliamentary question, Signor Mussolini said that the present Parliament would continue to function until the end of its natural term, in 1929, but that future parliaments could not be elected by the system of universal suffrage. The new chamber would be elected through the various corporative organizations, and the new method of election and composition of the chamber would be decided upon before the end of this year.

In this connection it should be noted that the present Parliament was elected in 1924, and the next general elections were to take place in the spring of 1929. In January, 1925, a bill was passed amending the Fascist electoral law and providing for single-member constituencies; but this law is to remain a dead letter as, by Signor Mussolini's speech, "universal suffrage was solemnly buried." The present Chamber, which, on account of the many reforms passed during its three years of existence, has been properly styled the Constituent Assembly of the Fascist Revolution, will approve in the course of the year—or, as is more probable, in 1928—its own death sentence, and will lay down the conditions under which the future assembly will be elected.

#### Iron-hand Rule

Signor Mussolini also devoted some attention to the question of the opposition. He made it perfectly clear that he is determined to continue to govern Italy with an iron hand and with the aid of those measures which were adopted in an extremely dangerous moment. There is to be no respite for adversaries of Fascism, the suppressed Opposition parties will not be allowed to reconstitute themselves, and no single Opposition newspaper will reappear in Italy.

Rumors were current lately to the effect that a change in the method of government was contemplated and would take place in the near future. Signor Mussolini's curt denial of these rumors, as

well as his declaration that there will be no amnesty for political offenders, and that the Defense of the State Act will remain in force for the whole term fixed, clearly shows the line of policy which he intends to follow for the next four years.

### INVESTMENTS AND PEACE

**W**ORKERS for peace between nations sometimes warrant the charge that they are dogmatic doctrinaires facing visions as if they were real. The effectiveness of peace work must be measured by its results. In architecture the test of merit is not blue-prints; it is buildings. Similarly the test of social reforms is in their achievements. Thus far the work of the peacemakers may be said by this test largely to have failed. National feeling and passion is stronger and more widely spread today than ever. Liberal ideas are more unpopular than they were a century ago. The situation in Europe does not seem to indicate any marked fulfillment of the ideals for which the war was said to be waged. Before the war Europe was made up of twenty-six States; today there are thirty-five. There were throughout Europe twenty-six customs areas and thirteen currencies; today there are thirty-eight customs areas and twenty-seven currencies. Europe is overpopulated and unable to feed herself.

Much has recently been written about international debts, by which is meant obligations to foreign governments held by the United States Treasurer. But there are other debts, perhaps of graver importance, the foreign loans or investments held in the form of securities by American citizens. These matters have been treated with clarity by Thomas W. Lamont in an address before the International Chamber of Commerce, May 2. Liberal extracts from that address follow.

#### The Handling of Mexico's Debt

Suppose we look first at our financial dealings with our near-by neighbors. The loans made to Central America and West Indian governments have (with the exception of the Cuban, to which American

loans now outstanding aggregate \$79,464,900) been negligible in amount. Mexico, prior to the series of revolutions which all the friends of Mexico hope are now ended, borrowed extensively in the foreign markets. I happen to be chairman of an international committee formed in 1919 to endeavor to protect the interests of the holders of Mexico's foreign bonds, which aggregated (with accrued interest) about \$725,000,000 (including the national railways' debt). Upon the invitation of the Mexican Government, I visited Mexico in 1921 in order to study the foreign-debt situation with the government officials. In pursuance of agreements subsequently entered into, our protective committee has received from the Mexican Government upward of \$30,000,000 gold for distribution to bondholders. It is true that such sum represents only about a quarter part of what was due upon the original obligations. Nevertheless, the remittance by the Mexican Government of a sum as considerable as that stated is evidence of an earnest desire on the part of the Mexican State to fulfill its obligations to its foreign creditors. The handling of the land and oil questions has, however, had the effect of discouraging most of the British and American oil companies operating in Mexico, and their oil production has fallen off heavily. For instance, the production of oil, which in 1922 amounted to 182,200,000 barrels, fell in 1925 to 115,500,000 barrels, and in 1926 to 90,500,000 barrels. The production in 1927 is hard to estimate, but if continued at only the present rate will be materially below that of 1926. The taxes levied by the government upon the production and export of oil form its greatest single source of revenue, and this diminished production of oil has cost the government heavily; for the taxes, which in 1922 amounted to almost 86,000,000 pesos, produced in 1926 only 37,235,000, and will in 1927 produce even less than the latter amount.

Until these perplexing questions now at issue approximate settlement, it is not probable that Mexico will invite foreign capital to seek outlet there on any large scale. I believe that the United States have the greatest possible friendliness for our nearest neighbors on the south and

desire for them nothing but peace and prosperity. I know of no group in the United States having direct contacts or dealings with Mexico that is not anxious to meet all questions at issue in the same spirit of patience and good will which, it seems to me, the Administration at Washington has shown. The country undoubtedly noted with great satisfaction President Coolidge's hopeful utterances last Monday as to the relations with Mexico.

#### Loans to Nicaragua

As to Central American countries south of Mexico—for instance, Nicaragua—American bankers have been charged in some quarters with seeking to make loans to Nicaragua and then invoking the aid of the American Government to protect such loans. It so happens that the firm of which I am a member has never had the slightest interest in loans accorded to the Government of Nicaragua. Therefore, possibly I may speak without prejudice of certain facts that are apparent with relation to financial conditions there.

It was in 1911 that at the request of the American Government certain American bankers undertook to render financial assistance to Nicaragua. Since that time Nicaragua has benefited by a striking reduction of its public debt, from approximately \$32,000,000 to approximately \$6,625,000, largely through adjudication of claims, funding of outstanding obligations, and careful handling of government revenues. Nicaragua, whose currency was in complete chaos in 1911, now owns a national bank, which has paid in dividends since its formation, in 1912, \$290,000, and in addition has built up from earnings a surplus of approximately \$300,000. American engineering skill has taken the chief railway of Nicaragua, which sixteen years ago was described as a streak of rust, and from a broken down and unprofitable road has turned it into an efficiently operated property. Previous to the present revolution the earnings from the railroad and from the bank, both of which were entirely owned by the Government of Nicaragua, were sufficient to pay the entire interest charges on the government's foreign and domestic debts. It is only fair to say that

American banking guidance of Nicaragua's financial affairs caused business there to grow and prosper, and such American commercial interests as now exist in Nicaragua are these: American bankers have put the country on a gold basis, have secured an efficient and honest collection of revenue, have organized and successfully managed the national bank, and have rehabilitated the national railroads so that they have effectively served the industrial needs of the country.

#### A Long-standing Policy

Incidentally, two points may be noted: From 1911 until the end of 1925 (covering the latter part of the Taft, the two Wilson, the Harding, and the Coolidge administrations) the American Government maintained a small legation guard in Nicaragua. During that period the country was stable and prosperous. The accomplishments in behalf of the government which I have described were being steadily carried on. The marines were withdrawn in 1925, a revolution began, and the Nicaraguan Government has now been obliged to go again heavily into debt. The other point is that bankers never took part in Nicaraguan affairs until the United States Government under President Taft undertook to negotiate a treaty with Nicaragua calling for financial co-operation on the part of American nationals.

The present administration here at Washington requires no apologists. But from a study of the record it is difficult to see the grounds upon which certain portions of the public press charge the present administration with new and imperialistic policies in Central America. The attempt to maintain reasonable order and prevent unnecessary bloodshed among these near-by neighbors was made a policy of our government between fifteen and twenty years ago. Laudable as such a policy may be considered, it was not inaugurated by the present administration, but it has been followed by it with restraint and prudence.

#### America as a World Creditor

Now, as to the world at large, we are all familiar with the old story as to how America's credit position has changed in

the last decade. Even, however, at the risk of repetition, we must cover the same ground again. We must recall that up to the outbreak of the war America had for decades been borrowing heavily in Europe; that to a very considerable extent the building of our transcontinental railways in the nineteenth century and the development of our agricultural lands were carried out with money loaned to us by British, French, German, and other European investors. It was estimated that at the outbreak of the war British investments overseas amounted to approximately \$20,000,000,000. During the war British investors sold their American holdings upon a large scale. Yet the Chancellor of the British Exchequer stated in 1925 that his countrymen still held in foreign investments an amount equivalent to almost \$15,000,000,000, and no doubt these have now again reached a figure of \$20,000,000,000. Because, however, of America's enormous excess of exports over imports (such excess for the war years 1915 to 1920 alone being over \$18,000,000,000), because of the heavy repurchase by Americans of their own securities, and because of the foreign loans made in the last decade, America's credit position has now been so far reversed that it is figured that the gross annual interest and sinking fund service payable to America upon foreign loans issued here (including the governmental loans) and the dividends from industrial and other investments now total about \$1,000,000,000 per annum. With such a great sum due each year to America, naturally the question arises as to how much further foreign countries will be able to stand this annual burden. Will their exports so far exceed their imports that they can continue (except by continuous fresh borrowing) to transfer the sums necessary for interest and sinking funds?

#### American Loans Abroad

Do not get the idea that all our American loans of recent years have gone to European borrowers. We must not overlook the large sums loaned and invested in many other corners of the earth. . . .

For what purposes have these various loans been made? In general we may

answer that they have been made for constructive purposes. In the early years following the Armistice, loans publicly issued, aggregating several hundred millions of dollars, were made to the Allied governments, chiefly to the British and French, whose governments have borrowed here, respectively, since the Armistice—\$250,000,000 British and \$300,000,000 French. During the same period Belgium has borrowed \$285,000,000. The earlier of these loans were, of course, made largely for the purpose of refunding loans made during the earlier years of the war. The later loans, in the case of France and Belgium, were made for reconstruction and for measures looking to currency stabilization.

#### Co-operation to Help Central Europe

Loans to the Central European countries did not begin until 1923. You will recall the first one of those reconstructive efforts. It was the case of Austria—reduced to a state of limited proportions and resources, shorn of much territory, given over to hopeless inflation, with ruin staring the Austrian people in the face. The League of Nations prepared a scheme of rehabilitation. Despite predictions of failure, it was taken up, and towards the successful loan of \$126,000,000 necessary for stabilization, reorganization of a new central bank of issue, etc., American investors subscribed \$25,000,000. A year later, with Hungary apparently going down the same toboggan slide from which Austria had been rescued, the League of Nations again devised a financial plan, and again a good portion of the loan necessary thereto was issued in the American markets. Then came the great international loan for the equivalent of approximately \$200,000,000 to the German Government, over half of which, \$110,000,000, was successfully taken up by American investors in October, 1924. This was the loan necessary to set the Dawes Plan under way, and I hardly have to describe to you how vital was the inception of the Dawes Plan to the tranquility of all Europe.

One can reasonably say then that America has taken a generous part in these great efforts for European reconstruction.

In each one of these loans offerings in the American markets an appeal has been made to the investment community on the ground of helpful co-operation in world affairs. Naturally, however, the bankers would never have ventured to make such an appeal if they had not first convinced themselves that the loans were sound in themselves and so set up as to give every promise of being met at maturity. . . .

#### Improved Currency Positions

France and Italy are the only two great powers of Western Europe which have not yet returned to the gold standard. It has been generally supposed that when these two countries decide to stabilize upon a gold basis they will as a measure of insurance require certain foreign credits, perhaps in the same manner that Great Britain arranged her credits in May, 1925. Yet in the case of France, its financial position has changed extraordinarily for the better in the last nine months. The world has seldom seen such a remarkable reversal and restoration of confidence as that shown by the French people in themselves and in their currency medium since M. Poincaré undertook the reins of government nine months ago. The foreign balances of the government and the Bank of France have mounted so rapidly that if and when France determines to resume gold payments she may be able, if she prefers, to do so without negotiating any considerable external credits. The Italian Government, too, has presumably been acquiring very material foreign reserves. The government borrowed direct here in November, 1925, \$100,000,000, the proceeds of which loan are said to be still practically intact. Since that time governmental agencies and Italian municipalities have borrowed a sum equivalent to approximately another \$100,000,000, the proceeds of which have undoubtedly been made available to the government or to the Bank of Italy for additional reserves.

#### Will the Present Scale Continue?

The question which perhaps interests us most is whether, and if so, how long, America will continue to lend abroad sums upon anything like the present-day scale, the Department of Commerce hav-



ing recently estimated that foreign American investments of all classes amounted to approximately \$12,000,000,000. I cannot attempt to answer this question. Yet we can note some of the factors that are likely to affect the increase or retardation of this flow of American capital overseas. It is, for instance, clear that Europe is steadily getting more firmly on its feet. As farming land is restored, as manufacture increases, the necessity for purchases in America will diminish. As European enterprise prospers and as savings increase, European investors will more nearly be able to return to their former practice of supplying capital for their own development. Then, too, there is or has been available here in recent years a large amount of European capital which was driven out of Europe by the fear of inflation. A few years ago we were hearing much about the flight from the franc or the lira or even from the pound sterling. No doubt such foreign capital aggregating several hundred millions of dollars found temporary refuge in American investments. With the European currencies either stabilized or near the stabilization point, it is natural to suppose that this capital is returning home and will be utilized in the markets there, thus further diminishing the demand upon America for foreign loans; or, if this capital does not return home, the income from it will serve as a balance to these international accounts.

#### Necessity to Exercise Caution

From the point of view of the American investor, it is obviously necessary to scan the situation with increasing circumspection and to avoid rash or excessive lending. I have in mind the reports that I have recently heard of American bankers and firms competing on almost a violent scale for the purpose of obtaining loans in various foreign money markets overseas. Naturally, it is a tempting thing for certain of the European governments to find a horde of American bankers sitting on their doorsteps offering them money. It is rather demoralizing for municipalities and corporations in the same countries to have money pressed upon them. That sort of competition tends to insecurity and unsound practice. The American investor

is an intelligent individual and can be relied upon to discriminate. Yet in the first instance such discrimination surely is the province of the banker who buys the goods rather than of the investor to whom he sells them. I may be accused of special pleading in uttering this warning. Yet a warning needs to be given against indiscriminate lending and indiscriminate borrowing. In this I think my banking friends generally will cordially agree.

#### Workings of the Dawes Plan

Another point that American lenders may possibly have in the back of their heads is this: That many economists have of late been raising the question as to whether, when Germany's maximum payments under the Dawes Plan begin to fall due in 1929, she will be able to make the necessary transfers to meet them; and, if not, what will be the solution of the situation that will arise! I may recall to you that the distinguished chairman of this dinner, when he returned from his performance of those very eminent services rendered in the devising and setting up of the Dawes Plan, pointed out that the Dawes Committee had never maintained that the Dawes Plan in itself was necessarily a final solution of the reparations problem. It was manifest that the Dawes Plan furnished a bridge for the Allies and the Central Powers to cross over the great gulf that had been fixed by the continued and ever-increasing dissension over the problem of reparations—a disagreement that with the invasion of the Ruhr almost threatened Europe with a fresh war. It has been pointed out many times that the great feature of the Dawes Plan was that it furnished a *modus vivendi*. It put the question of the reparations outside of politics and gave the European nations time to settle down and pursue fresh methods of reconstructions and appeasement. Until, however, Germany's ultimate liability has been determined, the economists maintain that the reparations problem will not have been finally solved; and as the time approaches when heavier payments become due from Germany to the Allies the question may come up in some form. For the long run the American investor will be satisfied to continue

his loanings on a heavy scale to Europe only when he can feel that the whole question of interallied and intergovernmental loans, including the reparations due from Germany, has been settled equably and finally. Certainly, however, this is not a matter for us to concern ourselves about just now. Up to date, the workings of the Dawes Plan have exceeded the highest hopes of its creators and have confounded those critics who predicted its early collapse.

#### Vision of a New Europe

Except for this question, as yet not wholly solved, and with Russia, so to say; still in the twilight zone, Europe seems to be pretty well out of the woods. Certain of the statesmen on the other side, men of sobriety and judgment, experienced and schooled in the world of politics, declare that Locarno means the permanent appeasement of Europe—a new era; that while there may be occasional embroilments, even sporadic armed conflicts, there will never again be any great cataclysm on the continent of Europe; that within the lifetime of our youth war will have become as outworn as witchcraft, slavery and duelling. It is true that Europe is happily become more unified. The movement to break down the high tariff barriers built up by the growth of nationalism in almost every European country after the war is already well under way. It is not inconceivable that Europe may some day become a great region of free trade, as the United States is within its own borders. Such a development may take a long time in coming; on the other hand, it may move much more swiftly than we imagine. If it does, we shall be able within a short span of years to witness a Europe restored, industrious, stable, peaceful, far stronger in every way than it has ever been in the past; with armaments vastly reduced, with swords beaten into plowshares, and with a future bright with promise.

It would be well for the American man of affairs to look forward to prepare himself to do business with a Europe of this sort. Offhand, one might say that industrial competition from a Europe so unified would be much more formidable than ever

before. Yet such competition from a world across the sea, well ordered and at peace, is competition that America can well afford to welcome rather than fear. Then, too, the miracles of science and invention being performed day by day under our very eyes must inevitably change our outlook and affect the scheme of things which our business men lay out for the future.

Some one has said that change is impermanent. Rather, change is the only thing that is permanent. We must meet it, study it, and try to guide it. The man of affairs the world over must keep pace with these new developments. He must realize that his outlooks cannot be kept parochial or even national; they must be international. He is keen today to do his share in rendering this world in coming generations a more stable, a more gracious, and a happier world to live in. Yet we must realize that the coming of such an era will depend almost entirely "upon the conscious co-operation of men the world over."

#### ITALY AND YUGOSLAVIA

THE tension between Italy and Yugoslavia, which arose over the question of the Tirana Treaty between Italy and Albania, still continues. Yugoslavia is demanding important textual alterations in the treaty, while Italy so far has refused, under one pretext or another, to discuss this question. As a reprisal against Italy's action in Albania, the Yugoslav Government has incorporated in the last budget bill a provision limiting Italian property rights in Dalmatia. This action has stirred up a great deal of anger in Rome, and the Italian press is now unanimous in declaring that Italy will enter into no discussions of the Albanian matter on the basis of a bargain whereby amendments of the Tirana Treaty will be bartered for the dropping of the Dalmatian clause.

#### Interest of the Great Powers

For some time past Yugoslavia has been anxious to bring the question under dispute before the League of Nations. Italy has not, however, agreed to this, nor are the other great Powers of Europe anxious that this should take place. For "reasons of expediency"—which, of course, merely

means that they are afraid to test the efficacy of the League in a question of this sort—Great Britain and France have declared themselves opposed to League intervention at this time. Instead, they have been using their good offices to bring about the healing of the breach which has arisen between the two Adriatic Powers.

France has taken upon herself the task of attempting to put Yugoslavia in a less hostile state of mind than that country has been exhibiting to the whole question. It is hoped by both London and Paris that the French influence in Belgrade, though not as great today as it was some years ago, is still sufficient to induce Yugoslavia to take a calmer attitude.

Great Britain is using her good offices in Rome. It is considered something of a departure in British diplomatic practice for the London Foreign Office to use its influence openly in a conflict which does not concern Great Britain directly. But the seriousness of the situation, which, if allowed to come to a head, may easily embarrass the whole of Europe, and the unwillingness of the Powers to permit League intervention have really left Sir Austin Chamberlain no other alternative.

#### Chamberlain's Statement in Parliament

The assumption by the British Foreign Office of this new rôle has resulted in a number of inquiries directed at the Foreign Secretary by members of all parties in the House of Commons. In reply to these inquiries, Sir Austin Chamberlain made, on May 2, the following important statement:

The terms of the Treaty of Tirana, which was signed on November 27, were not communicated to me before it was published, but Signor Mussolini caused me to be informed on December 1, the day before publication, that he had signed a treaty of non-aggression and arbitration with Albania comprising a guarantee of her independence, which would be registered with the League of Nations in due course. To such a treaty I had naturally no criticism to offer. The text of the treaty has now been published and registered with the League of Nations and is public property. The treaty was concluded between two sovereign States, both members of the League,

and His Majesty's Government had nothing to do with its inception, its negotiation, or its terms.

The conclusion of the treaty caused considerable excitement in Yugoslavia, which had its reaction in Italy and produced a state of some tension between the two governments. His Majesty's Government have no direct interest in the question, but they have done their best, being in friendly relations with both governments, to allay suspicion and to facilitate direct conversations between the parties with a view to settling all outstanding difficulties. We believe that it is by such direct conversations that a friendly settlement will be most easily reached, and I certainly should not advise in this or any other case that recourse should be had to League intervention before the parties have met and discussed their differences.

As a result of the communication made by the Italian Government to British, French, German, and, as I subsequently learned, to other governments on March 19, in which our attention was called to certain military preparations stated to be proceeding in Yugoslavia, it has been agreed among the Powers concerned that it is unnecessary, and would, indeed, be useless at this date, to conduct an inquiry into the past, but that, should fresh occasion arise while the conversations are in progress, representatives of Great Britain, France, and Germany will be available to carry out an immediate inquiry. I need not say that throughout I have acted in agreement with the French and German, as well as with the Italian and Serbo-Croate-Slovene governments, and my sole aim, which I am confident is recognized both by the Italian and Yugoslav governments, has been to dissipate possible causes of friction and to permit of full and frank discussions between Rome and Belgrade. His Majesty's Government have no other interest in the question than the preservation of peace, and they have no intention of taking sides in the controversy for or against either party. I do not think that the publication of papers would add anything material to this full statement, and I fear that it might prejudice the success of conversations between the two governments by reviving controversies which I hope are past.

Finally, as regards the resolution of the Ambassadors' Conference of November 9, 1921, there seems to be some misunderstand-

ing. The resolution is binding on His Majesty's Government, but it does not affect the rights of Albania as a member of the League of Nations, and contains nothing inconsistent with the general obligations of the signatories as members of the Council. The signatory Powers merely undertook thereby that in the event of the Council of the League having to intervene to restore the independence and integrity of Albania, their representatives on the Council would recommend that the Italian Government should be entrusted with the restoration of her independence. The contingency contemplated in the resolution has not yet arisen, and I trust never will.

The German Government has not as yet appeared openly on the scene, although Foreign Minister Stresemann has taken occasion in his recent speeches to indicate that his government is also prepared to use its good offices for the prevention of an armed conflict on the Adriatic.

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## THE NEW FRENCH TARIFF

ACCORDING to the Paris correspondent of the *London Times*, the new French tariff, now before the Chamber of Deputies, involves an almost complete recasting of the present tariff system. The classification of goods has been thoroughly revised and duties have been very generally increased in order to meet the demands of the main French manufacturing industries for effective protection. The high protection of the proposed new tariff has, indeed, exposed it to the criticism of the transport and other organizations interested in maintaining the volume of trade and of consumers' associations apprehensive of an increase in the cost of living.

Criticism has been effective in causing the abandonment of the proposed 5 per cent ad valorem duty on imported anthracite—an impost which was avowedly directed against British trade—but little has been done in other respects to diminish the all-round protective character of the scheme. On the contrary, the Customs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, taking account of the complaint of the agricultural industry that manufactures

were unduly favored, has drastically raised the duty on wheat from the 25f. per quintal, proposed in the Bill, to 35f.

### Change Since 1914

A great change has occurred since 1914 in the industrial status of France, and the new tariff takes full account of that capital fact. The most obvious element in the change is the recovery of Lorraine, which has made France one of the great iron-producing countries of the world. Hardly less important is the enormous increase in the producing capacity of what used to be the devastated regions, which, rising from their ashes, now have an equipment in machinery and installation greatly superior to that which they possessed before the war. To these factors must be added the development of the chemical industry and of a number of manufactures, such as that of optical glass, which were forced into existence during the war and which, as national necessities, are now regarded as key industries.

Broadly, from being a merely agricultural country which manufactured *petite-mais bellement*, France now takes rank as an industrial country of large output. The new tariff scheme is avowedly protectionist in order to keep the home market for the industrial north, to exploit to the full the exporting capacity of Lorraine, and to shelter the new or enlarged key industries from dangerous competition. Under the headings of machinery and chemical products the new duties show remarkable increases over the existing ones.

### Provision for Adjustment

The existing tariff is a piece of machinery originally designed in 1892, modified in 1910, and adapted to the unsettled post-war conditions by successive expedients of a provisional kind. Between 1921 and 1926 duties were multiplied by varying coefficients imposed by a series of decrees, and last year, during the serious depreciation of the franc, the resulting confusion was made worse by two successive general increases of 30 per cent.

The first object of the new tariff is consolidation. All coefficients disappear and

the duties appear once more as specific figures, involving no abstruse arithmetic. In order to avoid any necessity for hasty changes, the bill provides for an orderly adjustment of the new tariff which will keep the duties approximately at a constant ad valorem level in the event of a serious fluctuation of the rate of exchange. The principle of the procedure is simple. The scale of duties is based on the present index figure for wholesale prices. If that figure falls or rises by 20 per cent or more, the general level of duties will be decreased or increased in the same proportion. For this purpose the index figure will be examined at the end of each quarter, and only on one of these regular occasions, and only in the case of a 20 per cent difference, will the tariff be modified. As the index for wholesale prices is at present about 600, this plan contains some assurance of stability, and changes, if they occur, will be expected and calculable.

### Two Important Reforms

In order to render the new tariff a more scientific instrument of protection and industrial development, two important reforms have been made:

First, the whole classification of goods subject to duty has been enlarged and revised. Instead of the present 655 items, there will be 1750. No fewer than 135 chemical products hitherto appearing under the heading "unclassified" are now given separate duties. Most of them are new manufactures in France.

The second reform concerns the relation between the general tariff and the minimum tariff. The system of two parallel tariffs is maintained, but the interval between them is narrowed. Under the new scheme, the duties of the general tariff will, with a few exceptions, be three times those of the minimum, instead of four times, as at present. In principle, foreign countries which make commercial agreements with France obtain the concession of the minimum tariff for commodities in the export of which they are particularly interested, other goods being subject to the general tariff. Since 1919 the general tariff has been so high as to be almost prohibitive, and some French economists argue that in such conditions there is a risk of shutting out goods which

might not do any injury to French trade and might, indeed, be of positive help to it. The narrowing of the difference between the general and minimum tariffs is a concession to this argument, though not, in the opinion of some experts, a sufficiently generous one.

### The Minimum Tariff

It should also be pointed out that in the intention of the framers of the new scheme the minimum tariff is not to be regarded as intangible. The duties may be lowered below the minimum level in exceptional cases to facilitate the negotiation of commercial conventions with other countries. Such concessions would be extended automatically to countries enjoying most-favored-nation treatment, but the minimum tariff as it stands would remain applicable in all other cases. Great Britain is among the countries which enjoy the right to the minimum tariff.

In its treatment of various classes of commodities the new tariff follows some of the traditional principles, though with considerable changes in application. Raw materials in general and half products, which are virtually raw materials for French industry, are either granted free entry or subjected to light duties. Heavier duties are put on commodities competing with home manufactures, while the rates in the case of many engineering and chemical products are highly protective.

For the avowed purpose of exacting concessions for French manufactures, certain raw materials may, if the government so decides, be subjected to a single duty under the general tariff. If the countries exporting the raw materials in question come to an agreement with France, they will obtain the right to escape the general tariff, and, as no duty is imposed on these articles under the minimum tariff, they will, in that case, have complete freedom of entry. As an example, the general tariff contains a conditional duty of 60f. per 100 kilos on raw cotton, while the minimum duty is nil. The combative character of this duty is indicated by the fact that it can only be imposed in practice by decree, with the approval of the Cabinet, its application being meanwhile suspended.

Owing to the elaborate changes made in classification, it is a little difficult to make a comparison between the general levels of the new and the pre-war tariff, but it is safe to say that over a large part of the whole field the new minimum duties show a proportionate increase greater than the increase which has taken place in prices (about six times the pre-war prices). In the case of machinery the disproportion is marked, some duties being as much as 16 and 18 times greater than those of 1914. Machinery has already been subjected to heavy increases, and the existing tariff is regarded as oppressively protective by foreign exporters, but the new tariff promises a further stiffening.

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### FRENCH COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

**D**URING the last few years there has been a rather remarkable growth of French interest in colonial development. About 30 years ago there was organized in France a *Union Coloniale*, an organization for stimulating and supporting interest in colonies, but it has been only since the war that this organization has been really active and important. At its last annual dinner, held on May 11, there were no less than 600 important persons present, and Premier Poincaré himself gave up a whole evening to it.

#### Sudden Kindling of Interest

Formerly the colonies were looked upon in France chiefly as an important reserve of man power for the army, but during the last few years Frenchmen have come to realize that the colonies have a far greater value as a source of economic wealth, and that in their development lies one of the foundations of French power in the future.

This sudden kindling of interest in the colonies is one manifestation of the new spirit of enterprise which has taken hold of the French nation since the war. It has gone hand in hand with the new manifestation of industrial development in France. The young Frenchman who possesses some capital is no longer content to draw a safe income from government bonds and other "gilt-edged" securities.

He prefers to invest his money in productive enterprise, either at home or abroad; and this spirit has led thousands of his kind to go out to the colonies to start factories, open up plantations, and develop transport facilities. The amount of capital invested in the colonies must be now several times greater than it was before the war, and it is drawn from a far wider sphere.

#### Speeches by Poincaré and Francois-Marsal

In a short speech which he made at the dinner, Premier Poincaré said that France now has all the territory she needs. It remains for her to develop this territory and to associate her colonial possessions in a closer and more rational manner with the mother country. Much has been done, but it is not yet enough. France has a debt of gratitude to pay to her colonies for the help which they had given during the war, and she must repay it by administering them better and better and by scientifically developing their resources.

M. François-Marsal, the president of the Union, indicated the remarkable development of the colonies in the last few years. He showed that the trade between the colonies and France, which in 1913 had been less than 1,500 million francs, had risen in 1926 to 30,000 millions. In other words (allowing for the change in the value of the franc), it has more than quadrupled. The exports from the colonies of rubber, of hides, and cocoa and vegetable oils have doubled in four years; that of timber has multiplied sixfold.

M. François-Marsal reviewed the riches in minerals which the colonies could offer the world. Northern Africa is supplying the whole of Europe with phosphates, besides important amounts of iron ore, lead, zinc and antimony. Indo-China is producing tin, tungsten, graphite, zinc, and lead. Madagascar has become the world's first source of crystalline graphite. New Caledonia produces two valuable metals, chromium and nickel; French West Africa another, titanium. He warned his hearers against regarding the trade of the colonies as a French monopoly. The colonies must be allowed to develop in the greatest freedom. In that way they would serve France best.

## WHAT AMERICA IS DOING FOR PEACE\*

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

THE Union of Thirteen American States, declaring themselves to be free, sovereign, and independent, granting to a central government of their own creation general and enumerated powers to be exercised in their behalf, and reserving local and unenumerated powers to be exercised by each, is the outstanding event of the 18th century. The existence of this Union, now composed of forty-eight American States, equal and foreign to each other except as to the powers of sovereignty granted to the central government, is the outstanding international event of the 20th century. The creation, by their own free will, of this Union of States, and its continued existence, likewise of their free will, demonstrate the possibility of a union of the States of Europe, should they so desire—equal and foreign to each other, except as to the powers of sovereignty granted to their central government—and of their continued existence as long as they may desire.

Controversies there are between the States of the American Union; but they are conflicts of law, settled originally by temporary commissions of arbitration, but for the past one hundred and thirty-eight years by the possible or actual resort to the Supreme Court of these United States without the necessity of armed intervention. The simple clause of the Constitution by which they agree to submit the controversies between and among them to their Supreme Court has made every difference between them judicial, to be decided by the law applicable to the disputes, which, without the agreement to submit them to a court of justice, would have remained political, to be settled by the States by diplomatic negotiation and, upon its failure, by the brutal arbitrament of war. The general agreement to submit, according to a famous decision of the Supreme Court, changes political into

judicial questions, and a special agreement to submit a single controversy between two nations in dispute would have the same effect. Hence the value of treaties of arbitration and the creation of temporary tribunals of arbitration; hence the value of the Permanent Court of International Justice—innovations of the American States. Because of this Union of States and its continued existence today there is a practice and a hope for order and peace instead of disorder and war between nations. An agreement between States for the arbitration of their disputes establishes an arbitral union, just as an agreement between them for the judicial decision of their controversies sets up a judicial union; to the extent of the agreement the questions in dispute have become arbitral or judicial, and to that extent have ceased to be political, to be decided by their political power, their diplomatists, their armies. Because of the American Union and its continued existence, the choice is between men of law or men of war. But lawyers need law to argue, just as men of war need arms to use, and arbiters of temporary tribunals and judges of permanent courts law to apply to the lawsuits, no longer "force" suits, laid before them. If the law exists, they may apply it; if it does not exist, the august disputants may prescribe it for the case, or in conference, through their chosen representatives, make it for future controversies when and as they arise. A willingness to submit disputes, an agreement to submit disputes, a law to decide disputes, is the alchemy which has converted the dull, rough iron of war into the pure, shining gold of peace.

I have just returned from the International Commission of Jurists, which sat from April 16 to May 20 in Rio de Janeiro, where, with Jesse S. Reeves, professor of the University of Michigan, I had the honor to represent these United States of America. I wish you to "sit in" as unofficial observers and watch the process.

\* Address of Mr. James Brown Scott before Syracuse University upon receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws, Monday, June 13, 1927.

Perhaps I should say a word about the Commission before asking you to take part in its proceedings.

The great Bolivar, looked upon by many Latin American republics as their emancipator, dreamed that some day they would be acting, as they were living together, as members of one great American family; and as there is no head to this family table, the law—for law there must be—cannot be that of one, but of all. He therefore advised, one hundred and one years ago, the codification of international law for the Americas.

There was an American Secretary of State, James G. Blaine by name, who, if he lacked the vision of the Latin American, saw, as do practical men of the North, how visions may be realized. He brought into being the Pan-American Conferences, first of which met under his Secretaryship of State in 1889; the last, the fifth, in Santiago de Chile, in 1923. A sixth is to open its doors in the city of Habana, in the Republic of Cuba—whose independence was not of his day—in January, 1928.

The Conference of Santiago voted that a Commission of American jurists, two from each of the American republics, should meet, in the near future, in Rio de Janeiro, in order to undertake the codification of international law and the conflict of laws, with a further provision that its recommendations should be passed on to the Habana Conference, in order to be put into treaty form, and thus to become a law to the Americas.

The commission meeting at Rio de Janeiro adopted no less than twelve projects of public international law, and a code of private international law of some 439 articles, within the space of a month.

How did it happen?

At the time of the Santiago Conference one of your distinguished citizens, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, was Secretary of State, and, a practical man like Secretary Blaine, he took steps to carry into effect the dream. He requested the American Institute of International Law, an unofficial body of jurists, to frame projects of both of these branches of international law. He presented its projects to the governing board of the Pan-American Union in Washington, the official organ

of the twenty-one American republics, and, upon the motion of Secretary Hughes, who was chairman of the board, the projects were sent to all the governments of the American republics and transmitted by the Pan-American Union to the commission of jurists assembled in Rio de Janeiro, to serve as the basis of discussion.

Of the twenty-one republics, seventeen were represented in this Commission, some by two delegates, others by one. The delegates met informally on April 16, 1927, and the Commission was formally opened two days later by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. It concluded its labors on the ensuing 20th of May.

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The Commission divided itself into two subcommissions—one to deal with international public law, and the other with the conflict of laws, which our Latin American friends prefer to call private international law. In each the projects of the American Institute were taken as the basis, together with some other projects dealing with the same subject. The President of the Commission was none other than a former President of Brazil, Mr. Epitacio Pessôa, who presided in person over the session of public international law.

The projects were put to discussion. Each of the delegates was free to express his opinion. I say *his* opinion because the delegates were jurists of their respective governments, not political agents, and therefore they were without power to bind their governments. They proposed amendments when in their judgment they seemed desirable. If these met with general approval, they were accepted; otherwise they were put to a vote, the vote being by States. If they received the approval of two-thirds of the States represented, they were adopted; otherwise not. The results of their labors were submitted from time to time to public, called plenary, or full, sessions of the Commission for formal adoption. As agreement had been reached in the subcommissions, the adoption was formal.

On the afternoon of the 20th of May the conference formally adjourned and took its place in history as the first successful conference of nations meeting for the conscious purpose of codifying both



branches of international law, and by the success of its labors realizing the dream of Bolívar, of a law for the Americas.

I shall ask you now to attend, as it were, a session of the sub-commission on Public International Law, where a question of general interest is being discussed. At the end of the table, covered with green baize, which for some reason seems to have found favor with the diplomatic world, sits the President, Mr. Pessôa—small in person, but large in influence. Around the table sit the delegates of the different countries. A delegate, we shall suppose, of Santo Domingo, is to lay before the Commission a matter which is of interest to his country and upon which he would like an expression of opinion and, if possible, a favorable vote of his fellow-members. He speaks in Spanish, the official language of eighteen of the American republics. The permission, accorded as a matter of course, is in Portuguese, the official language of Brazil, and not spoken elsewhere in America.

The question happens to interest, we shall further suppose, the delegate of Haiti, who asks of the President, in French, the official language only of his country, although generally understood in other Latin American countries, permission to address the conference. As in the previous case, permission is given in Portuguese. A desire being expressed to have the view of the American delegates upon the question, it is given in French, not merely out of courtesy to the Haitian delegate who had drawn it forth, but from a desire to use the language generally understood by those who do not happen to speak that of the country in which the discussion is taking place. On some occasions, however, English was used, lest the American delegates might unwittingly cause their colleagues to believe that it was a dead language.

In recent times, before the World War, there was no difficulty on this head, because in Europe it was understood that if the national language were not spoken, French would be used, and the delegates chosen were able to express themselves freely in that language. Since the war, with the hardening of the spirit of nationality, there is a tendency to use one's own tongue to the exclusion of foreign lan-

guages, but in such cases arrangements ordinarily are made for immediate translation. This, however, is difficult, if not impossible, in a small and technical commission such as the International Commission of Jurists meeting at Rio de Janeiro. There it interfered with the orderly conduct of business when the translator, standing beside the delegate, spoke above a whisper, and sometimes the vote was taken before the translator had finished his monologue.

There is, however, a more serious difficulty. The four languages being official and each delegate clinging to his own tongue, it necessarily follows that there are four official versions of one and the same proposition; and the American republics, because of the languages, are confronted with the possibility, or rather the probability, of having to deal with varying versions. To obviate this, the American delegates proposed that the version in the language of the country where the commission or conference was held should be regarded as the official one and that resort be had to it in case of divergence. This was eminently satisfactory to their Brazilian hosts and, indeed, would have been satisfactory to the various countries in which the commissions and conferences should meet from time to time. The proposition was rejected, although its courtesy was appreciated by Brazil, and the four versions remain official, however much they may differ.

We have everything in America which is found elsewhere in the world, even a little Tower of Babel all our own!

I would like to take this occasion to make a suggestion and an observation.

There was once an English lawyer who had distinguished himself at the bar to such a degree that he was appointed lord chancellor, and when mounting the steps to the woolsack he said, or is reported to have said, that had he known his legs were to carry a future chancellor he would have been more careful of them in the days of his youth.

I would venture to suggest that if any persons within reach of my voice have in mind the foreign service of the United States and cherish the hope of representing their country at some time in foreign parts, they should precipitate themselves upon

the teachers of modern languages lest, when their ambition has been realized, their feet should falter and their tongues cleave to the roofs of their mouths.

And the observation for those who contemplate the foreign service is that, whatever language be used, it should be in the service of truth, as nowhere are straightforward and unwavering honesty more essential than in diplomatic negotiation. For "what is a man," much less a nation, "profited if he shall gain the whole world" at the expense of his soul?

\* \* \*

Leaving aside private international law, which aims to settle conflicts of litigants in courts of justice where domestic and foreign laws come into conflict, I would ask your attention to the projects of public international law which the Commission has to its credit. They are a round dozen.

The first sets forth the fundamental bases of international law—the law by which the conduct of nations should be tested. The second deals with States—their existence, their equality, their recognition. There are two kinds of inhabitants of States—citizens and those from other countries. The rights and duties of citizens are determined by the law of the land; the rights of foreigners, often by international law; hence the third project defines the status of aliens. Nations cannot live in isolation; they treat with one another, and their agreements are in the form of treaties. The fourth has to do with treaties. The fifth and sixth of the projects provide for the exchange of official publications between and among the American republics and the interchange of professors and students, for without coming into personal contact with the peoples of different countries we find it difficult, if not impossible, to recognize their good qualities. Their bad qualities are only too well known.

States are inanimate things. They act through agents—diplomatic agents for political and consuls for commercial matters; hence projects seven and eight regulate the duties of diplomatic agents and consuls. The American Continent is, we hope, dedicated to peace; but when Europe

was at war we were inevitably affected by it; hence the ninth project is on maritime neutrality.

Within some of the American republics there are outbreaks, and often political fugitives seek asylum in legations and embassies. There is, therefore, a project on asylum and also one on the duties of States in case of civil war.

I have said that America is dedicated to peace. How is peace to be preserved? By the settlement of its conflicts without resort to arms. The last of the dozen is devoted to the pacific settlement of international disputes, beginning with good offices (a word of advice), mediation (a suggested settlement), commissions of inquiry to ascertain facts, commissions of conciliation to adjust differences, friendly composition by means of a person in whom the nations in controversy have confidence, arbitration, ending with judicial settlement.

\* \* \*

If America wants peace, the continent may have it, for the methods are at hand which, if agreed to by the American Republics in the conference to meet at Habana in the course of the coming year, will provide the law by which the disputes between them may be settled as easily and satisfactorily as are the disputes between their respective citizens.

Our own Benjamin Franklin voiced the hope that some day a way might be found by which the nations should settle their disputes without first cutting each other's throats.

America has found the way, not only for its peoples, but for the world at large.

"America! America!

God mend thine every flaw,  
Confirm thy soul in self-control,  
Thy liberty in law. . . .

"America! America!

May God thy gold refine,  
Till all success be nobleness,  
And every gain divine. . . .

"America! America!

God shed His grace on thee,  
And crown thy good with brotherhood,  
From sea to shining sea."

# MODEL TREATY TO OUTLAW WAR

By AMERICAN FOUNDATION

The high contracting parties, in order to provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which may eventually arise between them, and desiring that the principles of international law and equity shall govern their intercourse, solemnly declare their adherence to this convention, in the profound belief that its adoption will advance the peace, security and welfare of the world.

## ARTICLE I

The high contracting parties agree to submit all controversies whatsoever of an international character which it has not been possible to settle through diplomatic channels and which do not come within the terms of any treaties or convention existing between the parties providing for the submission of disputes to arbitration or to judicial settlement, either to (1) a process of conciliation, or to (2) arbitration, or to (3) judicial settlement, in accordance with the procedure laid down in the following articles of this convention; and the high contracting parties further agree that in case the procedure of conciliation shall have been employed without success, the dispute shall be submitted either to arbitration or to judicial settlement; and they further agree that they will not declare war one upon the other, nor invade the territory of the other, nor commence hostilities, nor concentrate their forces during the periods provided in this convention for the application of the peaceful methods of settlement, save in the one case of necessity for national defense against an act of aggression.

## ARTICLE II.

Nothing contained in this convention shall prejudice the right of a nation involved in an international controversy to settle the dispute directly with its adversary, either through the usual diplomatic channels, and whether with or without the good offices and mediation of another government, or through special commissioners or representatives appointed for that purpose, or in any other manner it may adopt for reaching a settlement. Nothing contained in this convention shall be construed as imposing any obligation upon any nation engaged in a controversy

to proceed by any one of the three stipulated processes, with the one exception stated in the preceding article that if conciliation fails recourse shall be had to one or the other of the two remaining processes, and that, if the parties cannot agree upon the choice of a process, recourse shall be had to an arbitration tribunal as hereinafter provided.

The sole obligation imposed by this convention upon the high contracting parties is that, in the event of becoming involved in a controversy which they have not been able to settle, they will submit it for final settlement under one of the three stipulated methods, being free to choose whichever method is, in their judgment, best suited to the character of the case, or to an arbitration tribunal if they cannot agree upon one of the three methods, with the further obligation to refrain from hostilities or acts tending toward hostilities during the application of the chosen procedure.

## ARTICLE III

If two nations parties to a controversy elect to apply the method of conciliation, they shall at once establish a Conciliation Commission, composed of two members appointed by each of the contesting States, and a president agreed upon by the four members, or, in default of agreement, appointed by the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. If more than two nations are involved in the dispute, each additional nation may name two members, provided, however, that two or more nations making common cause may name only two members, to be appointed jointly by them. The parties may also appoint special agents on the commission.

The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to further the settlement of the dispute by an impartial and conscientious examination of the facts and by the formulation of proposals for settlement.

The high contracting parties agree to give the commission all possible assistance in its work and, in particular, to employ all the means placed at their disposal by their domestic legislation to enable the commission to call and hear witnesses or experts within

their territory and to carry out local investigations.

The commission shall meet at the place designated by the president, unless an agreement to the contrary has been made. The commission shall draw up rules to govern its procedure, subject to the proviso that the regulations laid down in Chapter III of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes shall be applied, unless the commission unanimously agrees to depart from these regulations.

The decisions of the commission shall be reached by a majority vote.

The commission shall make its decision within six months from the day on which the dispute is submitted to it, unless the contracting parties agree to a curtailment or extension of this period. Its report shall contain the reasoned opinion of the minority members, if any such exist.

The report of the commission shall not constitute a binding award.

The commission shall fix in its report the time within which the parties are required to accept or to reject its proposals; this period, however, may not exceed three months. The commission shall remain in office until the expiration of this period, unless its proposals have been accepted or rejected before that time.

The high contracting parties mutually agree that if a nation party to a controversy rejects the proposals of this commission, it shall state, in its notice of rejection, under which of the two other methods hereinafter prescribed it elects to proceed for the final adjustment of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE IV

If two or more nations that are parties to a controversy elect to follow the method of arbitration, the dispute shall be at once referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, with the proviso, however, that the parties may, if they prefer, create a separate arbitral tribunal for the dispute. In either case the regulations laid down in Chapter III of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes shall be applied, and in either case the award of the Court of Arbitration shall be binding upon the parties.

In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, shall conclude a special agreement, approved in the manner established by the constitutional law of each government, defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the Court of Arbitration and for the several stages of the procedure.

#### ARTICLE V

If two or more nations that are parties to a controversy elect to follow the method of judicial settlement, the controversy shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of International Justice, shall conclude a special agreement, approved in the manner established by the constitutional law of each government, defining clearly the matter in dispute.

#### ARTICLE VI

If two or more nations that are parties to a controversy cannot reach an agreement to submit the question involved either to the Permanent Court of Arbitration or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the following method of procedure shall be obligatory upon the nations so involved:

The nations so concerned shall create an arbitral tribunal composed of two members appointed by each of the contesting States, and a president agreed upon by the four members or, in default of agreement, appointed by the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. If more than two States are involved in the question, each additional nation may name an equal number of members, provided, however, that two or more States making common cause may name only two members, to be appointed jointly by them. The parties may also appoint special agents on such an arbitral tribunal.

The high contracting parties agree, before establishing the arbitral tribunal, to conclude a special agreement, approved in the manner established by the constitutional law of each government, defining clearly the matter in dispute, acknowledging the power of the tribunal to render a binding decision, and

setting the periods to be fixed for the formation of the tribunal and for the several stages of its procedure.

The task of the arbitral tribunal shall be to conduct an impartial and conscientious examination of the facts of the matter under dispute, and to reach a final award that shall be binding upon the parties concerned. The high contracting parties agree to give the tribunal all possible assistance in its work, and in particular to employ all the means placed at their disposal by their domestic legislation to enable it to call and hear witnesses or experts within their territory and to carry out local investigations.

The tribunal shall meet at the place designated by the president unless an agreement to the contrary has been made that is satisfactory to a majority of the members of the tribunal. The tribunal shall draw up rules to govern its procedure, subject to the proviso that the regulations laid down in Chapter III of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes shall be applied, unless the tribunal unanimously agrees to depart from those regulations.

The decision of the question under arbitration shall be reached by a majority vote. It shall be accepted by the nations directly concerned as final and conclusive.

The tribunal shall make its final decision upon the question under arbitration within six months from the day on which the dispute is submitted to it unless the high contracting parties agree to a curtailment or extension of its period. Its report shall contain the reasoned opinion of the minority members, if any such exist.

#### ARTICLE VII

This convention shall be subject to ratification by the respective governments and ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

This convention shall remain in force as between any two signatory nations for a period of ten years from the date of the deposit of the ratification of the last of the two nations to ratify. Unless denounced at least six months before the end of this period it shall remain in force for a further period of five years and similarly thereafter.

#### Sees No Hurt to Vital Interests

In recommending this plan the American Foundation said:

"If our fundamental premise—that every dispute is susceptible of peaceful settlement—is true, there is no longer any need to retain the clause inserted in many of our arbitration treaties exempting from their operation cases involving our 'vital interest, national honor or independence.' If we merely agree to submit each and every cause of dispute to whichever one of the peaceful methods we consider applicable to it, our vital interest will not suffer, our national honor will not be compromised and our independence will not be lost. On our fundamental premise, war is to be considered a possibility only to repel aggression or to be used, if need be, against a nation that repudiates the possible methods of peaceful settlement.

"Moreover, as an analysis of the arbitrations to which the United States has ever been a party shows, the United States has already submitted to arbitration disputes involving sovereignty over territory, insults and injuries to our citizens, the freedom of the seas, etc.

"The nations that signed the Locarno treaties and the nations that have recently negotiated treaties for the peaceful settlement of all disputes, such as the treaty negotiated last spring between the Netherlands and Germany, did not feel that it was necessary to insert any such clause exempting from the operation of the treaty any kinds of questions as not being susceptible of peaceful settlement. They bound themselves to submit all questions that might arise between them to one or another of the specific methods of the peaceful settlement.

"We believe that public opinion in the United States demands that this country stand out before the world for the same principle.

"As matters stand now, the United States, long a leader in arbitration, has fallen behind the other great nations in subscribing to the theory that disputes of whatever character can be settled by some peaceful means."

The members of the committee of the American Peace Award of the Bok Foundation are: President, James R. Angell, of Yale; Major Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Edward W. Bok, Bishop Charles H. Brent, Irving T. Bush, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, former Ambassador John W. Davis, Haley Fiske, William H. Johnston, Esther Everett Lape, Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, William C. Sproul, Henry L. Stimson, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, and Clarence Gardner.

# MODEL TREATY OF PERMANENT PEACE

By JAMES T. SHOTWELL

## PART I

### Renunciation of War

*Renunciation of War* (General Treaty of Locarno, Art. 2).—ARTICLE 1. The United States of America and ——\* mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

ARTICLE 2. The stipulation in the above article shall not, however, apply in the case of—

*Legitimate Defense Permitted* (Treaty of Locarno, Art. 2).—(a) The exercise of the right of legitimate defense, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous article,

*And Defined* (Treaty of Locarno, Art. 5).—Provided that the attacked party shall at once offer to submit the dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision;

*Monroe Doctrine*.—(b) Action by the United States of America in pursuance of its traditional policy with reference to the American continents—

Provided that the United States will use its best endeavors to secure the submission to arbitration or conciliation of a dispute between an American and a non-American power.

*General Provisions*.—ARTICLE 3. For the furtherance of universal peace among nations, the high contracting parties agree:

That in the event of a breach of a treaty or covenant for the compulsory peaceful settlement of international disputes other than this covenant, each of them undertakes that it will not aid or abet the treaty-breaking power. In the event that the treaty-breaking power is one of the high contracting parties, the other party recovers full liberty of action with reference to it.

\* Insert here the name of the other signatory. The draft treaty is drawn with especial reference to those powers which are signatories to the General Treaty of Locarno, but is also capable of extension to other powers. The text of the stipulation providing for the renunciation of war is literally that of the Treaty of Locarno; with this the Monroe Doctrine, as worked out historically in relation to non-European powers, is stated in parallel terms.

The measures to be taken in this regard shall be determined in the case of the United States of America by the action of its own government, in the case of ——\* in accordance with its existing treaty obligations.

*Codification of International Law*.—ARTICLE 4. Recognizing the importance of accepted rules of law in the preservation of peace, the high contracting parties agree that they will undertake to further a progressive codification of international law based upon the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy, as set forth in this treaty.

*Disarmament*.—ARTICLE 5. In view of the greater degree of security provided by this treaty, the high contracting parties undertake to co-operate with one another in furthering the progressive reduction of armaments, and to that end to study the appropriate ways and means in international conferences on disarmament which shall meet at regular intervals.

## PART II

### Arbitration and Conciliation

ARTICLE 6. The high contracting parties agree to submit disputes arising between them to arbitration or conciliation, as set forth in the following articles of this treaty,

Provided that the dispute does not concern a matter which under international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of one of the high contracting parties;

Nevertheless in every case the provisions of Part I shall apply.

### Arbitration

(Adapted from the existing Arbitration Treaty between the United States of America and France, expiring February 27, 1928; the similar treaty with Great Britain will expire June 4, 1928; that with Japan August 24.)

ARTICLE 7. † Differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not

† The text is identical with that of the existing treaty, except for the possible reference to the Court of International Justice as an alternative to the Court of Arbitration. The inserted text is given in italics.

have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, established at The Hague, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third parties.

ARTICLE 8. In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of Arbitration or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, shall conclude a special agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute. If the matter is referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the special agreement shall also define the scope of the powers of the arbitrators and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the arbitral tribunal and the several stages of the procedure.

It is understood that on the part of the United States such special agreements will be made by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

#### Conciliation

(Adapted from the (Bryan) Treaty between the United States of America and — for the Advancement of General Peace: Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.)

ARTICLE 9.\*\* *Subject to the conditions of Article 6*, any disputes arising between the Government of the United States of America

\*\* The text of this section follows literally that of the Bryan treaties except where indicated by italics. Four changes have been made: (1) The Bryan treaties covered "any disputes of whatever nature they may be"; this section applies only to those which lie within the field of domestic law. (2) The Bryan treaties provided only for inquiry as to the facts; this section provides for "recommendations for settlement," which may enable the parties to adjust their difficulties but do not bind them to do so. (3) In the last article of the section the Bryan treaties allowed the parties to recover full liberty of action, but here (under Article 13) the provisions of Part I still apply, so that they do not recover liberty to go to war. They may not agree as to the settlement, but in that case they simply leave matters unsettled awaiting some more favorable basis of future agreement. (4) The provision in the second section of Article I of the Bryan treaties, that neither party "shall resort to any act of force" during the period of investigation, has been here transferred to a separate article (Art. 14), so as to apply as well to arbitration procedure.

and the Government of —\* of whatever nature they may be, shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the high contracting parties do not have recourse to arbitration, be submitted for investigation and report *and recommendations for settlement* to a Permanent International Conciliation Commission constituted in the manner prescribed in the following article.

ARTICLE 10. The International Conciliation Commission shall be composed of five members, appointed as follows: Each government shall designate two members, only one of whom shall be of its own nationality; the fifth member shall be designated by common consent and shall not belong to any of the nationalities already represented on the commission; he shall perform the duties of president.

In case the two governments should be unable to agree on the choice of the fifth commissioner, the other four shall be called upon to designate him, and failing an understanding between them, the provisions of Article 45 of The Hague Convention of 1907 shall be applied.

The commission shall be organized within six months from the exchange of ratifications of the present convention.

The members shall be appointed for one year and their appointment may be renewed. They shall remain in office until superseded or reappointed, or until the work on which they are engaged at the time their office expires is completed.

Any vacancies which may arise (from death, resignation, or cases of physical or moral incapacity) shall be filled within the shortest possible period in the manner followed for the original appointment.

The high contracting parties shall, before designating the commissioners, reach an understanding in regard to their compensation. They shall bear by halves the expenses incident to the meeting of the commission.

ARTICLE 11. In case a dispute should arise between the high contracting parties which is not settled by the ordinary methods, each party shall have a right to ask that the investigation thereof be entrusted to the International Commission charged with making a report. Notice shall be given to the president

\* Insert here the name of the other signatory.

of the International Commission, who shall at once communicate with his colleagues.

In the same case the president may, after consulting his colleagues and upon receiving the consent of a majority of the members of the commission, offer the services of the latter to each of the contracting parties. Acceptance of that offer declared by one of the two governments shall be sufficient to give jurisdiction of the case to the commission in accordance with the foregoing paragraph.

The place of meeting shall be determined by the commission itself.

ARTICLE 12. The two high contracting parties shall have a right, each on its own part, to state to the president of the commission what is the subject matter of the controversy. No difference in these statements which shall be furnished by way of suggestion shall arrest the action of the commission.

In case the cause of the dispute should consist of certain acts already committed or about to be committed, the Commission shall as soon as possible indicate what measures to preserve the rights of each party ought, in its opinion, to be taken provisionally and pending the delivery of its report.

ARTICLE 13. As regards the procedure which it is to follow, the commission shall as far as possible be guided by the provisions contained in Articles 10 to 34 and Article 36 of Convention 1 of The Hague of 1907.‡

The high contracting parties agree to afford the commission all means and all necessary facilities for its investigation and report.

The work of the commission shall be completed within one year from the date on which it has taken jurisdiction of the case, unless the high contracting parties should agree to set a different period.

The conclusion of the commission and the terms of its report shall be adopted by a majority. The report, signed only by the president, acting by virtue of his office, shall be transmitted by him to each of the contracting parties.

‡ There is a slight change here from the Bryan treaties. In the Bryan treaties the reference is to Articles 9-36. This has been changed so as to exclude Articles 9 and 35 of The Hague Convention, which limited the scope of the commission to fact-finding, so that these two articles were not applicable to a conciliation commission with power to recommend terms of settlement.

*Subject to the provisions of Part I, the high contracting parties reserve full liberty as to the action to be taken on the report and recommendations for settlement of the commission.*

#### Interim Measures‡

(Adapted from the Bryan Treaty, Art. 1, Sec. 2, and the Locarno Arbitration Treaties, Art. 19.)

ARTICLE 14. During the procedure of conciliation or arbitration or judicial procedure, the high contracting parties agree—

(a) Not to resort with respect to each other to any act of force, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

(b) To abstain from all measures likely to have a repercussion prejudicial to the execution of the decision or to the arrangement proposed by the Conciliation Commission or court.

#### PART III

##### Ratification

(Adapted from the (Bryan) Treaty between the United States of America and France, for the Advancement of General Peace, Article 6.)

ARTICLE 15. The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the —\* in accordance with the constitutional laws of —\*

It shall go in force immediately after the exchange of ratifications and shall remain in force until the expiration of a period of twelve months after either party shall have notified the other of the intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done at Washington this — day of —, the year nineteen hundred and —.

‡ The provision of the Bryan treaties preventing measures of force during the period of investigation is here extended to apply to the cases of arbitration or judicial procedure, using the text of the Locarno treaties literally.

\* Insert here the name of the other signatory.



# INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

## THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the closing speech delivered by M. Theunis, President of the International Economic Conference, on May 23, 1927.)

The deliberations of this conference have now come to an end, and it remains for me, in this concluding speech, to review the achievement of the last three weeks and attempt to indicate the stage we have reached in dealing with the vast and complex problems which we were asked to discuss. I say the stage we have reached, for at the outset I think it well to recall, as the Preparatory Committee did in its report, that the "Economic Conference must be regarded not as an isolated event, but as a stage in the continuous work of international collaboration in the economic sphere which had begun before the project of a general conference was launched and will continue when the conference itself is over."

Documentation of exceptional value has been collected during a period of useful preparation extending over more than a year. Its value, due to its greatfulness and its accuracy, has been heightened by the undoubted authority of the distinguished persons responsible for it, and the official or nonofficial bodies, such as the International Chamber of Commerce, which rendered valuable assistance.

We have again been fortunate in obtaining this assistance, which has proved as useful as in the previous case. The International Labor Office, the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies have by their preparatory investigations supplied us with the most valuable and practical assistance in our discussions.

The conference has been no less notable in its composition: 194 members, attended by 157 experts, drawn from 50 countries, in all quarters of the globe, including not only countries which are members of the League, but nonmembers, have agreed upon a body

of far-reaching recommendations and resolutions. You have been chosen, with few exceptions, by governments for your special competence, covering every area of human activity, though you are not spokesmen of official policy; and the distinctive character of the conference is that it has been responsible, though not official; expert, but not academic. I cannot but believe that resolutions unanimously voted by a membership so widely representative, both in qualifications and in nationality, must profoundly influence the future economic policy of the world.

After three weeks of assiduous study and full discussion, we must interrogate our conscience and ask ourselves, before public opinion, whether we have accomplished the task assigned to us. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that I am entitled to say that you have performed serious, thorough, and lasting work, going far beyond the hopes which you cherished when commencing your labors.

All who have followed your work with interest throughout the world—and they are many—all those who have realized even to some slight extent the serious difficulties and complication with which you were faced, will welcome the results obtained and will congratulate you on the conscientiousness with which you have labored and the practical spirit which has constantly inspired you.

There was indeed a danger—and we can admit it, now that we are approaching the close of the first stage of our work—that the bold initiative of the League of Nations might, as a result of the very conception of which it was the outcome, involve special difficulties.

Not only was it necessary to be able to clear a way through the thicket and chaos of the problems which hindered the advance of the nations on the way to progress, but the views and the desires of the representatives of all the main interests and of all the great movements acting upon it had also to be brought into harmony.

Notwithstanding the effort at impartiality and the desire for conciliation actuating the

representatives assembled at Geneva, there seemed reason to fear that as a result of the very fact of their diversity of origin and of qualifications, friction, and opposition, possibly violent and unpleasant, might occur.

The danger of confusion and of controversies, which many pessimists considered practically certain, has, thanks to the generous effort at rapprochement, not only been avoided, but actually eliminated. And therefore, following upon the appeal for solidarity which I ventured to make to you a few weeks ago, I desire to thank you and congratulate you from the bottom of my heart.

Producers, employers and workers, farmers, traders, financiers, economists and consumers—you have, without neglecting the interests which you represent and which you have to defend, constantly borne in mind that we are all members of the same community, working, toiling, suffering, and directing our efforts to a common end.

In these circumstances each of the various committees constituted in itself a true international conference. All of them carried out a thorough examination of various problems, and their conclusions, even taken separately, are of high value, determining in the first place the main causes of the evils from which the world is suffering, and, secondly, indicating remedies which may be applied and which can be carried out in practice.

By means of their public discussions, the reports submitted to them and the committees which they set up for special problems, the three main committees of the conference have performed work of the highest importance, each part of which will serve to throw light on the rest and facilitate its comprehension.

If I had to sum up in a few words the most striking feature of the conference, I could not do better than quote a sentence from the report of the Commerce Commission:

In spite of the variety of the questions raised, the diversity of theories, and the legitimate national sentiments of all those who took part in the discussions, one important and extremely encouraging fact has emerged, and, having emerged, has become increasingly manifest as the work has advanced. This fact is the unanimous desire of the members of the conference to make sure that this conference shall, in some way, mark the beginning of a new era, during which international commerce will successfully overcome all obstacles in its path that

unduly hamper it, and resume that general upward movement, which is at once a sign of the world's economic health and the necessary condition for the development of civilization."

I would make one other prefatory remark before I turn to the resolutions.

The conference, as a world conference composed of those who represent different interests and policies in every quarter of the globe, has considered economic problems in their international aspects and adopted an international point of view. It has recognized the importance, and in certain cases the decisive importance, of national considerations, some of which are political and social rather than economic in character; and it has recognized that it is not possible to secure the adoption of policies and systems determined in every feature by the sole criterion of what would give the maximum prosperity to the world as a whole. Some countries will decide to assure the manufacture in their own territory of certain articles, whether or not the purely economic result, for the world as a whole or for the country in question, of importation from abroad would have been preferable; but, as their starting point and angle of approach to the different problems, the conference, as an international conference, has felt bound to assume that international trade is itself to be desired; that the greater the range of exchange of different products between those who by their resources and capacities are best fitted to produce them, the greater is the general economic advantage; that international exchange of products best and most economically produced in different countries should therefore be regarded as normal; and that the exchange of products and services between persons, either of the same country or of different countries, is normally to the advantage of both parties.

There are practical limitations to the application of this principle in policy. But that international trade is normally and properly not a matter of victory and defeat, or profit of one at the expense of the other, but of mutual benefit, has necessarily been the basis of this international conference.

With this preface, let me review our resolutions, following the order of the agenda.

The first part covers a general review of the world economic position. We have first had written reports from 24 nations, describ-

ing the principal features and problems as seen from the point of view of the respective countries; and these have been supplemented by further similar accounts in the speeches of the conference. We have next, in the first chapter of our report, given a general picture of the present economic situation as it emerges from the documentation. Lastly, on this part of the agenda, we have passed an important resolution stating our unanimous conviction that the maintenance of world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are formed and executed; that the governments and peoples of all countries should constantly take counsel together as to this aspect of the economic problem; and that we should look forward to the establishment of a recognized body of principles designed to eliminate the economic difficulties which cause friction and misunderstanding. The object of the conference, as the original Assembly resolution made clear, was a two-fold one. It has been concerned not only with the prosperity, but with the peace, of the world. This has been not only a special item on the agenda, but a point of view which the Assembly wished should be borne in mind throughout the discussion of particular problems. Economic conflicts and divergence of economic interest are perhaps the most serious and the most permanent of all the dangers which are likely to threaten the peace of the world. No machinery for the settlement of international disputes can be relied upon to maintain peace if the economic policies of the world so develop as to create not only deep divergencies of economic interest between different masses of the world's population, but a sense of intolerable injury and injustice. No task is more urgent or more vital than that of securing agreement on certain principles of policy which are necessary in the interests of future peace; and there is, perhaps, no question which, in comparison with its intrinsic importance, has had so little careful and collective deliberation. No single conference can do more than make a first beginning in such a task, but the ultimate results are incalculable.

Let us come now to the second part of the agenda, which was divided into three main chapters: "Commerce," "Industry," and "Agriculture," each of which has been dealt with by a special commission, whose reports

and resolutions have been approved by the whole conference.

### Commerce

The fundamental idea on which the work of the Committee on Commerce was based, and which has appeared with increasing force in the course of the discussions, is the necessity of restoring greater freedom to a world hitherto hampered by many obstacles due to the war and its consequences and to erroneous economic ideas. At the same time the feeling has appeared of the close interdependence of nations in this sphere and the importance of the reactions which measures taken by the various countries exert on the policy of the other countries.

In the first chapter of commerce, the conference first makes a number of recommendations, under the general heading "Liberty of Trading," an expression not to be confounded with "free trade," but embracing all measures calculated to liberate international commerce from artificial restrictions and obstructions. Under this heading the conference expresses the hope that the diplomatic conference convened at Geneva for November next by the League of Nations might result in the real removal of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. It condemns the granting of special immunities and privileges to state-controlled undertakings which enable them to compete unfairly with private enterprises and commends and encourages the action now being taken by the Economic Committee for the removal of many impediments to international trade. Lastly, the conference recommends the preparation of a convention on economic and fiscal treatment of foreigners and foreign enterprises, for which valuable information has been furnished by the report of the International Chamber of Commerce.

The committee then took up the question of customs tariffs, distinguishing between their form and their substance—*i. e.*, the actual amount of the import duties. As regards the question of form, the conference unanimously recognizes the desirability of simplifying customs tariffs as far as possible, creating a systematic customs nomenclature, the use of which would in due course be regularized by international conventions, stabilizing customs tariffs, thereby eliminating a disturbing factor especially harmful

to industry and commerce, and finally insuring the utmost fairness in the application of the duties.

The main object of the work of the committee has naturally been the question of customs tariff levels, which is closely bound up with that of commercial treaties.

The essential conclusion which has been arrived at from the discussion in this field is that the time has come to put an end to the growth in customs tariffs, and to reverse the direction of the movement by an effort made along the three following lines: Firstly, *individual* action by the various States with regard to their own tariffs; secondly, *bilateral* action through the conclusion of suitable commercial treaties; thirdly, *collective* action, by means of an inquiry undertaken by the Economic Organization of the League of Nations, with a view to encouraging the extension of international trade on an equitable basis by removing or lowering the barriers to international exchange set up by excessive customs tariffs.

A fact that may be taken as marking a considerable step in the evolution of ideas in customs tariffs is that this question, notwithstanding its fundamental importance in the economy of each State, has now come to be considered as no longer being exclusively within the domain of national sovereignty, but as falling within the scope of problems for which parallel or concerted action among the different nations is possible and desirable. Each nation will then know that the concession it is asked to make will be balanced by corresponding sacrifices on the part of the other nations. As the report of the committee states, each country will then be able to give its attention to the proposed measures, not merely in view of its own individual position, but also because it is interested in the success of the general plan laid down by the conference.

Round the central idea of the diminution of customs charges are grouped other questions which support it and tend to hasten its realization and render it more complete.

Thus the conference next condemns the practice of penalizing imported goods by means of differential internal taxes, and declares that, as the free movement of raw materials is essential for a healthy development of world trade, export taxes should be as low as fiscal requirements and exceptional and compelling circumstances permit and should in any case not be discriminatory.

Finally, the conference, having in mind the need of restoring the system of long-term commercial treaties and recognizing that any such system must be built up on the mutual grant of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment, recommends that this important conception should be given the widest and most liberal interpretation.

The Economic Organization of the League should examine the possibility of securing a standard form of commercial treaty and uniform principles as to the interpretation and scope of the most-favored-nation clause.

Lastly, the conference recommends States to consider the desirability of providing in their commercial treaties for the decision of disputed questions of interpretation or application by arbitration or by a reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

There are certain indirect means of protecting national trade and national navigation. Although they exercise on the development of trade a less immediate influence than the fundamental problems specified just now, questions such as the granting of subsidies, dumping and discrimination imposed under the transport régime, merited the attention of the conference. The latter succeeded in preparing on this subject a number of texts which, without always indicating definite solutions—a very difficult matter, owing to the wide variety of opinions held—have, however, the advantage of enlightening public opinion as to the true nature and inevitable consequences of the practices in question.

### Industry

In the report dealing with industry, the conference begins by a brief analysis of the causes of the difficulties with which the industries of principal international importance are at present faced in certain parts of the world.

The conference took as its central problem the question of how costs could be reduced without injury to the consumer or the worker. With this object, it considered (1) "rationalization" in its various aspects, and in this connection (2) international industrial agreements, and (3) the collection and exchange of information.

The report enumerates in detail the aims of rationalization and declares that it must be applied with care, so as not to injure the

legitimate interest of the workers. It therefore recommends that governments, public institutions, trade organizations, and public opinion, as the case may be, should encourage producers to promote the investigation of the best methods and results of rationalization and scientific management, and standardization, not neglecting the smaller undertakings and giving special attention to measures calculated to promote social welfare.

The report then turns to the question of industrial agreements, which has recently attracted close attention and on which the discussions at the conference revealed a certain conflict of views. The conference has laid down no conclusion of principle on the subject, but recognizes the growth of agreements as a development which may be either good or bad, according to the spirit in which they are constituted and operated and the measure in which their directors are actuated by a sense of the general interest. Agreements cannot by themselves be regarded as the only remedy for the present causes of economic trouble; but within limits they may serve to improve the organization and reduce the cost of production. By checking uneconomic competition and diminishing industrial fluctuations, they may make employment more stable while benefiting the consumer. Nevertheless, agreements may involve danger if they encourage monopolistic tendencies and unsound business methods.

The conference therefore lays it down that agreements ought not to lead to an artificial rise of prices, and that they should not restrict the supply to any particular country of raw materials or basic products, or without just cause create unequal conditions between the finishing industries of consuming and producing countries or other countries similarly placed; nor should they stereotype the present position of production or the distribution of industries.

No special system of supervision over agreements is recommended, and governments which adopt measures regulating agreements within their country are advised not to place obstacles in the way of the benefits which such agreements might secure. While the divergencies between the national measures of supervision offer an obstacle to the establishment of an international system, the conference considers that publicity is one of the most effective means of preventing the growth of abuses and recommends that

the League of Nations should follow closely the operations and effects of international agreements and should collect and publish such relevant data as are of general interest.

Lastly, the conference lays special emphasis on the importance of the systematic collection of accurate information, both from the point of view of the leaders of industry and of the public. Accurate statistics should be obtained; both for the basic world industries and also for the chief industries of each country, so as to render possible the compilation of quantitative indices of industrial production.

The Economic Organization of the League of Nations should endeavor to promote international agreements with regard to the terms, methods, and scope of industrial statistics employed, and should collate the information provided as to raw materials, production, etc., the International Labor Office dealing with wages, hours, employment, etc.

In addition, the Economic Organization should arrange for the compilation of general reports, special studies, and reviews bearing on industrial development, raw materials, and changes in production and trade.

For the first time, at this conference agriculture has been represented side by side with commerce and industry in such a way that it can take its place in a general review of the economic situation of the world. From the documents available at the conference, it is evident that the dislocation of the prices of agricultural in relation to those of manufactured products is causing a widespread depression in agriculture, which, if some improvement is not achieved, may result in a diminution in agricultural production.

Perhaps the most important outcome of the agricultural discussion is the realization of the essential interdependence of agriculture, industry, and commerce; that, in the words of the report "it would be vain to hope that one could enjoy lasting prosperity independently of the others."

The conference considers that the first measures for the improvement of agriculture must be taken by agriculturists themselves—by the general adoption of better technical methods, more scientific organization, an extension of the international campaign diseases of plants and animals, and by co-operation and the organization of credit institutions. With regard to the co-operative movement, the conference desires to emphasize

the importance of direct relations between producers' and consumers' associations.

The credit difficulties in the way of agriculture, still so acutely felt in many countries can only be surmounted by organizing national credit institutions where they do not yet exist or developing already existing institutions with or without the assistance of the public authorities. The study of the question whether an international organization capable of increasing the resources available for agricultural credits is or is not a practical proposition is recommended.

In some of the measures mentioned above, private endeavor must be supplemented by government action. With regard to legislative measures, the conference recommends the extension of social legislation to the agricultural population, it being understood that special adaptation to the requirements of rural conditions would be necessary.

In agreement with the principles stated in the review of commercial conditions, the conference lays stress on the desirability of removing hindrances to the free flow of agricultural products in so far as their removal does not endanger the vital interests of the various countries or their workers. Where a minimum of protection is necessary, care should be taken to maintain an equitable balance between industry and agriculture, and not to stifle the one to the advantage of the other.

The conference further recommends the development of agricultural statistics, particularly on the basis of an exact system of farm accounting and with regard to live stock and animal products; also, that a general inquiry be made into the present situation and the possibilities of developing agriculture, particular attention being given to the development of agriculture among the indigenous populations in colonies.

A special study should be made of the resources and the exploitation of forests in relation to the need for obtaining the regular supplies essential to industry.

In view of the interdependence of agriculture on the one hand and industry and commerce on the other, the conference requests the League of Nations to insure that, in the organization already existing or to be formed for the study of economic questions, agricultural interests shall be represented in proportion to their economic and social importance.

## General Questions

Lastly, the conference has passed several resolutions on subjects not falling under special chapters on the agenda or dealt with by the three commissions.

This conference has again, as the Brussels Conference did in 1920, called attention to the heavy burden of armaments expenditure, entailing heavy taxation, which reacts upon the whole economic life of the different States and lowers their standard of living, and expresses the earnest hope that the efforts to secure limitation and reduction of armaments will have successful results.

The conference then recognizes that the successful application of the principles on which it has agreed depends "not only upon the good will of governments and administrations, but upon an informed and supporting public opinion throughout the world."

The conference concluded with a resolution expressing its high appreciation of the work of the Economic Organization of the League. With regard to the action to be taken on its recommendations the conference while offering no suggestion as to a permanent organization thought that it could not do better than draw the Council's attention to the well-balanced composition of the Preparatory Committee which has yielded excellent results in the preparatory work for the conference.

After a note dealing with the relation of its resolutions to the special position of Russia the conference concludes by leaving to the League the task of securing the necessary measures (including any administrative reorganization) designed to proceed with the tasks left by the conference should be taken.

## Conclusion

The eight years of post-war experience have demonstrated the outstanding fact that except in the actual fields of conflict, the *dislocation* caused by the war was immensely more serious than the actual *destruction*. The main trouble now is neither any material shortage in the resources of nature nor any inadequacy in man's power to exploit them. It is all, in one form or another, a maladjustment—not an insufficient productive capacity, but a series of impediments to the full utilization of that capacity.

The main obstacle to economic revival have been the hindrances opposed to the free flow of labor, capital, and goods.

The removal of these obstacles, with the twofold object of stimulating production and restoring free channels for trade, require concerted international action. The attainment of the former object lies largely in the hands of producers in promoting by co-operation more scientific methods, such as simplification and standardization, which eliminate waste. A necessary preliminary to this process is the collection and periodical publication of information bearing on production and its factors, which shall be fuller, more regular, more uniform, and better co-ordinated. The second object lies rather within the scope of governmental efforts inspired and permitted by an enlightened opinion among the employers, workers, and consumers. This is especially true of Europe. It is essential, as the resolution states. "That nations should take steps forthwith to reverse or diminish those tariff barriers that gravely hamper trade, starting with those which have been inspired to counteract the disturbances arising out of the war." It is essential that a renewed sense of security should mitigate a burden of armaments which is profoundly uneconomic. We have here and in the erection of tariff walls in order to obtain "self-sufficiency" two of the many illustrations of the relation between the problem of economic recovery and of security. It is, perhaps, particularly true of Europe, but also true of the world in general, that without confidence in the continued peace of the world a prosperity corresponding to the real recovery of productive capacity which has taken place since the war cannot possibly be attained.

I have therefore endeavored, ladies and gentlemen, to summarize as shortly as possible the guiding principles on which your discussions have been based. Now that you have defined and fixed their terms, we may ask ourselves if our work is finished. Undoubtedly not; I might even say that our work is far from finished.

You have completed your task, in which you have been inspired by the great and fruitful idea of the interdependence of nations, and of the interdependence of the groups of which nations are composed.

At every stage in your discussions and on every page of your reports the solidarity of

mankind, which cannot be impugned, has appeared more obvious and more significant.

You have striven to make it easier for the masses to improve the material, and therefore the moral, conditions of their life; but your work cannot prove effective unless the people themselves take an interest in these matters.

Realizing this fresh example of the ties which unite mankind, we are convinced that, if we are not supported by all those for whom we have been working, our endeavors will be unavailing.

Public opinion as a whole must understand not only the intrinsic importance of your work, but also, and above all, it must realize its strength, its utility, and the vital importance which it must have for its well-being.

We have worked loyally together to secure economic peace, on which, indeed, political peace depends.

This conference is an assembly of persons who have been brought into touch with realities—always harsh and often disappointing—but with realities in which truth, sooner or later, always prevails.

Our advice and recommendations will in all probability not be followed immediately on the scale we would desire. Great movements frequently experience many difficulties at the outset; but we are convinced that our work, however limited it may be, is based on true principles and on the determination to insure to the best of our power the peace of the world.

In coming here to Geneva in response to the appeal of the League of Nations, which truly interpreted the ardent desire for peace and reform cherished by all nations, we desired to undertake a beneficent task. Today we have completed the first stage, and we may well be proud of what we have done. But we must not forget that our success will depend on the measure of our perseverance.

And I venture here to make an urgent and solemn appeal to all those—members and experts—who have co-operated in our work and taken part in the conference. By contributing to the framing and adoption of our recommendations, we have assumed a real moral obligation to disseminate, to defend, and to secure the triumph of the truths which we have formally proclaimed. They will win their way gradually, no doubt, and partially, but they will ultimately prevail. When we

resume our every-day duties we must endeavor constantly to devote to these truths a part of our thoughts and efforts.

After the terrible calamity experienced by Europe, the results of which have been felt throughout the whole world, we cannot expect that order will be restored as if by enchantment.

But it is immaterial whether the fruits of our labors are gathered by ourselves or by those who succeed us. We are animated by the firm determination to unite our efforts to those of friends who share our hopes, our enthusiasm, and our ideals.

We know that the time will come when mankind will be the happier for our work.

And that alone, ladies and gentlemen, will enable us to be proud of what we have done.

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## GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

(NOTE.—Following is the text of (I) Premier Baldwin's speech in the House of Commons, delivered on May 24, explaining the British Government's position with regard to the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia; (II) statement issued by the Acting Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Litvinoff; (III) extracts from the statement issued by the Soviet Chargé d' Affaires in London, Rosengolz; and (IV) Sir Austen Chamberlain's note to the Soviet Chargé d' Affaires, requesting him to withdraw himself and his staff from Great Britain.)

### I. PREMIER BALDWIN'S SPEECH

For many months the police, in collaboration with the military authorities, have been investigating the activities of a group of secret agents engaged in endeavoring to obtain highly confidential documents relating to the armed forces of Great Britain. From information received and evidence obtained in the course of these investigations, it became increasingly difficult to resist the conclusion that the agents were working on behalf of the Soviet Government, and that they obtained their instructions from members of the Russian Trade Delegation, working at Soviet House, who arranged for the conveyance to Moscow of photographs or copies of the documents obtained. These suspicions were confirmed when, early this year, a British subject employed in the air force was convicted of stealing two such documents as have been described. The documents were

recovered and the individual is now undergoing imprisonment. The secret organization on behalf of which he had obtained the documents is known and its connection with a similar Russian organization has been established.

A further document of an official and highly confidential character, so marked, was recently found to be missing, and from information secured, and supported by documentary evidence, it became clear that this document had been conveyed to Soviet House, and there reproduced by means of a photostatic apparatus, the character and location of which were described. Upon this information application was made to the magistrate for a warrant for the search of the premises, which was granted and executed on the 12th instant. Armed with knowledge of the above facts, certain police officers, specially detailed, went, immediately after effecting their entry, straight to the photostat room and to the room occupied by the cipher clerk, Anton Miller, who was known to be one of the persons intimately concerned in the activities of the secret agents.

The subterranean photostat room answered exactly to the description previously given to the police. The man in charge of this room, Robert Koling, or Kaulin, who was found at work, is described in a document discovered amongst the secret staff records in another room. This document, which is in Russian, dated December 23, 1926, and signed by Jilinsky, who, until his return to Russia the other day, combined the duties of head of the Staff Allotment Department of the Russian Trade Delegation with those of principal espionage and secret propaganda agent for Europe, is addressed to the manager of the Secret Section, and consists of a recommendation of Koling, together with a history of his past activities. It states that Koling was previously engaged in carrying on illegal Communist agitation as a member of the Red Trade Union of Sailors, and indicates that, in this capacity, he was concerned in the conveyance of secret communications abroad, and now discharges, among other duties, that of carrier of the diplomatic post between Chesham House and Soviet House. It finally states that he was recommended by three persons known to us to be in control of the secret espionage groups previously referred to. This man's qualification for



continued employment under the Russian Trade Delegation thus consisted in the fact that he had been engaged in illegal activities.

In the possession of Koling was found a number of closed envelopes, addressed with the names of well-known Communist individuals and organizations in this country and America. These envelopes contained information and directions from the Red International of Labor Unions to the Communist organizations in this country and America, including the National Minority Movement, all of the most recent date, and a comparison of these letters with the list of addresses, to which I shall refer later, shows that the office of Arcos and the Trade Delegation has been habitually used as a clearing-house for subversive correspondence of this nature. Among the subjects dealt with in this correspondence are Communist seamen's clubs, the Hands Off China campaign, anti-Trade Unions Bill agitation, the distribution of Communist propaganda, and the industrial affairs in America.

In Koling's possession also were found a number of printed application forms for membership of the National Minority Movement, which had been filled up by seamen who had been canvassed for that purpose in Russian ports, and whose applications, together with their membership subscriptions, were in process of transmission through this Russian official channel to the National Minority Movement.

Further interesting light is thrown upon this particular phase of Soviet activity by a letter, dated November 3, 1926, addressed to Jilinsky, and describing arrangements made for the training of Communist agitators on Arcos ships with a view to the subsequent dissemination by them of subversive propaganda among the crews of British ships. The letter is a long one, and I will give only the following extract:

"I considered the only solution to lie in making these ships of ours a base for training politically conscious seamen, who, after preliminary training, could be sent to other British ships. Instruction could be given by such seamen as cannot obtain employment for Communistic agitation on any British ship. The choice of men should be carefully made, preference being given to negroes, Hindus, and other oppressed nationalities, but it would, of course, be necessary to investigate to what extent such ma-

terial would prove appropriate for future work. As soon as a seaman is taken on, he should be trained and then made to go and work amongst British sailors. This has been the practice I have so far followed, and my preliminary results were apparent during the seamen's strike, when those who had passed through our school occupied the most prominent positions."

The room occupied by Anton Miller was adjoining that of M. Khinchuk, the chief of the Trade Delegation. It had no handle on the outside of the door, ingress being obtained solely by means of a key. On arrival, the police found that the door was locked and there was a light in the room. Demand was made for admission, whereupon the door was unlocked. Anton Miller himself, with one other man and a woman, was found in occupation. Miller was engaged in hurriedly burning papers, some of which appeared to have been taken from an open dispatch box on the table in front of him. On the police attempting to take possession of this dispatch box, a struggle ensued. Miller resisted, and in the course of the struggle a paper fell from his pocket. This document was found to consist of a list of secret cover addresses, or, according to the document, "illegal" addresses, for communication with the Communist parties in the U. S. A., Mexico, South America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Other documents were found on the premises, but it is unnecessary to describe them, as the documents already referred to sufficiently prove the existence, under the direct control of the Soviet authorities, of a regular system whereby documents of a subversive character from various organizations in Russia were conveyed secretly to various persons engaged in Communist activity in this country and elsewhere.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the evidence now in the hands of the authorities proves that:

(1) Both military espionage and subversive activities throughout the British Empire and North and South America were directed and carried out from Soviet House.

(2) No effective differentiation of rooms or duties was observed as between the members of the Trade Delegation and the employees of Arcos, and both these organizations have been involved in anti-British espionage and propaganda.

The Soviet Government cannot escape responsibility for the actions of the Trade Delegation and the abuse of the facilities afforded it. But the matter does not rest there. It would, in any case, be difficult to believe that, while one organ of the Soviet Government—namely, the Trade Delegation—was thus breaking the solemn undertakings on the faith of which it was received, the other organ of that government in this country—namely, the Soviet Mission and the government itself—were not parties to these proceedings. But the case against them does not depend upon inference. The Trade Agreement provided, *inter alia*, "that each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other, and from conducting outside its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic, respectively." His Majesty's Government have on several occasions found it necessary to draw the attention of the Soviet authorities to the breach of this engagement by Soviet emissaries in China. These have always been denied.

On February 1 last M. Rosengolz, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in this country, informed his government that it was essential to give a short explanation to the press, saying that Borodin was not a Soviet representative and was not even in the service of the Soviet Government, but that he was a private citizen, in the service of the Chinese Government, and that the Soviet Government were not answerable for his actions; and this message was followed up three days later by another one, stating that an announcement of Borodin's recent visit to Moscow, where he received instructions, had been previously published, and that, if possible, it would be desirable to contradict this. On February 3 M. Rosengolz published a statement in the *Daily Telegraph* to the effect that "Borodin is a private individual, who is not and never has been in the service of the Soviet Government," and that, "in view of the fact that M. Borodin has no relation whatever with the Soviet Government, it is therefore self-evident that the Soviet Government can in no way be held responsible for his actions and speeches."

On February 11 Sir Robert Hodgson made inquiries of M. Litvinoff himself regarding Borodin, to which M. Litvinoff replied that

he did not know much about Borodin, except that he was a Russian Communist and had been a friend of Sun Yat-sen, and, as for the allegation that Borodin was a representative of the Soviet Government, that was without foundation, and that the Soviet Government had no kind of connection with him or responsibility for him. Yet there is in the possession of His Majesty's Government a telegram, dated November 12 last year, from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Soviet representative in Peking in the following terms:

"I herewith communicate department's decision for your execution.

"(1) Until a Soviet representative is appointed to Peking, Comrade Borodin is to take his orders direct from Moscow.

"(2) The Far Eastern Bureau to be informed that all its decisions and measures regarding questions of the general policy of the Kuomintang in China and of military political work must be agreed on with Comrade Borodin.

"In the event of differences of opinion arising on these questions, they must be referred to Moscow for investigation. Borodin and the Far Eastern Bureau must keep Moscow's representatives in Peking informed of all their decisions and moves with regard to these questions.

"(3) Comrade Borodin's appointment as official Soviet representative in Canton is considered inadvisable. Borodin is to remain (in charge) of the work in the provinces under Canton rule, and an official representative to the Canton Government is to be appointed."

The denials of any responsibility for Borodin's actions made by the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires here, and by M. Litvinoff in Moscow, were therefore untrue and were made only in the hope of deceiving His Majesty's Government and the British public, while under their cloak Borodin was in fact carrying on his anti-foreign and anti-British activities as the authorized agent of the Soviet Government and by their orders.

Nor have these illegitimate activities been confined to China. There has come into the possession of His Majesty's Government a telegram from the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in London to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Moscow, dated April 1 last—*i. e.*, some five weeks after the solemn warning conveyed in our note of February 23. It is in the following terms:

"Copy to Berlin for Tomsky.

"One of the principal obstacles for conducting a campaign of protest against British

violence in China is the appalling supply of information and the way in which the wide Labor circles are misled.

"It is necessary:

"(1) To send by telegraph the official reports of the Nationalist Government on events at Nanking. In particular facts which deny the information about Nanking given by Chamberlain in Parliament on March 30, copies to be sent to the I. L. P. and the *Daily Herald*.

"(2) A message of the Shanghai United Trade Unions addressed to the President of the General Council, Hicks, describing the situation, and in particular pointing out that, as a result of the British bombardment of Nanking, a large number of members of trade unions lost their lives. If possible, it would be desirable to cite a number of instances emphasizing the fact of British repressions against Chinese trade unions and their members. It is desirable to lay stress on the — and to call upon British trade unions to help the Chinese Labor movement.

"(3) Would it not be possible to make use in a favorable way of the encounter between the commander of the torpedo-boat *Woodcock* and the Chinese — at Changsha? Both in England and with us there is only very vague information on this subject.

"(4) I shall wire subsequently on the best way of organizing the supply of information."

The House will observe that the Soviet representative was soliciting information for the purposes of a political campaign in this country and giving the substance of the messages which he desired to see retransmitted as news from China.

Finally, on April 13, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires telegraphed to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

"I very much doubt the possibility of a raid on our embassy. I would, however, consider it a very useful measure of precaution to suspend for a time the forwarding by post of documents of friends, 'neighbors,' and so forth from London to Moscow and *vice versa*. Telegraph your decision immediately. In the telegram sent in reply it is desirable to mention that the instructions emanate from the institutions concerned."

It is unnecessary to speculate as to the character of the documents about which he showed such anxiety.

His Majesty's Government, as the House knows, from their repeated declarations, have not been unaware of the active hostility of the Soviet Government elsewhere or of the illicit activities of their representatives here. In face of these breaches of the Trade Agreement and of international comity, His Maj-

esty's Government have shown a patience and forbearance which are probably without a parallel in international relations. As late as last February they renewed, in the most solemn form, their protest and warning. It is clear that neither has had any effect. Diplomatic relations, when thus deliberately and systematically abused, are themselves a danger to peace, and His Majesty's Government have therefore decided that, unless the House expresses its disapproval on Thursday, they will terminate the Trade Agreement, require the withdrawal of the Trade Delegation and Soviet Mission from London, and recall the British Mission from Moscow.

The legitimate use of Arcos is unaffected by these decisions, and His Majesty's Government are prepared, while terminating the privileges conferred by Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the Trade Agreement, to make all arrangements necessary for ordinary trade facilities between the two countries.

## II. LITVINOFF'S STATEMENT

The decision of the British Government is no casual or unexpected event connected with the raid on Arcos or the alleged disloyalty of the Soviet trade organizations. This decision must be considered as the logical and final issue of the anti-Soviet policy which the present Conservative Government has pursued from the very day when, having deceived their electorate through a forged document, they came into power.

While basing the program of its policy on a ruthless struggle against the working class in Great Britain and the enslavement of China, India, Egypt, and other countries, the Conservative Government could not be reconciled with the existence of a workers' and peasants' government which made no secret of its sympathy in the class struggle of the proletariat and the national movement of oppressed peoples. Accordingly, the desire at all costs to bring about the downfall of the Soviet Government was the core of the British Conservative Government's activity. All through its existence this government has not ceased anti-Soviet intrigues with the object of isolating and weakening the Soviet Union, so as to destroy it the more successfully.

The rupture of diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. and creating a threat of war are in perfect harmony with the general policy of the British Government, consisting

in instigating and arming one country against another. Sir Austen Chamberlain himself repeatedly declared that a rupture of Anglo-Soviet relations would be pregnant with the danger of breaking the general peace. Actually realizing this rupture, the Nobel peace laureate must admit that the danger of war has not only not troubled him, but is desirable to him and forms a part of the political plans of his government.

The rupture of diplomatic relations cannot be estimated otherwise than as an energetic preparation for war.

Beyond any doubt, all that has occurred renders it impossible to maintain trade relations with Great Britain. The Soviet Government has no guarantees not only against raids and the seizure of commercial correspondence, but neither against other acts of violence up to the confiscation of goods belonging to our State organizations. Neither can Arcos continue its operations, inasmuch as it has developed its commercial activity on account of the sale of goods of Soviet State organs and the purchase of goods of British origin at their orders and on their account.

### III. ROSENGOLZ'S STATEMENT

There are two definite conclusions which can be drawn from Mr. Baldwin's statement: (a) the document alleged to have been lost has not only not been found, but there is evidently no particle of evidence that this mysterious document ever found its way into 49 Moorgate, or was in any way handled by any of the employees of the Trade Delegation or Arcos; (b) there is, further, no particle of evidence that the Trade Delegation or Arcos or any of their employees have ever engaged in military espionage or in any work of a similar nature.

The reference to a "subterranean photostat room" is quite in accord with the general cinematographic nature of the raid, but is in itself no evidence of any criminal intentions, and is evidently intended to cover the absence of any such evidence. To the same category of sensational declamations, intended to strike the imagination of the public, must be added the story about the burning of papers by Mr. Miller in a room with a mysterious absence of a door-handle. It is a well-established practice and rule in all cipher departments to burn the copies of the deciphered telegrams.

No paper fell from the pocket of Mr. Miller in the course of what Mr. Baldwin described as a struggle, but what was really an attack of four or five policemen on Mr. Miller. Mr. Miller, on being questioned by us, declared categorically that he never had in his possession a list of secret addresses. Evidently Mr. Baldwin was here misled by persons who either invented the whole story, or what they mistook for a list of secret addresses was really the list of various branches of the People's Commissariat for Trade in the U. S. S. R. or its delegations abroad, which uses the same code. Such a list was in the room, perhaps even in the hands of Mr. Miller, but there is nothing "illegal" or criminal about it.

Mr. Baldwin's description of Mr. Jilinsky is evidently derived from the information which was given to the police by some of the discharged members of the staff of Arcos, who doubtless harbored feelings of revenge against him. In his capacity as manager of the staff department, Jilinsky was primarily connected in the eyes of the staff with dismissals, which fact accounts for the mysterious allegations which cropped up about his name. Mr. Baldwin cited one document signed by Mr. Jilinsky containing a recommendation of Coling. This document, which is now in our possession, is a departmental memo, giving the full curriculum vitæ of Coling, to issue which was within the routine duties of Mr. Jilinsky. But this document contains a sentence which Mr. Baldwin, for obvious reasons, abstained from quoting, namely, "In 1925 Coling was a member of the Blyth Branch of the British Communist Party, but as he was a Soviet citizen the Central Committee of the British Communist Party discontinued his membership."

As to the alleged letter dated November 3, 1926, addressed to Jilinsky, and describing alleged "arrangements made for the training of Communist agitators on Arcos ships," the Trade Delegation has no knowledge of this letter, should it exist, and can bear no responsibility for its fantastic contents, as quoted by Mr. Baldwin. It supposed references to "negroes, Hindoos, and other oppressed nationalities," must be read in the light of the simple fact that all the sailors engaged on the Arcos ships belong to Mr. Havelock Wilson's union; that they are signed on by the captains, who are English; the first and second mates are, of course, also English.

As to the documents stated to be found in the possession of Coling, these having been evidently taken by the police out of his pocket, the circumstances under which the search took place make it quite impossible to determine whether they were really taken by the police out of his pockets or whether the police came into possession of them on some other occasion. In any case, such documents must be regarded as the private affair of Coling, over which the Trade Delegation has no control. It is possible that Coling has acted against the strict rules issued to the members of the Soviet organizations in this country by the embassy and the Trade Delegation not to engage in political activities. . . . The Trade Agreement, in any case, contains no clause which make the Trade Delegation responsible for the contents of the pockets of its employees.

Mr. Baldwin dealt next with some telegrams alleged to have been sent or received by myself. It can be proved from the copies of all the telegrams kept in the files of the Central telegraph office that no such telegraphic correspondence passed *en claire*, and Mr. Baldwin must have been referring to some alleged cipher telegrams decoded by a department of the British Government. An admission of this character in itself sounds very strange on the lips of the head of a government which accuses the Soviet Government of meddling with British official documents. I declare categorically that neither I nor anybody else on the staff of the embassy ever received or sent such telegrams.

During the whole of my stay in this country, no complaints have ever been made to me regarding the activities of Arcos, the Trade Delegation, or of any of its employees, in spite of the fact that at all my interviews with representatives of the Foreign Office, I always emphasized that, if any questions or complaints arose against us, I should be only too glad to co-operate in examining and settling such questions or complaints. I have given instructions, both verbally and written, to all Soviet citizens employed in Soviet organizations in Great Britain to refrain from participating in the political life of Great Britain, as I was afraid that some careless acts of an employee might possibly receive a false interpretation.

With a full consciousness of the seriousness of the present moment, the U. S. S. R.,

which has always, even under the most difficult external conditions, pursued a policy of peace, now lays full responsibility for all the possible consequences of the rupture between the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain on the present Government of Great Britain.

#### IV. SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'S NOTE

FOREIGN OFFICE, *May 26, 1927.*

SIR: The recent examination by the police of the premises of "Arcos," Limited, and of the Russian Trade Delegation has conclusively proved that both military espionage and subversive activities throughout the British Empire were directed and carried out from 49 Moorgate. No ostensible differentiation of rooms or duties was observed as between the members of the Trade Delegation and the employees of "Arcos," and it has been shown that both these organizations have been involved in anti-British espionage and propaganda.

(2) But the matter does not end there. Your government and you will recognize the messages which were read by the Prime Minister to the House of Commons last Tuesday. I would remind you that your own telegram, in which you request material to enable you to support a political campaign in this country against His Majesty's Government, was dispatched within a few weeks of the warning conveyed to your government in my note to you of February 23 last, adducing specific instances of anti-British propaganda and requesting its cessation.

(3) His Majesty's Government had hoped that the Soviet Government would take that opportunity, given them in accordance with the provisions of Article XIII of the Trade Agreement, of "furnishing an explanation or remedying the default." They did neither; on the contrary, the hostility of the Soviet Government, together with the subversive propaganda carried on by their associates, the Russian Communist Party and the Third International, in the United Kingdom itself and in British oversea territories, has continued unchecked, to culminate in the abuse of diplomatic privilege revealed by your attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of this country.

(4) There are, as I warned you in my note of February 23 last, limits to the patience of His Majesty's Government and of public opinion here, and these limits have

now been reached. In view of the facts stated above, His Majesty's Government in Great Britain must now regard themselves, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article XIII of the Trade Agreement of March 16, 1921, as free from the obligations of that agreement. The privileges conferred on M. Khinchuk and his assistants in accordance with the agreement are accordingly terminated, and I have to request their departure from this country.

(5) His Majesty's Government, while compelled to take this step for the reasons stated above, do not wish to interfere with the ordinary course of legitimate Anglo-Russian trade, and will therefore place no obstacles in the way of genuine commerce between the two countries. They will raise no objection to the continuance of the legitimate commercial operations of "Arcos," Limited, in the same conditions as those applicable to other trading organizations in this country, and with this object they are prepared to allow a reasonable number of the Russian employees of the company, whose names will be communicated to you, to remain in this country, provided that they comply with the law of the land and confine their activities to legitimate commerce. But His Majesty's Government cannot suffer the existence here of a privileged organization which, under the guise of peaceful trading, carries on espionage and intrigues against the country in which it is established.

(6) Finally, His Majesty's Government have decided that they can no longer maintain diplomatic relations with a government which permits and encourages such a state of things as has been disclosed. The existing relations between the two governments are hereby suspended, and I have to request that you will withdraw yourself and your staff from this country within the course of the next ten days. I am instructing His Majesty's representative at Moscow to leave Russia with his staff, and should be glad if you would request your government to afford to him, to Mr. Preston at Leningrad, and to Mr. Paton at Vladivostok, the necessary facilities for the departure of themselves and their assistants.

(7) Suitable arrangements, the details of which will be communicated to you in due course, will be made for the departure from this country of yourself and your staff and

of the Russian members of the Trade Delegation.

(Signed) AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

## News in Brief

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION to the three-power naval conference were announced by President Coolidge on June 6. Hugh S. Gibson, American Minister to Belgium, is chairman of the delegation. The Hon. Hugh R. Wilson, American Minister to Switzerland, has been designated, by agreement among the three powers, Secretary General of the conference.

ANNUAL IMMIGRATION QUOTAS of Belgium, Bulgaria, Latvia, New Zealand, Greece, and Luxemburg were exhausted in the first ten months of the present fiscal year of the United States. Last year only two States, Danzig and Luxemburg, used up their quotas in the same length of time.

RUMANIAN PREMIER AVERESCU RESIGNED June 3, thus probably ending the pro-Italian policy of the government. His successor is Prince Stirbey, brother-in-law of Averescu's rival, Bratiano, and intimate of the royal family, but anti-Carol in policy. This change indicates resumption of a pro-French policy. Immediately on the organization of his cabinet, Prince Stirbey announced a government along strictly legal lines. Full liberty of the press was promised. A new election was ordered for July 7, in which balloting is to be unhampered.

MILITARY CONTROL OVER BULGARIA was abandoned on June 1 by the commission appointed under the Treaty of Neuilly. This implies that Bulgaria's disarmament obligations are satisfactorily fulfilled. Supervision of German disarmament was abandoned by the commission the last of February, and that over Hungary at the end of March. Hereafter the League of Nations assumes responsibility for the disarmament of these countries, but it will not interfere except in case of specific complaint.

THE CHILIAN MEMBER of the Tacna-Arica Boundary Commission, Mr. Luis Riso-Patron, resigned on June 16, after having failed

to attend sessions of the commission since its organization. His resignation was announced to be a protest against a resolution of the American member providing for a quorum of two members. This is the last work under the Tacna-Arica arbitral decree and is regarded as carrying out the purpose of Chile finally to end the negotiations.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO has a summer school, July 7 to August 20, with lectures in English and Spanish on Mexican conditions—historical, economic, artistic, and educational.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION established in 1850 an international exchange of scientific literature. The Institution is now publishing a large book containing long-continuing records of temperature, barometer, and rainfall for about 300 stations scattered as uniformly as possible over the land surface of the globe. The statistics were collected by officials of many countries. The book will be distributed free, like all other Smithsonian publications for the last half century.

THE TINY REPUBLIC OF ANDORRA has lately paid its six hundred and forty-ninth annual tribute. This amounts to about \$56 and is paid to the President of France and the Bishop of Urgel, Spain. The present constitution of Andorra was granted in 1806 by Napoleon. Except for the payment of tribute, Andorra enjoys undisturbed sovereignty in its valley, high in the Pyrenees.

THE SPANISH PREMIER-DICTATOR, Primo de Rivera, announced on May 31 that a national assembly composed of members appointed by the government will meet on September 13. It will be the business of this assembly to draft a brand-new constitution for Spain, to supersede all previous ones, and a new electoral law, the gist of which is universal suffrage and absolute freedom of the ballot. This accomplished, elections will be held for members of parliament. That body then will be asked to ratify the new constitution, which will embody the credo of the Primo de Rivera Government.

REPRESENTATIVES OF SALVADOR, Guatemala, and Honduras met in San Salvador recently to draft a pact defining the common interests of Central American States and pledging concerted action in foreign relations. It is considered probable that Dr. Guerrero,

Foreign Minister of Salvador, will take their conclusions for discussion at Geneva and The Hague.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LA PLATA, Argentina, and the University of Mexico will begin next school year the exchange of students, five from each university.

THE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES TO ARGENTINA from Great Britain and France were raised this summer from missions to embassies. Previously only the United States and Spain had sent ambassadors to that country.

THE CARIBBEAN AIR MAIL LINE, recently inaugurated, plies between Key West and Caracas, with stops at Havana, Santiago (Cuba), Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo. The trip, taking about fifteen hours, will be made by large hydroplanes.

FORCED TO RESIGN FROM THE CHILEAN PRESIDENCY, Dr. Emiliano Figueroa Larrain was appointed by the Cabinet Chilean representative at the League of Nations, with ambassadorial rank.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF GUATEMALA are to be made in accordance with the Central American pact of 1923. A constitutional convention was called by the President for June 24-26 to make the needed adjustments.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ARBITRATED almost 100 controversies since 1794, and with twenty-five different countries. Many of these arbitrations dealt with minor questions, such as claims of citizens, confiscation of property, and breach of contract; but some of them covered important matters, such as national boundaries, territorial differences, fisheries, rights of neutrals, and seizures during war time.

TWO IMPORTANT EDUCATION CONFERENCES will take place this summer. The National Education Association will meet in Seattle, July 3-8, and the World Federation of Education Associations will meet in Toronto, Canada, August 7-12.

ITALY WILL BE ABLE finally to make her voice heard and to see her rights recognized at some time between 1935 and 1940, when she will have a strong navy, a huge air force, and be able to mobilize a well-equipped

army of 5,000,000 men, said Premier Mussolini in the Chamber of Deputies on May 26, in a speech on the budget of internal affairs.

PRESS RATES BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA will shortly be reduced 30 per cent. This will facilitate messages via China to London and New York, and the *Tokyo Trans-Pacific Weekly* believes the change will be certain to assure better understanding between Japan and the outside world.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS will meet in Honolulu, July 15-29. It will be composed of unofficial citizens from ten or more countries to study some of those questions in the region of the Pacific Ocean, which governments and diplomacy will sooner or later have to handle.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL PEACE BRIDGE, spanning the Niagara River between Buffalo and Port Erie, Ontario, was opened to traffic on the morning of June 1. Unpretentious but dignified ceremonies were conducted by representatives of the United States and Canada. Tolls will be collected at the bridge until the cost of building is paid, when the two governments of Ontario and the State of New York will share ownership and responsibilities. This is the only international bridge for vehicles between the end of Lake Superior and Niagara Falls.

THE NORMAN WAIT HARRIS MEMORIAL FOUNDATION at Chicago University conducts its fourth institute on international relations this summer, June 21 to July 8. Public lectures, round tables, and courses will deal especially with problems of the British Empire.

ITALY AND FRANCE have both announced that they will send observers to the Tri-power Naval Conference called by the United States to meet in Geneva June 30.

CHILE SIGNED IN JUNE A TREATY OF ARBITRATION with Spain similar to that between Uruguay and Spain drawn up in 1922.

THE WILLIAMSTOWN INSTITUTE OF POLITICS, meeting in Williamstown, Massachusetts, July 28 to August 25, will make special study of topics relating to conditions in Mexico, China, and Latin America. The question of international debts will also be discussed, and the struggle between the principles of democracy and dictatorship.

THE ITALIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE, Count Volpi, announced early in June that the lira would be stabilized at its then value (5.6 cents), at least until autumn.

RUSSIAN AND POLISH COMMUNISTS who had formed a Communist school at Liege, where workmen were instructed in methods of sabotage in factories, were recently expelled from Belgium. M. Hymens, Minister for Justice in Belgium, defended the action of the State. It was not to be tolerated, he said, that foreigners, receiving funds from abroad, should abuse the hospitality afforded them by inflaming rebellion and disturbing the internal life of Belgium.

THE PAN PACIFIC CONFERENCE on Education, Reclamation, and Recreation, held April 11-16 in Honolulu, was attended by 300 delegates from twelve countries. Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, under whose direction the conference was held, considers the meeting most successful.

AN INTERNATIONAL PRESS EXHIBITION is planned to be held in Cologne next year. The German Government has appointed a commissioner through whom invitations will be sent to other countries. Forty-four nations, either officially or through private initiative, already plan to participate in the exhibition. The note to be emphasized is the press, not as a means for propaganda against other nations, but the press as a means for reciprocal understanding among civilized nations.

EXTENSIVE PREPARATIONS are being made in Antwerp for the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the birth of Peter Paul Rubens. On July 23 an exhibition of a large number of works relating to the life and work of the painter will be opened, and on July 25 a reception of artists and an academic conference will be held at the town hall. A visit will afterwards be paid to the tomb of Rubens in the Church of Saint Jacques, when a Te Deum will be sung. The celebrations will close with a public ceremony and a procession of flags.

A GERMAN FILM ENTITLED "THE WORLD WAR" is in process of production from German official pictures of the war strung together with reconstructions. It is to be in three parts, to be shown on consecutive eve-



nings. Only the first part is ready. This is called "The Nation's Heroic Advance," dealing with the year 1914. Since no moving pictures were officially taken during that period by Germany, the whole story has had to be reconstructed by memory, and much introduction and explanation has been deemed necessary. Germans wish to make these pictures accurate and unpartisan enough to be shown in former enemy countries.

FIVE HUNDRED FARMERS FROM 45 STATES expect to go abroad this summer, under the auspices of the American Farm Bureau Federation. They will observe methods of agriculture, stock breeding, marketing, and the best of the co-operative systems in the old countries. Reforesting and the reclamation of waste lands also come into the scope of investigation.

THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO, which has an area of only 38 square miles and is entirely surrounded by Italy, has signed an agreement with Italian authorities for the construction of a railway, the first in her history. Up to this time the only means of public transportation has been a motor-bus between the city of San Marino and Rimini, in Italy.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW CAPITAL OF INDIA, New Delhi, is progressing steadily. It is located at Raisina, about six miles from old Delhi, and is to be approached by wide avenues lined with trees. About \$150,000,000 has been spent thus far in the building of the new city.

PERSIA IS CONSIDERING PLANS for a modern automobile highway along the historic caravan route, the Trebizond road, from Persian Azerbaijan to the outer world. The old road was badly demoralized during the World War and is now almost impassable for anything but two-wheeled carts. If it is modernized it will be possible to go from Trebizond to Tabriz in five days instead of several weeks, as at present.

AN EFFORT TO MOBILIZE THE RELIGIONS of all nations against war and conditions that lead to it will be made by a universal religious peace conference to be held in 1930 under the auspices of the Church Peace Union.

SWITZERLAND NOW HAS ITS MERCHANT MARINE operating between Rotterdam and Basle. The latter city is an important railway center and several international air lines link it with other countries. Its harbor on the river front has lately been extensively improved.

A "DARK BAY" HAS BEEN DISCOVERED by J. L. Baird, the inventor of television. By it he expects to furnish a means by which fog will no longer be a menace and by which smoke screens in warfare will be useless.

MEMBERS OF A COMMISSION OF CONCILIATION between Germany and Belgium have just been appointed. This commission is called for by the Locarno Treaty to pass upon all questions of dispute not possible to settle through ordinary diplomatic methods.

A NEW FASCIST LAW puts Italian nationals in the employ of the League of Nations' Secretariat under the direct control of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Since all League officials are supposed to lay aside as far as possible all national bias on entering the Secretariat, this ruling is interpreted as contrary to the Covenant of the League. The Italian intention, presumably, is to get rid of several anti-Fascists in the international organization and replace them with Fascists.

A COMMERCIAL TREATY has finally been negotiated between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The way to this treaty has been long and tedious, but it is believed that the way is now opened for later treaties of arbitration and perhaps finally a treaty of friendship.

THE RHONE CANAL, cut through five miles of solid rock and joining Marseilles with the Rhone, has been completed. It was inaugurated on April 25, at Marseilles, by President Doumergue of France. The Mediterranean, therefore, is connected with a network of European navigable rivers and lakes. It is an age-long dream of France to connect the Rhone by waterways with the Rhine and Strasbourg.

THE STUDENTS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, organized three years ago in Geneva, has lately

received gifts from Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. Gabriel, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The Union was organized to discuss international questions and promote friendship between youth of all nations. It has American headquarters at 67 Park Avenue, New York City.

A CHAIR OF POLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE has been established at Dartmouth College and will be occupied by Prof. Eric P. Kelley, the author of a number of works on Poland.

A CARGO OF THREE SCHOOL-HOUSES has been sent to Alaska. The houses are knocked down, but complete in every detail, including blackboards and complete equipment in the way of erasers, paper, and pencils.

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE organized and adopted a constitution on April 20-21 in Washington, D. C. The meeting in Cleveland on October 3, 1926, which gave rise to the organization from which the Association has been developed, was called by a committee named by the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Council of Catholic Women, and the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

THE NORTH AMERICAN RELATIONS FOUNDATION is an organization just formed. Its objects, as stated by the founders, all have to do with the fostering of continued amity and understanding between the United States and Canada. Its members are prominent men in both countries.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT has been paying pensions since 1790, and in this period has disbursed more than seven billion dollars for this purpose. Last year more than \$200,000,000 was paid out. The pension roll now numbers more than half a million persons.

THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC BILL, with its famous "Kaiser paragraph," which bars William's return to Germany from Doorn, not only passed its second reading in the Reichstag on May 16, but all the Nationalists, including the most pronounced monarchists, voted for it. This virtually kills the ex-Kaiser's hopes of regaining the throne.

DELEGATES FROM HONDURAS, Guatemala, Peru, Uruguay, and Argentina have founded a "Continental Alliance" for the purpose of promoting the establishment of an "Ibero-American League of Nations," based upon Ibero-American brotherhood, as against Pan Americanism and the League of Nations. Their first object will be to move public opinion to obtain the freedom of the smaller republics from North American domination. The League will consist of the *independent* nations of South America, who will work for the independence of the smaller ones.

## BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF HAWAII. By *Ralph S. Kuykendall*. Pp. 375. Index and maps. Macmillan, New York, 1926. Price, \$2.50.

Hawaii is a unique member of the American commonwealth. We venture to assume that most persons in the United States have rather hazy ideas as to her present status and notions yet more vague as to her past. To all such the little school text in hand will prove pleasantly informing. It has been prepared under the supervision of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii. The first three chapters, by Dr. Herbert S. Gregory, tell background facts about the Pacific, its coral and volcanic islands. The pioneers, the primitive inhabitants of Pacific islands, with their resources and customs, conclude the introduction to strictly Hawaiian history. This begins with Captain James Cook and his explorations of the Pacific.

The first Kamehameha, whose life covers the transition from old to new Hawaii, is the great hero of his people. The emergence of this strong and wise personality from savagery, his growing dominance throughout the islands, and the story of the reigning house he founded cover the period down to 1872. Then come the elected kings and rapid social and economic changes. Constitutional reforms finally culminated in the abdication of Queen Liliuo-Kalani and an annexation treaty with the United States. This was

signed June 16, 1897. But the steps preliminary to this annexation were many and interesting.

The Americanization of several sharply separate groups in Hawaii is seen to be both difficult and necessary. There are now established here, at this cross-roads of the Pacific, several interesting experiments. The University of Hawaii is rapidly growing. The Pan-Pacific Union, centered in Honolulu, conducts successful conferences in which most of the Pacific countries participate. Who knows whether, through the efforts of Hawaiians in this outpost of the United States, the East and the West may not one day meet?

**SOCIAL PROGRESS.** By *Ulysses G. Weatherly*. Pp. 388. Index. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1926. Price, \$3.00.

In the humble but clear-eyed spirit of modern science, the author of this book surveys society. He uses the past as a background. He looks at the human race of today and applies many theories of present-day society to determine of what it is made, and by inference suggests what progress we may expect in the future. He refers familiarly and freely to the work of other sociologists.

Mr. Weatherly quite successfully keeps clear of absolutist formulas; he is careful and undogmatic, too, in the use of categories. There are, however, he claims, "bits of generalizations" to which the sociologist is entitled, provided he does not press them too far. It is these generalizations, occurring as comment through the book, which give it much of its attraction. The author, for instance, steers the middle course between the efficacy of the leader and the necessity of merely general social development. Neither, he claims, can alone explain social evolution. "Without superior personalities the masses," he says, "remain inarticulate; without intelligence and the appetite for great things on the part of the masses, the man of genius will be wasted in a desert."

For the social reformer the book holds

many nuggets of wisdom. The author holds that one main reason why Utopias fail is because man, so far, is not adapted to live in a finished society. Time for evolution, patience and trial and error are all very necessary for advances, great or small. Both the radical and the sentimental reformer, he thinks, tend to dramatize progress. A movement must have a definite tag, run a regular course to a climax, which finally is to solve the whole matter. "But human nature," says Mr. Weatherly, "and the plodding course of events have a way of going their own pace regardless of the dramatic unities."

While society cannot afford to repress or ignore new ideas, neither can it afford to follow all that are proposed. How rapidly retarded groups in society may be advanced to higher levels is always a "delicate question, which is liable to be mishandled through the unchastened zeal of well-meaning idealists." "Vision," he says again, "is dynamic as an inspiration, but in stress of day by day men have to use the materials then and there available." "The social engineer can no more neglect knowledge of his materials—their composition, their character, their capacity—than can the architect or civil engineer." The author does not find that the enthusiast's method of railroading society into the millennium is successful. It does not wait on the slow process of growth.

The scope of the book is a wide one. Its main outline is, perhaps, sufficiently shown in the titles of the five parts. They are: 1. "Conditions," which runs through theories of heredity, variation, and evolution. 2. "Attitudes," which classifies and discusses the philosophers and their findings. 3. "Factors," which considers the elements making for social evolution. 4. "Pathology," which considers the reasons for such things as stagnation, parasitism, formalism. 5. "Process and product," which surveys guidance of social progress and the goals.

The book is full of quotable bits, its structure is clear, its language terse and simple.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION.

By *Paul Perigord*. Pp. 339. Index. Appleton, New York City, 1926. Price, \$3.00.

Capital as an international force has long been recognized. The idea is a familiar one. That it requires a peaceful and stable world in which to function advantageously is also generally admitted. But another social group most vitally interested in the preservation of peace is labor. The time has now come when labor extends its activities to the international field. It is claiming a voice in world policies, and seeking to regulate economic operations. Both capital and labor are awaking to another truth, namely, that the only hope for either is in co-operation.

As an expression of this great current of opinion, the International Labor Organization came into being at Versailles. Its constitution given in an appendix of the book before us, is also Article XIII of the Treaty of Versailles.

The League of Nations and the World Court have received much attention in the United States, but this, the third great organization coming out of Versailles, has not been so well known to us, though outstanding Americans have had a part in the work of its bureau at Geneva. The little attention paid to the organization here may possibly be due to the fact that few books have been published about it in the English language. Indeed, this book by Dr. Perigord is almost the first full account in English of its activities.

Professor Perigord, who holds the chair of economics and history in the California Institute of Technology, was given a year's leave of absence in order to prepare this text. He has availed himself not only of his own previous study in international affairs, but of the assistance of many experts in this particular field. The result is a balanced work, based on a sane and tenable philosophy of human intercourse.

The International Labor Organization is probably the most reasonable and practical of the new institutions springing out of the Versailles Treaty. It brings together in a spirit of co-operation representatives of capital, labor, and the States. It has done this for nearly sixty countries.

Dr. Perigord scans its origins, its structure, and the legislation and results thus far accomplished. He considers criticisms and

particularly the reasons why the United States does not participate in the activities of the organization. He thinks that we should do so.

The book is not in any sense radical; but it is forward-looking, logical, and thoroughly informing—a valuable contribution to the international structure of tomorrow.

PINCKNEY'S TREATY. By *Samuel Flagg Bemis*. Pp. 421 and index. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1926. Price \$3.00.

This book recently won for its author the Pulitzer Prize of \$2,000 for "the best book of the year upon history of the United States." "Jay's Treaty," by the same author, published in 1893, was awarded a prize by the Knights of Columbus.

Professor Bemis has, in fact, the rare power of searching through old documents in a spirit of true scholarship, combined with the faculty of telling his findings in a lively fashion. He adds to these the ability to see facts found in the old archives in relation to other and later events.

The present volume is the first on its topic to make use of archives other than American. The Mississippi question, of which it treats particularly, needs the light thrown upon it by Spanish documents of the late 18th and early 19th century. These Mr. Bemis has used freely.

The value of the treaty signed by Pinckney has never been so well understood in this country as has Jay's Treaty. However, the study of early boundary questions, the Spanish-American diplomacy preceding 1783, and from that date to 1900, are here given pungency by many illuminating sketches of persons and events germane to the subject.

The strenuous efforts of our representatives in Spain are followed in a good deal of detail. The stresses between Spain and other European nations are viewed from the standpoint of American diplomacy. Finally emerges the treaty on boundaries, the large result of American fishing in troubled European waters.

The field has not been covered in just this way before, and, fortunately for the general reader, it is here presented in lucid English abounding in interesting detail. There are good outline maps and five appendices, containing the treaty and other pertinent documents.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

## SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

## MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



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## A WORTHY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION ASSURED

**T**HE city of Cleveland, Ohio, will be the place where the American Peace Society will celebrate its one-hundredth anniversary early in May, 1928. Cleveland is the home of its President, Theodore E. Burton. Leading citizens have underwritten the event handsomely.

The only problem now is to stage a conference worthy of the occasion. Both Mr. Burton and the Secretary leave August 5 for Europe with the intention of enlisting the interest of leading Europeans and of getting statesmen and publicists from abroad to speak at the conference.

Governor Brewster, of Maine, announces that that State is planning a celebration in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society and its founder, William Ladd. Those who follow the work of this Society will recall that the Legislature of Maine passed, during the month of March, a joint resolution calling attention to the fact that William Ladd, known in this country and abroad as *The Apostle of Peace*, did his major work for peace between nations while living for nearly thirty years in Minot, in the State of Maine. The resolution went on to request that the Governor of the State cooperate with the American Peace Society, and that he appoint a committee to be made up of the presidents of Bowdoin, Colby, and Bates colleges, the president of the University of Maine, the Commis-

sioner of Education, and such others as he may deem wise, to aid in such a commemoration. Pursuant to this resolution, the Governor has extended, through Dr. Augustus A. Thomas, State Commissioner of Education, a very cordial invitation to the American Peace Society to hold a celebration in honor of William Ladd, in Maine. There is no doubt that the people of Maine, like those of the city of Cleveland, will bring energy, intelligence, and devotion to the enterprise.

It is already clear that the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society is to be an event of international importance.

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## RELATION OF SEA POWER TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

**T**HE ADVOCATE OF PEACE accepts as a fundamental principle that the regulation of sea power in the interest of international peace can best be promoted only by first regulating the policies of States. It has not been our purpose, however, to embarrass in any way the more direct attempts to limit the power of fighting craft.

President Coolidge was undoubtedly right when, in his message to Congress February 10, he pointed out that competitive armaments constitute one of the most dangerous of contributing causes of international suspicion and discord, calculated eventually to lead to war. The Washington conference of 1921 grew out of that fact. Since the Washington conference,

and in a measure because of it, there has been an increasing desire among the nations to remove naval competition from the list of possible causes of international discord. Our government, particularly, has been concerned to complete the work begun at Washington by the conclusion of further agreements covering cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, for the spirit of competition can express itself in the smaller as well as in the larger types of fighting vessels. In other words, the Washington conference did not end the possibilities of competitive building.

It is for this reason that our government has co-operated with the Preparatory Commission set up last year by the League of Nations. This Preparatory Commission entered into most elaborate studies of the whole problem, but arrived at no definite conclusions. Fearing that a deadlock might follow, President Coolidge accepted the view that practical limitation might be achieved by regional agreements. It was because of this opinion that he issued his memorandum, addressing an inquiry to the governments represented at the Washington conference as to whether they were disposed to empower their representatives to initiate negotiations in the interest of a limitation of naval vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty. This memorandum was in effect an invitation to the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan to attend a regional conference in the interest of a further limitation.

The following dates are interesting: On February 15, France declined to send delegates to such a conference on the ground that to do so would run counter to her duties to the League of Nations. February 21, Italy also declined; but for another reason, namely, that it had little hope for a limited conference such as proposed by President Coolidge, and for the further reason that Italy's unfavorable geographical position does not permit her to limit

further her already insufficient defense. February 28, however, Great Britain accepted the invitation, and on March 11 the Japanese Government also agreed to take part in the proposed discussion, even among the three Powers.

In this situation the United States, urging that France and Italy should be represented at least in some informal manner, issued a call for a conference to begin at Geneva as early in June as possible. The three-power naval conference, France and Italy represented by unofficial observers, convened in Geneva on the 20th of June. The British delegation included representatives not only from Great Britain, but from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Canada. The American delegation, made up mostly of representatives of the navy, was headed by our Ambassador to Belgium, the Honorable Hugh Gibson.

From reports at hand it appears that the whole problem soon resolved itself in the conference into ratios of higher mathematics.

The American delegation stood for a 5-5-3 ratio for auxiliary craft as for the United States, Britain, and Japan, in accordance with the Washington conference ratio on capital ships. They would retain the 10,000 tons maximum for cruisers and oppose a maximum of 6,000 or 8,000 tons. They would retain eight-inch guns for cruisers and oppose any effort to reduce them to a six-inch limit. These ratios went into the area of cruisers and the tonnage figures of capital ships.

It was early pointed out by the American delegation that if their plan was adopted on the basis of 300,000 tons for the cruiser class both for the United States and the British Empire and 180,000 tons for Japan, and if the United States and the British Empire be limited to 250,000 tons in the destroyer class and Japan to 150,000 tons, it would mean, under the ex-

isting programs of construction, that the United States would have to scrap immediately about 60,000 tons of auxiliary combatant surface vessels and 80,000 additional tons of such vessels upon the completion of the present building program. The British Empire would have to scrap about 60,000 tons of auxiliary combatant surface vessels upon the completion of the present building program, and Japan about 40,000 tons. On the basis of 90,000 tons of submarines for the United States and the British Empire and 50,000 tons of submarines for Japan, no scrapping of submarines would be necessary until the present building programs are brought to completion. It is probably true that most of the vessels thus to be scrapped are practically obsolete. No new construction would be scrapped. Moderate replacement and building programs within clearly defined limits would be provided for. Such a plan, if put into force, would mean both a limitation of armaments and a cessation of competitive building.

But the plan has not met with favor, especially with the British, who have a system of mathematics all their own. Their figures relate to a far-flung empire and to its protection against all contingencies, which is of course a bit mythical. Other difficulties have arisen, relating to size of guns to be carried by the cruisers and the like.

To the lay mind, all these technicalities fail to touch the fundamental thing. Whether or not nations are going to settle their disputes by law or by arms is not primarily a matter of quantities. It is an affair of qualities. On the basis of mere ships, no one can blame Britain for desiring the control of the sea. But the day has passed when any nation can be sure of adequate defense in terms of armaments, even the United States. Competitive building of defenses is simply a vicious circle, more so today than ever before.

Theoretically, the international control of naval forces would solve the dilemma. This, however, is impracticable. We are in a world of individual nations. Attempting to limit their armaments will not get us very far toward peace. When the nations concentrate upon the organization of international justice, enabling them to achieve their interests in ways other than by war, then and not until then can we expect any adequate limitation of fighting machines and the end of competitive building in the area of sea power.

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### ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AND THE WORLD PEACE

**W**HEN the Assembly of the League of Nations requested the Council of the League to take the necessary steps toward the convocation of an International Economic Conference, it began its resolution on the subject in the following manner:

Firmly resolved to seek all possible means of establishing peace throughout the world;

Convinced that economic peace will largely contribute to security among the nations.

In his closing speech at the end of the work of the preparatory committee for the Economic Conference, M. Theunis, president of the committee, who later on also presided over the conference itself, said:

The political work of pacification undertaken by the League of Nations would not be comprehensible without simultaneous work in the economic field—a field which is closely connected with it.

Too many people still think that the political field and the economic field are entirely different. This is a profound and dangerous error, for every important economic question is by that very fact a political question. The work of political peace and disarmament should go hand

in hand with economic peace and disarmament.

The conference adopted the following resolution:

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.

Thus the questions of international peace loomed large in the eyes of the members of the conference, as well as of those who had initiated and prepared the economic parley. What has the work of the conference contributed to this great aim?

In one very important sense the International Economic Conference was itself a peace conference. It proclaimed for the nations of Europe a truce in the economic war that had been gathering momentum from the time of the termination of the World War.

The World War was fought not only on the battlefields of Europe, but also in the mentalities of the belligerent nations. And the martial mental attitudes outlived the actual hostilities. The treaties of peace, in their economic aspects, embodied many wartime ideas, the outstanding one among them being that which proclaimed the need of continuing an economic struggle against the vanquished even after their defeat on the field of battle.

What happened in Europe during the years immediately following the war was precisely that. For five years Germany and the other defeated powers were subjected to a one-sided economic régime. But after that they regained their free-

dom of action and began a policy of retaliation. The tariff war, which has been raising Europe's customs barriers by leaps and bounds, really dates from that period. It was into this war that the conference introduced the first real truce.

But the conference did more than that. It has succeeded in agreeing upon the principle that tariffs should henceforth be considered primarily from the point of view of their international repercussions and not merely of their effects upon national policies. This agreement represents a tremendous step forward in the development of a general policy of international economic conciliation.

The principal work of the conference was in the domain of commercial policy, and there its work on the tariff question was its outstanding achievement. But it has also opened the way for a similar change of attitude on other important matters, such, for example, as international industrial agreements.

In a memorandum on the economic tendencies capable of affecting the peace of the world, presented to the conference on behalf of the British labor organizations, the following are enumerated as some of the developments which in the past have created friction and hostility among nations: International combinations; the monopoly of certain important products; the private trade in armaments; the floating of loans for anti-social purposes; the evils arising from certain types of concessions; the investment of capital in undeveloped but populous countries to exploit the relatively inexhaustible supply of cheap and unorganized labor. It is to this sort of economic problems that the resolution adopted by the conference refers, that resolution itself having been placed before the conference by Mr. A. Pugh on behalf of these same organizations.

The removal of these and similar eco-

nomie phenomena from the sphere of national policy to that of international consideration will do much to forward the cause of peace. And the Economic Conference has paved the way for much fruitful work in this field.

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### GOING TO WAR BY POPULAR VOTE

OUR ambassador to the Court of Saint James, Alanson B. Houghton, in connection with receiving an honorary degree from Harvard University, June 23, said some things of interest to all students of the problems of war and peace. He went on to point out that for more durable peace between the self-governing nations, the people, and not small groups called governments, should have the power to decide for or against war. It seemed to him desirable that a conference to perfect a workable plan for such an agreement should be called between those peoples most alike in race and ancestry. While his address was in no sense official, what he had to say is, nevertheless, of more than usual importance.

"The difficulty of promoting a peace by agreement among the great self-governing powers," he said, "roots in the fact that those charged with political authority assume the inevitability of war. They are ready to agree that peace is desirable and that war is a frightful, expensive, and irrational method of settling international disputes. In view of human experience, however, they see no other alternative.

"Whatever else may be said to substantiate such a view of the ultimate relations between the self-governing nations, it plainly does not conform exactly to historical fact. War does not originate from time to time simply in a sudden and uncontrollable impulse on the part of one of these great national masses to go out

and slaughter another. War is possible, no doubt, because these masses are willing, under conditions, to fight.

"But these conditions are themselves an integral part of the problem. Before a war is conceivable, there must be an issue. And that issue, broadly speaking, is the outcome of a series of maneuvers by which the masses concerned are brought into positions of opposition. Obviously this maneuvering is not done by the masses themselves. Collectively and as individuals they have little, if anything, to do with the subtle and gradual shifting of international relationships. Their interests are directed to the more humble and prosaic task of earning a living. The maneuvering is done by little groups of men called governments.

"The entire process is in control of the smaller groups. They make the issue. They declare the war. The masses they control simply obey. Having put this power, or left this power in the hands of their governments, they find themselves at the critical moment substantially helpless. And so, as individuals, they merely accept the decision and go out to pay the bills of war.

"We know that the conditions that have hitherto led to war are the result of human volition and deliberate choice," declared Mr. Houghton, "not of the populations involved, but of their governments.

"Even if we admit, as perhaps we must, that as long as governments possess the power, first, to create conditions which ultimately result in a clash of national interest, and, second, by declaring war, to force those issues to a test of armed strength—even if we admit, under these circumstances, that history will merely repeat itself and war more or less inevitably follow, we have no reason to admit that a similar result would follow if the power to declare war were in the hands of

the populations. That is precisely what we do not know. The experiment has never been tried.

"There are considerations," he continued, "which indicate that war would not result if the power to declare it were placed in the hands of the people.

"First, the great self-governing peoples have shown themselves competent to manage their domestic affairs. Foreign affairs are merely an extension of domestic affairs. There is nothing mysterious about them.

"Foreign affairs are simply the outcome of the desire to trade, and they become dangerous only when men who temporarily possess power undertake to infringe upon the liberties of possessions of other peoples," he said.

"Second, war has steadily increased its demands. Once it could be waged with profit. Now no gain can equal its cost. Once it could be waged by a relatively small proportion of the population involved. Now it embraces all. And further," he added, "this new democratic era cannot withstand the shocks and wastes of war as well as can some societies more primitively organized.

"Third," he said, "while the fundamental relations between peoples are based, as at present, frankly and openly upon force, fear of attack becomes a natural and dominant consideration within each national group. Out of that fear springs, as a matter of course, the desire to increase armaments which, except for use against each other, are largely unnecessary. Each arms for defense, and each thus becomes potentially more able to attack and so more dangerous as a neighbor.

"But such would not be the case if the war-making power were diffused among a whole people. Time would be required before power could be focused," he said,

"and time is the greatest ally of peace.

"But we may go even further," the Ambassador continued. "If this concentrated power, now in the hands of little groups of men called governments, were in fact diffused among their peoples, we may safely assert that they would be less inclined than now to develop situations out of which war might easily emerge. They could not be sure of their ability to carry such questionable plans through to completion. The mere fact that they had so managed a nation's business as to lead it to a dangerous crisis would be their condemnation. A new set of forces, not hitherto available to prevent war, would come into active operation.

"Fourth, the power to declare war stands on a different plane from all other powers of government. It is all-embracing and all-consuming. It subordinates all other powers to itself. It represents the highest act of sovereignty. It is the one power which of all others a self-governing people would logically reserve to itself, since it puts in jeopardy their collective lives and property. And yet, strangely enough, it is the one power they do not possess.

"We create governments primarily to protect our individual lives and property. To that end, we make laws and set up legislative safe-guards, and if these prove unsatisfactory we change them. It is only when all our lives and all of our properties are suddenly involved in a great and supreme decision affecting peace or war that we cease to be self-governing. We accept the decision of others.

"The fact that self-governing peoples choose their own governments, and are, therefore, presumably responsible for the actions and decisions of those governments, does not meet the issue. Those governments are never elected on the precise issue of peace or war. They are

elected on domestic grounds and for domestic reasons. And a government elected primarily on an issue, let us say, such as the tariff, may not be at all representative when suddenly confronted by the need of a decision involving peace or war.

"But there is one doubt," the Ambassador continued, "and that is whether the people as a whole are as able to determine when war is necessary as well as the little group of individuals that now form the governments.

"And the answer to that doubt," he added, "depends, obviously, upon our belief in popular government. There was a time when the ability of men and women to govern themselves under any conditions was disputed—and for precisely the same reasons. History and the rise of self-governing States have demonstrated not only that they are competent, but that they are happier and safer when they take on themselves the responsibility of government.

"If what I have said has substantial basis in fact, it would seem that the time is at hand when a new experiment in democratic control must be made, and those peoples who have demonstrated their competence to govern themselves within their own national frontiers must assume direct responsibility for their relations with each other.

"Our governments," he continued, "have shown themselves unable to protect us against war. And the future, if they control it, seems likely to be merely an intensified repetition of the past. Personally I believe we cannot safely continue to be democratic within our national frontiers and autocratic in our relations with other people. A durable peace cannot be based upon force.

"It must, if it exists at all, be based

upon good will. And I believe profoundly that that practical good-will exists, that the great self-governing peoples can safely trust one another, and that only a method of dealing between them, inherited from an outgrown system of autocratic government, prevents our recognition of that great and beneficent fact. We are caught in a process of our own making. And we must unmake it."

Mr. Houghton declared he did not intend to go into the means by which such an extension of democratic control could be put into practical effect, but that the experiment would have to be international to be successful. It could not be entered into by one nation alone.

"One means for initiating such a proposition would be a conference between peoples who were nearest alike in race and ancestry," he continued, "to determine whether each government was prepared by proper legislative action to enable its people to accept or reject such a proposition, stipulating also that with the proposition would go an agreement that the countries entering into the treaty would agree not to attack each other for a term of years.

"In this way," he said, "and perhaps in this way only, we can join hands effectively with the other self-governing peoples in a common effort to secure a more durable peace."

Of course, Mr. Houghton's address set forth no new proposal. His main thought was often proposed by Mr. Bryan. It has been suggested from time to time by various writers. One weakness in the plan lies in the fact that wars are usually fought with the enthusiastic approval of the people. It would not be fair to say that our American people were led into the World War by a few who happened

to compose the government. It would be nearer the truth to say that the few were led by the people. It is not necessary, as a rule, to go through the formality of a plebiscite when a nation is raging for war. The will of the people is self-evident.

Then, too, it is conceivable that a nation suddenly attacked might be seriously handicapped by the necessity for conducting a referendum before moving to repulse the attack.

We doubt the practicability of the plan proposed by Mr. Houghton. That he saw fit, however, thus carefully to address himself to the world's problem of problems is an encouragement to all working for the amelioration of the ills of men.

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## THE TROUBLE IN CHINA

JUDGING by the available news from China, the trouble in that stricken land originates in the self-seeking exploitations of the various war-lords. If there were a way of co-operating with that majority—great majority, we believe—representative of the real China, the civil wars would cease forthwith.

Evidently we can rely little for our information about China upon the reports of "observers" returning from that country. According to a special dispatch to the *New York Times*, July 16, Reverend Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City, told the delegates to the Northfield Foreign Missionary Conference the day before that China's one present hope for justice at the hands of the western nations is by the sword. Dr. Jefferson, long known as an out-and-out pacifist, returned recently from a thirteen months' tour of the world. He believes that the Chinese revolution is due to the dominating policies of the Great Powers. He judges from

the history of oriental and western nations that the hope of China is to travel the path taken by Japan and to demand her place in the sun by virtue of her strength in arms. Other observers, however, assure us that the Chinese are not oppressed by the foreigners; that the administration of the maritime customs and of the post-office is done under contracts mutually agreed upon, and efficiently and profitably withal; more so than if managed by the Chinese themselves. We are told that the Chinese have all possible liberty and freedom for realizing their national aspirations; indeed, that the foreigners stand willing to help them in every way.

It seems to be the fact that the armies of the South are gaining strength and influence. This has been aided by the alliance between Chiang Kai-Shek and Feng Yu-Hsiang, now threatening Peking. The decline of communism has strengthened the moral position of these representatives of the "nationalist movement" with the anti-Bolshevik foreign powers. Evidently there is to be no communistic revolution in China. Whether or not the southern armies represent the true national idealism of the Chinese people may be doubted. It would appear, however, that they represent it more than does the northern war-lord, Chang Tso-Lin, whose soldiers are reported to be deserting to the Cantonese. In any event, it appears now that the southern armies are in the ascendancy. This is leading the foreign powers to worry about the lives and property of their citizens in the North. But so far the United States, as in the crisis at Nanking, has declined to take part in concerted action. Our public opinion seems still to approve President Coolidge's statement of April 25 that "we do not wish to pursue any course of aggression against the Chinese people."



It is a discouraging fact that the return of Tsingtao, once German and then Japanese territory, to China under the terms of the Washington Conference has not been altogether a success. The Chinese have not shown their capacity for improving that opportunity. Tsingtao, a beautiful and thriving city under foreign control, is rapidly declining under Chinese management. The trade of the city is being transferred to Tientsin because of the protection there to property and life by the foreign settlements. It is in the light of this situation that Japan sent some 2,000 troops to Tsingtao and thence to Tsinanfu, the capital of Shangtung, to protect the interests of her business men. Since Hankow and Kiukiang were taken from the British, they too, have visibly declined under Chinese leadership.

These things are not true because of any inherent defect in the Chinese people. They are a peace-loving, able, industrious, and highly intelligent folk. The trouble lies in the fact that the powers of darkness have the upper hand. The forces making for the good of China, the changes in national custom, the onward march of public education, the fact that China has been a republic since 1911, are all handicapped by these powers of darkness, and these powers of darkness, these actual enemies of China, are the war-lords, fomenting their "brother wars," holding back the moneys necessary for the new educational program, making it impossible for the forces of law and order to put the Government of China on its feet.

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### THE CASE OF AUSTRIA

**W**HEN rioting broke out, July 15, in the city of Vienna, when the rioters attacked the Parliament building and burned the Palace of Justice, two fears

were expressed in the editorials of various papers not only in Europe, but in America. These fears were, first, that the communists would get control of Vienna; second, that if German troops should enter Austria they would remain until the German-speaking Austrians had become a part of Germany.

We take no stock in either of these fears. The communists have no more show of establishing themselves in Austria than they had in China; indeed, not so much. Austria is an island surrounded by an ocean of opposition to the communists. There are four political parties represented in the Austrian chamber: the Christian Socialists, who have slightly weakened since the beginning of the Republic, in 1919; the Social Democrats, who have slightly increased during that period until they lack but two votes of equaling the Christian Socialists, the figures now being 73 Christian Socialists and 71 Social Democrats. During the same period the number of pan-Germanists has decreased from 20 to 12. The remaining Agrarian Party is represented by 9 deputies. In the Upper House the lines are still more firmly drawn. It is difficult to see how under such circumstances, with no communists in either branch of the legislature, there can be any serious menace from persons of that political faith. Furthermore, the figures do not seem to indicate any pronounced progress toward the "Anschluss," political union, favored by the pan-Germanists.

The July riot, a familiar form of political action commonly called in Austria a "demonstration," appears to have been a combination of politics and discontent due to unemployment. There is much misery in Austria, an inevitable outcome of the stupid settlement at the Peace Conference in Paris. According to the latest census,

1923, Austria has a population of 6,535,759. The population of its capital city, Vienna, is 1,865,780. Here is a top-heavy situation, the like of which exists nowhere else. It is not necessary to look for communistic activities or schemes to join with Germany to account for recurring demonstrations. The source of Austria's trouble lies in the very nature of its human composition. The Austrians are mild, kindly, and industrious. But, beset by enough misery, the best of human nature may be expected to rebel. If there ever has been a situation needing the attention of the League of Nations, that situation is in the Republic of Austria.

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THE friendliness of the press toward our Society is the meat and drink of its officers. We are pleased to reprint from the *Christian Endeavor World*, of July 14, the following editorial, which a certain timidity restrains us from saying for ourselves.

"Next May the *American Peace Society* will have finished a hundred years of valuable service in the cause that it represents. Earlier in its course its aim may have seemed to many the dream of visionaries. The lessons of the last great war have not been altogether lost on thinking people; and, though its horrors were a reminder of how far the world was from the reign of peace, they roused multitudes to the determination to do their utmost to bring that reign. The spirit of militarism is still strong, but more and more it will have to face something stronger than mere passive resistance. The present offers an opportunity and places a duty on those living today. President Coolidge has pointed out that if the generation that has seen the late war fails to take steps for prevention it will justly deserve the disaster certain to follow.

"The American Peace Society seeks to mark its centennial, not so much by celebrating what it has done in the past, but by rising to the occasion in achievement worthy to crown the past and begin a new

century. It is planning a gathering representing all parts of the country, to draw up a summary of points on which concerted action may be taken in the effort to concentrate public opinion on gaining peace for all nations. It has had in mind as a keynote "Our Country's Contributions to World Peace," and President Coolidge has consented to serve as honorary chairman of the committee on the celebration of the centennial.

"The success of the movement calls for the co-operation of the largest possible number in the proposed conference. The young people of the land especially have a vital interest in future peace or war, and should be alert to keep informed about what is to be done and to help; and the young followers of the Prince of Peace should make their influence felt as they can. Those that want to share in the plan are asked to send their names and addresses to the American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C."

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ALL INDIGENTS dependent upon the graces of the giving public will be interested in this quotation from a Paris paper as *le dernier cri* in American collection boxes. The statement reads:

"The latest thing in contribution baskets is said to have been invented by an Oklahoma man, and should be used in every church, as it would swell the amount taken up threefold in a little while. This is the way it works: If a person drops a quarter or more in the box, there is silence; if he drops in a dime, a bell rings; a nickel sounds a whistle, and a penny fires a blank cartridge. If one pretends to be asleep when the box passes, it awakens him with a watchman's rattle, and a kodak takes his picture."

One writing from Hawaii insists that he is suspicious of the thing, "because no congregation would stand for such a noisy contraption." He says, furthermore, that the underlying principle is unsound. He thinks the scale should run the other way. The dropping of ten dollars in the contri-

bution box should signal the choir for the doxology, whereas a penny given by an adult should produce a silence as loud as the crack of doom. We are for trying both kinds. Will some kind reader tell us how to hitch this idea on to our job of rounding up recalcitrant subscribers?

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CUBA AND LIBERIA have paid their debts, incurred as loans under the Liberty Loan Acts, to the United States. The announcement that Liberia had settled her debt was made by the United States Treasury, July 6.

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OUR settlement of the Nicaraguan situation is not as settled as it might be. July 16, General Sandino, of the Sacasa forces, with some 400 followers, attacked thirty-nine American marines and forty-seven men of the Nicaraguan constabulary at Ocotal, about 110 miles from Managua. It seems that the General some time ago seized a mining property owned by an American. He successfully resisted an effort by a small American force to dislodge him. Then it was that he conceived the plan to attack the Americans. The result was a crushing defeat for the attacking party. From this distance it is difficult to see why the friends of Nicaragua are not content to await the general elections soon to take place. They must know that our government is anxious to wash its hands of the Nicaraguan situation at the earliest possible moment.

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SPAIN, in her plans for a new constitution, does not propose to go back to the old institutions of parliamentarianism. This is an interesting expression of the attitude of the modern dictator toward parliaments. Primo de Rivera, however,

insists that the political reforms are to be carried out by the desires of the people and according to the new ideas of political science. He has recently announced that a consultative assembly will be constituted in which all economic and intellectual activities will be represented for the purpose of discussing and approving the reforms and of helping the government to achieve the political change. He expressed the opinion that the new constitution "will be technical in preparation and democratic in approval." If it really meets that standard, it is difficult to see how it can fail.

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THAT peace hath her victories no less renowned than war has been illustrated recently at the opening session of the League of Red Cross Societies, meeting in Paris. The attention of the meeting was directed to the devastation in the Mississippi Valley; whereupon the representative of the French Red Cross bore witness to the sympathy of the French Republic to the victims of the catastrophe and drew great applause by announcing that the French Red Cross had resolved to manifest that sympathy in practical form by sending sera and vaccine to the afflicted region. At a subsequent meeting the President of the Polish Red Cross moved that other national societies follow the French example. The motion was passed by acclamation, and that in spite of Judge Payne's explanation that the American Red Cross was happily at present in position to handle the situation without foreign help. It was reported, however, that there were tears in his eyes as he acknowledged his colleagues' sympathy and solidarity.

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THE International Danube Commission, which has had its headquarters since 1921 at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia,

held, June 15 to 30, its final session in Prague, before removal of its headquarters to Vienna, where it will remain for a term of five years. The Commission was created by the Treaty of Versailles, the States represented being Austria, Bavaria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Württemberg, and Yugoslavia. Its duty is the maintenance of liberty of navigation and the equal treatment of all the flags of the Danube from Ulm, Württemberg, to Braila, Rumania, and all its connecting

systems. Administration funds come from equal contributions from the eleven States represented. The session just concluded at Prague considered plans for the improvement and development of navigation on the Danube, adjustment of traffic at the Iron Gates, with other questions involving tariffs and administration. It was considered a fruitful session because of the spirit of conciliation and co-operation which prevailed in settling the main points of the agenda.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### THE NAVAL CONFERENCE IN GENEVA

THE conference for the further limitation of naval armaments, which opened at Geneva on June 20, is, at the time of this writing, still far from any agreement on the questions under discussion. After a whole month of strenuous negotiations, the three Powers participating in the conference appear to be just as far removed from common ground as at the beginning. In fact, the British delegates are now in London, conferring with their government on further procedure. The basic differences which separate the three participating Powers and are particularly sharp as between Great Britain and the United States appeared in the very first declarations made on behalf of each of the Powers at the opening session of the conference. The text of the American proposals has already been published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* (see the July number). The British and the Japanese proposals are given below.

#### Text of the British Proposal

The British proposal was as follows:

(1) The extension of the accepted life of existing capital ships from 20 to 26 years, and a consequent waiver by the three Powers

of their full rights under replacement tables agreed upon at Washington. Such an arrangement would naturally have to provide for some little elasticity on each side of that figure.

(2) The fixing of the life of other vessels:

(a) Eight-inch gun cruisers at 24 years.

(b) Destroyers at 20 years.

(c) Submarines at 15 years.

(3) The reduction in the size of any battle-ships to be built in the future from the present limit of 35,000 tons displacement to something under 30,000 tons.

(4) Reduction in the size of guns in battle-ships from the present limit of 16-inch to 13-5-inch.

(5) Limitation of the displacement of aircraft carriers to 25,000 tons instead of 27,000 tons.

(6) Reduction of guns in aircraft carriers from 8-inch to 6-inch.

(7) Acceptance of the existing ratio, 5:5:3 for cruisers of 10,000 tons displacement carrying 8-inch guns.

(8) The numbers of these larger cruisers which each of the three countries require can be the subject of further discussion.

(9) A limitation of 7,500 tons and 6-inch guns to be placed on all future light cruisers after the number of 10,000-ton cruisers has been decided upon.

(10) Limitation of displacement of:

(a) Destroyer leaders to 1,750 tons;

(b) Destroyers to 1,400 tons.

(11) Guns in destroyers to be limited to 5-inch.

(12) *Submarines*.—We have not changed our mind since the Washington conference, when our delegates expressed their willingness to agree to the discontinuation of the use of submarines in warfare. But we recognize that Powers which possess fewer of the larger vessels of war regard the possession of submarines as a valuable weapon of defense.

At the same time we feel that if the proposals we have put forward for limitation of battleships and other more powerful vessels of war should be accepted, it would not be unreasonable to suggest some limitation in the size, and perhaps also in the number, of submarines.

We therefore propose that the tonnage of the larger type of submarine be limited to 1,600 and of the smaller type to 600, and the armament of each to 5-inch guns. We also think it would be desirable to discuss the possibility of limiting the number of submarines according to our varying requirements. And it must be borne in mind that any limit placed on the number of submarines would make it easier to limit the number of destroyers, and if agreement were reached on these points with other Powers it might be possible also to consider numbers of cruisers each of us should possess.

### The Japanese Proposal

The Japanese delegation made the following proposal:

(1) In future no building program to be adopted, no new ships to be acquired for the purpose of increasing naval strength.

(2) The naval strength to be allowed each Power shall be determined for surface auxiliary craft and submarines, respectively, on the basis of the tonnages of the existing effective ships and of the ships under construction, taking into consideration the tonnages of the ships authorized but not yet laid down and of the ships attaining age limit during the execution of the authorized programs.

(3) Construction or acquisition of the ships in future shall be limited to replacements within the limit of the prescribed naval strength of the respective Powers. Due con-

sideration should be given to equalize as far as possible the amount of annual constructions for replacements.

(4) The ships of small dimensions and the ships limited in activity shall be exempt from limitation.

### Differences Between Great Britain and the United States

There are three main differences between Great Britain and the United States. They are concerned with the scope of the discussion, the basis of limitation, and the actual maximum figures.

The British made it clear at the outset that what they want in Geneva is a discussion not only of the auxiliary craft, which was specified in the original invitation to the conference, but also of capital ships. The American delegation, on the other hand, has taken the position that the discussion of capital ships is outside the scope of the agenda, especially since that question is to come up at another conference to be held in 1931, in pursuance of the Washington Treaty.

The British propose as the basis of limitation for auxiliary craft the actual number and armament of each class of ships. The American preference is for total tonnage as the basis.

Finally, the British estimates of their requirements in auxiliary craft are considerably larger than the figures contained in the American proposal designed to serve as the maximum in the establishment of ratios for the three Powers.

On none of these major differences is there any agreement. The Japanese delegation has not as yet definitely taken sides.

### THE LUNÉVILLE SPEECH

ON JUNE 19 Premier Poincaré unveiled a war memorial in the town of Lunéville, and in the course of the ceremonies he delivered an address, which has become sensational for the rancor with which the head of the French Government referred to Germany. After speaking of the sufferings of Lunéville during the war, M. Poincaré said that the French people do not wish to make their "terrible memories" a cause for "eternal resent-

ment against a neighboring nation. If, from the moment of her defeat, Germany had openly disavowed the government and the military caste which had led her into the war, if she had copied the French nation's repudiation of 1870, if she had not contested against all evidence the crushing responsibilities of the imperial policy, it would never have occurred to any body to confuse a people with a fallen régime and to attribute to Germans generally the abominable acts which the French had witnessed.

#### Bitter Criticism of German Leaders

Then M. Poincaré continued :

On every occasion when France has been victorious in her long and magnificent history she has spontaneously held out her hand to the conquered—on one condition, however, and that is that there is no attempt to contest her victory or to take it from her. What has, unfortunately, threatened to disturb peace since it was proclaimed is certainly not French lack of good will. France has never sought anything outside or beyond the treaties. She has demanded, and will continue to demand, only the security of her frontier and the payment of her reparations. At Locarno and Geneva alike she has given, I imagine, clear enough proofs of her pacific disposition.

But why, on her side, did Germany ostentatiously send to Lisbon a fortnight ago a warship which she still calls *Elsass*? Why, in speeches delivered on November 1 and 3, 1925—that is to say, after Locarno—did a German minister—and not one of the least important—say that the renunciation of the force of arms by Germany had simply been dictated by the fact that Germany no longer possessed any force of arms? Why did he say that there had not been any moral renunciation of any sort whatever of German provinces or populations? And why did another minister add, more expressly, that he regarded Alsace as a German province, and that in renouncing violence Germany had not renounced any German country. Can the Berlin Government believe that such an interpretation of the Locarno agreement responds to the sentiments of France.

Why, moreover, do high financial authorities in Germany leave it already to be understood that before two years have passed Germany will ask for a revision of the Dawes

scheme and will no longer effect the contemplated payments? Are these really words of wisdom and conciliation on the two questions which France is obliged to consider as vital? If Germany said to us frankly: "I have renounced Alsace and Lorraine, which I had taken from you by force in 1871 and which had unanimously protested against the annexation; I will not try to retake them from you either by a fresh violence or by ruse or in any other manner"; if, at the same time, Germany at least consented, as asked by the Conference of Ambassadors on February 10 last, to reorganize her policy, to dissolve the military associations, to dispose of the arsenals and barracks which she is keeping in violation of the treaty, and to complete the destruction of the forbidden fortifications, she would give the world pledges of peace which would dissipate all uneasiness and would render easy a *rapprochement* which we are not the last in desiring.

#### Reactions of the French Press

Premier Poincaré's Lunéville address had a rather mixed reaction in the French press. Generally speaking, the tone of the press was one of approval, the Nationalist press being naturally particularly warm in its commendations. On the other hand, the journals of the Left were quite condemnatory. For example, the *Volonté* complained that M. Poincaré's speech has put the clock back three years and is strongly reminiscent of the Premier's "Sunday addresses" in the days of the Ruhr. The bitterest attack on the Premier came from the Socialist *Soir*, which said :

We do not wish to revive old controversies, but we are entitled to point out that M. Poincaré's policy has in its day all but isolated us in the world. It needed the general election of 1924, the victory of the Left, the coming into office of M. Herriot, and the famous London conversations to restore to France her true visage. Since then M. Briand has taken up again his work of peace, which at the time of Cannes M. Poincaré and M. Millerand brutally interrupted. Since then M. Briand has entered on the path of Locarno, the great honor of his life.

Thanks to M. Briand, misunderstandings have been dissipated and angers appeased, an international *détente* has come about, and Franco-German relations have become better, more cordial, more confident, even. No mean result this.

Yet this is the moment that M. Poincaré chooses to indulge in his habitual recriminations against Germany. Plainly M. Poincaré's policy contradicts that of M. Briand. Is it has been opened? We have the right to know. An offensive against M. Briand's policy that The cause of peace is at stake.

## GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

**P**REMIER POINCARÉ'S Lunéville address caused an intense excitement in Germany, and Foreign Minister Stresemann took the occasion of the opening of the Reichstag debate on foreign policy, which took place June 23, to reply to some of the direct accusations directed against Germany by the head of the French Government. In course of the same speech he also dealt with a number of other important topics.

### The Lunéville Address

Herr Stresemann characterized the Lunéville speech as so important for the appreciation of Franco-German relations that he thought it incumbent upon him to deal quite frankly with the various points discussed in it. He called attention to the fact that the battleship bearing the name *Elsass*, recently sent to Lisbon, was constructed in 1903. It was incomprehensible that anyone so well versed in the Treaty of Versailles as M. Poincaré could be unaware why this old ship was still in the German Navy. Why, instead of quoting isolated sentences out of old speeches, did M. Poincaré not quote the unambiguous declarations made by Herr Marx after the formation of the present German Cabinet? Nothing could more clearly show Germany's firm intention to continue to pursue the policy of understanding. After this declaration (which Herr Stresemann himself quoted) nothing more could be asked of Germany in the way of a straightforward affirmation of the Locarno policy.

With regard to disarmament, the reso-

lutions of the Conference of Ambassadors showed that Germany had given the world a guarantee of peace. It could only be assumed that M. Poincaré, owing to his office as Prime Minister, was no longer closely enough in touch with the actual negotiations to know what had happened.

In conclusion, amid growing excitement in the House, Herr Stresemann asked:

What is M. Poincaré's aim—Ruhr policy or Locarno policy? One or the other is possible, but not both together. Germany is ready to clasp the hand of France if it is offered in the spirit of reconciliation, but not as the hand of the victor offered to the vanquished. They are always being told of France's threatened security. Nobody in Germany threatens that security. There is no responsible person in Germany who would be so criminal as to drive Germany into a war with any Power, in the West or in the East. At length, eight years after the war, they want the restoration of German sovereignty. They want a peaceful but free nation on free German soil. Let the German Reich be given the peace to which it has every right. Germany's attitude is clear to every eye; it was the present government that had expressly announced the renunciation of the idea of revenge. But they have this question to ask France: "*Gallia, quo vadis?*" Is the war spirit to last forever or would France choose the device, "For peace and freedom"? Not only they, the Germans, but all nations that wanted peace are waiting for the answer.

### Troops in the Rhineland

In discussing the last meeting of the League Council, Herr Stresemann dwelt on one important question that had not been settled in the negotiations held outside the Council, namely, that of a reduction of the troops in the Rhineland. He wished to correct a false impression prevalent in France that the fulfillment of this demand would be a proof of good will towards Germany requiring compensation. It is not a case of a concession, but of assurances given on November 14, 1925, upon which the signature of the Locarno Treaties is dependent. It must be admitted that assurances of other descriptions have been loyally fulfilled. The

situation in the Rhineland, so far as the Occupation Authorities are concerned, had improved. But the reduction of 4,000 to 5,000 men hitherto made is much less than had been promised. If the term "normal figures" had any meaning, it could only be the strength of the forces maintained in the Rhineland by Germany before the war.

The question of the reduction is more, however, than one of figures; it has become a question of the maintenance of German confidence in the honorable intentions of the other signatories of the Locarno treaties, and it is not wise to wait until the German public lost its patience. Herr Stresemann quoted Mr. Locker-Lampson's statement in the House of Commons on Tuesday that Sir Austen Chamberlin is confident that one result of the conversations would be to facilitate the execution of the resolution of the Conference of Ambassadors relating to troops in the Rhineland, and the various points still outstanding in regard to disarmament. A report from the German Ambassador in London shows that the concluding words did not mean that the disarmament points are to be regarded as a preliminary condition. Germany has delivered her report on the demolition of the Eastern fortifications. If the Cabinet, through General Pawelsz, has held out the possibility of some sort of supplementary inspection, it is to be regarded as a step taken by the government entirely on its own initiative. Germany is in no way legally bound.

#### Germany and the Soviets

In the same connection Herr Stresemann dealt with the Communist interpellation about Germany's relations with Soviet Russia. With regard to the suggestion that the chief purpose of the Geneva discussions was to bring Germany into an anti-Soviet front, he referred the Communists to the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*, which had declared that it had not been possible to obtain Germany's consent to anti-Soviet schemes, and had expressed the opinion that this had strengthened rather than weakened Germany's international prestige. He himself, however, added more positive declarations, after explaining that it is a mat-

ter of course that Germany should in no way take sides in the Anglo-Soviet dispute, which she very much regrets. He could give the assurance that no attempt whatever had been made at Geneva to deflect Germany from the course of her foreign policy. Nothing about alleged anti-Soviet coalition plans had come to his knowledge. He is convinced that all the States concerned retained full liberty to determine their relations with Soviet Russia in accordance with their individual interests.

In regard to Germany's own relations with Soviet Russia, it is the first principle of international politics not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, but, while that means that there is no question of their intervening in domestic concerns of the Soviet régime, it also means that, as in the past, they would have to oppose with the utmost firmness any attempts directed from without against their own régime. In common with other countries they defend themselves against world-revolutionary propaganda.

#### New German Tariff Policy

Another aspect of Germany's foreign policy which has recently come under discussion has been in connection with the tariff. On June 22, at the Congress of the German Chambers of Commerce at Hamburg, Herr Curtius, the Minister for Economic Affairs, announced that the German Government is contemplating reductions of industrial tariffs in pursuance of its approval, expressed by Herr Stresemann at Geneva, of the resolutions of the World Economic Conference.

The provisional tariff law of August, 1925, expires at the end of July, and as the work of drafting a permanent one is still far from completion the only course open is to prolong it for another limited period either as it is or with a few alterations. The Cabinet's proposal, not yet approved by the Coalition, is that it should be prolonged with only those three alterations. The potato duty is to be raised from 25 pfennigs to 50 pfennigs a cwt., and that on pork from 26 to 32 marks. The increase of the sugar duty is to be accompanied by a reduction of the sugar tax. These concessions are, of



course, much too small to please the Agrarian Nationalists, although their representative in the Cabinet, Herr Schiele, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, has apparently agreed to them. The Left Wing of the Center, on the other hand, like the Opposition parties farther to the Left, is dissatisfied on principle, but the Center Ministers have also, it is to be assumed, given their assent to the compromise.

## THE FRENCH BUDGET

**P**REMIER POINCARÉ, in his capacity of Minister of Finance, has presented to the Chamber a memorandum dealing with the budget for 1928. In the course of his exposé, M. Poincaré reviewed the fiscal results of the past two years, and his memorandum is replete with exceedingly interesting facts and figures bearing on the financial situation of France.

### The Last Two Budgets

M. Poincaré declares that the budget for 1926 more than achieved the objects with which it was framed. The provisional returns up to the present month show that the receipts already exceed the expenditure by nearly 1,600 millions, though this sum will be somewhat reduced by the retroactive effect of certain concessions to be made to the wounded and to the increase in civil and military pay and pensions. In 1927 the Government budgeted for a revenue of 39,728 millions and an expenditure of 39,541 millions. Various reductions in taxation diminished revenue by over 1,700 millions; but the indirect taxes, and particularly the turnover tax, which affords the best indication of the state of commerce, have come in well, and at present show a surplus of 692 million francs over the estimated yield, while the direct taxes are expected to prove 500 millions above the Budget figure.

The Government prides itself on the prudence of their estimates, as shown by these results, and on the substantial establishment of the balanced Budget. The Budget for 1928 shows increases on both sides of the account. Revenue is

estimated at 42,160 millions and expenditure at 41,527 millions, leaving a surplus of 633 millions, as against 187 millions in 1927. It is recognized, however, that much of this surplus is provisional; it will be reduced by increases not yet ascertained to be made in the pay of the post and telegraph employees, and by the cost of bringing out the funding loan of last May. After these deductions it is not expected to amount to 200 millions.

### No Change of Assessments

Then comes the announcement which will be most immediately welcome to the French taxpayer. The Government has resolved not to make the slightest modification this year in the existing system, either as to taxes or assessments. By incessant changes as to both, French Cabinets and legislators have plunged the taxpayer into what M. Poincaré declares to be "a labyrinth," whose paths are "known only to a few experts." A somewhat similar "labyrinth" is being constructed nearer home. The uncertainties and injustices caused by this state of the law, and the losses which it inevitably inflicts on industry and trade, have determined the French Government not to add to its confusion by further meddling this year. They are alive to the need of certain readjustments in taxation, but they conceive that these would be at present premature.

The old French practice of fixing the indirect taxes on the figures of the last year but one has been applied, so that those of 1926 will be the basis for 1928, but concessions to the taxpayer amounting to more than 390 millions have been made—most of them in the very heavy duties payable on sales of real property and of businesses. The main items added on the side of expenditure are in round numbers 2,600 millions for war pensions, increases in the salaries of civil servants, and increases in the pensions of retired civil servants. M. Poincaré commits his government to the principle that pensions ought to be fully readjusted to the new standard of salaries which will come into force next January, and recognizes for himself and his colleagues the justice of the claims made by those who

have retired, but he pleads that the revenue available will not enable the State to pay at first more than 70 per cent of the increase which will be made from that date. Special stress is laid upon the assurance, which is repeated more than once in the statement, that neither in the salaries nor in pensions are the present increases final. They are but a provisional stage in a complicated process of successive readjustments, and will call for fresh modifications according to the changes in the economic situation and in the state of the Budget.

#### Credits for the Army and for Agriculture

The reorganization of the army imperatively demands an additional outlay of over 300 millions in 1928. The money is needed, in the first place, for increases in the bounties paid on enlistment and re-enlistment and for other advantages to be conferred upon the long-service troops. M. Poincaré reminds the numerous advocates of short service in the Chamber that both enlistments and re-enlistments have been falling off, and that an increase in the effectives of the professional army is recognized to be an indispensable condition precedent to a reduction of the service required from the conscript forces. The plan for the progressive substitution of civilians for soldiers in the performance of certain fatigue duties, a change designed to leave all the men of a contingent more time for intensive military training, will absorb another portion of this credit, as will the repletion of stores, the arming of the frontiers, and the reinforcement of the marine militaire.

A credit of nearly 37,500,000f. for the improvement of agricultural production, much needed in this great agricultural country, is the only other item of expenditure which need be noted.

#### Budget Equilibrium

M. Poincaré does not pretend that the Budget could have been balanced and that this large expenditure could have been incurred out of the taxes, heavy though they are. The present results have been attained by the reduction in the service of the consolidated debt and of the debt

repayable at fixed dates or by annuities from 15,533 million francs in the Budget of 1927 to 13,559 million francs in the budget of 1928—a total reduction of 1,974 million francs. The improvement of the franc from 150 to the pound, the rate on which the 1927 budget was framed, to 124, the figure taken for the budget of 1928, accounts for a decrease of some 400 millions. The development of the Dawes payments relieves the new budget of the 833 millions to cover foreign charges which appeared in the budget of last year, and reductions in the rate of interest have enabled the autonomous Caisse to depend upon its own revenues, such as the tobacco monopoly, for 1928, whereas an annuity of 490 millions was allotted to it in 1927. Finally, the repayment by the Bank of France to the Bank of England, and that of the French Treasury bonds issued in England since 1904, relieves the floating debt from about 300 millions of francs by way of interest.

M. Poincaré ends his remarkable review, as he began it, on a note of warning. The financial policy followed by the Chambers on the demand of the government has been the one foundation of the results which have been achieved. The government lay them before the Chambers as nothing more than a new advance along the path which ought to lead to a definitive restoration of the national finances. It is an arduous path, but they are firmly convinced that by perseverance in their present attitude, government and Chambers will be able to record from year to year successive improvements, of which this budget presents the first that have been realized. No magic changes, M. Poincaré reminds France, can conjure away the economic consequences of five years of war. Unwavering resolve and stubborn perseverance are the essential and necessary conditions of the recovery of which this year has witnessed the first fruits. And this resolve and perseverance must come from the nation as from the government. The whole problem is still a "question of confidence."

## BRITISH LABOR AND THE SOVIETS

THE diplomatic break between Great Britain and Soviet Russia placed British labor in a rather awkward position with regard to the Communists. This has been especially true of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the T. U. C., which has been favorably inclined toward friendly co-operation with the Russian Trade Union movement and took a leading part in the creation, three years ago, of the so-called Anglo-Russian Committee, which was designed to serve as the connecting link between the labor movements of Great Britain and of Russia. Ever since the break the Executive Committee of the Russian Trade Union Federation bombarded the officials of the T. U. C. with requests for the convocation of the Committee for the purpose of discussing the situation that had arisen. The British unionists showed marked reluctance to this, and while the meeting of the Committee finally took place, it was preceded by acrimonious correspondence between the two bodies.

### The Anglo-Russian Correspondence

On May 14 the Russians sent a message to the T. U. C., in which they declared:

The latest events prove our worst apprehensions regarding the attack which is being prepared by the Imperialists, with England in the lead, against the Soviet Union [the raid on the Peking Embassy and on Arcos and the Trade Delegation are instanced]. . . . The English conservative government is definitely taking off the mask and carrying out a policy of definite rupture, first of commercial and then of diplomatic relations, thus passing to more aggressive action. . . . At this most serious moment all efforts should be strained toward calling upon the working class to withstand this dangerous policy.

The T. U. C. replied that it had already protested to the Prime Minister, but could not yet arrange a meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee. On May 25, after the break with Russia, the T. U. C. agreed to an early meeting. On June 3, however, the Russians cabled again declaring that they considered

the situation very serious, for the intention to thrust war on the Soviet Union is obvious. The only thing which is not clear is from which side and how soon the attack will be launched. Those who really want to fight war cannot wait with folded arms until the moment when war "unexpectedly" comes upon them. . . . The workers of the Soviet Union want to know what the [Anglo-Russian] Committee intends to do to struggle against approaching war, and in the event of its occurrence.

The Russians therefore insisted on an early meeting. Apparently the T. U. C. was not quite so concerned about the war danger as the Russians, and no answer was returned. On June 10 the Russians broke out again in a minatory telegram:

You have not given any definite answer to our repeated suggestions about convening the Anglo-Russian Committee, notwithstanding the extreme urgency of the situation. Our organizations are inquiring about the reasons for the passivity of the Committee, which compels us, in the event of failure to receive from you a definite answer by the 14th inst., to make public our correspondence.

The T. U. C. then agreed to a meeting at Berlin on June 17 and 18 between the chairmen and secretaries of the two bodies, "for a preliminary discussion of the matter you propose referring to the Anglo-Russian Committee." This annoyed the Russians, who replied that although they did not object to a preliminary meeting,

in the name of our organization we categorically insist upon the arrival of all members of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Berlin on the same date, and the holding of a plenary meeting.

Events are rapidly developing, and no delay is permissible. Awaiting an urgent reply, absence of which will be regarded by us as consent, and all Russian members of the Anglo-Russian Committee will be in Berlin on the 17th.

But the British were not to be rushed. Mr. Citrine replied for the T. U. C. that there could be no full meeting until the British General Council had given its authority, and there would be no meeting of that body until June 22. The Russians

then moderated their demands and fell in with the proposal for the meeting of officials in Berlin.

#### Russian Dissatisfaction with the Berlin Meeting

The Berlin meeting was apparently thoroughly unsatisfactory to the Russians. In a speech delivered in Moscow upon his return from Berlin, M. Tomsky, president of the Russian Trade Union Federation, inveighed against the "treachery" of the British labor leaders. He remarked that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress considered it had done a "fine revolutionary thing by giving Rosengolz [formerly Acting Charge d'Affaires in London] a lunch at the House of Commons. Some may agree that lunching with Rosengolz is very revolutionary, but it certainly did not require serious sacrifices on their part." Tomsky described the General Council's protest against the Arcos raid as a "toothless, drivelling, double-faced document, which increased our alarm and induced us to intensify our pressure on the General Council, endeavoring, however, to avoid giving it a loophole to explode the Anglo-Russian Committee."

Referring to the recent Berlin meeting of the Committee, Tomsky said that he and Melnichansky (the other Soviet representative) endeavored to induce Messrs. Citrine and Hicks (secretary and chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress) to support the U. S. S. R. in its struggle against impending war, to which Mr. Hicks replied: "Certainly, but there is no war. Why cry 'Wolf! Wolf!' when there is no wolf?" "We declared," Tomsky added, "that it was the greatest mistake, which would be interpreted as a desire to desert us, the workers of the U. S. S. R., just at the most difficult and most menacing moment—as an intention to abandon the Russian workers in distress, explode the Anglo-Russian Committee, and show loyalty to the British Government and *bourgeois* public opinion." The British delegates at the meeting objected, said Tomsky, to the substance and tone of certain Bolshevik communications, but he and Melnichansky refused to withdraw a single word.

#### British Labor Protest Against Red Terror

At a joint meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party the following resolution was adopted, protesting against political executions in Russia:

This joint meeting of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party, while recognizing the exceptional difficulties and dangers of the political situation in Soviet Russia, and fully appreciating the justifiable indignation of the Russian Soviet Government at the assassination of M. Voikoff, their Minister at Warsaw, at the same time feel obliged to protest against the policy avowedly adopted by the Soviet Government of executing persons innocent of the murder of M. Voikoff as a reprisal for that murder.

They are of opinion that to meet murder by murder is a policy which degrades the standards of civilized life and which can be productive of nothing but harm to Soviet Russia, and they express the fervent hope that the practice of executing persons for political offenses in Soviet Russia, with or without trial, will cease.

#### END OF THE EGYPTIAN CRISIS

ON JUNE 16, Sarwat Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, made a statement in the Cairo Chamber of Deputies regarding the progress of negotiations between his government and the British High Commissioner. His statement was preceded, two days before, by the delivery at the residency of the Egyptian reply to the last British note, and while the text of the notes is still withheld, Sarwat Pasha's speech undoubtedly indicates that the crisis may be considered as ended.

#### Stand Taken by the Egyptian Government

Sarwat Pasha stated that the last British note began with the assurance of Great Britain's desire to settle outstanding points in a friendly fashion, and ended with an invitation to the Egyptian Government to open negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement laying down the bases of co-operation, and ended by a statement of demands compliance with which

would form a *modus vivendi* until such time as the desired agreement could be reached.

After careful consideration the Egyptian Government concluded that the demands, if granted, would, taking them as a whole, lead to a diminution of Egyptian sovereignty, Parliamentary authority, and constitutional powers. Lacking power to agree to anything which might infringe any of these points, and being in no position to lay the question before Parliament, the Egyptian Government found itself unable to accept the demands in the form presented. But, desirous of removing all causes of misunderstanding, the government sought to settle the question in some other way, a way which, while not infringing the rights he had mentioned, would be within the Ministry's powers.

The Cabinet, therefore, decided to examine afresh the present condition of the Egyptian army and the requirements of discipline. It felt it possible to accept those demands which appeared in themselves desirable from the point of view of good order and administration, and also other demands of a personal nature which contained nothing harmful and whose acceptance would tend to dispel all misunderstandings. For these reasons the Egyptian Government accepted the maintenance of the *status quo* in the administration of the army frontiers districts, with necessary reservations in regard to the constitutional authority of Ministers and Ministerial responsibility towards Parliament.

#### Content of the Notes

It is reported from an authoritative source that the British demands were intended primarily to check the infiltration of political activities into the Egyptian army and to preserve it from the improper influences which have lately been disquietingly manifest. The main demands were that the British Inspector-General's existing functions should be maintained unimpaired; that he should be given such rank and pay and additional staff as were necessary to enable him properly to discharge the functions vested in him, and that all questions with regard to appointments, promotions, rewards, and the dis-

missal of officers from the Egyptian army should be subject to no other considerations than those of good order and discipline. The Egyptian Government agreed without reservation that the exclusion of political influences and the maintenance of good discipline in the Egyptian army were desirable, welcomed the proposal of co-operation, admitted the soundness of the demands, and declared its willingness to meet them for reasons of good order and discipline.

The Prime Minister's statement was very ably constructed to allay the anxieties of the Egyptian Parliament. He took his stand on the following facts: (1) The Egyptian Government confined itself exclusively to what was within the powers of the executive; (2) the settlement in no way impaired the authority of Parliament; (3) the acceptance of the British demands is in accordance with the requirements of good order and discipline; (4) the settlement obviously paved the way for better relations and negotiation over outstanding questions.

### CHANG TSO-LIN'S NEW POSITION

A CONFERENCE of the military leaders of Northern China, held in the middle of June, made a far-reaching decision whereby all military and civil authority in that portion of the country is now concentrated in the hands of Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, who at the same time becomes Generalissimo of all the Northern armies. The new Generalissimo issued a mandate appointing a new Cabinet to supersede the Peking Government. In this way the last government in Peking deriving its authority from any vestige of constitutional power has disappeared and its place has been taken by an undisguised military dictatorship.

#### The New Cabinet

Under Chang Tso-Lin's mandate the new Cabinet is made up as follows:

Pan Fu, Prime Minister and Communications.

Liu Chang-ching, Agriculture and Labor.

Yen Chih-p, Finance.

Wang Ying-Tai, Foreign Affairs.

Liu Che, Education.  
 Ho Feng-Lin, Military Affairs, combining the Navy.  
 Shen Jui-Lin, Interior.  
 General Chang Ching Hui, Industry.  
 Yao Chen, Justice.  
 Hsia Jen-Hu, Chief Cabinet Secretary.

Pan Fu, the new Prime Minister, is a Shangtung man and is 56 years of age. He went into business and became one of the leading industrialists of Northern China. In 1911 he was appointed Industrial Taotai of Shantung, and two years later Chief of the Industrial Bureau. In 1915 he organized the Lufeng Spinning Mill at Tsinanfu (the capital of Shantung). Soon afterwards he was made Associate Director of the National Conservancy Bureau, and at the end of 1918 was appointed to a high position on the Grand Canal Improvement Board. In December, 1919, he became Vice-Minister of Finance and Director of the Salt Administration. He resigned both offices in November, 1921, and announced his retirement from politics. In December of last year, however, he returned to office in the Cabinet now dissolved as Minister of Communications. Pan Fu has been a close associate of Chang Chung-chang, the ex-brigand, who has been Governor of Shantung since 1925.

The new Finance Minister is manager of Chang Tso-lin's private business concerns; the new Education Minister is a Senator from Kirin; Ho Feng-lin was formerly Defense Commissioner for Shanghai and was President of the Court which recently condemned the 20 Communists; Shen Jui-lin was formerly Min-

ister for Foreign Affairs; General Chang Ching-hui was Minister of War in the outgoing Cabinet; and Yao Chen was formerly President of the Supreme Court. With the exception of Yao Chen and Hsia Jen-hu, who belong to the Anfu Party, all the new Ministers are closely associated with the Ankuochun.

#### Chang Tso-lin's Policy

Chang Tso-lin has issued a manifesto stating the policy of the new Government in striking terms. The main theme is the urgency of counteracting the evil influence of Bolshevism and of preserving the country from disruption.

On the subject of foreign relations he refers to the unequal treaties which must go, but he sees no reason why revision cannot be peacefully effected by negotiation. He is confident that foreigners are willing to discuss them in an amicable spirit. Meanwhile China will respect her obligations and protect foreign life and property. He denies that the Chinese are hostile to foreigners, but considers that mutual cooperation, which is desirable, cannot be effective until there is a friendly revision of relationships. "We in North China," he says, "are just as Nationalist as our Southern fellow-countrymen—in fact, more so, for our policy is China for the Chinese, not for the 'Reds.'"

The Waichiapu (Foreign Office) has addressed a further protest to the Japanese Legation against the dispatch of Japanese troops to Shantung, characterizing as unsatisfactory the explanations of their presence already given, and reiterating the request for their withdrawal.

### The Opium Sacrifice

BY CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ

The Gift of God was sacrificed  
 By a man for greed of gold,  
 The Light of the World was crucified,  
 When Judas his Savior sold!

White poppies bloom on the Eastern hills,  
 White peace for the racked in pain,  
 But another gift from the God of Love  
 Is sold to the God of Gain.

## POSSIBLE GAINS

By CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

(The following address of Charles E. Hughes, President of the American Society of International Law, was delivered at its annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on Thursday evening, April 28, 1927, at 8:30 o'clock.)

**I**N SAFEGUARDING the opportunities of democracy some may have cherished the hope of a world responsive to jurists. Not that the law could, or should, supplant politics, but it was natural to think that there would be an importunate demand for the protection of peoples against such evils as all feared and common sense could prevent, and that for this purpose the law, expressing the conceptions of paramount need, should be clarified, modified, and extended. Efforts in this obvious direction, it was thought, might prepare the way for other developments of the law in fields the importance of which had less general recognition. The grounds for this confidence, however, proved to be illusory, and such gains as have been made are chiefly those of diplomacy and not of or in the law.

### Diplomacy More Effective Than the Law

Democracy, of which law is the vital breath, making possible the modest achievements of popular rule in the limited area of commonly accepted standards, does not seem to take much to heart the importance of the law of nations, although perhaps we may regard as characteristic the multiplication of words and the meagerness of efficient action. The close of the World War found old rules in need of reconsideration and new conditions crying for new rules. There were not only questions relating to commerce carried on the seas, visit and search, arming of merchantmen, the status of private property, the rights and obligations of neutrals, but the imagination of peoples had been enthralled by the peril of great populations placed at the mercy of new instruments of warfare. Would not humanitarian interests make the demand for an improvement in the law irresistible?

Disappointment has not been due to the lack of expert advice or of opportunity. You will recall that the Advisory Committee of Jurists, architects of legal institutions, who were assembled in 1920 to prepare the plans for the Permanent Court of International Justice, recommended a new interstate conference to carry on the work of the first two conferences at The Hague for the purpose of "re-establishing the existing rules of the law of nations, more especially and in the first place, those affected by the events of the recent war," and "formulating and approving the modification and additions rendered necessary or advisable by the war, and by the changes in the conditions of international life following upon this great struggle." But this recommendation did not meet with a favorable response. In 1921, in the invitation extended by the United States to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to attend the Washington Conference, the hope was expressed not only that there might be an agreement for the limitation of armament, but that it might be found advisable to formulate proposals by which, in the interest of humanity, the use of new agencies of warfare might be suitably controlled. At that conference the five naval powers entered into a treaty declaring that among the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants at sea in time of war there were certain rules as to visit and search of merchant vessels which were to be deemed an established part of international law. These great powers, victors in the war and possessing unchallengeable military strength, expressed their assent to the statement of established law, so that there might be "a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents." In the same treaty these powers recognized "the practical impossibility" of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the pro-

tection of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants, and to the end "that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers should be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations," they accepted that prohibition "as binding upon themselves" and invited "all other nations to adhere." At the same time these five great powers declared their assent to the prohibition of "the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases," as having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world, and invited in this matter also the adherence of all other civilized nations. After five years this treaty remains ineffective because not ratified by all the signatory powers. While the Senate of the United States gave its consent to this treaty of 1922, it has recently failed to approve the Geneva Protocol as to poison gases.

#### Commission of Jurists at The Hague

More significant still is the failure of the great powers to adopt a convention embodying the rules proposed in the report of the Commission of Jurists of 1923 as to the use of aircraft and radio in war. This Commission met at The Hague under a resolution of the Washington Conference to consider whether existing rules of international law adequately covered new methods of attack or defense resulting from the introduction or development, since The Hague Conference of 1907, of new agencies of warfare, and if so, what changes ought to be adopted. Six governments were represented in the Commission—the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and the Netherlands. While this body was described as a commission of jurists, it was not unduly burdened by those exclusively devoted to the law, and had the constant assistance of eminent technical advisers who served on various committees and were most influential in shaping the report in accordance with their views on the problems of war. At the beginning of this work the President of the Commission, Judge John Bassett Moore, referred to the "despairing declaration that international

law no longer exists, while the affirmation of what can ever again be justified in speaking of such a thing as the laws of war is received with a gesture of incredulity." But he felt that "faith and hope will again revive," and that "the sense of law and of the need of law will again reassert itself." He thought it inconceivable that this generation should "abandon itself to the desperate conclusion that the sense of self-restraint, which is the consummate product and the essence of civilization, has finally succumbed to the passion for unregulated and indiscriminate violence." It was believed that the constitution of the Commission to recommend the regulation of new agencies of warfare, so as to keep their employment within the bounds of permissible violence set by international law, would be the appropriate answer to the counsel of despair.

With this introduction the Commission went to work, and after thirty plenary sessions the members were able to agree upon a set of rules as to the use of radio in war and aerial warfare, including rules governing the subject of aerial bombardment, which furnished the severest test of the possibility of a general agreement. I shall not be able on this occasion to review the significant differences in national policies and proposals which the discussions revealed, but I wish to recall the measure of success that was attained in dealing with this difficult subject. The articles reported by the Commission provided that aerial bombardment for the purpose of terrorizing the civilian population, of destroying or damaging private property not of military character, or of injuring non-combatants, or of enforcing compliance with requisitions in kind or payment of contributions in money, was prohibited. Aerial bombardment was declared to be legitimate only when directed at a military objective, and at the objectives specified; that the bombardment of cities, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings not in the immediate neighborhood of the operation of land forces was prohibited; that where the military objectives specified were so situated that they could not be bombarded without the indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population, they should not be bombarded; that



in the immediate neighborhood of the operation of land forces the bombardment of cities, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings was legitimate, provided that there existed a reasonable presumption that the military concentration was sufficiently important to justify such bombardment, having regard to the danger thus caused to the civilian population; and that a belligerent State was liable to pay compensation for injuries to person or to property caused by the violation of these rules. It was provided, further, that all necessary steps should be taken to spare as far as possible buildings dedicated to public worship, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospital ships, hospitals and other places where the sick and wounded were collected if such buildings, objects or places were not at the time used for military purposes. Special rules were adopted enabling States to obtain more efficient protection for important historic monuments.

One who is unacquainted with the practice of governments, and is too dazzled by the brilliance of his vision of the reign of law to observe realities, would suppose that this opportunity, ready-made, expertly devised after prolonged deliberation by highly competent representatives of the great military powers, would have been at once seized upon, at least as a basis for discussion, in response to the dictates of humanity and the sentiments supposed to govern the action of democratic peoples. While the Government of the United States proposed the conclusion of conventions for the adoption of the rules prepared by the Commission of Jurists, I understand that only one government has favorably responded.

#### Lack of Public Opinion

What are the reasons for this apparent indifference? There are several and contradictory reasons. Fundamentally, it appears that the compelling sentiment does not exist. First, there are those who are so intent on abolishing war that they have no patience with regulations of war. They decline to contemplate the possibility of another war. They have passed resolutions against it; they simply will not have it; it must be altogether outlawed. But there are others, perhaps as numerous,

who are satisfied that nothing can prevent war, and that, if there is war, no rules will restrain the use in any manner of any instrumentality by which success can be achieved. Then, there are those who, in their desire to abolish war, wish to make it as horrible as possible. As H. G. Wells puts it, "the improvement of war may be synonymous with the ending of war." Referring to the recent failure of the Senate of the United States to approve the poison gas protocol, Mr. Wells says: "I hope the Senate will continue to stand for every sort of disagreeable novelty in warfare. I hope the Senate will save disease germs for warfare and make a stand about poisoning the water supply. Let war be war and not merely a tedious, cruel game under rules. The more various, open, perplexing and unpleasant the available methods of warfare are to professional soldiers, the less likely the world is to get another large and deliberate war."

#### Moon Men

Idealism is, indeed, the motive power of progress. Idealists keep before our eyes the distant goal, but frequently they are very difficult persons. They are especially difficult, when they imagine that they are practical, and yet stand in the way of the only advance that is possible. They are ready to show you a direct road to the moon. But while men of lesser vision, who are bearing the burdens of responsible action, are fretting over their differences, our friends, the moon-men, capture the independent vote and little or nothing is accomplished.

It would seem to be clear enough that apprehension of the cruelties of war has never prevented war. Otherwise cruel strife would have stopped even before civilization began; and civilized man is not so soft as to endure wrongs or forego his cherished aim because of mere fear of pain or death. It would also seem to be clear that you cannot rely on declarations, or resolutions, or papers, to prevent war, unless back of all these is the triumph of the spirit of reasonableness among peoples who have ceased to think in terms of war; a habit of peace which will not be found while causes of strife still exist, the dreams of successful appeals to force for

the vindication of injuries or the extension of power continue to fascinate, and nations are so intent on preparation for fighting that they find it impossible to agree upon any measures for the reduction or limitation of burdensome expenditures of armament. It would appear to be worthy of consideration that if there is not a sufficiently compelling humane sentiment to induce agreement, if war should come, to mitigate unnecessary cruelties and to spare non-combatants from unrestrained violence, little progress has been made in cultivating the reasonable disposition by which war may be prevented. Peoples which deliberately prepare for such violence are those which are likely to inflict it.

#### The Practical Test

The feeling that rules governing warfare are likely to fail in the stress of conflict is a natural one, especially after the experience of the last war, but its extreme expressions are unjustified unless we are to assume the complete breakdown of civilization, a loss of all the gains of the past, and a frank return to "the ancient conception of war, when all the inhabitants of the States at war, including women and children, were regarded collectively and individually as actual enemies in the sense that they might all be legitimately slaughtered and their property captured and destroyed." If we are not ready for that, we ought to proceed to make appropriate rules for new conditions. Judge Moore has fittingly described as "a current illusion" the notion that it is a recent development to have "the effective and harmonious employment of all the natural resources in men, materials and money." As he points out, it has always been so. Warfare is more complicated, the organization of industry has greatly changed. But we cannot take refuge in the view that new conditions have made it either impossible or impracticable to continue to recognize the distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of war and to prescribe rules and practices accordingly. The practices which led to the recognition of this distinction are of the same *genus* as those which, made vastly more horrible by the aid of modern science, would now threaten

great populations if the distinction were not maintained. Never before have helpless peoples been menaced by such possibilities of widespread destruction. While well-disposed gatherings are calling for the outlawry of war—and I should be the last to decry any intelligent effort to prevent war—why not endeavor to invoke the spirit of reasonableness at least to the extent of mitigating evils and of outlawing unjustified assaults upon non-combatants? Why not test the conscience of peoples and the boasts of civilization in a practical demand for the statement and improvement of rules applicable to the use of new agencies of warfare?

The contention that rules laid down in time of peace will not avail when war comes gains plausibility by reference to the intense emotions that are aroused by war, to the instinct of self-preservation, to the temptation to strike a blow so terrible in effect that resistance would be impossible, to the justification for extreme measures that may be found in the pressure or unlawful conduct of the enemy. But it would seem that the argument can be, and usually is, pressed too far. It is true that mere declarations, reports, recommendations, opinions of jurists, though with weighty sponsorship and not destitute of influence, are not likely to be observed in time of severe strain. But this is largely because these are mere declarations, or recommendations, or reports, or opinions, and have not been adopted in such a manner as to be considered binding. It is also true that *ambiguous* rules fail because, if not clearly applicable, necessity will either ignore them or bend them to a favorable construction. It has been urged that in view of the difficulty of obtaining agreement on many unsettled questions in relation to the conduct of war it may be advisable to rest content with discussions and declarations of an important and supposedly influential character. The point is, however, that the lack of definite agreements is in itself a grave temptation to inordinate excesses, and that clear and binding agreements should be obtained to the fullest extent practicable—agreements demanded by public opinion in civilized nations. It is too much to say that rules definitely expressed and agreed upon will be deliberately broken, especially such

rules the breach of which would outrage the sentiment of the world. Governments can now adopt such rules, if they are so disposed, with every reason to expect their observance if they do adopt them and make them sufficiently clear.

#### Prohibition of Poison Gas

The real question is: Are they so disposed? And if not, why not? The solution may be found in avoiding extremes, frankly recognizing that there may be areas in which differences in policy and opinion will be irreconcilable. It may be too much to expect that a new, efficient instrumentality contributing to success in war can be altogether prohibited; or that the ingenuity of man, aided by scientific discovery and invention, as applied to measures of attack or defense, can be limited. The question whether such an available weapon as poison gas should be prohibited has caused an interesting debate which goes to the fundamentals of the art of war. At the Washington Conference the subcommittee of experts representing the five powers agreed that "chemical warfare gases have such power against unprepared armies that no nation dare risk entering into an agreement which an unscrupulous enemy might break if he found his opponents to use gases both offensively and defensively." In this view, nations having no desire to use such gases offensively might feel it necessary to continue their investigations, experiments, and preparations as an essential means of defense. On the other hand, the Advisory Committee of the American delegation approved a report of a subcommittee, of which General Pershing was chairman, which recommended that "chemical warfare should be abolished among nations as abhorrent to civilization," as "a cruel, unfair, and improper use of science," as "fraught with the greatest danger to non-combatants and demoralizing the better instincts of humanity." And the General Board of the United States Navy reported that it believed it "to be sound policy to prohibit gas warfare in every form and against every objective." The Washington Conference approved these latter recommendations in the signing of the treaty containing the prohibition which, as I have said, has not become effective—it may

be because of the presence of other stipulations in relation to submarines. But if it should be found to be impracticable to prohibit the use of poison gas, it would still seem to be possible to restrain its use against cities and other large bodies of non-combatants as the experts, who were opposed to its prohibition, suggested.

#### Air Craft and Submarines

This is but one of the subjects deserving attention. Another of no little importance to which I have referred is the manner of the use of air craft and submarines. Cognate questions as to commerce and private property will readily occur. There would appear to be no sufficient reason why the powers, equipped with the lessons of experience and taking advantage of the material now at hand, should not have their representatives meet at some appropriate time in another great conference carrying forward the work of The Hague conferences, to restate, classify and adapt to new conditions the rules of international law on these subjects, with the prospect of achieving a measurable success by definite engagements which would express the consensus of the enlightened opinion of mankind. Even if the success were limited, the endeavor might greatly aid in focusing attention upon matters of widespread interest and in testing the strength of liberal sentiment.

#### Limitation of Armaments Most Important

Another test of the disposition upon which we must rely in achieving progress toward the reign, let us say of reasonableness, if not of law—for, under that sway, law embodying right reason will develop fast enough—is found in the attitude of great peoples and of the governments that represent them toward limitation of armaments. While jurists must recognize the right of each nation to provide itself with arms, the self-restraint imposed by mutual agreement would be the best harbinger of the new world of peaceful adjustments. The past year has been notable for fresh efforts and recurring disappointments. Diplomacy with the most complete facilities of organization and conference has served only to put the difficulties in a strong light and to make achievement seem remote. Without minimizing these difficul-

ties, it would seem that, when need and opportunity meet, statesmen should be able to report progress.

No one can dispute the urgent need which makes the limitation of armaments the foremost international question of the day. The lifting of the economic burden through the curtailment of expenditures upon armaments would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon vast masses of people, not simply because of relief from taxation, but because of the peculiar waste involved in such expenditures and in the putting of the irreplaceable products of nature to the least advantageous use for the human race. This is the phrase of Sir Josiah Stamp, in pointing out that limitation of armament would help "to arrest this waste of the irreplaceable fundamental factors of modern economic life—the race's progress to physical bankruptcy." As to the other consequences of the race in armaments let me recall to you the words of Lord Grey of Falloden:

"The increase of armaments, that is intended in each nation to produce consciousness of strength, and a sense of security, does not produce these effects. On the contrary, it produces a consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear. Fear begets suspicion and distrust and evil imaginings of all sorts, till each nation feels it would be criminal and a betrayal of its own country not to take every precaution, while every government regards every precaution of every other government as evidence of hostile intent. . . . The enormous growth of arms in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable."

#### Moral Disarmament

With this lesson, and the economic pressure, can it be possible that statesmanship will fail to seize the present extraordinary opportunity? The military autocracy, the organization of force which constituted the chief menace to European peace, has been destroyed. In prescribing the limits of Germany's military forces, the Allied Powers set forth in the Treaty of Versailles that the purposes of the military, naval, and air clauses of that treaty were "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all na-

tions." To this end the Covenant of the League of Nations formally recognized that the "maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." It has been urged with great cogency that the organization of security must precede a general limitation of armaments. But if reasonable security has not been provided by the Locarno agreements, made effective by the admission of Germany to the League of Nations, it would be difficult to understand what arrangements could achieve such a result. In the Locarno protocol Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland declared their conviction that their engagements, in strengthening peace and security in Europe, would "hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League." The United States, outside the League, has manifested in the most striking fashion its desire to co-operate in the limitation of armaments and has reduced its own arms to a *minimum*. With the great powers intent on peace, and the smaller powers dependent in so large a degree on the great powers, and influenced by their policy, what stands in the way of reasonable agreements for the limitation of armaments? The failure thus far to find a basis for agreement would appear to attest the continued domination of fear and distrust, and to illustrate again the fundamental fact that agreements in the interest of peace must find their sanction in mutual confidence. What is called moral disarmament is not simply a general desire for peace, but mutual confidence in a sincere co-operation to maintain peace.

#### A Difficult Paradox

It is frequently said that the world is full of unrest, and that it is no time for the limitation of arms. It is true that China is in a swirl of internal strife, out of which we hope that there may at last emerge strong and stable institutions suited to the political development of a great people. But surely no one would think of entering upon a military policy for the subjugation of China or for the control of her internal concerns. We

wish to help China to attain the goal of free institutions with responsible government adapted to her needs. It is the militarism of the Western world and the terrible fruition of that militarism in the World War, that more than anything else have hurt Western prestige and the repute of Western civilization in the East. A peaceful and co-operative Europe is the best assurance of a peaceful world. Russia maintains her propaganda, self-destructive in the long run, but her impoverishing policies contain no adequate military threat preventing Europe from obtaining relief to a measurable extent from her present great burdens of armament. It is easy, of course, to point to places of chronic unrest among the smaller nations, but these are incapable of menacing the great powers or of provoking a great war, provided the great European powers keep the peace among themselves and sincerely desire to find a reasonable adjustment of controversies. It would be idle to expect a more favorable time for the limitation of armaments than now, and yet, paradoxically, the difficulties mount so high as to appear to be well-nigh insuperable.

#### Defense and Aggression

It is well to understand the aim. It is not to cripple reasonable defense, but to do away with *provocative* armament. Provocative armament threatens aggression, breeds distrust, stimulates competition in arms and leads to war. The difficulty in drawing the line lies in the conception of defense. What is to be defended, and against whom? What are conceived to be the methods of attack? What are the most advisable means of defense? And the most effective? What should be the type of preparedness? The masters of strategy, the experts in the art of war, planning to crush the hypothetical enemy, naturally hold that attack itself is the best method of defense; and that, if war comes, the nation fully prepared should be so armed that it may strike an immediate and decisive blow. Defense defined in these terms has the elements of aggressive preparation, save that it is not admitted to be such, and stimulates apprehension and similar preparation by others, so that there is no end save war, in which even the victors may be losers—to be followed again

by the same futile policy. This would be the fatuous cycle of provocative preparedness.

It is apparent that in considering the appropriate limits of defensive armaments we meet, at the outset, questions not simply of military strategy, but of governmental policy, or political questions in the broad sense. An illustration may be found in the earnest desire, expressed by some of our strategists, that we should strongly fortify the Philippines and Guam. Yet it was plain that the adequate fortification of these islands, and the maintenance of naval armament absolutely securing them, would of necessity be provocative, as constituting a menace to Japan. One of our most distinguished military experts has observed that if Great Britain should maintain a navy, naval bases and naval communications strong enough to assure the defense of Jamaica against all comers, these would constitute a powerful instrument of attack, threatening continental United States and the Panama Canal, and against such a menace we should be compelled to create an opposing strength of arms. Sound governmental policy would not lead Great Britain to such a course, and our wise policy did not demand a menacing gesture of that sort in the Far East. We have no policies of aggression in the Far East. Why should we act as though we had, arousing suspicion and exciting counter preparations? Fortunately, at the Washington Conference, the American delegation had among its members leaders of both parties in the Senate who could, and did, advise with confidence that Congress would not consent to the fortification of the Philippines and Guam. We were thus able to agree not to do, within a specified time, what in any event we would not do, thus allaying a distrust which was even more threatening than armaments and creating an atmosphere favorable to peace and our best interests. You may remember what Senator Lodge said in the debate in the Senate on the naval treaty, referring to the island of Guam: "I have been a good deal amused at the agony of apprehension which some persons have expressed in regard to Guam. . . . We have had so little interest in the island that we have never passed a line of legislation in regard

to it. . . . We have never fortified it and nobody would vote to spend money for fortifying it." And as to the Philippine Islands, Senator Lodge said at the same time: "We shall never fortify them. It would cost hundreds of millions of dollars to fortify them and probably take a half a century to do it. We are not going to do it."

#### Lesson of the Washington Conference

There are better ways of promoting peace, and of providing suitable measures of defense, than by creating provocative armament. It has been the good fortune of our country to be able to lead in presenting the international ideal of the abandonment even of the appearance of aggressive purposes, and thus of facilitating the reduction of the burden of excessive arms. Whatever the motive that inspired our naval program of 1916, it was clear, after the end of the war, that it was unnecessarily extensive and had become essentially provocative. There is no reason to believe that, had there been no Washington Conference, Congress would have long continued to support that program. The question pressed, Against whom was it directed? Germany's naval power was destroyed. There were but two other great naval powers—Great Britain and Japan. War with the former would mean not only the bankruptcy of statesmanship, but the collapse of civilization. The thought of war with the latter sprang from a nightmare of suspicion and doubts which could be banished only by sanity of action and the expression of the peaceful policies we cherished. It was natural for Japan to misinterpret the purposes back of the continuance after the war of our ambitious naval plans. I am informed that, responsive to ours, Japan's naval expenditure, which was less than one hundred millions of dollars in 1917, had been increased to over two hundred and seventy millions of dollars in 1921. Probably the history of armament does not record a more useless naval rivalry than that of these three powers—the United States, Great Britain, and Japan—burdened with enormous debts, after a war in which they had been victorious allies and associates, which left them undisputed masters of the seas, with no reason whatever for fighting each other

and every reason for resorting to the counsels, adjustments, and mutual advantages of peaceful intercourse.

But it was apparent to those who considered the question, and it should be clear now to all, that the foolish race in armament, for which we ourselves were largely responsible, could not be effectively halted except by voluntary agreement; otherwise suspicion would have bred suspicion and every ship of war would beget another. The Washington Conference, by the agreement to limit the monster ships—capital ships and air-craft carriers—created a new atmosphere. The effect of the limitation, in the words of the Secretary of the Navy, was to give a practical assurance to each power against invasion by the other. It was a demonstration of non-aggressive purposes, and thus it furnished in an important sphere an illustration of the practicality of avoiding provocative armament. It is agreeable to note that representatives of the three great naval powers, at the instance of the President of the United States, are shortly to meet in order to endeavor to reach agreements as to auxiliary naval craft, and we have reason to hope that this undertaking will realize its promise of benefit to all nations because of relief from the possibility of an unfortunate competition in the development of these instrumentalities of war. With the sincere efforts of these powers, firm friends as they are, it would seem to be entirely practicable to find appropriate arrangements to which they can agree without sacrificing any reasonable demands of protection and defense. And if they can thus agree, even with reservations safeguarding the possibility, which it is hoped may be remote, of any disturbing action by others, it is believed that they will do more to consolidate peace and to furnish a happy example to other powers than by any action now within their competence. In the sphere of naval construction the question is one with which the naval powers, and not those without navies, are immediately concerned, and among the powers having navies there are a considerable number with such few ships that while limitation on some basis would be desirable it is of minor importance. The question of effective limitation in its relation broadly to the peace of the world lies with a few

powers, and their example will be of more importance than long-drawn-out negotiations to reach formulas for all.

#### As to Land Armaments

When we leave this somewhat narrow field of naval preparation, the difficulties of finding a basis for limiting land armaments assume vast proportions. The discussions at Geneva may well make one despair of success in effecting global limitations applicable to all peoples and to all arms. The only reason for hope is that these are discussions; that the questions, however serious the points of difference, will not down, and that the great European powers are pledged to achieve the result and must continue to explore all possible avenues. The continuance of these discussions is greatly to be desired, and no one should look askance at them and indulge the tendency to cynicism, the corrupting luxury of cultivated minds. We may hope that every available means will be adopted to focus public attention upon these questions and to consider patiently and sympathetically all proposals, differences and arguments.

#### A Respectably Defensive Posture

The problem of land armament, as well as that of naval armament, is essentially one of an appropriate conception of defense and the avoidance of provocative armament. General John McAuley Palmer, in his recently published work on "Statesmanship or War," has made a most valuable contribution to the understanding of this subject. He defines the problem and points the way to a solution. He speaks as one of our foremost military experts, with technical knowledge, absolute candor, and a vision which has not been blurred by professional prejudices. Neither a militarist nor a pacifist, he gives us a philosophical consideration of the problem from the standpoint of the interests of democratic peoples in order to aid them in assuming what Washington desired, "a respectably defensive posture," thus discouraging instead of provoking strife. General Palmer brings us to a study of the essentials of the Swiss system as furnishing a means by which the limitation, indeed the elimination, of provocative land armament may be achieved consistently

with the standards and aims of free peoples and without loss of real security. His work shows that the problem is not insoluble.

Notwithstanding all obstacles, it may prove to be easier to reach agreements as to the limitation of striking forces or standing armies, than effectively to limit the new instrumentalities of war. It is, of course, futile to attempt to limit the industrial strength of peoples and the greatest difficulty, in view of the achievements of science and of industrial organization, is encountered in relation to aircraft and the facilities of chemical warfare. Peaceful industrial productivity may be in essence preparedness on a large scale, available for almost immediate application to the uses of any sort of war, offensive or defensive. Scarcely any one would care to restrain, and no one could hope to succeed in restraining, the production of commercial aircraft or to fetter the extension or improvement of this new method of communication, with its vast possibilities of usefulness. But, after all, possible limitation of aircraft especially designed for military use, what is to prevent commercial aircraft from being turned to war purposes over night? Chemical plants, essential to the industrial enterprises of peace, may swiftly be devoted to the making of the most destructive weapons of war. If, as is said, aerial bombardment will most probably be the principal offensive weapon of a future war, if, notwithstanding the negotiation of treaties to the contrary, military policy is founded upon the belief that poison gas is to be a part of modern war, what feasible limitations of the production of such armament, so easily and rapidly produced in plants established for commercial purposes, can be devised? How may the secret preparation of weapons of this sort be prevented, and how can peaceably disposed peoples protect themselves against the manufacture of new forms of deadliest potency which the discoveries of science may still have in store? In these facts and apprehensions are found the most formidable barriers to the success of an attempt to arrive at an all-inclusive agreement of practical value for the limitation of all sorts of implements of war.

### One Step at a Time

Two considerations are suggested by these reflections. One is that these new weapons increase enormously the power of trained military forces of small size. They furnish no excuse for the maintenance at vast expense of the great organizations, which are essentially provocative and are not needed for reasonable defense. The argument based on the ease of providing these new instruments of war is directed to the futility of adequate limitation of all arms and not to the feasibility of a limitation of other instrumentalities, such as ships of war and standing armies. The other consideration is that, if the wars of the future are to be waged largely with the new-found weapons so readily supplied by the industrial plants of peace-time use, and so devastating in character, it is all the more important that all possible measures should be taken to prevent war, and to that end, in order that the peaceful disposition of peoples may be encouraged, agreements for the limitation of armament, to any extent or in any area found practicable, should be made. Search for universal formulas may be in vain, but every single step that can be taken would have an important psychological effect as well as its direct material consequences. A measure of prevention is better than none.

### Locarno and the Court

This effort, as I have said, should not be an impossible policy since the agreements of Locarno. With respect to these, the most hopeful of recent developments, the promise lies in the means available for carrying them out through the machinery provided for the peaceful adjustment of controversies between the parties. In promoting, as we should promote, the making of agreements designed to prevent war, it is necessary to remember that this effort will depend for its success upon the provision of satisfactory substitutes for the disposition of disputes. We are again reminded that the most serious disputes are not infrequently of a character not admitting of determination by a court according to judicial standards. Controversies which are extra-legal need the instrumentalities of conciliation, and also the organization in a higher and more effective form of the

diplomatic resources of adjustment in which the demands of expediency, not to be ignored in controversies of this class, may have their proper recognition. In final analysis, the Locarno agreements give ground for assurance because the parties have ready at hand the Permanent Court of International Justice for disputes as to legal rights, and, for the composing of other differences, the organization of the Council of the League, with membership of a character affording a practical guaranty that the interests of each of the parties to the agreements will have appropriate attention in formulating proposals and reaching decisions. And thus, in the extra-legal sphere, diplomacy, with new institutions at its command, will control the issue. Success will depend upon the wisdom and farsightedness of this diplomacy, but it is difficult to see how peace in Europe could be better assured than by such opportunities of adjustment, though involving, inevitably as it would seem, the balancing of interests.

### Our Country and the Court

On the side of the law, the Permanent Court of International Justice is functioning with a gratifying measure of success, and projects for the codification of international law in relation to many subjects of importance are under consideration by eminent jurists. The difficulties that have arisen with respect to the adherence of the United States to the protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court are concerned chiefly, if not exclusively, with the giving of advisory opinions in relation to disputes and questions in which the United States has or claims an interest. Regrettable as it is that an apparent deadlock has been reached, there is no gain in blinking the facts. The Senate adopted a reservation providing explicitly that the court shall not entertain, without the consent of the United States, any request for an advisory opinion touching such disputes or questions. That reservation has not been accepted, and a counter-proposal has been made by a conference of signatories of the protocol. That conference deemed the opinion of the Permanent Court in the *Eastern Carelia* case, to the effect that the court would not deal with a dispute be-



tween a member of the League and a State not belonging to the League, even to the extent of giving an advisory opinion, without the consent of the latter State, as apparently meeting the desire of the United States so far as disputes to which the United States is a party are concerned. As to disputes to which the United States is not a party, but in which it claims an interest, or questions, other than disputes, in which the United States claims an interest, the conference proposed that the court should attribute to the objection of the United States "the same force and effect as attaches to a vote, against asking for the opinion, given by a member of the League of Nations either in the Assembly or in the Council." But in connection with this proposal the conference made a frank comment that the Senate's reservation appeared to rest "upon the presumption that the adoption of a request for an advisory opinion by the Council or Assembly requires a unanimous vote." It was pointed out that no such presumption had thus far been established, and it was "therefore impossible to say with certainty whether in some cases, or possibly in all cases, a decision by a majority is not sufficient." So that the opportunity of the United States to raise objection on a footing of equality with a member of the League in the Council and Assembly, respectively, would not assure to the United States, as required by the Senate's reservation, a right to prevent the entertaining by the court of a request for an advisory opinion touching such disputes or questions in which the United States claims an interest.

The question having thus been raised, the response of the conference of signatories that unanimity may not be necessary in requesting advisory opinions has created a new situation, as adherence of the United States on these terms would require an explicit approval on the part of the Senate of an understanding that advisory opinions might be requested over the objection of the United States touching such disputes and questions in which the United States claims an interest. The core of the difficulty has been recently stated, succinctly and candidly, by Mr. Raul Fernandes, formerly Brazilian Ambassador to Belgium, who was a member

of the Advisory Committee of Jurists which drafted the statute of the Permanent Court. Mr. Fernandes says: "It would be useless to deny, however, that certain members of the League of Nations have sufficient prestige to keep at least the Council, if not the Assembly, from taking up and deciding a question, if or when they doubt the expediency of doing so. Even if such a nation were in a minority at first, it is very likely that the other nations would yield to the arguments they bring forth or would prefer to postpone a decision. As a matter of fact, this is the way things are done, and it would be disastrous if they were done differently; the Council is strong only when its members can reconcile their different points of view, and its usefulness consists precisely in facilitating such agreement through the personal contacts and the continued conversations that are possible only at Geneva. This being the case, the situation proposed to the United States, as affording a theoretical equality, would be as follows: the United States Government, from a distance, would oppose its futile vetoes on proposals agreed on at Geneva, while certain other nations, on the scene, would retain their means of sidetracking the proposals that seemed troublesome to them."

Mr. Fernandes gives it as his opinion that "the solution of this difficulty is in the hands of the Council and the Assembly at Geneva" and that "the only possible solution is the formal admission that a request for an advisory opinion is one of those questions for which a unanimous vote is necessary."

It would be fortunate, indeed, if such a means could be found of deliverance from the present *impasse*, and if the United States, without sacrificing the interests which are cherished by our people, might be able to give support to the practical application through a permanent tribunal of the principle of judicial settlement of international disputes, a principle to which this Government has been, and continues to be, firmly attached.

#### Peace Through Justice and Mutual Respect

The hope of the development of international law must in large measure be realized through judicial institutions, deal-

ing with questions as they arise, expounding, clarifying, showing the limits of the existing body of the law and the need of amendments and additions. Through the labors of jurists, the negotiations of governments, through commissions and conferences, we may look for steady, even if slow, progress in restating or codifying the law—adapting it to new conditions. The two processes, the development of the law and the amicable adjustment of con-

troversies outside the sphere of the law, with the avoidance of provocative preparation for war, should go on together. The indispensable requisite is that the attitude of the powers, especially of the great powers, should reflect the growth of a law-abiding sentiment and of the reasonable disposition which underlies it—the conviction of peoples that the path of security and peace can be found only in the ways of justice and mutual respect.

## The Love of One's Country\*

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

**I**T IS a fact, sometimes overlooked by persons concerned to change things, that the normal man loves the land of his birth or adoption, the territory of his Nation or State, which he familiarly thinks of as his country. He loves its language, its institutions, its memories. He loves its rocks and rills, its woods and templed hills, its folk, its ways and temper. He loves it, for the most part unconsciously, quite as he loves his mother.

This phenomenon does not lend itself much to explanation in terms of science. If questioned about it far enough, we may deny that it is a matter of science at all. Science has its scientific limits. Science stands abashed before the beginning and before the end of things. It cannot tell us what heat or light is, what gravitation or electricity is, what thought is, what imagination is, what the flower in the crannied wall is. It cannot explain man's love for his mother or for his country. We can say that this love is an emotion growing out of ancient instincts and customs, that it defies analysis, that it is nearer to religion than to science, that analyzing it too far robs it of its essence; but such statements do not get us very far. We come back to the simple remark in all its fullness and simplicity, we love our country.

It is difficult to understand why anyone should wish to belittle this love. Among one's finest emotions, and those higher in-

stincts from which these emotions spring and about which they play, is one's love for one's country. And this human trait, which science in its infancy cannot be depended upon adequately to explain, is no new thing in history. According to Scripture, after Abraham had left his country upon the command of God, he often came back to it in his thoughts with a wistful love. The same feeling characterized Laban and Jacob and Joseph. It was out of this sentiment that the bones of Saul and Jonathan were taken for burial to the country of Benjamin. The epic deeds of Achilles and Hector related to a defence through a decade of the City of Troy. Edmund Burke once referred to "the salutary prejudice called our country." This prejudice may be said to be an evidence of the divinity in man. Deep and subtle as it is, however, we are not forbidden to study it. Therefore let us look at it and examine it, briefly and not too far, in three of its phases.

### "For whole centuries of folly, noise and sin!"

In the first place, the normal human being loves his country even in its weaknesses, sometimes because of its weaknesses. And, of course, every country has its defects. In his oration in the Academy of Music of New York City, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1876, Dr. Richard S. Storrs, in his eloquent eulogy of America, felt forced to admit:

\* An address delivered in the Mt. Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., July 3, 1927.

"I am not here as the eulogist of our people beyond what facts justify. I admit, with regret, that American manners sometimes are coarse and American culture often very imperfect; that the noblest examples of consummate training imply a leisure which we have not had, and are perhaps most easily produced where social advantages are more permanent than here, and the law of heredity has a wider recognition. We all know, too well, how much of even vice and shame there has been, and is, in our national life; how sluggish the public conscience has been before sharpest appeals; how corruption has entered high places in the government, and the blister of its touch has been upon laws, as well as on the acts of prominent officials. And we know the reckless greed and ambition, the fierce party spirit, the personal wrangles and jealous animosities, with which our Congress has been often dishonored, at which the Nation—sadder still—has sometimes laughed, in idiotic unreason."

Were this orator speaking today he would have to note another weakness, especially peculiar to no one country—that is an overwillingness to content one's self with phrases. Examining recent writings of certain publicists about the cure for the disease of war, I find a various assortment of remedies, as follows: "The cure for war is education," is "democracy," is "international understanding," is "constructive effort," is "social justice," is the "removal of economic injustices," is "less exploitation of backward countries," is "woman suffrage," is the "removal of military training from the public schools," is the "equality of races and of religion," is "a universal language," is the "abolition of secret diplomacy," is the "end of selfishness," is "the elimination of profits from the prosecution of war," is "disarmament," is to "outlaw" it, is "religion," is "force to the uttermost," and many others. It some-time seems that our public opinion is stricken with a disease of catchwords, of phraseitis. To change the figure, there is in our social circulation a considerable amount of fiat paper-money backed by too little gold of substance. The seriousness of this is its enervating effect upon the health of the nation.

At first view, furthermore, an embarras-

ing trouble in every country seems to be a heaving, universal, cantankerous disputatiousness over mere opinions backed by these selfsame rather illusory phrases. Differences of view lead us into not altogether happy controversies, such as those between the "reactionaries" on the one hand and the "radicals" on the other.

Even patriotism, by which is simply meant the passion to serve one's country, does not escape. Writers tell us of a "higher patriotism," such as Athenian federalism, and of a "lower patriotism" illustrated by the anti-federalism of the Doric communities, persisting even now. While Berkeley held that "where the heart is right, there is true patriotism," notwithstanding the test of patriotism is a matter of motive, it is the fashion for many of the day to charge with unpatriotic designs all who may differ from them in opinions.

Just now, in our modern world, perhaps the most marked expression of this fondness for verbal combat is the conflict between the so-called extreme "pacifists," the "half-baked," on the one hand, and the "professional patriots," the "hard-boiled," on the other. One contends for the organization of governments upon a nebulous doctrine of non-resistance, agreeing with Samuel Johnson that patriotism, a modern word, never once used in the Bible, "is the last refuge of a scoundrel"; the other, that these pacifists are members of the "Red Army," supported from Moscow, disciples of a world revolution for the overthrow of all modern governments and the substitution in their places of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the overthrow of "capitalism" and the reign of the "proletariat."

But disputatiousness is peculiar to no one age nor to any one people. In his letter to young Timothy, Paul called attention to the man who neglected sound arguments, referring to him as "puffed up, knowing nothing, but doting about questionings and disputes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmising, wranglings of men, corruptive in mind and bereft of the truth, supposing that godliness is a way of gain."

So today, nothing escapes criticism—science, literature, the Church, business, government, youth, the schools. Democ-

racy itself, always at the parting of the ways, is now thought to be fighting for its very life. In Poland, Italy, Spain, Chile, China, democracy, if it exist at all, must be said to be for the moment in a condition of suspended animation. And yet in none of those lands is there any diminution in the love of the people for their country.

Every age gives rise to its lamentations. When John Adams was at the head of our War Department he was depressed by the "corruption" and the "venality" eating like a cancer at the heart of America. That was in 1776. Throughout the period of the Federalists the "fundamentalists" of that time expected America to be swamped by French infidelity. Every Whig throughout Jackson's reign felt sure that the country had already gone quite to the devil. Every generation is tinctured with rascality. Every period has its forebodings.

Just now, for example, it is charged by some that in social systems such as ours the superior strains tend to die out. Figures are brought forward to show that if only sons of Harvard graduates were admitted to Harvard, Harvard would soon become a small college and ultimately go out of business. Some are frightened by the danger of a revolution, even in our own country. Some argue that there is too much liberty; others that there is not enough. Some contend that the need is for domestic tranquillity, others that it is for international responsibility. Some are interested in a more adequate centralization of power, others in a completer local self-government. Some are disturbed because of the clashes between economic and industrial interests, between labor and capital, between groups of multifarious racial stocks, between liberals and fundamentalists. Some plead for peace, contentment, and justice; while others, a bit cynically, are asking, What is meant by peace, contentment, and justice?

One's country is the product of many forces, involving race, geography, economic resources, industry, the obstacles of sea and climate, the gifts of soils and mountains, of rivers and minerals, of skies and varied alchemies. One can still speak of the genius, arts, logic, and majesty of

France; of the maritime, industrial, and political achievements and pride of England; of the power and dreams of Germany; of the culture of Italy; of the chivalry of Spain. But our day, it is charged, is marked as a machine civilization, strange new product of the industrial revolution. Before this revolution human life had variety and carried in itself things which stretched and satisfied the mind. Our age of specialization tends to make labor uniform and tedious, and to create resentment and controversy. We are "Babbitts," we are cheap people living out our colorless lives on the drab Main Street of the Gopher Prairie of the spirit, good-natured, well-meaning, honest, affectionate, loyal, narrow, dogmatic, dull, poor and pitiful. But love of country, faced with these charges, is insisting upon an educational revolution to meet the situation, and we are now in the midst of that very revolution. In any event we have the authority of the "Sage of Concord" that, "A man must have aunts and cousins, must buy carrots and turnips, must have barn and woodshed, must go to market and to the blacksmith's shop, must saunter and sleep and be inferior and silly."

Every normal man loves his country, and looks upon this as a sign of his nobility. To him his country is in a measure the result of his handiwork, in a sense his very own, a thing greater than he, of which he is a part and upon which he must lean. His love is an expansive sentiment, counting one's fellows as brothers. Thus one's love of one's country is not diminished either by weakness within the country or by dangers from without.

There is a spiritual substance in this love of country, be the land strong or weak. It renews itself by drinking at the Pierian springs of tradition, culture, law, religion, love, sacrifice. In 1823 Emerson casually noted one day in his Journal: "I dedicate my book to the spirit of America." A French soldier, returning to consciousness in a hospital back of the lines, found that both his hands were gone. From out the depths of his luminous soul he was heard to say: "I offered all I had to France; and see! she has only taken my hands!" Through the weaknesses of every country

there breathe the mystic winds, not only from blood-soaked fields of battle; but from mines and hard-won clearings in far forests, from smiles over countless cradles and sighs over shrines of the dead, from the infinite nobilities of living labors, sung or unsung—winds whispering the old, old tale of love of country.

**“With their triumphs and their glories  
and the rest!”**

There is another mood to one's love of country. In the case of our own United States, for example, we love it because of its strength. Financially and economically we are said to be the most powerful country in the world. The mathematics of our production, transportation, and consumption are staggering. But our real strength is not measured by these figures. Our strength of such kind is only an evidence of a deeper power, a dynamics pouring still from “the laws of nature and of nature's God.” We find our real strength in our “respect to the opinions of mankind,” in our efforts to work out the principles that “all men are created equal,” at least under the law, and that they have “unalienable rights” to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” We still consider it a part of our strength that our government derives “its just powers from the consent of the governed,” and that it is the right of the people “to alter or to abolish” their form of government, as they may see fit, in the interests of “their safety and happiness.” We have built our institutions upon the principle of “a government of laws and not of men.” We love the strength that comes from our creative belief in the “sacredness of contract,” in “public office as a public trust,” in international co-operation without entanglements in foreign politics, in the equal opportunity of all, in the rights of the Western Hemisphere to exclude foreign powers from extending their colonies here. We are proud that thus far we have been able to steer our Ship of State between the Scylla of anarchy on one hand and the Charybdis of tyranny on the other.

It is a source of strength with us, revealed in the writings of every President of these United States, that our country purposes to promote peace among nations.

Today we are trying to restate this peace movement in terms of the traditions and precepts upon which our government is built.

We love our country because it stands for peace between nations, because it senses the will to end war and believes in its ultimate realization. We of this land are not unmindful of the efforts of the early Christians, of the Church of the Middle Ages, of the Modern Church, of the philosophers, of the peace societies, and of modern governments to make this will to peace effective. We know and revere the heroism of soldiers; but we do not believe with Bernhardt and others that “war is divine” and necessary for the “survival of the fit.” Because we love our country, we crave for it efficiency, courage, discipline, and, if need be, sacrifice. We are encouraged that this will to peace represents the aspirations of worthy men—Dante, Erasmus, St. Pierre, Rousseau, and all the leading statesmen throughout the history of our own country. Keen to avoid mere emotionalism, group interests, and prejudices; quick to frown on dogma, to invite criticism, to emphasize the relevant, to buttress our principles on facts, and to meet the tests of science and experience, we feel our country, in its efforts to overcome war, is strong, and we love it accordingly.

We do not forget that this will to end war represented a faith of our founding fathers. When they met in the Federal Convention of 1787 their greatest concern was that war between the States should be made impossible. Because of their handiwork, fortunately, war between these States seems at last to have been abolished. It was they who were wise enough to see the way. They provided for the equality of the States. They eliminated every plan for the coercion of any of the States by the force of arms. They furnished a method for the settlement of disputes between States in accordance with the principles of law and equity, backed by the sanction of public opinion, “Queen of the world.” They showed to all Powers how peace between nations can be established. The greatest peace conference of history was the Federal Convention of 1787.

This will to end war expresses itself just now in our attempt to co-operate with other Powers in the reduction of armaments. We are pursuing this course because of its immediate practicability. We know, however, that any effective disarmament for the nations must ultimately express itself not so much in the scrapping of particular battle craft as in the disarmament of policy. Thus we are proud of the interest taken by our Executive, our Department of State, and by the members of our Congress in international affairs, shown by their co-operation with the Interparliamentary Union; by their efforts to promote the codification of public and private international law on the Western Hemisphere; by their support of international gatherings of various kinds.

We love the strong things in the character of our country. The recent reception to an intrepid navigator of the air is only a fresh evidence that people everywhere want something broader and deeper than jazz, murder trials, and "sex stuff" upon which to shower their appreciation and through which to express themselves. Noble men and women are striving to keep pure the vital flow of blood pouring from the heart of America. It is they who conserve and increase the strength of our country.

#### **"Love is Best"**

And, finally, we love our country for what it is to be. We shall yet play a larger part in helping our old world to substitute for the processes of war the processes of law. We shall labor increasingly for that peace between nations which can thrive and endure only where justice reigns.

Out of the variety of our institutions and an immortal literature, our country's heart is set not only upon supplanting the injustices of war with the modes of peace, but upon extending the beneficence of mercy and faith. We are firmly set against sham, be it in trade, reform, religion or what not. Our new colossal industries and our still more complicated problems of industrial relations will lead us through fresh inductions to higher standards of welfare in a less artificial social milieu. Our chief concern will have to do more with individuals than

with corporations as the just bases for a developing constructive synthesis in the realms both of theory and practice. The Emersons and the Adam Smiths of tomorrow may supplement, they will never supplant the immortal spirit of that certain Samaritan who, going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, continues his way, now and forever into the lives of men. We love our country because of what it is yet to be.

The principles upon which America is built will survive, not for our country only, but for all men. Our Declaration of Independence has not escaped criticism. It has been accused of falsehood, of fallacious reasoning, of thinness, even of plagiarism. But in its very context it is an international document, an epoch-marking expression of the international mind. It relates to political bands which connected one people with another, and of relations to the "powers of the earth." It goes back to the "laws of nature and of nature's God," and to a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind," to which, indeed, it is addressed. Its first principle is "that all men are created equal." When it says that "governments are instituted among men" it means all governments. It speaks later of "mankind," and of the "King of Great Britain," and addresses its grievances "to a candid world." In conclusion, it appeals "to the Supreme Judge of the world." Thus, whatever one's views of the doctrine of natural rights, there can be no doubt of the international character of the Declaration of Independence. Since this Declaration became a fact acknowledged by the world; since out of it has sprung the oldest existing, continuous Union of States in the world; since it has won its way into the State constitutions, into the fabric of South American governments, and into the policies of many countries overseas, it is an international document of some importance.

The principles of the Declaration of Independence are not dead. They are molding minds of men and reshaping empires still. They will long continue in that beneficent business.

It is reasonable to expect that men and women of this country will continue to labor in behalf of progressive free government; that they will do their utmost

to meet the problems as they come, in all their newness and harshness, with a wider and deeper wisdom, with a keener appreciation of civil and political liberty under a developing public law. They will go on measuring our institutions by their worth as tools for the advancement of social purposes, particularly the enrichment of the commonweal, each individual counting as one. We are only just entering upon the full strength of this nation.

Mass production, mass profits, mass comforts are not the goal of America. Laborers, including teachers, are not to lose their individuality, their self-confidence, or their initiative. Scientific research will continue to aid the wings of religion in its efforts at upward flight. The dependence of profits upon service will long remain. Our country will never sell its soul either to the gods of collectivism or the gods of individualism. It will continue, rather, along the straighter though more difficult way of mutualism, co-operation, a solidarity of the majority changed and improved by the views of the minority. Our public opinion will remain sympathetic to ordered growth. We shall not be swept off our feet by plans and panaceas simply because they are new. We shall never confuse the people with the mob. Our statesmanship of the future will rest upon our codified experience applied to the new problems of the new day. Intelligent self-interest is not in conflict with the common good. We shall not forsake our free institutions or entangle ourselves permanently in any international organization for the purpose of coercing smaller States by force of arms. For us an international compact to enforce peace has no more value than an international compact to keep the peace, for nations unwilling to abide by their contracts cannot be relied upon to fare forth to war, especially when it is only in the interests of other nations. The nation claiming the right to exist has the duty to respect that right in the case of other nations. Similarly, if it claims the right to independence, or equality, or property, or confidence, it has the duty to respect these rights for others. Where these rights and duties are observed by all, there can be no war.

We shall keep on, therefore, trying to get nations voluntarily to accept just laws, uniform principles of justice mutually agreed upon, and to show by their conduct that they consider themselves governed by such laws.

As with persons, so with States—they must abide by the eternal verities. This may sound like an abstraction, but it has a tangible substance. States, like persons, have *rights* and *duties*. In the case of persons, a superior, called the State, adopts rules of action called laws, and as a superior imposes them on individuals. Thus in the case of persons, law is a rule of action imposed by a superior, called the State, upon an inferior, called the individual. International law is not so. As Dr. David Jayne Hill says, in itself international law is "but a system of freely accepted rules, to which justice requires a pledge of obedience." Hence, the hope of any desirable international peace lies in a world made up of States equal before the laws which they themselves have freely fashioned and agreed to accept.

An independent Court of International Justice, accessible to all on equal terms, where rights may be defended against an aggressor, is an inevitable consequence of such a system. Faith in the growth of public opinion for the enforcement of such a Court's decisions is warranted by the history of the Supreme Court of the United States, of the Privy Council of Great Britain, of the prize courts of the various nations.

Thus the hope for an international peace lies in international conferences made up of duly accredited delegates, which delegates draft laws, return these laws to their various governments for ratification; with the understanding that, when thus passed and thus ratified, such laws become laws for the nations that ratify, all supported by a free and wholly independent Court for the settlement of questions of interpretation. Of such is the gleam pursued by our America.

We of this land recognize no maniac world—*Homeless and sobbing through the deep*. Neither do we agree that *All's right with the world*. We accept rather the principle that this world belongs to its men and women, who have as yet scarcely

scratched its surface. We of this land shall go on trying to develop in union with alien peoples that greater respect for the rights of others, which is peace. We shall strive increasingly to create beauty in the arts, including the fine art of high behavior. We shall continue to be steadied by the "benign influence of good laws under a free government," referred to by George Washington as "the ever-favorite object of my heart." Through all the recurring tomorrows, let us believe, men shall see our brightening America beckoning to a world governed by justice, to the end that peoples everywhere may crave creatively the more abundant life.

In his best rhythmic verse, "*Love among the Ruins*," Browning finds that our poor returns for our centuries of follies and noises are blood that freezes and blood that burns. In substance, he bids us to

take the foolishness and the harshness and—

*Shut them in,  
With their triumphs and their glories and  
the rest!*

And then, with the shortest possible summary of his profoundest philosophy, our greatest of modern poets adds with a sufficing completeness—

*Love is best.*

An essential part of this "*best*" is love of country. And the love of one's country, even in its weaknesses, even in its strength; but more, may we not all agree, even in its promises for the days that are to be, is one of the puissant sources of hopeful human energies. Upon the mode of its expression hangs the destiny of nations.

## DRAFT OF A GENERAL ARBITRATION TREATY

By RICHARD BARTHOLDT

THIS draft of a general arbitration treaty is the outcome of many years of study and of an extended correspondence with experts in the realm of international law. It is aimed to meet the objections raised against the League of Nations and the World Court connected with the League. Its foundation stone is The Hague Court of Arbitral Justice, established by The Hague Conference of 1907 and officially sanctioned by the United States, as well as all the other countries signatories of The Hague Conventions. While it still recognizes the possibility of a resort to force, it throws so many safeguards around peace that future war is possible, but not probable. The treaty, in the opinion of its author and the experts who approved it, goes as far in the direction of more durable peace as the world's governments, under present conditions, are probably willing to go.

### Draft of a Model Arbitration Treaty

With a view to substituting judicial decisions according to recognized principles

of law for war between nations, the signatory powers have entered into the following general treaty of arbitration, which is based upon the recognized right of every nation to organize itself in such a manner as it may choose and to be supreme in its own domain without, of course, freeing it from responsibility for the acts contrary to recognized principles of international law. (See Sir Henry Maine on "International Law," page 60; Hannis Taylor on "International Law.")

(This preamble is to remove objections to arbitration on the ground of vital interest. Explicit recognition of the *most* vital interest should make it easier to conclude treaties, for *invasion of this right by the court could be met lawfully by force.*)

Article I. All differences which grow out of the interpretation, or enforcement of treaties, which concern diplomatic or consular privileges, boundaries, rights of navigation, indemnities, pecuniary claims, violations of the rights of person or property, violations of recognized principles of international law, shall be tried by the



international courts, established under this treaty and the Treaty of The Hague, Section 30 *et seq.*

Article II. All other questions of whatever character would be referred to a Commission of Inquiry, constituted according to the provisions of the Treaty of The Hague (Title III, Articles 9-14), or to a court constituted as provided herein, and decided on appeal by a Court of the Permanent Tribunal at The Hague, before resort to arms. Alleged violations of this clause shall be tried by the international courts, as provided for questions included in Article I.

(This is to get a trial before war, and to postpone decision to resort to arms until "cooling time" has elapsed.)

Article III. Upon filing a statement of its contention in a case of the kind included under Article II, either power may serve notice that it will be proper for its treaty-making power to accept or reject the decision; otherwise it will be considered that the decision of the courts shall be final, as in cases coming under Article I.

Article IV. Courts of First Instance shall be constituted as follows: Upon notice of resort to arbitration by either party to a dispute, the members of the highest court of each power concerned shall name two of their own number, or any other two persons whom they consider competent, as judges. These shall each name a member of The Hague Tribunal, and the last member of the court shall be chosen by lot from those so named, and he shall be the presiding judge, unless he request the judges to elect a presiding judge other than himself. But by mutual consent of all the designated judges, the presiding judge may be chosen by them. In such case he need not be a member of The Hague Tribunal.

(This will supply The Hague Court with what will correspond to United States circuit courts to do the work heretofore done by joint high commissions and to end litigation of the more trivial kind.)

Article V. All cases under both Articles I and II shall be tried, first, by a court constituted as above, or by a commission

of inquiry, unless all parties concerned agree to begin action in the High Court of The Hague. There may be an appeal in all cases to the High Court of The Hague, unless the decision is unanimous, the question pecuniary, and the amount adjudged is less than \$1,000,000.

There must be an appeal to the High Court of The Hague before exercise of the right to resort to arms remains; for such right shall hereafter be exercised only after a decision by a High Court of The Hague Tribunal, either upon original hearing of a controversy or upon an appeal from a commission of inquiry or of a court of first instance, constituted as provided herein.

Article VI. The courts of first instance shall decide all rules of procedure, appoint all necessary agents, and fix their compensation, designate the time and place of their sittings, etc., and shall render their decisions according to the terms of the Treaty of The Hague on this subject; and shall have power to tax costs and fees for maintaining the necessary officers of the courts, and order such sums to be paid in by the litigants during the action as may be necessary to meet the current costs.

Article VII. Either party to a controversy may deliver to the other party or parties a statement of its contention, and is entitled to a judgment according to the same, to be entered by the clerk of The Hague Court, unless it receives a counter-statement in a reasonable time. Upon application and proof of delivery of such a statement of the case, the clerk of the court shall designate what would be a reasonable time for the delivery of counter-statement and shall so notify the other party or parties.

A judgment by default may be set aside by the clerk for reasonable cause.

Upon issue joined, the clerk shall certify the fact with proper papers to the highest court of each power concerned, if the case is to be tried before a court of first instance.

If the case is to come before a commission of inquiry or before a Court of The Hague Tribunal, the clerk of The Hague Tribunal shall take the necessary steps to constitute such a commission or court as

provided in this treaty and the Treaty of The Hague.

When the judges for the trial of a case shall have been selected, it shall be proper for them to decide and announce to the contending parties the reasonable rules of procedure to be followed for taking evidence, hearing actions, etc., time and place of trial, sittings of court, etc.

Rules of procedure once announced and followed shall be considered as constituting a part of the procedure of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, of the courts of first instance, and of the commissions of inquiry especially instituted to try any question upon the application of any party at the first session after its constitution, or by the judges during any case, on their own initiative.

(This article enables either party to set the wheels of justice in action without the consent of the other party in any controversy which it has been agreed shall be determined by arbitration. It also enables the court to develop such rules of procedure as will make it most useful.)

Article VIII. If a Court of The Hague Tribunal or a commission of inquiry shall not be constituted by the method provided in the Treaty of The Hague, the clerk of The Hague Court shall summon, by lot, a sufficient number of the members of the highest court of the nations signatory to this treaty, not of the parties to the action, from whom the court or commission shall be completed, by such method as may be prescribed by the court.

In making the members of the highest court of the nations eligible for duty on the International Court and Commission of Inquiry, it is intended that only those who are actively judging in their own nation shall be eligible to judge between nations.

(This will insure the constitution of a court in case of the method of selection in the Treaty of The Hague fails to accomplish it.)

Article IX. Denunciation of the Treaty of The Hague by a nation shall remove the judges from the international courts, and therefore the high contracting parties agree that neither of them shall denounce

the Treaty of The Hague while this present treaty remains operative. And the Permanent Court of Arbitration provided for by the Treaty of The Hague, and such other courts as are hereby or may hereafter be created by the signatory powers, shall have and exercise the jurisdiction created by the present treaty until the present treaty is denounced, even though the other signatory powers of the Treaty of The Hague may have previously denounced the treaty.

And in order to make this article of this present treaty effectual, the high contracting parties agree, so long as this present treaty remains in force, to keep their members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration duly appointed, as provided in said Treaty of The Hague.

(This is to provide against untimely termination of this treaty by a denunciation of the Treaty of The Hague by either of the contracting parties, which is now allowed upon one year's notice.)

Article X. This treaty shall continue in force three years after denunciation by either of the signatory or adhering parties thereto. A denunciation by one nation shall not terminate it as between other signators or that may adhere to it after its original execution.

(The idea in having the treaty run three years after denunciation is to enable the parties to adjust themselves to the altered condition following the termination of the treaty; for instance, by making changes in their army and navy. Three years would give the party in the denouncing nation opposed to denunciation an opportunity to carry the country for continuing the treaty before it actually terminated.)

Article XI. The number of judges to be selected, as herein provided, for the trial of any controversy shall be five, unless otherwise agreed by the parties, or unless the number of nations in a case before the courts of first instance necessitates for such case a larger number, and decision shall be by a majority of judges.

Article XII. The president of a court or commission of inquiry constituted by virtue of this treaty shall be designated

by the court after it is fully constituted, except as provided in Article IV.

(The court constituted at The Hague to try the Pius Fund case between Mexico and the United States recommended that subsequent courts constituted under The Hague Treaty should be left free to elect their own chief justice, instead of being compelled to have the umpire preside. They were of the opinion that some eminently desirable jurist might be glad to serve as a member of the court, but yet unwilling to because not president.)

Article XIII. The court shall determine the language to be used in any case.

Article XIV. International courts and commissions of inquiry shall have power to tax the costs of all cases according to their judgment.

Article XV. All nations whose people are engaged in commerce with the people of any of the signatory powers may adhere to this treaty at any time. In the event of their unwillingness to agree to the judicial determination of all such questions as are included herein, they may, with the notice of their adherence, designate such classes of controversies as they will refer to arbitration under this treaty. Upon such designation the treaty shall become operative for such controversies between all the powers that have adhered to the treaty in all its parts or have designated the same classes of controversies as arbitrable.

Article XVI. Nothing herein shall prevent entire freedom of action by all signatory powers in a matter which concerns a power not signatory hereto.

(This preserves the Monroe Doctrine.)

In witness whereof, the signatory powers, etc.

#### Explanation

As will be seen from this draft, it is based on the Treaty of The Hague, and the twofold purpose is, firstly, to strengthen and magnify The Hague Court by conferring upon it jurisdiction in all cases specified in Article I, and, secondly, to enlarge the general scope of arbitration. Summarized, the main features are:

(1) Enumeration of the questions in which arbitration shall be obligatory. (Article I.)

(2) The provision that all other questions (not enumerated) shall be referred to commissions of inquiry or courts of first instance. (Article II.)

(3) The constitutions of such commissions of inquiry or courts of first instance by the appointment, as members, of the highest judges of the contending nations themselves. (Article IV.)

(4) The requirement of an appeal to the High Court of The Hague, as the last instance, before exercise of the right to resort to arms. (Article V.)

(5) The provision which will enable a nation to join the others in such a general treaty, even if it be unwilling to agree to arbitration in all cases included in it, by designating the particular classes of controversies which they are willing to refer to arbitration.

Arbitration is made obligatory only in cases such as all well-meaning governments may be expected to recognize as arbitrable. As to all other questions a machinery is provided by which at least time, if not settlement, will be gained. The one thing necessary to perfect previous plans is the provision for trial in all cases, with right to appeal to arms only where the people cannot abide the decision of the arbitrators. It is purely a matter of domestic policy, of course, whether war or peace shall depend upon a vote of the people. In a real democracy it certainly should.

The importance of the courts of first instance will be readily appreciated when we remember the objections so frequently raised against the reference of a dispute directly to the High Court of The Hague. The judges composing these courts of first instance, being chosen by the contending nations themselves from among their own judiciary, will understand local conditions as The Hague judges cannot do, unless they are the wisest of men. The final appeal to The Hague Court will correct possible partiality or prejudice which may crop out in the judges of the disputant nations. The provision to make members of the highest courts of the nations eli-

gible for international jury duty will correct the defect in the method of choosing a court as provided by the Treaty of The Hague.

By allowing a government to designate the subjects which it will consent to submit to arbitration and yet join the general

agreement of the nations assures an element of elasticity, as has already been stated, which will greatly facilitate the general acceptance of the treaty by all and remove an obstacle which heretofore prevented a more general adoption of the principle of arbitration.

## INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### NAVAL LIMITATION CONFERENCE

(NOTE:—Following is the text of President Coolidge's message to Congress, proposing the convocation of the Conference for the Limitation of Naval Armaments, and of the correspondence between our Department of State and the governments of Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy.)

#### 1. PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Pursuant to my instructions the American ambassadors at London, Paris, Rome, and Tokyo will today present to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan a memorandum suggesting that they empower their delegates at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva to negotiate and conclude at an early date an agreement further limiting naval armament, supplementing the Washington treaty on that subject, and covering the classes of vessels not covered by that treaty. I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, a copy of this memorandum.

I wish to inform the Congress of the considerations which have moved me to take this action.

The support of all measures looking to the preservation of the peace of the world has been long established as a fundamental policy of this Government. The American Government and people are convinced that competitive armaments constitute one of the most dangerous contributing causes of international suspicion and discord and are calculated eventually to lead to war. A recog-

nition of this fact and a desire as far as possible to remove this danger led the American Government in 1921 to call the Washington conference.

At that time we were engaged in a great building program which, upon its completion, would have given us first place on the sea. We felt then, however, and feel now, that the policy we then advocated—that of deliberate self-denial and limitation of naval armament by the great naval powers—promised the attainment of at least one guarantee of peace, an end worthy of mutual adjustment and concession.

At the Washington conference we found the other nations animated with the same desire as ourselves, to remove naval competition from the list of possible causes of international discord. Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to reach agreements at Washington covering all classes of naval ships. The Washington treaty provided a specific tonnage limitation upon capital ships and aircraft carriers, with certain restrictions as to size and maximum caliber of guns for other vessels. Every nation has been at complete liberty to build any number of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Only size and armament of cruisers were limited. The signatories of the Washington treaty have fulfilled their obligations faithfully and there can be no doubt that that treaty constitutes an outstanding success in its operation.

It has been the hope of the American Government, constantly expressed by the Congress since the Washington conference, that a favorable opportunity might present itself to complete the work begun here by the conclusion of further agreements covering cruis-

ers, destroyers, and submarines. The desirability of such an agreement has been apparent, since it was only to be expected that the spirit of competition, stifled as regards capital ships and aircraft carriers by the Washington treaty, would sooner or later show itself with regard to the other vessels not limited under the treaty. Actually, I do not believe that competitive building of these classes of ships has begun. Nevertheless, far-reaching building programs have been laid down by certain powers, and there has appeared in our own country, as well as abroad, a sentiment urging naval construction on the ground that such construction is taking place elsewhere. In such sentiments lies the germ of renewed naval competition.

I am sure that all governments and all peoples would choose a system of naval limitation in preference to consciously reverting to competitive building. Therefore, in the hope of bringing about an opportunity for discussion among the principal naval powers to ascertain whether further limitation is practicable, I have suggested to them that negotiations on this subject should begin as soon as possible.

The moment seems particularly opportune to try to secure further limitation of armament in accordance with the expressed will of the Congress. The earnest desire of the nations of the world to relieve themselves in as great a measure as possible of the burden of armaments and to avoid the dangers of competition has been shown by the establishment of the preparatory commission for the disarmament conference, which met in Geneva last May, and which is continuing its work with a view to preparing the agenda for a final general conference. For more than six months, representatives of a score or more of nations have examined from all points of view the problem of the reduction and limitation of armaments. In these discussions it was brought out very clearly that a number of nations felt that land, sea, and air armaments were interdependent and that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to agree upon the limitation of one type of armament without simultaneously limiting the other types.

The consequence to be feared is that a deadlock will be reached, should even partial progress in the reduction of armaments be conditioned upon the acceptance of some uni-

versal plan covering land, sea, and air forces together. If the prospective deadlock can not be broken, it is probable that little progress will be made for the time being. It appears to me to be the duty of this Government, which has always advocated limitation of armaments, to endeavor to suggest some avenue by which concrete results may be achieved, even though such results may be short of an ultimate ideal solution for the threefold problem of land, sea, and air armament.

Our delegates at Geneva have consistently expressed the view that under conditions as they exist in the world today the problems of land and air armaments are most susceptible of solution by regional agreements covering regions within which the land or air armaments of one country could constitute a potential threat to another country. Geographical continents have been suggested as regions appropriate for land and air limitation agreements.

The American land and air force constitute a threat to no one. They are at minimum strength; their reduction has been suggested by no one as a necessary condition precedent to general arms limitation. This reduction of our land forces has been rendered possible by our favored geographical position. I realize that the problems of armaments on land and in the air in Europe are beset with difficulties which in all justice we must recognize and, although this Government will always be ready to lend its assistance in any appropriate way to efforts on the part of European or other governments to arrive at regional agreements limiting land and air forces, it would hesitate to make specific proposals on this subject to European nations.

The problem of the limitation of naval armament, while not regional in character or susceptible of regional treatment, has been successfully treated, in part, by an agreement among the five leading naval powers, and, in my opinion, can be definitely dealt with by further agreements among those powers.

It will be a contribution to the success of the preliminary work now going on at Geneva should the great naval powers there agree upon a further definite limitation of naval armament.

It is my intention that the American representatives at Geneva should continue to discuss with the representatives of the other nations there the program for a general limitation-of-armaments conference. If such a conference should be possible in the future, on a basis generally acceptable, this Government would, of course, be highly gratified. Pending the formulation of the plan for such a general conference, however, I believe that we should make an immediate and sincere effort to solve the problem of naval limitation, the solution of which would do much to make the efforts toward more general limitation successful.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

February 10, 1927.

## 2. UNITED STATES MEMORANDUM ON THE CONFERENCE

The American Government has followed with close attention the proceedings of the preparatory commission for the disarmament conference, and, after the most careful deliberation, has concluded that it can helpfully make certain observations at this time which, it hopes, may contribute materially to the success of that commission—a success earnestly desired by the Government and people of the United States.

The conviction that the competitive augmentation of national armaments has been one of the principal causes of international suspicion and ill will, leading to war, is firmly held by the American Government and people. Hence the American Government has neglected no opportunity to lend its sympathy and support to international efforts to reduce and limit armaments.

The success of the Washington conference of 1921-22 demonstrated that other powers were animated with a similar desire to do away with this dangerous source of international discord. The Washington conference made a beginning, however, and it has been the continued hope of the American Government, since 1922, that the task undertaken at Washington by the group of naval powers could be resumed and completed.

For this reason, the American Government was happy to observe that the efforts looking towards the holding of a general international conference for the limitation of armament, which had been in progress for several

years under the auspices of the League of Nations, had reached, in December, 1925, a stage sufficiently advanced, in the opinion of the Council of the League of Nations, to warrant the establishment of the preparatory commission, to meet in 1926, to prepare the ground for an international conference at an early date. The American Government, pursuant to its policy of co-operation with all efforts calculated to bring about an actual limitation of armament, accepted the invitation of the council to be represented on the preparatory commission. The American representatives on that commission have endeavored to play a helpful part in its discussions, and they will continue to be guided by that policy.

The American Government believes that the discussions of the commission have been most valuable in making clear the views of the various governments as to the problems presented, and in demonstrating the complexity and diversity of the obstacles to be overcome in the preparation and conclusion of a general agreement for the limitation of all armament.

At the same time, these very complexities and difficulties, as brought out in the preparatory commission, have clearly pointed out that a final solution for the problem of armament may not be immediately practicable. Indeed, at the latest meeting of the Council of the League of Nations several distinguished statesmen, leaders in the movement for the limitation of armament, sounded a note of warning against too great optimism of immediate success.

The American Government is most anxious that concrete results in the limitation of armament may be achieved. The discussions of the preparatory commission have emphasized the fact that a number of governments consider that one of the chief present obstacles to the general reduction and limitation of armaments lies in the interdependence of land, sea, and air armaments, and in the consequent impossibility of reducing or limiting one of these categories without dealing simultaneously with the others. On the other hand, the discussions have demonstrated even more emphatically that, should all effort to bring about the reduction or limitation of armament be conditioned upon the acceptance by all the world of a comprehensive plan covering all classes and types

of armament, there would be little, if any, prospect of actual progress toward arms limitation in the near future.

The above difficulties must be frankly recognized. The American Government believes that they can be overcome and that they must be overcome, since the consequences of a failure to overcome them, and to make some definite, if only partial, agreement for the limitation of armament, would constitute a setback to the cause of international peace too great to deserve serious contemplation as a possibility.

Admitting reluctantly that the existing political situations in certain parts of the world may render the problem of universal limitation incapable of immediate solution as a whole, the American Government believes that it is entirely practicable for the nations of the world to proceed at once to the isolation and separate solution of such problems as may appear susceptible of such treatment, meanwhile continuing to give sympathetic consideration and discussion to comprehensive proposals aimed at the simultaneous limitation of land, sea, and air armaments by a general agreement when such an agreement may be warranted by existing world conditions. The American Government believes that the adoption of such a course is the duty of the governments represented on the preparatory commission, and that by so doing they will insure the achievement by the commission and by the general conference of concrete, even though perhaps only partial, results, thus facilitating progress toward the final solution of the general problem.

The American Government, as its representatives on the preparatory commission have repeatedly stated, feels that land and air armaments constitute essentially regional problems, to be solved primarily by regional agreements. The American army and air force are at minimum strength. Agreement for land and air limitation in other regions of the world would not be dependent upon the reduction or limitation of American land and air forces. Therefore the American Government does not feel that it can appropriately offer definite suggestions to other powers in regard to the limitation of these categories of armament.

The problem of the limitation of naval armament, while not regional in character,

can be dealt with as a practical matter by measures affecting the navies of a limited group of powers. This has been clearly established by the success of the Washington treaty limiting naval armament. The United States, as the initiator of the Washington conference, and as one of the principal naval powers, has a direct interest in this question, and, being both ready and willing to enter into an agreement further limiting naval armament, feels itself privileged to indicate a course of procedure which will, in its opinion, lead to such an agreement.

The discussions over a period of six months in Geneva have been most useful in the opportunity afforded for an exchange of views as to the general problem of naval limitation, and on the basis of these discussions it is felt that there is a possibility of reconciling many of the divergent views which have been expressed in such a manner as to meet the requirements of the naval powers and enable them to decide upon acceptable measures of limitation.

In order to advance definitely toward a limitation agreement, the Government of the United States takes this method of addressing an inquiry to the governments signatories of the Washington treaty limiting naval armament as to whether they are disposed to empower their representatives at the forthcoming meeting of the preparatory commission to initiate negotiations looking toward an agreement providing for limitation in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Washington treaty.

The American Government is not unmindful of the fact that the preparatory commission is not specifically charged with the duty of concluding international agreements, and that its task is primarily that of preparing the agenda for a conference to be called at a later date. Nevertheless, being sincerely desirous of the success of the preparatory commission, the American Government makes this suggestion in the firm belief that the conclusion at Geneva, as soon as possible, among the powers signatories of the Washington treaty, of an agreement for further naval limitation, far from interfering with or detracting from the success of the preparatory commission's aims, would constitute a valuable contribution to the sum of achievement attributable to that commission and would

facilitate the task of the final conference in dealing with the particularly complex problems of land and air armaments, perhaps capable of solution for the present only by regional limitation agreements.

It seems probable that under any circumstances the final conference will not be able to meet during this calendar year. The coming into effect of agreements reached by it might be delayed for a considerable period for a multitude of causes. Therefore the American Government believes that those powers which may be able to arrive at an agreement for further naval limitation at an earlier date would not be justified in consciously postponing that agreement and thereby opening the way for a recrudescence of a spirit of competitive naval building—a development greatly to be deplored by all governments and peoples.

The American Government feels that the general principles of the Washington treaty offer a suitable basis for further discussion among its signatories.

Although hesitating at this time to put forward rigid proposals as regards the ratios of naval strength to be maintained by the different powers, the American Government, for its part, is disposed to accept, in regard to those classes of vessels not covered by the Washington treaty, an extension of the 5-5-3 ratio as regards the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, and to leave to discussion at Geneva the ratios of France and Italy, taking into full account their special conditions and requirements in regard to the types of vessels in question. Ratios for capital ships and aircraft carriers were established by that treaty which would not be affected in any way by an agreement covering other classes of ships.

The American representatives at the forthcoming meeting at Geneva will, of course, participate fully in the discussions looking to the preparation of an agenda for a final general conference for the limitation of armament. In addition, they will have full powers to negotiate definitely regarding measures for further naval limitation, and, if they are able to reach agreement with the representatives of the other signatories of the Washington treaty, to conclude a convention embodying such agreement, in tentative or final form, as may be found practicable.

The American Government earnestly hopes that the institution of such negotiations at Geneva may be agreeable to the governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and that comprehensive limitation of all types of naval armament may be brought into effect among the principal naval powers without delay.

### 3. THE FRENCH REPLY

*(Handed to Ambassador Herrick on February 15 by Foreign Minister Briand)*

The American Government has been good enough to address to the signatories of the naval convention of Washington of 1922, and as one of them to the French Government, a memorandum proposing to negotiate at Geneva between the five powers disinterested themselves from the general work of the reduction of armaments carried on for the last ten months by the Preparatory Commission of Disarmament an agreement with a view to limiting from now on naval armament for the categories of vessels which are not included in the Treaty of Washington.

The French Government wishes first of all to say how much it appreciates the lofty aim of the American note. The generous idealism which inspires it is in accordance with its own views. No power could be more appreciative of the noble initiative of President Coolidge than France, which never ceases to give proofs of her resolutely pacific will.

It desires equally to show how much it has appreciated the friendly attention of the Federal Government in leaving its proposals flexible in an endeavor to take into account the special conditions and requirements of the Continental Powers. The American Government has thus shown that it is quite aware of the very clear position taken by the French Government in the question of naval disarmament. It will, therefore, not be astonished to see French opinion preoccupied with its duties as a member of the League of Nations and with its moral obligations toward all the powers which form part of it.

On its part, the Government of the Republic would have been happy to be able to adhere to these proposals without reserve, and the entire French nation would have congratulated itself on seeing the two countries again associated in an enterprise so



consistent with their common traditions. But an attentive study of the American proposals has convinced the Government of the Republic that in their present form they risk compromising the success of the task already commenced at Geneva with the active help of the representatives of the American Government.

Article eight of the Covenant of the League of Nations has made the general limitation of armaments one of the essential duties of the League. Without doubt in 1921 the Powers to whom the United States are today appealing, already united their efforts to realize by themselves a limitation of naval armaments. At the time it took place the calling of the Washington conference was fully justified, but circumstances today are different. The League of Nations has begun its task: the conclusion of an arms traffic convention, the elaboration of a convention on the private manufacture of war materials, the convocation finally of a preparatory commission with a view to the meeting of a conference for the general limitation of armaments, a commission to which all the countries of the world have been invited and in which the greater part of them participate, marks so many decisive stages towards the aim fixed by the covenants. Without doubt the American Government is not thinking of withdrawing from the task undertaken, the efficient collaboration which for nearly a year its delegates have contributed, it promises on the contrary to continue it. But its proposal has nevertheless for practical result to divest the preparatory commission of an essential question which figures on its program; to constitute on the side a special conference in which only a few Powers should participate, and whose decisions, under penalty of being vain, must at least in their principles be later recognized as valid by Powers which would not have been admitted to discuss them.

To decide today without consulting the League of Nations and determine method and to seek a partial solution of the problem in preoccupying oneself with maintaining the actual existing situation, than in determining the conditions proper to ensure the security of each one; to limit beside this effort to a few Powers would be both to weaken the authority of the League of Nations so essential to the peace of the world and to injure

the principle of the equality of States which is at the very base of the Covenant of Geneva and to which on its part the French Government remains firmly attached.

The principle of the equality of the Powers, great or small, is one of the recognized rules of the League of Nations. Technical committees have met, all the Maritime Powers have participated in their labors, they have pointed out the necessities for their defense. How could one admit that at the moment when the Preparatory Commission is called upon to formulate the conclusion of its discussions the five most important Maritime Powers should take cognizance of the question and as far as it concerns them give it a definitive solution of a nature to prejudice the final decisions for the entire naval problems?

In fact, besides the categories to which the new limitation should apply are those which for the majority of Powers present the greatest interest. An agreement limited to a few navies could be explained for battleships: practically they are the only ones to possess any. It is otherwise when the question of light vessels is considered. All the navies of the world have an interest in being associated with the deliberations on this important problem.

As for the French Government which, in the question of limitation of armaments, is only interested from the defensive point of view, as Mr. Briand declared to Mr. Hughes on December 18, 1921, and which in this respect must interest itself both in the protection of its coasts and in the safety of its maritime communications. Its delegates at Geneva have defended and caused to prevail in the technical commissions two general principles: On the one hand that one cannot undertake to limit naval armaments without taking into consideration the solutions proposed for land and air armaments; on the other hand, especially from the naval point of view, that the limitation of armaments can only result from the attribution to any one Power of a global tonnage that it remains free to divide according to the sense of its necessities.

The American proposal sets aside immediately these two principles which would have for consequence that the French Government, which has taken its stand before all the nations represented at Geneva, could only

adopt it by abandonment of its point of view. It would thus contradict itself while publicly recanting.

The method proposed, would it be at least of a kind to obtain the looked-for result? The precedent of the Rome Conference in 1924 does not permit of hoping so. This conference, in fact, did not succeed in having adopted by the Powers not represented at Washington the principles which there had been established for battleships, still less in having them extended to the other categories of vessels. These Powers would not be less mindful of their own interests (?) that they were asked again to accept principles resulting from decisions which would have been decided upon without them.

This last objection has without doubt been considered by the American Government, and if it has thought necessary to set it aside it is by reason of its opinion that if the problems of disarmament are not dissociated there is no hope for a practical result in the near future. The French Government thinks on the contrary that in the present state of the surveys with which the Preparatory Commission is charged the latter can at its next session, and on condition that the nations represented bring, like itself, a firm resolve to succeed, make the decisions which would permit the meeting, with serious chances of success of the general conference on disarmament.

The French Government having envisaged the different aspects of the American proposal, conscious of the duties imposed on it as a member of the League of Nations, fearing any undermining the authority of the latter, and convinced that no durable work of peace can be built without the common consent of all the Powers called on the same grounds to defend their rights and interests, thinks that it is at Geneva and by the Preparatory Commission itself in which we have been so happy to see the delegates of the United States participate that the American proposal can be effectually examined.

#### 4. THE JAPANESE REPLY

*(Handed to the Secretary of State on February 19 by Mr. Tsuneo Matsudaira, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington)*

The Japanese Government have given careful consideration to the memorandum of the

American Embassy at Tokyo, dated February 10, defining the attitude of the United States on the general problem of disarmament, and suggesting that the representatives of the five Powers signatories of the Washington naval treaty about to participate in the forthcoming session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva shall be empowered to negotiate and to conclude an agreement among those five Powers for the limitation of armament in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty.

The Japanese Government fully share with the American Government the views expressed in that memorandum on the desirability of an agreement calculated to complete the work of the Washington Conference for the prevention of competitive naval building. They cordially welcome the initiative taken by the American Government for the institution among the five Powers negotiations looking to such desirable end. They will be happy to take part in those negotiations through their representatives invested with full powers to negotiate and to conclude an agreement on the subject.

In view, however, of the supreme importance of the problem to be discussed and determined, the Japanese Government find it essential that at least a part of the Japanese delegation shall be especially sent from Tokyo. Considering the length of time required for the necessary preparations as well for the journey from Tokyo to Geneva it will obviously be impossible for the Japanese representatives to assist at the negotiations should that meeting be held simultaneously with or immediately after the forthcoming session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission scheduled to be opened on March 21st next. Accordingly, the Japanese Government desire that the meeting of the Powers signatories of the Washington naval treaty now suggested should take place on a date not earlier than June 1st.

The Japanese Government are further gratified to learn that it is not the intention of the American Government at this time to put forward rigid proposals on the ratios of naval strength to be maintained by the several Powers in the classes of vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty. In order to ensure the success of the proposed negotiations it seems highly important that in the

matter of these conditions of the limitation of armament all parties to the negotiations should approach the subject with an open mind, being always guided by the spirit of mutual accommodation and helpfulness, consistently with the defensive requirements of each nation. The Japanese Government confidently hope that an adjustment will be reached in a manner fair and satisfactory to each of the participating Powers and conducive to the general peace and security of the world.

## 5 THE ITALIAN REPLY

*(Handed to the American Ambassador at Rome, Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, on February 21)*

The Italian Government has submitted to serious examination the memorandum handed on February 10th by the Ambassador of the United States of America to the Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The said memorandum explains the principles which have inspired the Washington Government in proposing that, before the contemplated international conference for the reduction and the limitation of armaments, negotiations be initiated between the five Powers signatory to the Treaty of Washington of 1922 for the purpose of studying the limitation of certain categories of naval armaments not covered by said Treaty.

The Italian Government appreciates fully the high spirit which has guided the President of the United States of America in addressing his message to Congress on the same day in which the memorandum of the American Government was handed to the Governments of the great Powers interested. The appreciation of the Italian Government has all the greater value since Italy has always associated herself with every international activity tending to establish upon a solid base the tranquility and peace of the world.

That spirit which has guided Mr. Coolidge is, so to say, the heritage of the Italian Government and people.

Italy in fact has not only adhered to the Washington Conference but has concluded during the past five years more treaties of friendship and arbitration than those stipulated by any other European State. Her actual military expenses and, above all, her naval budget in which there is appropriated

three hundred million lire annually, equal to about thirteen millions of dollars, for new naval construction demonstrate clearly that the "far-reaching building programs" alleged in the message certainly cannot refer to Italy.

The American Government proposes in its memorandum that the Italian Government empower its representative on the Preparatory Disarmament Commission to initiate negotiations at Geneva with a view to concluding agreements which, in anticipation of a global limitation of naval, land and air armaments, shall regulate naval armaments, by limiting the construction of those lesser vessels which were not contemplated in the accords of 1922.

As regards such a proposal the Government of His Majesty must above all state that in principle and as far as concerns the Continent of Europe its point of view is that there exists an undeniable interdependence of every type of armament of every single Power, and furthermore that it is not possible to adopt partial measures between only the five large naval Powers. The Italian Government thinks that the limitation of armaments, to be efficacious to the ends referred to by Mr. Coolidge, should be universal, and recalls in this connection that the example of Washington was not accepted by the minor naval Powers and that the Conference held at Rome in February 1924 for the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty to the Powers not signatory thereto was a failure.

Then, as concerns Italy more specifically, the Italian Government believes it can invoke the same geographical reasons referred to in the message of President Coolidge. If the United States, by reason of their geographical position ("our favored geographical position"), has been able to reduce land armament to the minimum, Italy by reason of its unfavorable geographical position cannot expose itself without grave risks to a binding limitation of its maritime armaments, which are already insufficient to the needs of its defense.

Italy has, in fact, only three lines of communication with the rest of the world, three obligatory routes, through Suez, Gibraltar, and the Dardanelles, for provisioning itself.

Italy has an enormous coast development

with populous cities and vital centers on the coast or a short distance from it, with two large islands, besides the Dodecanese, all of which are linked to the peninsula by lines of vital traffic.

Italy has four important colonies to protect; two of which are beyond the Suez Canal.

In fact, Italy must also consider the other nations which face on or can appear in the Mediterranean, particularly favored by their geographical position amid essential lines of communication, and which have under construction many units of various types or are elaborating naval programs of great strength.

For the reasons above stated the Government of His Majesty feels confident that the Government of the United States will take into account the reason why Italy cannot, to its regret, accede to the proposal contained in the memorandum of February 10th.

#### 6. THE BRITISH REPLY

*Handed to the American Ambassador at London by the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, February 25.*

His Majesty's Government in Great Britain received with cordial sympathy the invitation of the Government of the United States of America to take part in a conversation at Geneva on the further limitation of naval armament.

The view of His Majesty's Government upon the special geographical position of the British Empire, the length of inter-imperial communications and the necessity for the protection of its food supplies are well known and together with the special conditions and requirements of the other countries invited to participate in the conversation must be taken into account.

His Majesty's Government are nevertheless prepared to consider to what extent the principles adopted at Washington can be carried further either as regards the ratio in different classes of ships between the various powers or in other important ways. They therefore accept the invitation of the Government of the United States of America and will do their best to further the success of the proposed conversation.

They would, however, observe that the relationship of such a conversation to the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva would require careful adjustment.

#### 7. IDENTIC NOTES TO THE BRITISH AND JAPANESE AMBASSADORS IN WASHINGTON

*(Dated March 11)*

Excellency:

With reference to the memorandum handed by the American Ambassador to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, (to the Imperial Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs) February 10, 1927, regarding the possibility of the initiation of negotiations at Geneva concerning the limitation of naval armament between the representatives of the powers signatories of the Washington Treaty of 1922, my government is pleased to learn as the result of informal conversations that the British Government (that the Imperial Japanese Government) is willing to participate in negotiations with the United States and Japan (Great Britain).

"The American Government regrets that France and Italy should have formally refused the President's invitation and shares the opinion of His Majesty's Government that their presence would be most welcome at such a conference. This government sincerely hopes, therefore, that they may decide to be represented at least in some informal manner at the conversations contemplated.

These conversations, it now appears, could most advantageously and conveniently begin at Geneva on the first day of June, or soon thereafter.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary of State.*

#### 8. AMERICAN MEMORANDUM TO FRANCE

*(Dated March 14)*

With reference to the Memorandum of the French Government of February 15, 1927, in reply to that of the American Government of February 10, inquiring whether the French Government was disposed to empower its representatives at the forthcoming meeting at Geneva of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference to enter into negotiations looking toward an agreement providing for limitation in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Treaty of

Washington of 1922, the Government of the United States has noted with pleasure that the French Government is animated by the same spirit that prompted the President of the United States upon the occasion of his message to Congress, on the day in which the above-mentioned memorandum of the American Government was handed to the governments of the powers signatory to the Washington treaty.

With regard to the fear expressed by the French Government that such negotiations would risk compromising the success of the work of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva, the Government of the United States is of the opinion that all appropriate measures taken by the large naval powers cannot but contribute towards facilitating the task of the Commission.

In the last paragraph of the memorandum of the French Government the view is set forth that it is at Geneva and by the Preparatory Commission itself that the proposal of the American Government can be effectually examined. The Government of the United States desires to emphasize the fact that it proposed the initiation at Geneva of negotiations by representatives of certain powers at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission, and is therefore of the opinion that far from undermining the authority of the League of Nations such conversations as those proposed would be of great service to that body in an advance towards the solution of a difficult problem.

The governments of Great Britain and Japan have now acceded to the proposal of the American Government which has, therefore, decided to enter into conversations with these powers and sincerely hopes that the French Government will see its way clear to be represented in some manner in these conversations in order that it may be fully cognizant of the course of negotiations and of the agreements which may be reached.

As the French Government already knows, the American Government has no preconceived ideas regarding any definite ratio for the limitation of French tonnage. It does not desire to open up questions already settled by treaty, but wishes to point out that all other questions relative to limitation of naval armament are open, and that in the projected conversations each power would have

the privilege of taking any position it thinks best for its own protection as a basis for negotiation.

The Government of the United States would be especially gratified by the presence of representatives of a nation holding the ideals set forth in the memorandum of the French Government, a nation which has, in the past, been associated with the United States in efforts to further the cause of World Peace.

## 9. FRENCH REPLY TO THE MEMORANDUM

*(Dated April 2)*

By its memorandum of March 14, 1927, the American Embassy was good enough to inform the French Government of the decision taken by its government as a result of the adherence of Great Britain and Japan to the proposals contained in the American memorandum of February 10 last to engage in conversation with these powers.

On this occasion the American Government expresses the hope that the Government of the Republic "will see its way clear to be represented in some manner in these conversations in order that it may be fully cognizant of the course of the negotiations and of the agreements which may be reached." It is good enough at the same time to show the paramount value that it would attach to the presence of a French delegation.

The American Government specifies, on the other hand, that it has no preconceived idea as to the formula that it would be proper to consider in regard to a limitation of French naval tonnage, and it points out that in the proposed conversations each power will have the privilege of adopting as basis of negotiation the attitude that it judges the best for the defense of its interests.

The French Government pointed out on February 15, in its reply to the first American note, the decisive reasons for which it could not participate in the conference proposed by the American Government for a new limitation of naval armaments.

It cannot allow either the weakening of the authority of the League of Nations, already invested with the problem of disarmament in which naval armaments cannot be separated from land and aerial armaments, or injury to the principle of the equality of the powers

to which France remains firmly attached, or the exclusion from the discussion of an essential problem of the States, without whose collaboration no result can be obtained, or the abandonment of the technical principles on which alone, as the French delegates have admitted during the preparatory discussions, it is possible to base a general limitation of armaments.

In spite of the assurances that the American Government is good enough to give as to the pre-occupations which have inspired its initiative and as to the principles by which it intends to be guided the Government of the Republic cannot see its way to modify its views towards the proposal which had been put before it. It persists in thinking that a positive participation of France in the proposed conference between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan cannot be considered.

Since the delivery of the American memorandum a new element, and which imposes itself on us, has intervened: The Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference has met at Geneva. From the beginning the French delegation has affirmed its thesis and presented a draft convention based on the principle of global disarmament. A large part of the Commission has shown itself favorable to it, and the debates which have ensued permit of thinking that it will be largely taken into consideration in the conclusions of the Commission.

Even since then the French Government is bound to great reserve as concerns the request of the American Government to be represented in other discussions whose promoters are inspired by entirely different principles. It is for us a question of honesty towards the League of Nations to do nothing which might allow, in the mind of the delegations which have favorably received our proposals, a doubt to arise as to the sincerity of our efforts.

The French Government, appreciative of the value that the American Government attaches to its being directly informed concerning the conversations engaged in between the three powers, preserves the greatest sympathy for the American efforts for disarmament and for peace. It would certainly have liked to be able to decide now as to the cordial invitation which has been sent it. It likes at least to think that the American

Government will appreciate the reasons which make it a duty under the present circumstances to defer any decision as to the possible participating, even by a simple observer, in conversations on a limited subject touching on the question of disarmament.

#### 10. AMERICAN MEMORANDUM TO ITALY

(Dated March 14)

With reference to the memorandum of the Italian Government of February 21, 1927, in reply to that of the American Government of February 10, inquiring whether the Italian Government was disposed to empower its representatives at the forthcoming meeting at Geneva of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference to enter into negotiations looking toward an agreement providing for limitation in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Treaty of Washington of 1922, the Government of the United States has noted with pleasure that the Italian Government is animated by the same spirit that prompted the President of the United States upon the occasion of his message to Congress, on the day in which the above-mentioned memorandum of the American Government was handed to the governments of the powers signatory to the Washington Treaty.

With regard to the assertion of the Italian Government that there exists an interdependence of every type of armament the American Government is nevertheless of the opinion that all appropriate measures taken by the large naval powers in limitation of the naval branch of armament must greatly contribute in advancing the solution of the problem as a whole.

As for the statement in the memorandum of the Italian Government that owing to geographical position and strategic considerations Italy could not expose itself without grave risks to a binding limitation of its maritime armaments, it is feared that there may exist some misapprehension regarding the terms of the proposal of the President of the United States. The American Government has no preconceived ideas regarding any definite ratio for the limitation of Italian tonnage in the classes referred to, but regards this question as one to be determined during the proposed conversations. While the

American Government does not desire to open up questions already settled by treaty, all other questions relative to limitation of naval armament are open and each power would have the privilege of taking any position it thought best for its own protection as a basis for negotiation. The American Government is also of the opinion that an agreement for partial limitation of armaments could expose no power to danger from the navies of the powers not included in such an understanding, since no agreement is contemplated which would not be subject to reconsideration or revision should the security of any party to it be menaced by the naval program of a nation not included in the understanding.

The Governments of Great Britain and Japan have now acceded to the proposal of the American Government, which has, therefore, decided to enter into conversations with these powers and sincerely hopes that the Italian Government will see its way clear to be represented in some manner at these conversations, in order that it may be fully cognizant of the course of negotiations and of the agreements which may be reached. The Government of the United States would, moreover, be especially gratified by the presence of the representatives of a nation holding the high ideals set forth in the memorandum of the Italian Government, a nation which has, in the past, been associated with the United States in efforts to further the cause of World Peace.

## 11. ITALIAN REPLY TO THE MEMORANDUM

(Dated May 17)

The Royal Government deeply appreciates this attention of the American Government and, while thanking it, has to state that the negotiations at Geneva will be followed with the greatest attention by the Italian Government and public opinion even if an official "observer" shall not be sent to participate in the Conference.

Nevertheless, the Royal Government, depending upon the development of the negotiations and the probable results thereof, reserves the right to send one or more naval experts to follow closely these negotiations, not excluding that these experts may, at a given moment, assume the specific character of "observers" at the Conference itself.

## News in Brief

THIRTEEN OF THE FOREIGN NATIONS with which debt-refunding agreements have been made during and since the World War made payments June 15, turning over a total of \$88,998,931 to the Treasury of the United States. All of the countries paid cash except Great Britain, which, as heretofore, paid in American Government securities purchased from time to time in the open market.

THE BRITISH HOUSE OF LORDS adopted in June a plan to cut the membership of the upper house in half and to have a portion of the membership filled by election and appointment. The vote was 208 to 54.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, according to a leading editorial in the *Pravda* of Moscow for July 6, is in danger of collapse. The meaning of "revolution," of course, in the language of this official organ of the Bolshevik Party, is a general social upheaval with a communist slant, not the Chinese Nationalist movement, which is obviously gaining ground.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE of Journalists since the war took place in London the first week in July. T. P. O'Connor opened the congress with a paper on "The Press as an Influence for Peace or War." He hoped that the meeting in England would be a Locarno of journalism, and that from it would issue an appeal to all nations to avoid war's brutal, devastating and futile experience.

THE SECOND INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS met in Honolulu July 16; 130 representatives attended the opening sessions.

AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE CONGRESS met in Amsterdam on July 11. Representatives from twelve European States attended. The discussion of women police forces, their desirability and development, was a large part of the agenda.

MUSSOLINI'S SPECIAL LABOR COURT held its first session in Rome July 8. This first

experiment of the sort is watched with great interest abroad.

A BELGRADE DAILY PAPER announced, on July 11, that the ministry of Foreign Affairs had decided to send back diplomatic and consular representatives to Albania within the week.

TWENTY-FOUR AMERICAN EDITORIAL WRITERS went to Europe this summer, as guests of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to study conditions abroad.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY of York Minster, in England, was celebrated in England the week of June 28 with a great ecclesiastical festival.

M. ANTHONY FOKKER, who built the machine which Commander Byrd used and that in which the Army airmen flew from San Francisco to Honolulu, announced June 29 that he was building a new machine designed to keep the air for 72 hours. It would be easily capable, he said, of making a non-stop flight from the Pacific coast—say from Seattle—to Tokyo.

THE FOURTH NATIONAL ORATORICAL CONTEST on the Constitution had its final meeting in Washington May 27. The winning oration, by Miss Dorothy Carlson, was entitled "What the Constitution Should Mean to an American Citizen." The contest is founded on the theory that the Constitution should be taken to the people by the young.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CONTEMPORARY MUSIC held a festival in Frankfort early in July. Compositions from many nations were rendered, among them an oratorio by Sirola, a Yugoslav composer, which was sung by an unaccompanied Croatian choir, and a choral Psalm by an English composer, W. G. Whittaker.

EXAMINATIONS FOR FILIPINO STUDENTS for scholarships in educational institutions in this country were announced by the Bureau of Insular Affairs July 1. These examinations will be held in the United States. Students who have been studying in this country are eligible to the fourteen scholarships which are granted by the Philippine Government.

A MONUMENT TO SIMON BOLIVAR, liberator of northern South America, will soon be erected in Madrid, Spain. It will be the first monument on Spanish soil to any of the great leaders who emancipated the Spanish colonies in America.

THE ASSOCIATION OF MOTION PICTURE PRODUCERS has a Public Relations Department, which censors films likely to rouse international bad feeling. Several recent pictures located wholly or in part in Mexico have been submitted to Mexican officials at Mexico City before being released for the United States.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION meets this year in Paris, in the Senate of the French Parliament, August 25 to 30.

THE MEXICAN TREASURY proposes to set aside a fund of 5,000,000 pesos with which to stabilize peso exchange and to maintain silver coins on a parity with gold. The central idea of the reported plan is to retire an equal amount of silver coins, which would be melted down and sold as bar silver.

THREE REPRESENTATIVES of the Colored Advisory Commission on the Mississippi Valley Flood have been appointed by the American Red Cross to assist in developing full interracial co-operation in reconstruction problems.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS for Red Cross Mississippi flood operations were moved to Washington on July 12. This marks the passing of the emergency period and the closing of Red Cross refugee camps. The reconstruction work will progress along the same lines as when the headquarters were in New Orleans.

ABOUT ONE HUNDRED AMERICAN BOYS sailed for Denmark late in July to visit Danish families whose invitations have grown out of their own boys' correspondence with the Americans. This is a by-product of the "My Friend Abroad" program established by Dr. Sven Knudsen, fostering correspondence between American boys and those of 82 other countries and dependencies.

TOURISTS IN MEXICO will be benefited by new regulations issued by the Mexican Government. Under the new rule the passport



will contain sufficient information so the returning traveler will not be detained at the border, as was often the case before, and the fee of \$1 is abolished.

DEFENSE WEEK WAS OBSERVED in Moscow beginning July 10. It was launched by newspapers which, by editorials and cartoons, sought to rouse fear, antagonism, and the martial spirit.

KEVIN O'HIGGINS, Vice-President of the Irish Free State, Minister of Justice, and Minister for External Affairs, was assassinated in Dublin on July 10. He was regarded as one of the strongest leaders of the Free State.

FIRST-CLASS MAIL between Key West, Fla., and Havana, Cuba, will hereafter be sent by air instead of by water, and with regular postage. The contract was given on July 18 by the United States Postmaster General to the Pan American Airways Company. The route is classified as foreign service and will take about an hour in transit.

SPAIN AND CUBA SIGNED A TREATY of commerce in Madrid July 15. This is the first treaty Spain has negotiated with its daughter nation since Cuba attained its independence.

THE BRITISH FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN opened on July 1, at Crosby Hall, Chelsea, a residence and meeting ground for university women of all nations. To live there students must be engaged in post-graduate or research work.

A JAPAN-GERMAN CULTURE INSTITUTE, having for its object the exchange of scientific knowledge and the advance of culture, was opened in June at the Japan Industrial Club in Tokyo.

THE CHINESE BOY EMPEROR, according to the *Trans-Pacific*, published in Tokyo, has decided to live in Toyko with his wife. Friends were in June trying to find a suitable residence for him.

CAPTAIN ROALD AMUNDSEN, discoverer of the South Pole and explorer in the north and other unopened regions, is in Japan for a lecture tour. He states that in his opinion a flight from Japan to the United States

would be more likely to succeed than a flight in the other direction.

THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION has decided to increase the scope of its prize essay contest by adding to the two \$25,000 prizes ninety-two smaller prizes, totaling \$7,000. The title of each essay must be "What Woodrow Wilson Means to Me."

FIRST PHASES OF THE BRITISH SCHEME for reorganizing the generation and supply of electrical current have been completed, affecting an area of nearly 5,000 square miles, including most of the industrial centers of Scotland.

LONDON "FOREIGN AFFAIRS," commenting on the recent economic conference at Geneva, says: "Frankly, we regard the economic conference and all it may lead to as of infinitely greater importance than any amount of so-called disarmament conferences."

A LATIN PRESS CONGRESS took place in Madrid, Spain, the first week in July. The aim is closer relations between the journals of the various Latin countries in Europe and America.

THE PAN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR opened its fifth congress in Washington July 18. This organization is made up of the various national labor federations in the Americas. William Green, President of the American Federation, presided and Señor Morones, Secretary of Labor of Mexico, was Vice-President. Delegates from the United States, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, and Salvador attended the sessions.

PERMANENT TELEPHONE SERVICE between Stockholm and London and Stockholm and Paris was opened during the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce in Stockholm early in July. These are said to be the longest telephone lines in Europe.

CHINESE TRADE, while it has suffered during the past six months on the Yangtze River, has, on the whole, held up remarkably well, according to a statement made by the former American Trade Commissioner at Shanghai, George C. Howard. South China business has increased steadily since the first of last year.

CHILEANS OPPOSED TO THE IBANEZ GOVERNMENT were expatriated recently, owing, it is said, to the discovery of plans for the capture and exile of President Ibanez. Among the exiles were several members of Congress, prominent lawyers, the director of State railways, and the owner and editor of the *Nacion*, the second great daily of Chile.

VARIOUS BRAZILIAN CITIES in the coffee-growing States celebrated, on May 27, the second centenary of the introduction of coffee plants into the country. The first plants were brought from Cayenne in 1727 by Captain General da Gama and planted in Pará.

## BOOK REVIEWS

DISARMAMENT. By *Prof. P. J. Noel Baker*. Pp. 352. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$4.00.

With the subject of limitation of naval armament, so much to the fore in the public mind, this book on the general subject of disarmament is timely. The author writes not so much for the expert as for the general reader. Therefore, while the study is technical in spots, it is, in the main, one easily read by anyone interested in the details of a disarmament program.

Mr. Baker served in the Secretariat of the League of Nations for some time, and therefore has been able to watch at close range those negotiations between nations which deal with security and disarmament. Thus the intricacies in the problem of reduction of arms are not unknown to him in their practical application.

He makes some suggestions of his own as the book unfolds, but for the most part he quotes largely from other writers on the subject, compares and condenses what they have to say. In any case, he thinks, should all the suggestions of the moment prove impractical, the work will not have been wasted if it serves to stimulate discussion.

As a follower of the League, Professor Baker sees some sort of disarmament as a

necessary process, if the League is to continue to function. It is called for in its very foundation.

He discusses land disarmament, which is most difficult; air disarmament increasingly so, and naval disarmament, which is, admittedly, much the simplest and should be begun at once. It is merely a matter of government good-will. Moreover, the present moment he conceives a propitious one in which to reduce expenses.

He is emphatic on the need for a central control, at least in the matter of investigation of armaments among the nations. As an Englishman, he is naturally keenly conscious of the naval requirements of a colonizing power. Yet with mutual understanding he sees naval power to be the first to be reduced.

Of course, his conclusion is that in the last analysis the struggle against the age-old misery of war can be won only in the hearts and minds of mankind. Victory will come slowly—a bit of progress here and there—but only when a general treaty of disarmament can be signed will the force of progress be able really to swing forward.

SINCE THE CIVIL WAR. By *Charles Ramsdell Lingley*. Pp. 730 and index. Century Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$3.00.

One scans text-books on history rather carefully these days, to see how successfully the author has trodden the strait path of truth. Truth is elusive and honest opinions vary about the same event; yet, in this book of American history since the civil war, it is evident that the author, who is professor of history in Dartmouth College, has been more than commonly effective in attaining impartiality without sacrificing color and interest.

The conflicting views of North and South in the reconstruction period of the late '60's and early '70's are fearlessly, but on the whole fairly, given. The same is true in the story of political parties and their struggles for supremacy, particularly during Cleveland's ascendancy.

The World War and international relations, before and since, occupy a large section of the book. It is in the field of political interpretation that Professor Lingley is most at home. Since war is but one form of political activity, his explanation of America's participation in the European War and

the part America played in the reconstruction of Europe is given as well and as impartially as one could expect in so brief a form. Whether or not the story, as he gives it, would be readily accepted in Germany is a question. One feels, however, that the narrative fairly represents the war as it was seen in America during and since the time of hostilities.

Mr. Lingley draws few conclusions. He tries to present the past with its good and its evil. "The next generation," he says, "will add its contribution to one side or the other of the great book of account." Thus the book ends with a challenge to the next generation for thoughtful piloting of the ship of state.

#### CAUSES OF WAR AND THE NEW REVOLUTION.

By *Tell A. Turner*. Pp. 201 and index. Marshall Jones Co., Boston, 1927.

For the many persons who are trying to discover the causes of war, here is a document which works by the empirical method. The author has reviewed, in from two to five pages, each some fifty-odd wars since 1588. The boiled-down causes of each are given in a list at the end of each résumé. The Riff War, with 18 causes, is the last one. Following these is a classified summary of all the causes, given in general terms, grouped under five subheads.

It is interesting to observe that Mr. Turner finds more economic causes of war than any other. There are fourteen of these. Religion comes next, with eight; nationalistic causes follow, with seven, while dynastic and sentimental causes have to their credit six each. And there you have it all in a nutshell.

The author claims that these are the high spots only in war-causes. He does not pretend it to be an exhaustive list. Dynastic and religious wars, he thinks, are no longer seriously to be feared, and all other causes he deems weaker than ever before.

In a final chapter, incisively phrased, Mr. Turner treats of the new revolution—that revolution in which the spirit of liberty now pervading all peoples shall surely lead them to throw off slavery to all war. He definitely excludes self-defense, international constabulary, and occasional forceful intervention for the aid of oppressed peoples from the category of avoidable wars.

The main instrument toward the winning

of this last revolution the author thinks to be international law. The will of the people, however, must conduct this new and peaceful revolution.

#### GERMAN COLONIZATION, PAST AND PRESENT.

By *Dr. Heinrich Schnee*. Pp. 176. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1926.

A book written evidently for the British public, this is, nevertheless, of interest to Americans. Though we have acquired no German colonies, either by mandate or otherwise, we do tremendously need in this country to understand vexing international problems. There can be no permanent peace achieved until those who make up "public opinion," as well as those who wield powers of state, have a fair understanding of the truth and justice of questions under discussion.

Dr. Schnee, who writes this book, was governor of German East Africa from 1912 till the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Previous to that time he had held many responsible positions in the Colonial Department, both at home and in London. He was recognized in his administration of East African affairs as a man of long outlook and humane spirit. Since the war he has written two or three significant texts on world affairs from the German point of view.

This book is written to disprove certain grave accusations to the effect that Germany had shown herself unfit to colonize and unworthy of possessing colonies. It is a thorough and painstaking study, backed by references to many documents. It goes much further, however, than to show the humane treatment of her colonies by the German Government; it contrasts the French administration of Togoland and the Camaroons with the German method, and claims that by militarization of the blacks, especially for European wars, the French run contrary to the whole spirit of the mandate system and to the League of Nations itself. It is a crime, thinks Dr. Schnee, against both whites and blacks, and constitutes a tremendous future peril.

Though written under the impulse of a strong conviction, the book is not written in heat or excitement. The author hopes to convince fair-minded and wise men that the return to Germany of her colonies is both a duty and a necessity. The work is well done.

An introduction of forty-six pages precedes the body of the book, written by William H. Dawson, an Englishman, who is himself an authority on German history. The introduction is in itself an essay of no little authority and distinction. Mr. Dawson believes that if Great Britain would renounce her East and West African mandates in Germany's favor, France would promptly and gladly follow her example, thus freeing herself from an impossible position. Under the terms of the mandate clauses of the League of Nations, it is difficult to understand why any nation should crave the responsibilities of a mandate over any group. The business seems to be shot through with something close to selfishness.

**MUST BRITAIN TRAVEL THE MOSCOW ROAD?**

By *Norman Angell*. Pp. 190. Unwin Bros., Ltd., London, 1926.

**THE PUBLIC MIND.** By *Norman Angell*. Pp. 232. E. P. Dutton Co., New York., 1927.

The Great Illusion, which Norman Angell brought out in 1911, gave him a fame which quickly made him an acknowledged leader in advanced political thought. Since that time he has notably lost caste because of the incorrectness of some of his prophecies. Yet he did show in that book, if not that war, on a large scale, was impossible, at least that it would be unprofitable to loser and winner alike, and that methods used to prevent war could not prevent it; he showed, what has since proved true, that conquered lands cannot profitably be exploited, and that state limits no longer coincide with real conflict between men. That, at least, is his own interpretation of his earlier book, and he claims that subsequent events have vindicated those assumptions.

At all events, though he may be somewhat discredited as a leader, a new book by him has much of interest. The first of the books above is especially timely now on account of Angell's labor-socialist views and the present crisis between England and the Soviet. It is an analysis of and a reply to Trotsky's book, lately issued, "Where is Britain Going?"

Angell agrees with the more humane and far-sighted labor leaders in both Europe and America that the way permanently to better the worker is by peaceful means—co-operation, arbitration, quiet persistence, but not

violence. He continually cites examples in America to prove his point.

Trotsky, he claims, has not been able to draw any useful lessons from Bolshevik Russia. The reason is that the political revolution there did not establish anything it meant to establish. It abolished landlordism and a special corrupt bureaucracy. But there the Russian experiment had to stop. Russia should have learned many things, among them the fact that industry is too intricate to be forcibly divided among the workers.

Since the Russian Revolution is a failure, therefore, the British worker must see that progress will have to be by the method of growth and evolution.

The second book is an interesting discussion of the group mind and the way it works.

Its main interest lies in those chapters devoted to democracy. Can a propaganda-fed public, he asks, be trusted to dictate national policies in crises? Or can an uninformed, bored public choose wisely from a long list of unknown candidates for office? His solution is a suggestion from the jury system of trial. A system where specialists explain the law, argue the cases, and administer the remedy. If such a political jury could be chosen by some simple process, and let the people merely specify the general results they wish to have secured, it might, he thinks, be better.

These books have less fire than Angell's pre-war books, though interesting and sincere.

BOOKS RECEIVED

**LETTERS TO A DOUBTER.** By *Paul Claudel*.

Translated by *Henry Longan Stuart*. Pp. 261. Albert & Charles Boni, New York, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

**IS CONSCIENCE A CRIME?** By *Norman M.*

*Thomas*. Pp. 303 and index. Vanguard Press, New York, 1927. Price, 50 cents.

**THE POPE OF THE SEA.** By *Vicente Blasco*

*Ibanez*. Pp. 363. E. P. Dutton, New York. Price, \$2.50.

**HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.** By *Henry*

*William Elson*. Pp. 996, chronology and index. Macmillan & Co., New York, 1926.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University. Formerly Solicitor for Department of State.

CHARLES F. THWING, President Emeritus, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

GEORGE H. JUDD, President, Judd & Detweiler, Inc. Washington, D. C.

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.

# THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

## SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

## MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



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## BRIAND IS COMING

**I**T IS with especial pleasure that we pass on to the members of our Society the information, just received from President Burton, to the effect that M. Briand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, has consented to be one of the speakers at the Cleveland celebration. There is scarcely a statesman in Europe whose presence would be more desirable or more welcome at our centenary.

M. Briand is an outstanding figure in world politics. And there is one element in his statesmanship that lifts him above the general rank of other leaders of international affairs. It is the fact that through the whole difficult and confused post-war period M. Briand has consistently and unswervingly kept before him high ideals of international peace and justice, and has made every honest effort to square his policies with these ideals.

In his conception, peace must be "founded on an effort to find juridical solutions for differences." And such effort must "draw its strength, more than any other political system, from good faith and respect for treaties." The peace of the world must be founded on legal order, and in order that this may be achieved it is necessary that international solidarity be converted into a legal reality.

In a speech before the Interparliamentary Union at its last Paris session, M. Briand said:

"It is time to understand that, in a civilized world, peace is not a luxury, but a vital necessity, and that its organization is a pressing duty and obligation upon all of us."

M. Briand has been an indefatigable worker for international solidarity in Europe. Locarno, Geneva, and Thoiry are the monuments of his efforts to establish amity and good will between France and Germany, and thus lay the cornerstone of the edifice of solidarity and peace in Europe. To Cleveland he will bring a vital and welcome message of this new European spirit.

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## OUR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

**T**HERE is not another nation in the world with which we have more friendly and cordial political relations than France; but there is also not another important nation with which we have more unsettled and unfortunate economic relations. The tariff controversy, which has just flared up, lends new emphasis to the difficulties of our economic intercourse with the French Republic.

There are two outstanding questions on which our government has not been able so far to come to a meeting of minds with the Government of France. One is the question of the debts and the other that of commercial policy. The regulation of these two questions would be greatly bene-

ficial to both sides and would open the way for valuable economic collaboration between the two countries.

On the question of the debts, there is nothing to be added to what has already been said over and over again, in these columns and elsewhere. France is the only one of our debtors with whom debt-funding agreements have been negotiated who has so far failed to ratify the agreement. The unsettled character of the debt problem is a great detriment to the financial intercourse between France and the United States. France is anxious to float loans in our money markets and to refund her existing private obligations at a lower rate of interest than that which she is now paying. In the absence of a completed agreement on the war debts, both of these operations are rendered exceedingly difficult, almost impossible.

The problems involved in our tariff controversy with France are less familiar, and it is therefore worth while to review briefly the salient features of the question.

The French tariff system is different from ours. Whereas we have a single tariff, which applies to all nations that have signed most-favored-nation treaties with us, France has a multiple tariff, under which different rates of customs duty exist for different countries trading with her. France does not grant most-favored-nation treatment in her commercial treaties. In this manner her tariff operates on a distinctly discriminatory basis.

The French tariff is based essentially on minimum and maximum rates. The minimum rates are those below which French customs duties never fall. They represent the most favorable terms which France grants to any nation. The maximum rates, which are four times the minimum, represent the duties which France imposes upon goods coming from countries with which she has no special commercial

treaty. Between the two extremes there are several intermediary rates, which have come about as a result of concessions granted by France in return for similar concessions granted her by other nations. They represent the result of successive bargains which France has driven with other countries.

So far as the United States is concerned, France has not been willing thus far to give us the benefit of her minimum tariff. Her reason for this has been that, in her opinion, our own tariff discriminates against her products. It so happens that the bulk of our imports from France consists of goods which are usually classed as "luxuries," and upon such goods our tariff imposes a comparatively high duty. In all of our commercial negotiations with France, this circumstance has served as a stumbling block to an agreement.

But, while our exporters have had to submit to a high duty on the merchandise which they ship to France, none of our important competitors has so far had the advantage of better terms. Only recently did the situation in this respect undergo a radical change, and together with the introduction of the new French tariff precipitated the exchange of notes between the governments of our country and of France, which began on September 12.

France has just negotiated and put into force a provisional commercial treaty with Germany. After more than two years of difficult and delicate negotiations, the representatives of these two countries finally composed their differences and the commercial relations across the Rhine were placed on a new basis. Germany has granted France most-favored-nation treatment. In return for this, France has granted Germany the benefit of her minimum tariff for all of the latter's principal exports to her. Since the difference between the maximum and minimum rates

of the French tariff is so great, Germany, by virtue of her treaty, has acquired a position of very great advantage in the French market. And, since Germany's principal exports of manufactured goods are very much similar to our own, our exporters have suddenly found themselves placed in a position of very serious disadvantage.

Our commercial policy is based wholly on the principle of equality of treatment in commerce. And this principle, which our statesmen and our leaders of business and finance believe to be the best for international economic relations, we have urged consistently upon the rest of the world. At the International Economic Conference last May our delegation was largely responsible for the fact that the conference passed a strong resolution fully endorsing this principle. We are willing to grant all nations complete equality of treatment, but we expect from other nations a similar treatment. Not only do we expect it, but we are fully prepared to fight for it.

Our tariff act provides for just such cases. Under it the President has the authority to increase by 50 per cent the duty levied on goods coming from countries which discriminate against our trade, or even to declare a complete embargo on such goods. These are drastic measures and if applied do harm to both sides. But at times, like all retaliatory measures, their application may appear to represent the only possible course of action.

Tariff wars are as undesirable as military ones. The best way to avoid either kind is to approach the differences which cause them with a firm determination to come to a just and equitable agreement. Surely there is enough basic good will between our country and France to make possible a peaceful solution of the present difficulty.

## LORD ROBERT CECIL AND NAVAL DISARMAMENT

**L**ORD ROBERT CECIL'S resignation from the British Government on the ground of his disagreement with the majority of Mr. Baldwin's cabinet on the subject of naval disarmament has been pronounced in many quarters, in Great Britain and elsewhere, as an indictment of the official British policy. We doubt very much that so great an importance should be attached to Lord Robert Cecil's withdrawal from the government and to the letter which he addressed to the Prime Minister on the occasion of his resignation.

Lord Robert is a decidedly temperamental statesman. There is really more of the agitator in him than of the statesman. He has been in and out of the British Government a number of times, and in this respect probably yields to no other British Cabinet Minister except Mr. Winston Churchill.

No one will impugn Lord Robert's sincerity in his advocacy of the cause of world peace. But he has not always shown himself to be a practical statesman in this field. He was one of the most ardent sponsors of the preposterous Geneva Protocol, and even today, when most of the former friends of the Protocol have seen light, he is still as strongly attached to the project as ever he was. In his letter of resignation he mentioned the British Government's refusal to subscribe to the Protocol as one of the indications of the insincerity of its professed policy of peace.

Lord Robert was one of the two principal British delegates at the Geneva Naval Disarmament Conference. While there, as he himself points out in his letter, he voiced no important disagreement with the other delegates. He complains of the limitations imposed upon him by

the instruction under which the British delegation conducted the conference negotiations. But, as Mr. Baldwin reminds him in his reply to the letter of resignation, he himself had taken a prominent part in the drafting of the instructions, as well as of the whole British case presented at Geneva. It is not impossible, therefore, that Mr. Baldwin is right when he says in his letter to Lord Cecil, "I am inclined to the opinion that, having decided upon resignation, you exaggerate any differences that have arisen, whether recently or in the earlier days of the government."

We believe that Mr. Baldwin's Government is sincere in its desire for peace. What happened at Geneva does not, in our opinion, vitiate this view. The fact that our delegates and the British failed to agree on a program of naval limitation does not necessarily make us lovers of peace and the British virulent militarists. Our program differed considerably from the British, but this difference of views as to the size and character of auxiliary fleets is far from being a fair test of peaceful and warlike intentions.

The Geneva Conference was possibly ill-timed, and it was certainly badly prepared. Once decided upon, the Conference should have been prepared much better than it had been. For one thing, there should have been a much more thorough and extensive interchange of views between Washington and London than apparently had been the case.

It is not impossible that, as the result of such an interchange of views, there would have been no conference at all. And that, after all, might have been preferable to what has actually taken place at Geneva.

But if our government erred on the side of insufficient preparation, neither did the British Government show itself at its best in the conduct of negotiations. The de-

mand of the British delegation for the discussion of capital ships as well as auxiliary craft, while, perhaps, thoroughly consonant with Great Britain's general naval position, was scarcely conducive to the success of the conference. The very manner in which the question was introduced, in the nature of a surprise, after the opening of the conference, was poor strategy if positive results were what was mostly desired.

On the technical points, as to the size of cruisers and the caliber of the armaments, it is impossible for laymen to pass judgment. That is eminently a matter for naval experts to decide. One cannot escape the impression, however, that these technical matters would not have been impossible of solution, had the general atmosphere of the Geneva Conference been better than it was. That atmosphere was too highly charged with irritation and too badly darkened by bogies and prejudices. The whole affair was an excellent illustration of how an international conference should not be conducted.

The failure of the Geneva Conference was unfortunate and regrettable. But it has in no way increased the tension of the world situation as a whole or given rise to fears that we are entering upon an era of naval rivalry. There seems to be nothing in the world situation to weaken the force of Secretary Kellogg's statement, made upon the receipt of the news announcing the adjournment at Geneva. The Secretary said: "I am confident that the work done at Geneva will make it possible, after consultation between the governments, to find a basis for reconciling divergent views, and lead to the early conclusion of an agreement for the limitation of auxiliary naval vessels."

Lord Robert Cecil's resignation from the British Government weakens in no way our hope that these negotiations can be carried to a successful issue.

## TOWARD ECONOMIC PEACE

THE Stockholm meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce has been a worthy next step, after the International Economic Conference, along the road that leads to the removal of economic obstacles to world peace. It was an assembly of business men coming from all parts of the globe and united by a common desire for world peace and world prosperity.

The question of trade barriers dominated the meeting and was the principal focus of discussion. This was not the first time that the International Chamber of Commerce centered its attention upon the question of artificial barriers to world trade. Ever since the foundation of the Chamber, questions of trade have been, in the very nature of things, the principal preoccupation of its numerous and representative membership. Two years ago, at its Brussels Congress, the Chamber passed a resolution in which it laid special stress upon "the urgency of the removal of barriers which paralyze international trade." Following this Congress the Council of the Chamber appointed a Trade Barriers Committee, which prepared and presented to the International Economic Conference an able and exhaustive report on the question of trade barriers. This report served as the real basis for the strong resolutions on the question passed by the Conference.

At its Stockholm meeting both the report of the Trade Barriers Committee and the resolutions of the International Economic Conference were thoroughly reviewed and on the basis of the discussion of these two documents a series of far-reaching resolutions were elaborated and adopted. In its general resolutions on the problem of trade barriers, the Stockholm meeting declared:

"The Fourth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, assembled at Stockholm, affirms its conviction that the restoration of world prosperity will be most effectively promoted by a progressive reduction of the barriers which are preventing the full extension of international trade."

And again, in voicing its approval of the work of the International Economic Conference, the Stockholm meeting declared:

"The Congress wishes most particularly to affirm the emphatic adhesion of the business world to the declarations of the Geneva Conference regarding those tariff walls and policies which are unduly hampering trade, directly and indirectly. It especially associates itself with this statement: 'The Conference declares that the time has come to put an end to the increase of tariffs and to move in the opposite direction.'"

The Congress passed a large number of other resolutions, all bearing on the same question of the need for greater facilities in the extension of international trade. It charged the national committees of the Chamber with the duty of urging their respective governments to follow the policies advocated by the Geneva Conference. To the extent to which the Stockholm meeting represented the business of the world, it is bound to give a new impetus to the cause of economic peace.

But, after all, economic restrictions are the result of government action and their removal lies solely within the province of government. From this point of view a value of utmost importance attaches to another economic conference to be held this year, namely, the Diplomatic Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, called by the Council of the League of Nations, to meet in Geneva on October 14.

The origin of this conference goes back to 1924, when, on the proposal of the

Italian delegation, the Assembly of the League of Nations passed a resolution instructing the Economic Committee of the League to consider the question of an international agreement for the final suppression of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. The Economic Committee has drawn up a draft international agreement which will be submitted to the Diplomatic Conference.

The system of export and import prohibitions and restrictions, which grew up in the chaotic conditions of the period immediately following the war, has been a veritable incubus for intra-European trade relations. An abnormal growth on the body of international commercial policy, it has proven to be an extremely difficult disease to cure. It still persists in one form or another and has successfully resisted a large number of attempts at its removal.

Every international conference since the war that has dealt in any manner or form with general economic questions has passed resolutions condemning the system of prohibitions and restrictions. The Brussels Congress of 1920, the Porto Rosa Conference of 1921, the Genoa Conference of 1922, the Geneva Conference on Customs Formalities of 1923, and the International Economic Conference of 1927 have all been categorically outspoken in their condemnation of the system. The International Chamber of Commerce, at every congress it has held since 1920, has never failed to pass resolutions recommending the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. The International Parliamentary Commercial Conference, at its meeting in London in 1926, was equally emphatic on the subject.

But the system of prohibitions and restrictions still exists, the principal difficulty in dealing with it being the fact that no nation is willing to take the initiative in ridding itself completely of this ob-

noxious system. Nothing short of concerted action on the part of a large number of countries will bring about its final abolition. And it is such concerted action that it is hoped will be the outcome of the Diplomatic Conference at Geneva.

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### ALLIED MILITARY CONTROL IN HUNGARY

THE Conference of Ambassadors has decided to abolish the Allied Military Commission control in Budapest. After an exhaustive investigation of the fulfillment by Hungary of the military clauses of the Trianon Treaty, the Commission made its report to the Conference of Ambassadors, and the latter, on the basis of the report, decided to bring the work of the Commission to a close.

However, in communicating this decision to the Council of the League of Nations and to the Hungarian Government, the Conference of Ambassadors drew attention to the important reservation which is contained in the Commission's report. This reservation is concerned with the application in Hungary of the recruiting laws passed in 1921 and 1922 in accordance with the treaty of peace. Under these laws, compulsory military service was abolished in Hungary, and a system of voluntary enlistment was introduced in its place. The Commission in its report notes that there is "reason to believe that the majority of new enlistments are made under constraint, and that in consequence the new recruits are voluntary only in name." The Commission has proposed a number of measures which would rectify this situation, and since in the future the military supervision of Hungary will be in the hands of the League of Nations, the conference has forwarded these recommendations to the League Council.

The liquidation of allied military control in Hungary marks the end of the sys-

tem of such control established by the peace treaties for the four ex-enemy countries—Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. In the other three countries the control has already been raised. In each of the four countries its abolition has been a source of great satisfaction, and Hungary, the last of the four to achieve this freedom from control, has been for a long time striving to attain it.

It is to be hoped that the Government of Hungary will not abuse the new situation which has been created. The supervision by the League of Nations, which will consist in effect merely of occasional investigations, will be more or less perfunctory. It will be no difficult matter for the Hungarian Government to overstep the limits set by the peace treaties to the size of its military establishment. But it will be a most unfortunate thing if it should succumb to this temptation.

Hungary is entering upon a new and difficult phase in her international relations. The treaty which she signed several months ago with Italy was acclaimed in Budapest as a return to "an active foreign policy." Given the general attitude of Hungary to the treaties of peace, there is a rather ominous ring to this phrase.

Quite apart from the question of the justice or the injustice of the Treaty of Trianon, no good can possibly come out of an attempt by Hungary to upset the situation based on the treaty. In time, with the general establishment of better relations among the countries of Central Europe, some of the more glaring difficulties produced by the treaty will no doubt be adjusted, but not by force of arms. It will be good statesmanship on the part of the Hungarian Government to correct speedily the situation described in the reservation made by the Commission of Control.

## ENVOYS OF GOOD WILL

WE QUOTE from an editorial in the *Buffalo Courier Express* on the occasion of the dedication of the Bridge of Peace:

"Envoys of good will came to the United States across the Peace Bridge joining Buffalo to Fort Erie. First of these envoys was a slender young man of warm, compelling charm who—happily for the British Empire—is heir to a throne. With him was the prime minister of his realm and the premiers likewise of the great, free dominion to our north and of its nearest province. With inherent courtesy, candor, and simplicity, these ambassadors spoke of their world-wide commonwealth's message of friendship and faith to the people of America.

"To meet these ambassadors of peace and to match their manifestation of good will were fitting spokesmen for our own nation. Foremost of these was a lean, keen man who combines the mature judgment of his years with the vigor and frankness of a youth which has defied time—Charles Gates Dawes. Vice-President Dawes was well seconded in his service to the cause of world amity by the able and well-considered remarks of Secretary Kellogg, representing President Coolidge; by the kindly warmth of Governor Smith's welcome to the British and Canadian envoys, and by the other American spokesmen.

"But of greater weight than the words spoken by these men of high place in the councils of their nations is the fortunate truth: Their speech echoed the corporate thought, aims, and ideals of their respective countrymen. This fact was admirably phrased by Mr. Dawes when he said:

"The foundation of this great peace structure which we dedicate today rests upon the firm bedrock of the Niagara, and the peace of the English-speaking peoples is as firmly based upon common instincts and ideals."

"British, Americans, Canadians alike know these words are true, and that even more enduring than the Peace Bridge of

steel and stone is that bridge of the spirit riveted by good faith and honest works."

Across three thousand miles of unfortified frontier which separates the two great nations of North America, the citizens of both of them clasped hands in daily peaceful intercourse. They are as much envoys of good will as the distinguished personages who clasped hands across the Bridge of Peace. And so every American who goes abroad should be a messenger of good will from a country that covets nothing possessed by others.

We quote from an appeal addressed to the members of the American Legion upon their departure for Paris:

"You are about to embark on the Second A. E. F. Ten years will give you a new perspective of the old war scenes that you are to revisit in a few memorable weeks. Without doubt, you will gain a better understanding of the events of which you were a part and you will come home with a memory, renewed and revived, that will give you pleasure the rest of your life.

"Truly, it is to be a pleasure trip. You will cross the same ocean, but with all the pleasures and comforts of civilian life. You will land in the same country, but one that is at peace. You will receive the same fervent reception from a nation noted for the fervency of its emotions.

"But there is a job in it for you.

"Just as truly as Myron T. Herrick is Ambassador of America to France, you too, will be an ambassador of your country. In you, France and all Europe will see America. They will judge its character and its ideals by you. They will learn of the real friendship of America toward Europe from you. The future of this old world will be much brighter by the cementing of friendship between nations that will result from our new expedition."

These are true words and timely, especially now, when new dark clouds of disagreement have gathered over our relations with France. An atmosphere of good will will go far toward hastening

and facilitating an adjustment of differences.

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PREMIER POINCARÉ'S recent declaration to the effect that there will be no legal stabilization of the franc until after the general election next May does not come as a surprise. It has been a foregone conclusion for months past that political consideration will outweigh economic desirability in the currency policy of the French Government. The French franc has been stable for almost a year. The Bank of France has at its disposal ample means for maintaining the franc at its present level almost indefinitely. The French business community is quite unanimous in considering that there is no reason for delaying any longer the legal formalization of the existing situation. But the question of the franc is still the central point of French politics. The Poincaré Government, representing a "national union," was brought into power by the currency crisis of last year. Its principal achievement is the stabilization of the franc. The fear on the part of opposition that the overthrow of the present government may precipitate another currency crisis is the principal factor which keeps M. Poincaré in power. And it is no doubt good strategy on his part, if he wants to go to the country at the next election as Prime Minister, to let well alone.

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RAMON DE VALERA'S decision to "swallow the oath" and permit his group of forty-four M. P.'s to take their seats in the Irish Dail has had a decidedly salutary effect on the Irish political situation. It is true that the immediate effect of Mr. De Valera's appearance in the Dail was to place Mr. Cosgrave's Govern-



ment in a precarious, not to say impossible, position. The Parliamentary elections held last June gave the government party only forty-six seats out of the total of one hundred and fifty-two. Only the abstention of Mr. De Valera's party, of the five Sinn Feiners and of the two independent Republicans made it possible for Mr. Cosgrave to reassume the government after the election. With Mr. De Valera and his colleagues in their seats, Mr. Cosgrave narrowly escaped defeat when, on a vote of confidence, the Dail found itself evenly divided, and the government was saved by the deciding vote cast in its favor by the Speaker. Confronted with this situation, Mr. Cosgrave did what appears to be the wisest thing under the circumstances. He dissolved the Dail and ordered a new election.

**G**ENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S retirement from the supreme command of the Nationalist forces makes the Chinese confusion still more confounded. No adequate explanation of the reasons for this strange move has yet reached this country. The youthful generalissimo of the Southern armies has shown himself to be one of the few hopeful forces in the Chinese situation. His resolute stand against Communism and reaction alike and his undisputed personal honesty had led many foreign observers to regard him as a possible hope for order and stability in China. It is possible, of course, that his retirement is merely temporary. Persons who have been close to Chiang Kai-Shek report him as a mystic, who, before he came into the glaring limelight, was in the habit of retiring from time to time to some retreat for uninterrupted meditation. Perhaps the same mood has overcome him now. It seems scarcely possible that the world has heard the last of the very talented Chinese commander, whose

amazing military successes came upon it with such startling suddenness.

**T**URKEY has just completed her general elections. Every deputy returned to the Parliament at Angora belongs to the Kemal Party, except for one Independent candidate elected in Stambul. Kemal Pasha has reasons to congratulate himself on this result, though the election does savor too much of a Chinese election, in which the governor of a province, in order to have himself elected unanimously, ordered all those who had voted against him beheaded.

**R**ESPONSIBLE Soviet leaders in Russia continue to circulate in their country most fantastic reports of the imminence of a war with Great Britain. They have been doing this with unabating energy ever since the British Government broke off relations with Moscow. The Soviet Prime Minister, the Minister of War, the President of the Third International, and their lesser satellites—all vie with each other in urging every man, woman, and child in the Soviet Union to prepare for war. This may be good tactics within the country, since the position of the group in power is not as secure as its leaders would like to see it; but it is ludicrous when viewed from the outside. Certainly no responsible statesman in Europe contemplates a military attack on Russia.

**T**HE death of Saad Zaghlul Pasha introduces a new and complicating element into the Egyptian political situation. His passing is mourned in his own country, but it is also regretted in England, whose avowed enemy he had been for over a decade. Zaghlul, who was considered

by Lord Cromer as the ablest Egyptian in that country's public life, had devoted nearly all of his life to the achievement of one supreme aim—complete independence for Egypt. He worked for that aim at the time when Lord Cromer ruled Egypt. He demanded independence when in 1919 the British authorities exiled him to Malta. He never deviated from his purpose when from his exile he was brought to London to negotiate with Lord Milner and his colleagues. Exiled again, this time to Gibraltar, he never for one moment gave up his efforts for the cause of Egyptian independence. From 1923 on, after his return to Egypt, he was the central figure of his country's political life. As Prime Minister in 1924 and again in 1925, he consistently sought concessions from the British Government which would bring Egypt nearer to complete independence. He was a man of strong temperament, intractable in negotiations, and yet he always enjoyed the respect of his British opponents. No one has ever accused him of having been party to the acts of senseless violence which have

been committed, ostensibly in the name of the Nationalist cause. With his death the direction of the Nationalist movement passes into less able and less statesmanlike hands.

YUGOSLAVIA has concluded a debt-funding settlement with Great Britain on terms which closely approximate those granted her by our Debt Funding Commission. The total amount of the war debt, equal to 25,500,000 pounds sterling, is to be repaid in sixty-two annual installments, small at the beginning and gradually rising to the standard annuity of 600,000 pounds a year by 1942. The total amount which will have been paid by Yugoslavia during the sixty-two year period will be a little less than 33,000,000 pounds. This means cancellation of over two-thirds of the debt, and represents terms somewhat better than those granted by Great Britain to France, and somewhat more difficult than those granted to Italy—precisely the relative nature of the terms which these three debtors received from our Debt Funding Commission.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### TWENTY-FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION IN PARIS

THE main features of the first Conference of the Interparliamentary Union to be held since the twenty-third, in Washington, in 1925, are now available, but further references to it will have to be reserved to later issues of this magazine.

The French parliamentarians did everything in their power to make the gathering a success. The receptions were

numerous and of that welcoming kind peculiar to France. In the evening of Wednesday, August 24, the day before the opening of the Conference, the "Organization Committee" gave a reception in the *Palais du Luxembourg*, the French Senate, to the delegates and their ladies. At 5:30 of the next afternoon there was a reception at the City Hall, with music and addresses by Paris officials. The next day, Friday, the 26th, there were two receptions—one by M. Gaston Doumergue, President of the French Republic, in the Elysée Palace (French White House) at 2:30, and at 6:15, in the *Palais Royal*, by

M. Paul Painlevé, of the French Cabinet. Saturday evening M. Aristide Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, received the delegates at 9:30 p. m. at the *Quai d'Orsay*. Sunday the delegates were taken by special train to the Condé Castle at Chantilly. Monday M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the Chamber of Deputies, received at 10 p. m. at his home, in the *Palais Bourbon*. The entertainments came to a close with the final banquet in the *Salle Wagram* Tuesday evening, August 30.

The sessions of the Conference were well above the average in quality and interest. Thirty-two parliaments were represented by over 400 delegates. There were delegates from the Dominican Republic, Peru, Mexico, San Salvador, Philippines, Chile. The Conference was opened with addresses by Baron Adelsward, President of the Council; Paul Doumer, President of the French Senate; Fernand Merlin, President of the French Group, and M. Poincaré, Prime Minister of France. The knottiest situation of the Conference arose the first day, when Paul Löbe, of Germany, complained of the military forces still thrust upon Germany. This brought a resolution from M. Magnette, of Belgium, condemning Germany for her violation of the neutrality of Belgium. After much rather heated discussion, the matter was ironed out the last day of the Conference by unanimous agreement on the following declaration, presented by Baron Adelsward:

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:** In accordance with our regulations, the motion submitted by M. Magnette, Vice-President of the Belgian Senate, at the sitting of August 26, was referred to the Interparliamentary Council and formed the object of its deliberations on August 27.

The motion proclaims principles and truths which the Interparliamentary Union has never ceased to uphold since its foundation.

Peace between the nations is the supreme aim to which the efforts of all countries should be directed. Every resort to brute force rather than to international arbitration is to be regarded as a reprehensible act. The violation of treaties is to be condemned, as is also every infraction of neutrality.

These principles, ladies and gentlemen,

which are at the very basis of our Union, will be contested by none of those here present.

On the contrary, we are unanimously resolved to recommend their strict observance to all governments, and to exert, each of us in his own sphere of influence, the most vigilant action to ensure the triumph of those principles.

If this is your opinion, ladies and gentlemen, and I do not doubt it, it seems to me, as I said at the sitting of the Council, in conformity, moreover, with the traditions and rules of the Union, that no debate on the motion of M. Magnette is called for.

Ladies and gentlemen, in concluding, I have particular pleasure in expressing to Belgium our feelings of warm sympathy. I trust that this declaration will bring the entire Belgian Group, whose active and loyal co-operation we have always appreciated, definitely back into the Union.

Belgium came back and all seemed satisfied.

It was agreed to accept the invitation of the German Group and hold the Twenty-fifth Conference in Berlin, during July of 1928.

#### The Bureau of the Conference

*President:* Mr. Paul Doumer, President of the Senate of France.

*Vice-Presidents:* Messrs. Schücking (Germany), Theodore E. Burton (United States of America), Erwin Waihs (Austria), Fernand Cocq (Belgium), Vassileff (Bulgaria), Belcourt (Canada), Borgbjerg (Denmark), Luis F. Mejia (Dominican Republic), Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil Bey (Egypt), Auguste Rei (Estonia), O. Mantere (Finland), Lord Treowen (Great Britain), Panayoti Petridis (Greece), Albert de Berzeviczy (Hungary), Schumann (Dutch East Indies), Michael Hayes (Ireland), di Stefano-Napolitani (Italy), Bukichi Miki (Japan), Kalnin (Latvia), Miguel F. Ortega (Mexico), Chamorro (Nicaragua), Wefring (Norway), Heemskerk (Holland), Gonzales Orbegozo (Peru), Benigno S. Aquino (Philippines), Bronislas Dembinski (Poland), Jean Th. Floresco (Rumania), Ruben Rivera (San Salvador), Baron Ad-

elswård (Sweden), de Meuron (Switzerland), J. Brabec (Czechoslovakia).

*Secretary General:* Christian L. Lange, Ph. D.

## The Final Resolutions

### I

#### The Fight Against Drugs of Addiction

##### A

The XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference calls the very special attention of the groups of the Union to the serious dangers attendant upon the abuse of opium and other drugs of addiction for the health and morality of the peoples, especially with regard to the younger generation.

The Conference declares unanimously that the attainment of the ends aimed at in the fight against this abuse will only be reached by the following measures:

(a) Limitation of the culture of the poppy and of coca leaves and of the production of all narcotics to the recognized amount needed for medical and scientific purposes, this measure to include the total suppression of the use of opium for smoking.

(b) The establishment of a system of control by national or international means for the observance of the rules fixed to the above effect.

(c) The elimination of all profits by private dealers in the drug trade, with the exception of the drugs required for legitimate purposes, as mentioned above.

##### B

The XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference, taking note of the fact that under Article 6, chapter 2, of The Hague Convention of 1912, the contracting powers undertook to adopt measures for the suppression of the manufacture, trade in, and use of prepared opium within the territories subject to their jurisdiction, recommends for the consideration of the groups of the Union to urge the governments concerned to set a definite term, not to exceed fifteen years, within which the manufacture, trade in, and use of prepared opium within their respective territories and possessions be finally and completely suppressed.

##### C

Considering that the two conferences held at Geneva from November, 1924, to

February, 1925, resulted in the conclusion of a series of international agreements concerning the gradual limitation of the abusive use of opium and of other dangerous drugs and making for the establishment of effective control and supervision of the use of such drugs, and seeing that opinions differ as to the value of those agreements, the Conference recommends that the groups who regard the agreements as an important step towards the achievement of the ends in view urge their respective parliaments and governments to see that the Geneva agreements are ratified by their country without delay, and asks the groups who are unable to share this opinion to make every effort to induce their States to endeavor to revise those agreements at the first possible opportunity in accordance with the principles enumerated in Resolution I.

In the meantime those groups are asked to make every effort to induce their States to exercise a strict control on the manufacture and export of narcotics, in view of the fact that it is practically impossible to supervise the traffic.

##### D

The Conference recommends that the groups shall examine the possibility of obtaining the adoption by legislative and administrative measures of the prohibition of the production and distribution of heroin.

##### E

Whereas the great dangers above mentioned created by the abuse of drugs of addiction may compromise the reconstruction in the social and economic field which is recognized as necessary, after the World War, in next to all countries, the Interparliamentary Bureau is requested to transmit these resolutions to all the groups of the Union and to all the governments and parliaments of the world.

### II

##### A

#### A System of Customs Agreement Between the Countries of Europe

The XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference realizes that the predominating

factor in the economic field in our times is the economic interdependence of all nations on what has become a world market. It believes, in common with the Economic Conference held at Geneva in 1927, that the "effort to attain self-sufficiency cannot hope to succeed unless it is justified by the size, natural resources, economic advantages, and geographical situation of a country."

The Conference recalls the fact that the XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference, which met at Washington and Ottawa in 1925, passed a resolution declaring "that it would be of the greatest importance for good relations between European States, and thus contribute to guarantee the peace of the world, if the economic barriers at present dividing these States were, as far as possible, abolished, and that such measures probably, in any case in the long run, would contribute to create a steady and more extensive market for the products of European agriculture and industry, and therefore also to decrease the cost of production and the danger of unemployment in Europe."

The Conference desires to record its profound satisfaction at the meeting of the International Economic Conference held in Geneva in May, 1927, and pays tribute to the noteworthy work achieved by that conference. It seconds the conclusions and recommendations formulated by the Economic Conference with regard to tariff and commercial problems.

It lays particular stress on the importance of giving immediate effect to the suggestion made by the Economic Conference, that "the Council of the League of Nations should entrust the Economic Organization to undertake, in connection with the inquiry provided for in the preceding recommendations, all the necessary discussions, consultations, and inquiries to enable it to propose the measures best calculated to secure either identical tariff systems in the various European countries, or at least a common basis for commercial treaties, as well as the establishment for all countries of clearly defined and uniform principles as to the interpretation and scope of the most-favored-nation clause in regard to customs duties and other charges."

The Conference sees in the unanimity

with which the conclusions of the Geneva Economic Conference with regard to European commercial policy were adopted a striking proof of the existence of a profound sense of the economic solidarity of the nations of Europe, and believes that unanimity to be of happy augury for the work to be accomplished for the liquidation of the system of superprotection now in force in Europe.

It further places on record that most of the States of Europe have now achieved stabilization of their currencies, while in the remaining States there is a tendency towards such stabilization.

## B

In view of the facts set forth above, the XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference issues an urgent invitation to all the national groups of the Union to direct every effort toward a systematic pursuance of the work in favor of the creation of a system of customs agreements between the countries of Europe. It lays special stress on the importance of the following measures:

(a) The abolition, at the first possible moment, of absolute prohibitions of imports and exports, except in cases where such prohibition is dictated by *bona fide* considerations of a sanitary nature or relating to the maintenance of order within a State (*e. g.*, alcoholic drinks, opium, etc.). Attention is called to the International Conference on this subject, which will meet in November, 1927, under the auspices of the League of Nations.

(b) The abolition of bounties on exports in order to discourage the system of dumping.

(c) The simplification of customs formalities on the basis of the Geneva Convention of November 3, 1923.

(d) The unification of the nomenclature of customs tariffs, particularly in respect of the most important goods.

(e) The ratification of the Barcelona and Geneva conventions on transit.

(f) The conclusion of long-term international commercial treaties in order to insure the stability of customs relations, the extension of international trade, and a steady market for industrial and agricultural products.

(g) The general adoption, on uncondi-

tional terms, of the most-favored-nation clause.

(h) The solution, by arbitration or by a chamber of the International Court of Justice, of contestations with regard to the interpretation and application of contractual customs stipulations.

### C

The XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference regrets to note a general tendency among the States to raise their customs tariffs. It recommends that the national groups shall endeavor to arrest and to reverse that tendency.

### D

The Conference recognizes that the conclusion of the regional customs agreements between countries having special interests in common is in accordance with the general aim of lowering the barriers in the way of international trade, on condition that such agreements be not directed against a third party.

### E

The Conference, moreover, invites the League of Nations energetically to pursue the work so well begun in the economic field and to take steps to induce its members to contribute to the realization of the proposals of the Economic Conference for the amelioration of economic conditions in Europe and in the world in general.

### F

The Interparliamentary Union seeing that vast customs unions, such as the European Customs Union, are highly desirable, as much from the point of view of economic prosperity as from that of the progress of concord and peace; seeing, however, that the immediate suppression of all customs' duties would, in the world's present condition, provoke a very serious crisis, and cannot be recommended, expresses the wish that methods of abolishing, or at least progressively and gradually reducing, customs duties be made an object of study in all countries, the annual diminution of these duties being unimportant enough not to bring about a crisis and enabling, on the contrary, the various national industries to adapt themselves,

without bad results, to the régime of vast customs unions.

### G

These resolutions shall be transmitted forthwith to the League of Nations and to the governments.

## III

### Abolition of Passport Visas

The Conference reiterates the recommendation of the Stockholm Conference in 1921 and the Berne-Geneva Conference in 1924 in favor of the abolition of passport visas, without prejudice to any measures which may be considered necessary for the security of the State.

## IV

### Reduction of Armaments

#### RESOLUTION

The XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference, recalling the fact that the States signatories of the peace treaties of 1919-20 and of the Covenant of the League of Nations unanimously recognized that the maintenance of peace requires "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations;" seeing that by virtue of the aforementioned peace treaties the armaments of certain States have been reduced and limited "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations;" seeing that this preparation for a convention of general limitation has, thanks to the sustained efforts of the Preparatory Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations, resulted, in spite of numerous reservations, in unanimously accepted drafts in favor of the limitation of armaments for land and air, but has not succeeded in reconciling the various points of view expressed in the matter of naval armaments; seeing that these failures have caused great disappointment to those who, suffering from the effects of the present economic disorder, count on seeing their hopes realized by means of the reduction of the burden of military organization, expresses the wish that the governments, basing themselves on the lofty principles of the Covenant of the

League of Nations, employ with energy every means in their power to favor an appeal to arbitration in case of contest between States, to insure security for each State, facilitate the general reduction of armaments, and hasten the common work necessary for the achievement of this threefold result.

The Conference asks the group of the Union to work for this end within their respective parliaments and with their governments, with all the energy which the situation demands, and invites them to organize active popular propaganda in order that public opinion may express itself imperiously in favor of the reduction of armaments and the reign of justice between the nations.

#### Technical Plan for a General Reduction of Armaments

##### PRÉAMBLE

The XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference, recalling the fact that the Interparliamentary Conference of Washington and Ottawa proclaimed "the necessity of giving to the nations a feeling of security," believing that, in addition to the security guaranteed by the League of Nations, and which the Union wishes to see more well defined and more efficacious, one of the means, and one of the most important, of reaching that end would be a general reduction of armaments; considering, moreover, that the peace treaties of 1919-1920 fix limits for the armaments of certain States "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations," and in view of the fact that a committee constituted by the League of Nations, in pursuance of Article 8 of the Covenant, with the mission of preparing a general disarmament conference, is at present engaged in the elaboration of a draft convention for the reduction of armaments, is happy to see the United States of America co-operating in the work of the said preparatory committee, and expresses the wish that other States not members of the League of Nations may also join in the work before the meeting of the Disarmament Conference.

It notes with satisfaction that the technical studies and the discussions of the preparatory committee have, in spite

of all the imperfections which characterize them, served to clear the ground to a certain extent and to prepare the way for the elaboration of a draft convention.

It recommends to the attention of the governments and members of the Conference the general technical plan for a limitation and reduction of armaments accompanying the present resolution, it being understood that paragraphs A, B, and C of Chapter II (Special Rules) in particular are meant to serve as examples. It invites the national groups of the Union to transmit the said plan to their respective governments and parliaments and requests the Interparliamentary Bureau to communicate it to the preparatory committee.

#### TECHNICAL PLAN

##### I—General Principles

A. Agreements as to the limitation and reduction of armaments of the several States must take the following principles into account, except in cases of an entirely special character:

1. In fixing the limit of the armaments of each State, the whole of the elements of a military, geographical, demographical, economic, financial, moral, and political order which may constitute the war potential (*potentiel de guerre*) of the State in question must be taken into account, but the limitation should in principle affect only land, naval, and air armaments, properly speaking.

2. Further regard must be had, when fixing that limit, to the length of frontiers and of coast, to the particularly exposed situation of a given State, and to the special tasks incumbent on States which are colonial powers.

3. The limit of armaments of each State must be such that no State retain a force or war potential enabling it to constitute a hegemony and to defy the decisions of the authorities of the League of Nations taken in conformity with the Covenant of the League.

B. No State is authorized to increase its present armaments. States whose present armaments exceed the limits which shall be agreed upon shall proceed to a gradual reduction of armaments in conformity with the following principles:

1. The basis for the gradual reduction of armaments is obtained by taking the average of the armaments of the State in question during the three (five) financial years preceding the year.

2. The elements to be taken into account in calculating the average for each State shall be:

(a) Peace-time effectives and effectives which can be mobilized within a given time in all land, sea, and air forces.

(b) The duration of active military service.

(c) The annual contingent of recruits.

(d) The total tonnage of war vessels.

(e) The total tonnage of the air force attached to the army and the navy.

(f) The total sum expended annually for armaments on land, at sea, and in the air.

The expenditure referred to under (f) shall be calculated on a gold basis. In addition to military experience, properly speaking, provision shall be made, in the total expenditure allowed, for all credits allocated to the following purposes:

Subsidies for the development of national industries with a view to their mobilization in the event of war.

Subsidies to the mercantile marine on condition of possible transformation of merchant ships into warships.

Subsidies to civil aviation with a view to the utilization of the machines in the event of war.

3. The total military expenditure of whatsoever nature shall be reduced in a proportion to be agreed upon, beginning as from the financial year 19—. This reduction shall be repeated every — years, always taking as basis the average of the three (five) financial years originally decided upon, until the average has reached the final limits to be agreed upon.

4. Extraordinary military expenditure incurred as a result of a recommendation of the Council of the League of Nations shall not be considered as forming part of the expenditure to which the reduction applies.

## II—*Special Rules*

### A—*Land Forces.*

1. Peace-time effectives and effectives which can be mobilized within a given time must not be increased and must be

gradually reduced in conformity with the general principles enumerated above.

2. A certain proportion, not to be exceeded, must be fixed between the number of officers and non-commissioned officers and of men under arms or who can be mobilized within a given time.

3. The number of rifles, machine guns, and cannon of various calibers must be limited to a certain proportion corresponding to the peace-time effectives and to the contingent of recruits, in conformity with the principles laid down in the Peace Treaties of 1919-1920 concerning the limitation of armaments of certain countries.

4. The maximum caliber of cannon must be fixed.

5. Tanks must be prohibited.

6. The preparation of means of chemical and bacteriological warfare and training in their use must be forbidden.

7. The numerical strength of the police force and customs officers must be limited.

8. The organization of associations not recognized by the official military authorities and giving military instructions to their members must be forbidden. In estimating the total forces, account must be taken of private organizations recognized by the authorities, as well as of the forces organized by the State itself.

### B—*Naval Forces:*

1. Within the limits of the total tonnage of each State, the tonnage of different categories of vessels must be limited in conformity with the principles contained in the Treaty of Versailles concerning the German navy.

2. New naval construction must be prohibited during the period of years to be agreed upon, and engagements taken as to the delay to be observed in the replacement of vessels of different categories.

3. The maximum tonnage of each category of vessels to be constructed, as well as the caliber and number of cannon, must be limited.

4. Submarines must be prohibited.

5. The construction of new naval bases must be prohibited.

6. The number of effectives in the navy and the annual contingents for naval service must be limited in proportion to the



total tonnage, in order to prevent marines from being used as reinforcements for the land army.

#### C—*Air Forces:*

1. Military aircraft should be employed exclusively for reconnoitring purposes. The limits of those military air forces must be fixed in proportion to the forces of the army and navy of each country.

2. The number of pilots receiving military instruction must be fixed in proportion to the air units.

3. The number of machines, as well as their local engine power, must be limited.

#### D—*Military Expenditure:*

The annual expenditure (*a*) on equipment and ammunition for the land army in the mother country, as well as in the other territories under the authority of the State; (*b*) on naval material, ships, armament, etc.; (*c*) on material for the air force, must not be increased and must be gradually reduced in a proportion to be agreed upon.

#### E—*Demilitarized zones:*

1. With a view to removing the danger of frontier incidents and to creating a greater sense of security within the States, demilitarized zones shall be created, especially on exposed frontiers.

2. These zones shall be placed, if need be, under international supervision.

### III—*Supervision*

1. A Permanent Disarmament Committee, composed of representatives of the States parties to the Convention, shall be created, with the mission of supervising the execution and application of the rules agreed upon and their adaptation to changed circumstances.

2. States shall be under obligation to furnish to that committee detailed information concerning the elements of their land, naval, and air organization, including all necessary information concerning their military expenditure.

3. The Secretariat of the League of Nations shall publish each year an abstract of the military expenditure of each State, reckoned in gold francs, and all other information as to their military (land, naval, and air) preparations.

4. In order to facilitate the publication of the above abstract, the States shall supply a statement of all credits affected to military, naval, and air purposes, on the basis of a common uniform model.

5. Each State shall have the right to bring to the attention of the committee any fact which, in its opinion, constitutes an infraction of the agreements concerning the limitation of armaments. The committee may submit the case to the Council of the League of Nations.

6. The Council of the League may order an inquiry on the spot.

7. The Council shall give a decision as to the justness of the complaint. Contested decisions shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice.

8. In order that the application of the dispositions prohibiting the preparation of the means of chemical or bacteriological warfare, as well as training in their use, may more easily be supervised, an international organization of the industries concerned shall be created under the ægis of the League of Nations.

### IV—*Final Provisions*

1. The Permanent Disarmament Committee shall propose and submit to the contracting powers any modification to the Convention which it considers useful.

2. The gradual reduction shall continue until (*a*) the peace-time effectives, including officers and non-commissioned officers, do not exceed three per thousand of the population of the State concerned; (*b*) the effectives which can be mobilized within a given time do not exceed twelve per thousand of the population; (*c*) the peace-time effectives of native troops in territory outside that of the mother country do not exceed three per thousand of the population of those territories, and the native effectives which can be mobilized do not exceed twelve per thousand of the population of those territories; (*d*) the naval forces do not exceed four thousand tons per million inhabitants of the mother country and 700 tons per million inhabitants of other parts of the State or empire in question.

3. These figures may, however, be increased or reduced in a proportion to be fixed by the convention, taking into ac-

count the facts mentioned in the general principles enumerated under A.

4. States whose armaments are already below the limits specified in this plan need not proceed to the grand reduction referred to in Chapters I (B) and II. They will be subject, together with the other States, to the supervision provided for in Chapter III.

5. States which consider that their situation allows them to disarm more rapidly or in a greater measure than is provided for by the above stipulations are at full liberty to do so.

## V

### Methods for the Codification of International Law

#### A

In view of the importance and urgency of a progressive codification of international law, considering that by such codification the flagrant injustices and numerous uncertainties which characterize international law in its present state would be eliminated, and that a stable and generally accepted basis would then be created for the solution of international disputes in the supreme interest of peace, in view of the recommendation made to the Council of the League of Nations by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, to the effect that the codification of a first series of subject-matters which, in the opinion of the experts and according to the declarations of a considerable number of governments, are to be regarded as ready for such a codification, should be taken in hand, the XXIVth Interparliamentary Conference warmly supports the recommendation, and records the wish that a first conference on public international law be summoned as soon as possible, and that all States, whether members or not of the League, be invited to participate in it, with a view to giving practical and tangible effect to the highly important work of the committee of experts.

#### B

In view of the very satisfactory progress made in the work pursued up till now by the Committee of Experts of the League of Nations, the Conference recommends that the Committee of Experts, function-

ing as a permanent committee, as is the case with other bodies within the League, shall be invited to pursue and push forward its studies with a view to preparing fresh preliminary draft conventions on other chapters of public international law the codification of which appears desirable and feasible.

It insists on the importance of a thorough and conscientious preparation of the work of the conferences on public international law and recommends in particular that the present and future work of the committee also embrace the question of the unification of certain principles of international penal law, and be carefully studied in every quarter concerning itself with the development of international law, and that it be, if necessary, co-ordinated with the work of other competent institutions, and especially with that of the Pan-American Union.

#### C

The Conference recalls the resolution voted by the XXIIIrd Conference, held at Washington and Ottawa in 1925, recommending the drafting of a general synthetic plan of codification of public international law, and requests the Committee for Juridical Questions of the Union to submit the draft of such a plan to the next Interparliamentary Conference.

The draft shall regard war solely as a crime against international law (with the exception, however, of the right of legitimate defense which justifies a resort to arms), and must consequently include, in addition to positive laws, rules intended to secure the law of peace (friendly arrangements, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, resort to international jurisdiction), as well as rules relating to the ultimate execution of decisions reached.

All the United States asks of Mexico is that capital investments in that country, made with the consent of, and often at the invitation of that Government, and under concessions for which liberal sums were paid to constituted Mexican authorities, be made safe, and be treated with the respect and accorded the protection that reputable governments everywhere concede to such enterprises.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

## THE FAILURE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

THE Geneva Naval Conference came to an end on August 4, after over six weeks of discussion. Just before the conference broke up, a final attempt was made by the Japanese delegation to compose the differences between the American and the British points of view, but this attempt failed, and the conference met in a final plenary session at which the two principal delegations had an opportunity to state their cases. These statements are contained in the speeches delivered by Ambassador Gibson and Mr. Bridgeman, the text of which the reader will find in the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

### Japanese and American Proposals

The Japanese suggested the conclusion of a "naval holiday" agreement until 1931. This program envisaged the following provisions:

1. A naval holiday as to the building of 10,000-ton cruisers from the moment the totals for these big cruisers are twelve for Great Britain, twelve for the United States, and eight for Japan.

2. Freedom as to the building of small cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, and some provision as to the size of the guns on the smaller cruisers.

This program, while more or less acceptable to us, was rejected by the British, who also rejected the proposal made by our delegation for the conclusion of a treaty with the proviso that if any contracting Power considers that the tonnage allocation in the cruiser class has been utilized by any other party to the agreement in a manner to call for adjustment of the total tonnage allocation of that class, such contracting party may convoke a new conference with a view of revising the treaty. If no agreement is reached, the treaty shall end within one year on the request of any contracting Power.

### Modified British Terms

The British, on their side, proposed the conclusion of a treaty, to remain in force until 1936, and embodying the following provisions:

1. The combined total tonnage of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines below the age limit for replacement is not to exceed for the British Empire and the United States 590,000 tons and for Japan 385,000 tons.

2. In addition, each Power may retain 25 per cent of the total tonnage in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

3. The age limit before which replacement cannot take place is as follows: 10,000-ton cruisers, 18 years; other cruisers, 16 years; destroyers, 16 years; submarines, 13 years.

4. The vessels over 6,000 tons to be retained in their respective fleets are: Four *Hawkins* class, carrying seven 5-inch guns; the *York*, carrying 8-inch guns; two *Emerald* class, carrying 6-inch guns. United States: Ten *Omaha* class, carrying 6-inch guns. Japan: Four *Faurutaka* class, carrying 8-inch guns.

5. All other cruisers to be divided into two classes: (a) 10,000-ton cruisers; (b) smaller cruisers of a maximum displacement of 6,000 tons and mounting a gun not exceeding six inches in caliber.

6. 10,000-ton cruisers to be limited in number—for the British Empire and United States, 12; for Japan, 8.

7. The maximum standard displacement of flotilla leaders to be 1,850 tons and for destroyers 1,500 tons. Flotilla leaders and destroyers not to carry a gun above five inches.

8. Of the total tonnage in the destroyer class, 100 per cent may be used for vessels of 1,500 tons and over, but not more than 16 per cent of the total tonnage may be used for the flotilla leader class. These vessels above 1,500 tons are limited to a maximum of 1,800 tons.

9. Submarines to be divided into two classes: (a) 1,800 tons down to 1,000 tons; (b) maximum, 600 tons. Submarines not to carry a gun in excess of five inches.

10. The maximum tonnage to be devoted to submarines of either class of whatever age to be as follows: Class A, British Empire and United States, 90,000 tons; Japan 60,000 tons. Of each total tonnage no more than two-thirds may be used for class A submarines.

11. Except for the restriction imposed in paragraphs 6, 8, and 10, the total tonnage allocated to be used as each Power thinks best.

This proposal failed of acceptance by our delegation.

### Joint Declaration of the Conference

The conference closed after Ambassador Gibson, as chairman, read the following joint declaration:

In pursuance of the suggestion of the President of the United States, the plenipotentiary delegates of the President of the United States, of His Britannic Majesty, and of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan met at Geneva on June 20 to consider the limitation of auxiliary naval craft.

Meetings have been held from that date until August 4, during which period the delegates and their advisers have considered in detail various methods of effecting this object. On many important questions provisional agreements have been reached, certain of which are embodied in the annexed report of the Technical Committee of the Conference. These points of agreement relate particularly to the limitation of destroyers and submarines, and it was only when the conference took up the question of the limitation of the cruiser class that difficulties were encountered. These difficulties proved to be of a character to render it desirable to adjourn the present negotiations until the respective governments have had an opportunity to give further consideration to the problem and to the various methods which have been suggested for its solution.

#### Tonnage Limitation

The American delegates presented the view that within total tonnage limitation, which they initially suggested should be between 250,000 and 300,000 tons in the cruiser class for the United States and the British Empire and between 150,000 and 180,000 tons for Japan, each of the Powers should have liberty to build the number and the type of vessels which they might consider best suited to their respective naval needs, with freedom, subject to the limitation of the Washington Treaty, to arm these vessels as they saw fit.

The British delegates, while putting proposals tending to a limitation of the size of vessels of all classes, have opposed the principle of limitation by total tonnage alone on the ground that the largest ship and the heaviest gun permissible must inevitably become the standard. They desired, first, a strict limitation of the number of 10,000-ton 8-inch-gun cruisers; and, secondly, the establishment of a secondary type of cruiser of a

maximum displacement of 6,000 tons carrying guns of a maximum caliber of six inches. The British delegates contended that the establishment of this type would alone enable the British Empire, within a moderate figure of total tonnage, to attain the numbers which it regards as indispensable to meet its special circumstances and its special needs.

The Japanese delegates presented the view that no total tonnage level should be fixed which would affect a real limitation of auxiliary naval vessels. As for the question of the 8-inch-gun cruiser, while the Japanese Government could not agree to any restriction as a matter of principle, they had no difficulty in declaring that, provided a tonnage level of 315,000 tons for auxiliary surface vessels were fixed for Japan, they would not build any further 8-inch-gun cruisers until 1936, except those already authorized in existing programs.

Various methods were considered of reconciling the divergent views indicated above, but, while material progress has been made and the points of divergence reduced, no mutually acceptable plan has been found to reconcile the claim of the British delegates for numbers of vessels, for the most part armed with 6-inch guns, with the desire of the American delegates for the lowest possible total tonnage limitation with freedom of armaments within such limitation, subject to the restriction as to armaments already set by the Washington Treaty.

#### The Next Meeting

Faced with this difficulty, the delegates have deemed it wise to adjourn the present conference with this frank statement of their respective views, and to submit the problem for the further consideration of their governments, in the hope that consultation between them may lead to an early solution.

Further, the delegates agree to recommend to their respective governments the desirability of arranging between the signatories of the Washington Treaty that the conference to be called pursuant to Paragraph 2 of article 21 of that treaty should be held earlier than August, 1931, the date contemplated under the terms of that instrument, in order that any decisions reached by such a conference may come into force before the capital ship construction program commences, namely, in November of that year.

In making these recommendations and in submitting this statement of the points of agreement as well as of the points on which agreement has not yet been achieved, the delegates desire to place on record a statement of their conviction that the obstacles that have been encountered should not be accepted as terminating the efforts to bring about a further limitation of naval armaments. On the contrary, they trust that the measure of agreement that has been reached, as well as the work that has been done in clarifying their respective positions, will make it possible, after consultation between the governments, to find a basis for reconciling divergent views and leading to the early conclusion of an agreement for the limitation of auxiliary naval vessels which will permit of substantial economy and, while safeguarding national security, promote the feeling of mutual confidence and good understanding.

## RESIGNATION OF LORD ROBERT CECIL

THE resignation of Lord Robert Cecil from Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet was accomplished by means of a long letter, addressed to the Prime Minister, in which Lord Cecil indicated the points of his disagreement with the government and the reasons for his leaving office. The Prime Minister, in his reply to this letter, made some interesting declarations. Together, the two letters shed considerable light on Great Britain's present-day foreign policy.

### Lord Robert Cecil's Letter

Lord Cecil wrote as follows:

25TH AUGUST, 1927.

#### *Prime Minister:*

I am sorry to say that I have arrived at the conclusion that I ought to resign my office.

Let me, in the first place, assure you that this conclusion is not due to any personal difficulty. On the contrary, I feel that I owe you and all my colleagues much gratitude for your kindness and consideration. Least of all have I any grievance against Bridgeman. He will, I hope, have already told you that throughout our time at Geneva we worked together in the closest agreement. Apart from one or two questions of procedure, I do not think that we had any difference of opinion.

Certainly we had none with respect to the policy to be pursued at the conference. It is true that in technical matters I had to rely chiefly on the advice given to us by the naval experts. Here again we were extremely fortunate in having as our chief adviser so able and wide-minded an officer as Admiral Field.

The difficulty is, I am sorry to say, much more serious, for I cannot conceal from myself that on the broad policy of disarmament the majority of the cabinet and I are not really agreed.

I believe that a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world, and on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire, but even that of European civilization itself. It follows that I regard the limitation of armaments as by far the most important public question of the day. Further, I am convinced that no considerable limitation of armaments can be obtained except by international agreement. On the attainment of such an agreement, therefore, in my judgment, the chief energies of the government ought to be concentrated. I do not say that it should be bought at any price. But I do say that it is of greater value than any other political object.

Much that happened during the session last spring of the Preparatory Commission for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments was to me of a disquieting nature. Over and over again I was compelled by my instructions to maintain propositions in the Commission which were difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labors. For the most part these instructions turned on smaller points, but the cumulative effect on the minds of the Commission was very unfortunate, and was largely the cause of its comparative ill-success.

Nevertheless, when you were good enough to ask me to be one of the British representatives at the recent conference I gladly accepted. I thought that there was little doubt of agreement being reached, and I believed that an agreement between the three great naval powers to a reduction of their armaments would be of great assistance in facilitating the efforts of the preparatory commission for general limitation. Its failure would, of course, be a corresponding disaster. But I did not contemplate failure. Unfortunately, failure followed, and the causes of

that failure may have to be probed when Parliament meets. It is enough now to say that I found myself out of sympathy with the instructions I received, and believe that an agreement might have been reached on terms which would have sacrificed no essential British interest.

What, then, of the future? I look back on the refusal to accept the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the unconditional rejection of the Protocol, the ministerial declaration against compulsory arbitration, the partial failure of the preparatory commission, and now the breakdown of the Three-Power Conference. An advance in the direction first of security, then of arbitration, lastly of disarmament itself, has been tried, and in each case has made little or no progress. In each case the policy I advocated has been more or less completely overruled. As it has been in the past, so will it be in the future. The same causes will produce similar effects; for the truth is, however unwilling I am to recognize it, that in these matters my colleagues do not agree with me.

I can see no way, then, in which I can be of further service in the cabinet to this cause which I regard as supremely important. But outside there is much to be done. The hope of the future lies in an aroused and instructed public opinion. That is an object which may employ all, and more than all, the energies which remain to me.

CECIL.

#### Prime Minister Baldwin's Reply

To this the Prime Minister replied:

10 DOWNING STREET, S. W. 1,  
29th August, 1927.

MY DEAR LORD CECIL: I deeply regret that you have reached the conclusion that you ought to resign your office. It is, indeed, a source of satisfaction that your resignation is not due to any personal difficulty and I am glad to add my witness to the good personal relations which have always existed between us.

I am concerned at your statement "that on the broad policy of disarmament the majority of the cabinet and I are not really agreed." When, however, I examine the statement of your views on this question I incline to the opinion that, having decided upon resignation, you exaggerate any differences that have arisen, whether recently or in

the earlier days of the government. Shortly after we came into office our own views on the broad question were stated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Geneva in a speech on the subject of the Geneva Protocol in terms previously discussed and approved by the whole cabinet. From it I take the following extract:

It is unnecessary to lay stress upon the sympathy felt throughout the British Empire with any effort to improve the international machinery for maintaining the peace of the world. Arbitration, disarmament, and security are the main themes of the Protocol, and on all these great subjects the British Empire has shown, by deeds as well as words, that it is in the fullest accord with the ideals which have animated the fifth assembly of the League. Successive administrations in Great Britain, with the full approval of the self-governing dominions have not only favored arbitration in theory, they have largely availed themselves of it in practice. They have not contented themselves with preaching disarmament; they have disarmed to the limits of national safety. They have taken their full share in creating and supporting the League of Nations and the Court of International Justice, while the immense sacrifices they have been content to make in the cause of general security are matters of recent history.

In essence, and apart from emphasis, this policy does not appear to differ materially from your own views, even as now stated by you. We have pursued it ever since the results on the peace of the world and on disarmament which, as I shall presently show, have not been inconsiderable.

It is not, I think, on the broad policy of peace and disarmament that our differences, so far as there are differences, arise, so much as on the means by which that policy can be most effectively forwarded. Even here there was at least a large measure of agreement.

As regards the work of the Preparatory Committee of the League, you presided over the subcommittee which prepared the British case and practically drafted your own instructions, and in your absence your place as chairman of the subcommittee was taken by a colleague whom you certainly will not accuse of lukewarmness in the cause.

As regards the recent conference of the three Powers, I will enter into no details at this stage, since you refrain from doing so, though here again I think you exaggerate whatever difference existed between the government and yourself. But this much I must

say: I can take no blame for its failure either to myself or to my colleagues, who, after my departure and up to the very moment when a telegram from the delegation at Geneva informed them that the conference was at an end, were still working for such a compromise as might yet attain the twin objects of limitation or armaments and national security which the conference was summoned to achieve.

As to the future, I refuse to share your pessimism. It is true that no great progress has as yet been made on the lines of the great world conferences to which you refer. The Geneva Protocol did not commend itself to us any more than did the Treaty of Mutual Assistance to our predecessors. But, as I have already noted, progress has been made by other, if less ambitious, methods. The Washington Conference, the Locarno Treaty, and the settlement with Turkey have all led to some measure of disarmament and indicate that progress can be made on the lines we are pursuing. Year by year our own aggregate expenditure on armaments has fallen, and year by year in the world at large the importance of this question is becoming more deeply felt alike by governments and peoples. I am not without hope that even the Three Power Conference, notwithstanding its apparent failure, may yet result not only in a possible early reduction in naval armaments, but in the long run in a better understanding of each other's problems and difficulties by the nations concerned. I do not underrate the difficulties. They are, as we have always known, many and great, but that is not, in my opinion, a reason for throwing up the sponge. It is the task of statesmen to learn from failure no less than from success, and this is more especially the case in an age-long problem that has hitherto baffled all efforts to find a permanent solution. I can only regret that you are no longer willing to continue as our principal representative in the international discussions on disarmament, and that I must now seek elsewhere for the help for which I have hitherto turned to you.

Yours very sincerely,

STANLEY BALDWIN.

#### Held Many Offices

Lord Robert Cecil is 63 years old. In the course of his long parliamentary career, he has held many offices. He was Parliamentary Under-Secretary for For-

eign Affairs in 1915-16, and became Assistant Foreign Secretary in the Coalition Government in the summer of 1918, having previously been Minister of Blockade. Within a few months, however, he resigned his office, owing to dissatisfaction with the government's policy of disestablishing the Welsh Church. Lord Cecil again joined the government in 1923 as Lord Privy Seal, and when the Conservative Party displaced the Labor Government in 1924 he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

### FRANCO-GERMAN COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT

A PROVISIONAL commercial agreement between France and Germany was initiated on August 17, and formally signed a few days later. It represents the successful conclusion of negotiations which were begun in October, 1924, three months before the end of the privileged period enjoyed by the Allied Powers under the Treaty of Versailles. By the terms of that treaty Germany was obligated to grant the Allied Powers most-favored-nation treatment for a period of five years from the date on which the treaty went into force, without receiving in return similar treatment. It was on January 10, 1925, that this provision lapsed and France lost the position of advantage which she had enjoyed until then in the German markets. The principal object of the long negotiations between the two countries has been to find a method by which France would be able to regain her favored position in Germany and to determine the price which she would be willing to pay for it. The new commercial treaty is the result.

The treaty went into effect on September 6 and is to remain in operation until December 15, 1928, unless it is denounced by one party or the other before that date. It is provided, moreover, that if no denunciation has meanwhile occurred the two countries give each other a guarantee of most-favored-nation treatment as from that date.

#### Details of the Agreement

Besides the convention itself, embodying the tariff agreements, with annexed

lists of the goods and duties covered by it, there are other documents, including declarations concerning questions not strictly commercial which have been settled, and a number of letters exchanged between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the German Embassy with reference to the application or the interpretation of the agreement. For nearly all goods exported by either country to the other most-favored-nation treatment or its equivalent is guaranteed.

Under the present customs law, France cannot give absolute *de jure* most-favored-nation treatment. France grants Germany the benefit of its present minimum tariff, or of a new minimum tariff agreed upon with the German delegation for certain classes of goods. The French Minister of Commerce obtained special powers from Parliament under the act of July 13, 1927, to modify the present minimum tariff in order to facilitate this agreement with Germany. Germany, on her side, grants to France the benefit of the reduced tariff which she has conceded to other Powers and other reductions which she is making in response to French demands. So long as the convention is in force, most of the French tariffs, as granted, can only be modified in conformity with the index figure for wholesale prices. This arrangement is intended to insure that the duties shall have a constant *ad valorem* value, even if prices fluctuate, owing to disturbances of the exchange. The German duties agreed upon in the convention are fixed in gold marks.

#### Industries Benefited

While the agreement covers nearly the whole of the trade between the two countries, it concentrates more particularly on the main branches of production. On the French side, agriculture is stated to be the principal industry benefited, but the following industries obtain tariff advantages: Cotton, wool, silk, dresses, boots and shoes, metals, engineering, soap, perfumes, glass-ware, and porcelain. On the German side, the great chemical, machine, and electrical industries, small metal wares, cement, pottery and porcelain, leather, and toys

have the benefit of the French minimum tariff and of the most-favored-nation clause. For goods of secondary importance, France submits to the ordinary German tariff, while German goods will be subject either to the French general tariff or to duties intermediary between the general and minimum tariffs.

Important stipulations are made on both sides, however, for the restriction of the quantities in classes of exports favored by the tariff reductions. German goods which have the benefit of the French minimum tariff will be limited to fixed annual quantities. On the other hand, Germany will admit only a fixed annual quantity of 360,000 metric quintals of French wines. It is stated that this quantity is not inferior to the average French exports, and that champagne and other sparkling wines, as well as wines intended for the manufacture of sparkling wines or for distillation, are not included in the restriction. Moreover, this limitation of the export of wines is to come to an end in the event of the two countries substituting complete most-favored-nation treatment for the régime instituted by the convention in the first instance.

#### Revision of the French Tariff

The convention recognizes the liberty of the French Parliament to carry out the general revision of the French tariff which is contemplated. A number of lists of goods and duties have been drawn up, and it is agreed that certain duties shall come into force immediately. The special new minimum duties will come into force three months later, unless the German Government, after the establishment of its new revised tariff, gives three months' notice of denunciation of the present convention.

A great number of provisions relating to the methods of collecting duties, the origin of goods, internal taxation, and other matters are also attached to the convention, as well as regulations for sea and river navigation, the status of persons and companies, and the régime of German ships and goods in French colonies and protectorates.



## TWO PROPOSALS FOR CHINA SETTLEMENT

AT THE July Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu two outstanding proposals were offered for dealing with the problem of extraterritoriality in China.

A British member of the conference proposed the following interim program, capable of immediate execution:

1. The Powers recognize the sincerity of the Chinese policy of judicial reform and take note of the substantial progress made.

2. The Powers, while conscious of the element of risk involved in precipitate action, none the less recognize that action is necessary.

3. The Powers take immediate steps to rid the practice of extraterritoriality of all the abuses that now surround it.

4. The Powers put into operation, without delay, in their consular courts one or more of the codes of Chinese law already promulgated.

5. The Powers continue to develop this policy, along the lines of the measures proposed by the British Government in the note handed to the Peking and Hankow governments on January 27, 1927, it being premised that these measures represent only the first steps in a deliberate policy designed to settle as many outstanding issues as possible during the period which must elapse before a stable government is established with which a new treaty can be made.

The other proposal came from a Chinese member of the conference. It covered the following program for adoption as soon as a stable national government is established in China:

1. That the complete relinquishment of extraterritoriality should be stipulated in a new treaty between China and the Powers concerned, separately or collectively.

2. That by an exchange of notes between China and the Powers the following transitional system for the trial of foreigners should then be established:

(a) Foreigners should come exclusively under the jurisdiction of Chinese modern

courts, which means exemption from magistrates, police, and military courts.

(b) Five special benches should be established in the existing courts at Peking, Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, and Chungkiang.

(c) These modern courts and special benches should be courts of first instance for the trial of foreigners.

(d) There should be a court of appeal at Shanghai.

(e) There should also be a special bench for the consideration of such cases in the supreme court at Peking.

(f) Foreign lawyers, subject to regulations, should be admitted to practice in these courts.

(g) Interpreters should be attached to these courts.

(h) Certain foreign legal advisers should be appointed by the Chinese Government to the above-mentioned special benches to help in matters of foreign jurisdiction (their function should be entirely advisory).

3. That the Chinese Government, by unilateral declaration, should adopt the following judicial guarantees:

(a) That no foreigner would be arrested without a proper judicial warrant, except in cases of *flagrantis delicti*.

(b) That the writ of *habeas corpus* should be applied.

(c) That publicity of trials and hearings should be observed.

## THE PLIGHT OF RUSSIAN WRITERS

THE Paris Russian newspaper *Vozrozhdeniye* publishes the following appeal received from a group of Russian writers:

We appeal to you, writers of the world. How is it, that with all your insight into the human soul and the spirit of epochs and nations you take no heed of us Russians, whose free speech is utterly suppressed? You have been brought up on the works of great masters, some of whom were of our race. How is it, then, that you say nothing when the literature of a great country is being stifled? Don't you know about the Communist censorship of "Socialist" Russia? We are afraid you don't. But why did not MM. Duhamel,

Durtin, and other writers who visited our country tell you about it. Were they not interested in the condition of the press?

It pains us to think that the clinking of glasses filled with government champagne, to which foreign writers were treated in Russia, deadened the clanking of the chains with which our literature and the whole Russian people are fettered.

Listen, and we will tell you. Idealism, which is so characteristic of Russian literature, is considered a crime. Our classics that have an idealistic tendency are eliminated from public libraries. This fate is shared by the works of historians and philosophers who are opposed to materialism. Special instructors make raids on public libraries and bookshops and confiscate pre-revolutionary juvenile literature and folklore. Modern writers suspected of idealism have no chance of ever seeing their works in print. They are treated as enemies and destroyers of the present social order, are dismissed from every post and deprived of the means of earning their living. Every manuscript which goes to the printer's must first of all be submitted to the censor in two copies. Proofs ready for press must again be returned to the censor for a second reading and verification. There were cases when because of a single sentence, word, or even letter (for instance, capital "G" in the word "God") overlooked by the censor in the first instance the whole edition was ruthlessly suppressed at the second reading.

Nothing can be published without the approval of the censor, not even works on chemistry, astronomy, and mathematics. No subsequent corrections in them can be made by the author except with the special permission of the censor. Without it the printer has no right to make the slightest alteration in the text. One cannot have a visiting card printed without making a special written application with State stamps affixed and waiting for days till the overworked censor finds the slip of paper with one's name and gives his permission. MM. Duhamel and Durtin could easily have seen that even theater notices, such as "Smoking is prohibited," "Emergency exit," &c., bear at the bottom the sacramental seal of the censor.

A special permit is required to start a publishing business. No one, not even the firms that specialize in purely scientific works, are given more than two years' permit. Permits are not easily obtained and private

publishing firms are scarce. Their activities are limited to a program approved by the censor. The firms are obliged to submit to the censor six months ahead a complete list of the works they intend to publish, accompanied by detailed biographies of the authors. Nothing outside these lists, in so far as they are approved by the censor, may be published by the firm.

Under such conditions only that which is certain to be approved by the Communist censor is accepted for publication, and only that is published which does not deviate from the universally binding Communist doctrines. No other works, however talented or remarkable, can be published; they have indeed to be concealed. Their discovery during a domiciliary search may lead to the banishment or even the execution of their author. Professor Lazarevsky, one of the best Russian authorities on jurisprudence, was shot solely because a draft scheme of a Russian Constitution was found in his flat.

Do you know all this? Do you realize the horror of our position? If you do know, why are you silent? We have all heard your loud protest against the execution of Sacco, Vanzetti, and other writers. But the death penalty and the persecution of the best of the Russian people who do not even try to spread their ideas, knowing that propaganda is impossible, seems to leave you cold. In our gloomy prison we have never heard your voice raised in protest or indignation or any appeal on your part to the moral feelings of the peoples. Why?

Writers, you who are the ear, eye, and conscience of the nations, respond! It is not for you to say that "there is no power that is not from God." You will not taunt us with the cruel words that a people has the government it deserves. You know that in the case of despotic power the harmony between a nation and its government can only be achieved in the course of ages, but that during brief epochs in the life of a people the two may be tragically at variance. Think of the years that preceded our revolution. Our public organizations—the Duma, the local self-government bodies, even individual ministers—implored, appealed, urged the government to turn from the path leading to perdition. The government remained deaf and blind. Recollect—whom did you sympathize with then? With the little band of Rasputin's followers or with the people? Which did

you condemn, and to whom did you give your moral support. On whose side are you now?

We know that you cannot help either us or our people except by giving your sympathy and moral support to those who work for freedom and by expressing a moral condemnation of the most cruel tyranny that has ever existed. We do not expect anything more, but all the more passionately do we want you to do that which is possible: do your utmost to unmask before the whole world the artful hypocrisy of the terrible Communist rule in Russia. We are powerless to do so. Our sole weapon—the pen—is wrenched from our hands; the air by which we breathe—literature—has been taken from us; we are fettered.

It is not only for us in Russia that your voice must be raised. Think of yourselves. With diabolical energy, the full scope of which we alone are able to realize, your own nations are being pushed on to the same path of blood and horror to which in a fatal moment of its history our people, worn out by war and the policy of Tsarist government, was driven ten years ago. We have trodden

this path to the Golgotha of the nations and warn you of it.

We are perishing. The coming dawn of liberation is not yet in sight. Many of us are no longer capable of passing on to posterity the terrible experiences we have lived through. Learn the truth about us, write of it, you who are free, that the eyes of the present and coming generations may be opened. Do this—and it will be easier for us to die.

We are sending this letter as from a subterranean dungeon. At great risk we are writing it; it will be carried across the border at the risk of life. We do not know whether it will ever reach the free press. But if it does, if our voice from beyond the grave is heard by you, we bid you listen, read, think of what we say.

(Signed) A GROUP OF RUSSIAN WRITERS.  
RUSSIA, *May*, 1927.

The appeal was smuggled out of Russia, and the Polish press reports that the Soviet political police is hunting diligently for the men who wrote it and took it across the frontier.

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May I reach

That purest heaven, be to other souls  
The cup of strength in some great agony;  
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,  
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty;  
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,  
And in diffusion even more intense.  
So shall I join the choir invisible  
Whose music is the gladness of the world.

—George Eliot.

## IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE

By THE EDITOR

WE ARRIVED in Paris August 17. It was the Twenty-fourth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union; the advance guard of the American Legion; "riots" along the boulevards and attempts to "demonstrate" before the American Embassy, in front of which each time we called there were hundreds of French police actively watchful. And then there are the *beaucoup* Americans and other "foreigners" seeking a bit feverishly those "thrills" thought to be peculiar to Paris. Elsewhere the "sets" change, but the play goes on, ever interesting, bewildering, human.

Europe, which exists substantially only in a geographical sense, is a tenuous, complex picture of a cubist uncertainty, largely the creation of a torpid imagination. And yet within this area the things which happen from day to day challenge the interest and force the attention of the passer-by.

It is now September, and we are at Geneva, in the midst of the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations, having attended each of these assemblies throughout the years except one. This Assembly is only a week old, but it seems to be getting up some steam. Before speaking of it, however, let us note a few other things.

Bolshevism is a bogey over here more than with us, keeping many awake o' nights. The English break with the Soviets is fresh in our minds. The "demonstrations" in Paris bade fair to be serious. It was a rainy night; and yet a number of heads were broken; one person was killed; and a number of windows were smashed, all in spite of the fact that squads of Paris police were stationed

generously throughout the threatened area. It is generally believed by the French that all this business is fomented by the Bolshevists from their headquarters in Moscow. The Sacco-Vanzetti case was a mere pretext. Here, in Geneva, they say the "affair" before the American Consulate and elsewhere was a "stunt" by the equivalent of a crowd of our college boys out for a high time.

And yet all these things are considered by many to be very serious. The French Government is acting vigorously, expelling this year more radical agitators and other "undesirable" foreigners from France than ever before, some 8,500 in all—2,500 over the yearly average. Because of seditious articles, nineteen foreign-language newspapers have been suppressed during the year and their editors punished by the French authorities. Fourteen Communist leaders have been sent to prison and thirty others placed under arrest in various provinces. For participating in the riots in Paris August 23, thirty-six were sentenced and eleven more held, pending trial.

Do they hate us over here? The twenty thousand American soldier boys, their parade in Paris only a few days away, are causing some anxiety, but nothing serious seems likely. The preparations in France are elaborate and the police seemingly quite adequate. Furthermore, all this radicalism is not aimed especially against the Americans. The demonstrators desecrated the tomb of the unknown soldier that rainy night in Paris and in other ways showed their opposition to things as they are. In Geneva they damaged the offices of the League of Nations. The ill-

will against us has been greatly overdrawn. As a matter of fact, the French will never forget the kindly gratitude of other days. Between us and France there is friendship. That is a permanent possession of both sides. European "hatred" of us is thin and quite harmless.

But the French have just now another reason for anger against Moscow. Rakovsky, Soviet Ambassador to France, has been in Moscow participating in the general talk there of the proposed "war against Russia." Among other things, he signed a declaration which contains this passage:

"All honest proletarians of the capitalist States must actively work for the defeat of their governments. It is the duty of all foreign soldiers who do not wish to support the slave-drivers of their countries to pass into the ranks of the Red army, for the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is the fatherland of all the workers. . . . Whoever is hostile to the defense of the U. S. S. R. is a traitor to the cause of the world proletariat."

Naturally, this incident came to the attention of the French Foreign Office, where it is recalled that there have been evidences of just that kind of propaganda of late, both in the French army and the navy. The French feel that Rakovsky has signed an appeal to open treason within France, and they have protested accordingly. There is a wide belief that Sovietism is a big, dangerous conspiracy in the interest of a world revolution. In the meantime Rakovsky is taking the waters at Royat. It is interesting to observe that Paul Millykoff, perhaps Russia's most distinguished refugee, is "summering" at this same delightful French resort.

The problems of finance are keenly discussed in banking circles especially; also among the economists. Sir George Paish said in Paris that he fears the utter breakdown of the whole system of credits unless something unusual be done at once.

He is taking steps toward a conference of bankers and economists in April next, in Prague, for the purpose of forestalling the catastrophe. The meeting is being called by the League of Nations Unions upon Sir George's initiative. What will be the outcome is still uncertain.

M. Robert Masson, director general of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, speaking at the American Club in Paris, has just called attention to the possibility that the outlet for our trade may diminish, in which case our development will naturally be less rapid. A fact of some importance seems to be that a large share of our sales abroad are paid for out of the money borrowed from us. If our loans cease, and they must soon diminish, we may expect less prosperity, unless Europe is permitted to pay in the old economic coin of goods and services. Here the whole question of tariffs comes again to the fore, and we begin to get lost once more in the jargon of the economists.

Sir George's picture of the possibilities of a break-down of the credit system is not a pleasant one. We must grant that. It is comforting to recall, however, that the dire forecasts of certain scientists heretofore have failed to materialize because of some unforeseen new event. That has a steadying effect on one's nerves in this instance.

Furthermore, as pointed out by M. Masson, a loan to a foreign borrower means a new purchasing power abroad. If the borrower does not take advantage of that power, he sells the proceeds of his loan against foreign currency and thus transfers them to some other person, who in turn must use them or transfer them again, and so on. Finally the proceeds are bound to be spent in the country of the lender. That, too, is comforting. An interesting sidelight on it all is the news of resentment quoted from America at the new French tariff. For Americans to

complain of tariff legislation in France strikes observers over here as a bit grim.

The Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations bade fair to be of less interest than most of its predecessors. No one had any new program to offer. There was no new big State to be admitted. No acute problem loomed. And yet they are working up quite an interest in an aggressive peace policy. M. Sokol, of Poland, despite opposition from Sir Austen Chamberlain, has succeeded in introducing his resolution providing that all wars of aggression shall be regarded as international crimes and as such forbidden; that every pacific means shall be employed in regulating disputes between nations, regardless of their nature; and that member States of the League shall consider it an obligation to conform to these principles. The Holland delegation and other small State representatives are strongly behind this resolution. The feeling engendered over it has aroused the keenest interest, and the Assembly really has something to talk about after all. And they are talking about it. The uplifters, of whom there are many in Geneva, are having teas and dinners about it. It is being called "a revolt in the League of Nations," and the like. The impression seems to be that the minor Powers are out to upset the greater, especially Great Britain. The big nations are charged with the failure to bring about the reduction of armaments or to set up any effective guarantees of peace. All the projects to achieve these ends have failed. Even Locarno means little for the nations of eastern Europe. The smaller nations are worried for their future "security."

And this brings us to the heart of the whole difficulty facing the League. It is not that international hatreds are rampant here in Europe as nowhere else in the world. They are that. It is not wholly because of the will to maintain the *status*

*quo* when the present boundaries are in a number of instances intolerable scandals. Many of them are just that. The trouble seems, rather, to be that these dear people, bent on establishing their security, do not know where their security lies. All their peace programs are based on a war philosophy. In wartime their security depended on an overpowering war force, of course. They continue to feel that the same thing is true in time of peace, which is not true. The thing that establishes security in time of war produces insecurity in time of peace. The machinery for war and the machinery for peace are two different kinds of mechanisms, run by two quite different kinds of power. One is military force, which is the machinery of war; the other is the will to justice, which means law and the courts, the machinery of peace. When they talk about sanctions, as they always do, they seem to forget that there is no way of coercing recalcitrant States by force of arms except by war, the very thing they are trying to avoid.

Furthermore, they seem to ignore a simple fact, namely, that an agreement to go to war in defense of some one else is no stronger than an agreement to keep the peace; probably not so strong. One wonders, looking on it all, how long it will take these workers for peace—and in the main they are quite sincere—to stop and analyze their word "security," and to bend their efforts to achieve it in some such way as we have done in the case of our States in America. How long would Massachusetts keep the peace with Rhode Island, threatened by an alliance backed by a navy of New York? It does not alter the principle that the situation in Europe is not the same. The ways of justice are uniform the world around—fair and immutable. The most pathetic thing at the League here in Geneva is this wholly

irrational search after security, this wistful dependence for it upon the modes that can make only for insecurity.

A distinguished Austrian told us yesterday that in his judgment the only thing that keeps Europe from another general war is the lack of funds. The unnatural boundaries, the rights of minorities, the countless grievances, are all tinder for the

burning. To forestall the conflagration, some men are pursuing a course leading to the mad way of war. Few seem to sense the enlightened ways of justice, all too few! Which shall it be, war or peace? The answer depends upon how soon the statesmen of Europe can think aright on the measure of their security.

*Geneva, September.*

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## THE REVOLT OF ASIA

By **IKBAL ALI SHAH**

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article appeared originally in *The New Statesman*.)

**H**ARDLY a day passes that some item of news regarding a disturbance or a revolt in the East does not meet the eye of an intelligent reader, even in his hurried perusal of a daily newspaper. Such news-gleaning leaves an impression on the mind that something has gone radically wrong with old and slumbrous Asia; but rarely does the Western reader realize that he, or at least the culture in which he has grown, is the innocent cause of the present conflict in the Eastern countries. This statement may seem a bold one, and I should fail in my attempt to justify it if I were not to go back to the genesis of the phenomena which are operating in Asia today.

The mentality of Orientals and Europeans differs by a great deal more than meets the eye. Average Easterners and average Westerners who come into accidental contact find themselves poles apart. Their habits of life are not the same; they appear to have different modes of thought and a different outlook on the world. R. L. Stevenson's impressions of the Chinaman on the American emigrant train may be cited as an example. "For my own part," he wrote in *Across the Plains*:

I could not look but with wonder and respect on the Chinese. Their forefathers watched the stars before mine had begun to keep pigs. Gunpowder and printing, which the other day we imitated, and a school of manners which we never had the delicacy so

much as to desire to imitate, were theirs in a long-past antiquity. They walk the earth with us, but it seems they must be of different clay. They hear the clock strike the same hour, yet surely of a different epoch. . . . Heaven knows if we had one common thought or fancy all that way, or whether our eyes, which yet were formed upon the same design, beheld the same world out of the railway windows.

Thus the master impressionist proves my statement; for indeed it is true that the root of all present-day evils in Asia lies in the difficulty of bridging the gulf that exists and, in the nature of things, must continue to exist between the East and the West.

Let us go deeper into the question and review the facts. The economic forces, born of science in all its phases, made themselves felt in Europe, driving the older order to the wall, till the entire West was submerged under the rising tide of material advancement; and, not being content with its western triumph, this "civilization" advanced eastward. While all this evolution was taking place in Europe, the ideas of men in Asia remained hardened to their age-long traditions of fatalism. "What is written is written" continued to be their watchword. The people of the East lived in philosophy and were happy. It is pertinent, however, here to remark that in this self-sufficient attitude of the Eastern nations of that period the general economic factors of the world played a considerable part. An Indian, for instance, during

the reign of Aurungzeb, could buy ten pounds of butter for a shilling, whereas he pays something like ten times as much for the same quantity now. Today's expensive living is not so much due to British rule in India as some politicians would have us believe, but rather due to the fact that an enormous increase has come about in the facilities of import and export. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the western impact upon Asia has imparted a new color to the old-world life of the East; it has forced the recluse out of his cloister and bewildered him. He is amazed at the sight of the new age, so alien to his imagination; and, having gazed long enough, perhaps somewhat inanely, he also jumps into the whirlpool of "Civilization" with no thought as to where that civilization will lead him. The young Indian reads Shakespeare before he knows anything about Tagore; commits to heart William Pitt's speeches before he appreciates the significance of representative government; he knows more about the Reformation than of the ancient laws, of the Quran of the Vedas. And in all this mimicry his father encourages him, because he has saved all his life to put his boy to school with a view to his securing a university degree and so becoming qualified to apply for an appointment in a government office; for then, when the father is old, the son may be able to support him. It is thus, in a sense, a sort of old-age insurance policy. When the young man does not get a post he generally joins one of the political schools and is "civilized" in the wrong sense of the word. Hence arises much of the political "disturbance" of the East.

The net result of this Europeanization is that the surging tide of the scientific civilization of the West is carrying everything before it, as it breaks wave after wave upon us in Asia; and, as every unbiased observer would attest, it is not making us better men, an asset either to our educators or to the world at large, because the movement, being essentially foreign to our mentality and our outlook on life, strikes us as spectacular, overpoweringly fresh, full of economic allurements, and we drink of the stream much more than is good for us. We speak of nationalism where no nationhood exists;

we crave after a representative government in a land where generations have lived and died under benign autocracy; we speak of religion but lightly. No, the graft of the West cannot be successful in the manner that we are receiving it.

Time and again the folk-lorists have told the world that culture-mixing is a very uncertain phenomenon, especially between two so radically opposed mentalities, the one judging the affairs of life in terms of utility, the other strictly in its relation to age and traditions. Nor can the clash cease, for the process of scientific materialism, supported as it is by economic forces, cannot tarry. It must flow onward, even in the darkest parts of old Asia, and in its progress sweep away every vestige of sophism; it will not permit sons of the East to "let the legions thunder pass and plunge in thought again." Withal, there is a movement, frail today, but capable soon of gaining strength, in favor of "revivalism," a call "back to the book," revolting against modernization and endeavoring to stem its tide. How far it may be successful in its attempt is for the future historians to record. But a few broad facts regarding the attack of "revivalism" might be indicated.

The people who are eager to reclaim the East for the East work somewhat negatively. They point to the futility of materialism and cite the last great war as the result of western civilization. They urge that the modern conception of progress has brought chaotic conditions of life, made people dissatisfied; the poor man is sick at heart on account of his poverty, the well-to-do always wants more, and the wealthy is often immeasurably unhappy, if he had but the courage to own it.

The very ideas of "civilization" are challenged and a definite question is asked as to what are the aims of the present system of civilization; for it is contended that if it means progress in locomotion, wireless telegraphy, electrical devices, it all distinctly points to a deification of human material comfort, which bears in its train the germs of unspeakable vice and misery, and even perhaps of the destruction of the higher aspects of philosophy and religion. It is further argued



that this system of civilization presents a danger to the West—our instructors—inasmuch as it threatens to strike at the very root of Christianity. In the words of Lord Ernle, "in 1850 it was a courageous act to question details of orthodox Christianity; today in certain circles, courage is needed for their defense." All these factors are held up before the Orien-

tal mind today, and it must be stated that in consequence there is a distinct flow backward, back to the real essence and spiritual force of Old Asia as opposed to the glamor of Western civilization. In certain cases and respects a clear challenge has already been thrown to the materialistic and scientific modern movement of Europe.

## THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following discussion of the Little Entente is taken from *The Slavonic Review* of London.)

THE idea of the political organization and collaboration of the new States which rose from the ruins of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was formulated before ever those States came into actual being. It was born of the experience gained in concerted action by the oppressed Central European nations during the revolutionary war period. Moreover, it was strongly felt that, when once freedom and independence were won, the small States would need to show in no ordinary degree a united effort, a serious organization, and a common will, in order to insure peace and order for the new Central Europe. Lastly, it came to be realized that the democratic trend of the Central European nations in foreign policy sounded the knell of the old methods and presupposed the peaceful co-operation of nations.

It was only natural that this conception, at first of a broad and general character, should gradually assume more definite shape as the new Central Europe slowly came into being. In his *New Europe*, written in 1917, Professor Masaryk had already outlined the plan of an organized zone of small nations extending from the Baltic to Saloniki, and at their conference at Philadelphia on October 23, 1918, the representatives of these nations spoke of the foundation of a "common union which would contribute to the welfare and peace of the whole world." When the new Central Europe became indeed a reality and the boundaries

of its various component parts were established at the Peace Conference, the scope of organization proved much smaller; for the creation of the League of Nations in many respects satisfied the demands of the larger idea; but if the conception was not now so broad, it became more precise. The Rumanian statesman, Mr. Take Jonsescu, raised the question of forming a union of the five victorious Central European States: Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Greece. At the ratification of the peace terms by the Prague Parliament the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Dr. Beneš, upheld Masaryk's formula of "a commonwealth of aims, ideas, and interests" between the new Central European States, and had in mind Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania, with the possible additions of Hungary and Austria. Both these schemes clearly meant that a live policy was to be initiated; the practical realization was a matter for the foreign policy of the several States.

It was obvious that no immediate, ill-considered rush would be made to give effect to conceptions of so far-reaching a scope. As the building of a house starts at the foundations, not at the roof, so the plans for the political organization and the collaboration of the Central European States required that attention be directed to their organic growth and development. Not theories of construction, but the living interests and requirements of the new States, were to be considered.

The Little Entente is the first concrete embodiment of these plans in a juridical and political form. The underlying mo-

tive for its origin arose inevitably from the political situation of Central Europe immediately after the completion of the world conference, at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, and was chiefly due to the systematic and irredentist propaganda of Austria and Hungary and to the annexation policy of the South German reactionaries. The danger from Hungary, and especially from the Habsburgs, affected Czechoslovakia as much as Jugoslavia and Rumania, as it was directed against the integrity of all three States, against the peace terms which were the charter of their liberty, and against the new régime in Central Europe generally. By all three equally the danger was felt to be acute.

Thus the Little Entente was meant to be a defensive alliance against a real and common threat and had a common aim, recognized by all—the safeguarding of the new régime. The compacts and agreements between Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, which are the legal basis of the Little Entente, state that the contracting States are resolved to preserve their dearly bought peace and order, established by the Neuilly Treaty and, in the case of Jugoslavia and Rumania, by that of the Trianon. The contracting parties agree to help each other in event of unprovoked attack by Hungary and, by a clause in the fourth article of the agreement between Jugoslavia and Rumania, to take steps in common in respect of all questions of foreign policy relating to Hungary and Bulgaria. The compacts that have been concluded in no way deviate from this defensive framework. If we follow out in the official documents the negotiations that led to the signing of the compacts we shall see that the Hungarian danger, which took the form of attempts to restore the Habsburgs and to resist the Treaty of the Trianon, was alone given as the reason for concluding an alliance, even though both responsible politicians and public opinion were deeply concerned with making this but a first step in a plan of larger aims.

And the practical policy of the Little Entente, which was the outcome of the agreements concluded, does not deviate from this defensive framework. Its object is to render inoperative all Magyar

schemes of irredentism and restoration; its method is partly that of common intervention with the Great Powers and their organs, which guarantee the observance of the peace treaties in Central Europe, and partly that of common defensive action. This policy was given practical effect even when Hungary tried to utilize the Bolshevik attack against Poland for arming her forces (an offer that the Little Entente should arm four Hungarian divisions against the Bolsheviks), and when the ex-Emperor Charles twice strove to reassume power in Hungary. Charles's first attempt ended in his abdication and caused the Conference of Ambassadors to issue an edict against the Habsburgs, in which it was expressly stated that their restoration would endanger the very foundations of peace. The second attempt not only resulted in Charles leaving Hungarian territory, and the passing of the Hungarian dethronement law—which created an international obligation on the part of the Magyar Government not to recall the Habsburgs to the throne—but also in the granting to the Little Entente States of the right to participate in the control of disarmament in Hungary by giving information to the international authorities of control.

With these successes to its credit, the Little Entente, in its capacity of a defensive alliance against the Magyar and Habsburg dangers, gave undoubted proof of its political value and did important work for the stabilization of the new Central Europe. The Habsburg danger now ceased to be acute, more particularly when the ex-Emperor Charles died at Funchal in the spring of 1922.

That period of the Little Entente policy which dates from the conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Jugoslav treaty to the ending of the Habsburg danger is rightly called the period of defense.

The question of extending the Little Entente had been raised in the first phase of its existence. Mr. Take Jonescu, at the time when the defensive treaty between Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia was signed, had rejected the formal conclusion of an alliance between Rumania and the former countries, not because he did not

recognize the need for solidarity in case of a Magyar attack (that he did so is evidenced by his concluding on August 19 an agreement which took the place of the formal treaty), but because he was bent on the creation of a "bloc" of the five States having a common interest in maintaining the new régime. He was specially desirous of seeing Poland in the new alliance. The conclusion of a defensive alliance with Poland was particularly advisable for Rumania, in view of the common interests that both countries had on their eastern frontier, interests the importance of which was specially evident during the Bolshevik offensive against Poland. The psychological atmosphere that would have enabled Poland to associate with the Little Entente was, however, lacking just then, as the Teschen question between Czechoslovakia and Poland was still unsettled. But material premises were also wanting. The Rumanian Foreign Minister recognized in his negotiations at Warsaw in October, 1920, that Poland had no direct interest in the Little Entente, whose aims were merely Central European. Whereas Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, who had concluded a defensive alliance against Hungary to safeguard the Trianon peace, were acting along the lines of a common interest, Poland could only have an indirect concern in maintaining that peace. Her immediate interest was the safeguarding of her eastern boundary, and with that interest Rumania alone was directly concerned, not distant Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The common interests of the two countries in Eastern Europe were made clear when Rumania concluded with Poland a treaty of alliance for the protection of their Eastern boundaries (March 3, 1921). Rumania's attitude to the Little Entente was shown when on April 23, 1921, she changed her agreement with Czechoslovakia into a treaty analogous to that between Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, and soon afterwards (June 7, 1921) also made a defensive treaty with Jugoslavia. The Little Entente thus continued exclusively to concentrate on the Central European interests of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania. Its character was con-

ditioned by geographical considerations; its guiding principle continued to be the limitation of membership to such States as had common Central European interests. There is no doubt that this was of advantage, as it prevented any frittering away of aims on a variety of interests, often different, if not directly opposed, and allowed of concentration on the immediate problems confronting Central Europe.

The fundamental policy of the Little Entente was to safeguard peace in the spirit of the League of Nations and to uphold the régime laid down for Central Europe, *inter alia*, by the Trianon Treaty, by common defense against the Magyar danger, and by common action in questions of foreign policy affecting Hungary, and it needed to be strengthened and deepened after the failure of the two Habsburg coups. Such a thorough overhauling of purposes was required not only by the new character of Hungarian policy, which unofficially tried to act loyally, but was not free from influences antagonistic to the new order; it was also especially demanded by the economic situation of Central Europe and by the whole trend of European politics and their relations with the central countries. Czechoslovakia alone had attained a relative degree of economic consolidation; the other States were issuing only with the greatest difficulty from the war and post-war chaos and were hard put to it to turn the corner of disaster. The American, British, and even part of the French public, did not cease to shrug their shoulders at the new situation; and it was the normal attitude to dwell on the advantages of the old régime, which had given Central Europe economic unity, and to emphasize the disadvantages of its "Balkanization." Added to this was the general European economic crisis, which made a broad settlement of outstanding problems imperative, brought to the fore the question of Russian collaboration with Europe, and even shook the hitherto-prevailing political system, based on the peace treaties and on the Franco-British Entente as the underlying groundwork of those treaties. In January, 1922, important negotiations took place between

Great Britain and France as to the possibilities and conditions of an international conference at Genoa.

The political tasks incumbent on the Little Entente were as follows:

1. To control Hungarian policy in the light of the pledges given under the Trianon Treaty and also of Hungary's decision in the autumn of 1922 to apply for membership of the League of Nations.

2. To combat the mistrust felt towards the new régime in Central Europe by means of sincere efforts for political and economic consolidation. Here a real and positive program had to be found. New methods were required for securing good relations among the Central European States, partly by developing and extending collaboration among the individual members of the Little Entente and partly by creating the preliminary conditions which would make for collaboration with their other neighbors.

3. To make sure that their common Central European interests were safeguarded in the network of European politics, both where their direct relations with the Great Powers were concerned and in the settlement of the various problems arising at international conferences or in the League of Nations, whether such problems had a direct or indirect bearing on Central Europe.

The scope of these aims clearly went beyond the terms of the treaties which had established the Little Entente, even though they could all be said to fall within the general program outlined for the three States in the introductory sentences of the treaties; for these spoke of a resolve to "safeguard peace in the sense of the pact of the allied nations and the order established by the Treaty of the Trianon" (in the case of Yugoslavia and Rumania, by the Treaty of Neuilly also). When the treaty between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was renewed, in August, 1922, the exigencies of the new position and the enlarged scope of common interests were at least partially satisfied by an expansion of the text of the original agreements. In the new treaty, concluded for five years, the common task was further defined under two heads:

(1) The establishment and safeguarding of peace, and (2) the consolidation and strengthening of political and economic relations between both States.

The common program was also indicated by an undertaking that the two countries would endeavor in close collaboration to consolidate their economic, financial, and transport relations, and with that end in view would conclude special and particularly commercial treaties. An undertaking to give mutual assistance, political and diplomatic, in international relations and to confer in the event of a threat to their common interests supplemented the preceding agreements and very considerably widened the character and program of the original Czechoslovak-Rumanian treaty. It must be noted that when the Czechoslovak-Rumanian treaty was renewed, in April of the following year, there was no similar enlargement of the treaty relationship, nor were the common ties of the members of the Little Entente expressed with equal symmetry in a political sense. In practice there have been few occasions when traces of this lack of harmony made themselves felt, and it may be said that the policy of the Little Entente has, on the whole, corresponded with that enlargement of its aims which was dictated by the practical needs of all three States and the extension of their common interests.

The tasks that confronted the Little Entente in the Central European situation, as it shaped itself early in 1922, also called for new methods of work. During the defense period, for common action to be decided upon, an exchange of views through the ordinary diplomatic channels had been found sufficient; but the variety and multiplicity of the tasks which began to arise after 1922 required regular, frequent, and direct contact between the three foreign ministers. In the beginning of 1922 preparations had to be made in common for the Genoa Conference, which was to debate questions of vital importance for the Central European States. Dr. Beneš therefore met Dr. Ninčić in conference at Bratislava on March 2, 1922, and a week later the experts of the three Little Entente States met at Belgrade to investigate what common interests were likely to be discussed

at Genoa and to make sure that they were all ready to defend them. At Genoa, then, collaboration between the three States was close and inevitable. When the three foreign ministers again met, at the marriage of King Alexander in Belgrade, on August 8, 1922, they made a formal agreement to hold periodical conferences, so as to exchange views on the political situation and prepare for joint common action whenever necessary. This decision to hold conferences twice every year has so far been regularly carried out, and these have become the real backbone of the Little Entente. The meetings are held when international negotiations are afoot, and especially on the eve of the annual assemblies of the League of Nations, and have essentially the same purpose.

What, then, has Little Entente policy achieved in this second period?

(1) Though the Little Entente started by being chiefly a league to ward off dangers from Hungary, its policy towards the latter country is clearly entering upon a constructive phase. Its aim being the consolidation of the new order, it is not content with merely holding in check forces that make for disintegration, but tries by constructive work to create a basis for collaboration with Hungary no less than with other countries. The policy of the Little Entente States towards Hungary is thus seen to be a continual interweaving into the defense program of a supplementary program of construction. The two attempts at Habsburg restoration having been foiled, the Little Entente is ready to support Hungary's application for membership of the League of Nations, holding as it does legal guarantees for the new order in the series of engagements that the Hungarian Government accepted when the Habsburg adventure was brought to naught. Unfriendly incidents engineered on the Hungarian frontiers against Hungary's neighbors necessitate not only continual vigilance and readiness, but also common intervention and reprisals, but that does not prevent the States of the Little Entente from endeavoring to collaborate with Hungary, at least economically. Again, the attitude taken up by the Little Entente on the Reparation

Commission in May, 1923, drew attention to shortcomings in Hungary's disarmament and attempts to evade the terms of the Trianon Treaty; but the Little Entente, nevertheless, did not oppose the economic reorganization of Hungary in September of the same year, for it realized that this was in the interests of Central Europe as a whole, and plainly showed its desire that Hungary should become not only a peaceful neighbor, but also a loyal collaborator of the other Central European States. The period from September, 1923, until the present has been occupied by zealous efforts to reach a solution of outstanding questions between Hungary and her neighbors, and to pave the way for commercial collaboration. The "Franc Forgery Affair," which was discovered at Budapest at the end of 1925, threw a lurid light on those sections of Hungarian opinion which still aim at overthrowing the new régime in Central Europe. But not even the scandals thus revealed, though calling for concerted defensive action by the Little Entente and its intervention with the League of Nations, upset the positive efforts of the Little Entente for pacification and collaboration with its neighbors. It may thus fairly be said, after these few years' experience of the Little Entente with Hungary, that in the play of defensive tactics and positive activity the active forces are gradually predominating in spite of the periodical lapses of Hungarian intransigence, which renders the defensive rôle of the Little Entente imperative.

(2) The results of the positive work of the Little Entente for political and economic consolidation are chiefly seen in the economic collaboration between the States themselves. The Czechoslovak-Yugoslav political convention of 1920 was soon followed by a commercial treaty, supplementing the earlier provisional agreement; and the same thing happened with the political Czechoslovak-Rumanian treaty of April, 1921. Those treaties are the first foundations on which a new economic Central Europe will have to be built up. Meanwhile, the connections of the three States, so far from being limited to politics and economics, are

being skilfully extended to the intellectual and social spheres.

Collaboration between the Little Entente and its neighbors obviously also belongs to the general work of consolidating Central Europe.

Such collaboration, however, has been and still is, in spite of the common interests recognized in their several treaties, a matter for the individual members of the Little Entente. Czechoslovakia has always had, and still has, special ties and a policy of her own towards Poland, no less than towards Austria and all other States. The case of Jugoslavia and Rumania is similar. While it is true that these States, banded together for protection against the Magyar danger, start from the common premise that the peace treaties must be the basis of a new order in Central Europe, it is equally true that, even if their treaty obligations refer only to the régime established by the Treaties of Trianon and Neuilly, unity of view in foreign policy must exist; their attitude towards Austria and, to a certain extent, towards Poland also, must be identical. Such unity could not and, indeed, has not been without influence on the unity of their political methods. This agreement has been evident in the practical results of the entire Central European policy of the Little Entente States.

Especially is this true in the case of Austria. The commercial treaties concluded between that country and the Little Entente States are but links in the single chain of a new economic Central Europe. So, too, in political relations. The exact character of the political engagements entered into has been governed by the special requirements of each of the Little Entente States, but the primary intention is that they shall all form mutually supplementary links in the new Central European system. Czechoslovakia, which was most interested in re-establishing relations with Austria, concluded a political treaty with her as early as December, 1921. That treaty stipulates for the principle of mutual recognition of territorial integrity and the solution of disputes by arbitration, this latter point being developed at length in a special treaty of 1925. Jugoslavia, which for a long time has been taken up with

her Balkan interests, followed suit in 1926.

Similarly one might point to the establishment of relations between the Little Entente and Poland. The Rumanian-Polish Treaty of November, 1921, for which an arbitration treaty was substituted early in 1925, and lastly the Jugoslav-Polish Treaty of Alliance of 1926, represent not only varying aspects of special connections but also stand for essential unity in the aims and methods of the Little Entente States, the aims being the maintenance of the peace and the consolidation of Central Europe, the methods being collaboration and the pacific settlement of disputes.

(3) In thus preparing the way for political relations with each of the Great Powers in succession, all of the Little Entente States look for support for their own policies and for satisfaction of their own needs. But, as those requirements within the Central European framework are essentially identical and as their policy is directed to a common end and uses essentially the same methods, the result is that all the relations of the members of the Little Entente with the Great Powers are similar to each other and all their efforts again form links in the same great chain. The undertaking not to conclude any alliances with a third State without previously informing their Little Entente allies and the regular exchange of views on all questions of common policy have materially contributed to the observance of common guiding lines in their relations with the Great Powers.

A description of these relations, now that the Little Entente has been in existence for six years, will bring this out clearly.

With Italy, who is directly interested in maintaining the new order on the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a special convention concerning Central Europe was entered into by Jugoslavia when the Rapallo Treaty of November 12, 1920, was being negotiated. Both States thereby undertake to superintend the carrying out of the Saint Germain and Trianon Treaties and to use all means to prevent the restoration of the House of Habsburg. Czechoslovakia

made a similar agreement with Italy, though not in the form of a treaty, at the beginning of February, 1921. It is true that events in Central Europe and the change of régime in Italy afterwards affected the latter's attitude to the Little Entente States, but the essential lines of her relations with Central Europe have not altered. Her treaty of January 26, 1924, with Yugoslavia expressly mentioned sincere friendship and collaboration, and the terms of the treaty with Czechoslovakia on June 26 of the same year were analogous. The first treaty is intended to support the régime established by the Saint Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly Treaties, and the second that established by the Saint Germain and Trianon Treaties. Rumania and Italy entered into similar relations in 1926. There is no direct mention of the peace treaty, which both States undertake to uphold. Mention is made in general terms of the "obligations for support and collaboration in upholding the international order and in safeguarding the obligations established by the treaties which they have signed," but the Central European political régime is fully included in these words.

Obviously each of these treaties contains matter that concerns the special connections of the State in question with Italy, but all of them are equally important for their Central European policy and imply assistance for the aims of the Little Entente. What applies to Italy applies similarly to France, the only difference being, perhaps, that the interests of that power are not so immediately material; they arise rather from France's political and moral participation in the new Central European régime. The Czecho-French Treaty of January 20, 1924, the Rumano-French Treaty of June 10, 1926, and the Jugoslav-French Treaty, just concluded, are all part of the same system and method. British policy is wholly unfamiliar with treaty agreements of the kind signed with France and Italy. But it was stated officially when the Czecho-French Treaty was signed that Czechoslovakia would not hesitate to sign a similar treaty with England, and if that means that the signing of such a treaty did not indicate any one-sided French

orientation, but only an effort to secure a single Central European orientation, then it would indeed be possible to speak of relations of all three members of the Little Entente with Great Britain.

The attitude of the Little Entente States towards Russia is more complicated. None of them has so far recognized Soviet Russia, though this does not indicate any common line of policy in the matter, as at all the Little Entente conferences where the Russian question has been discussed it has been laid down that this question must and can be solved by each of the States independently. If Czechoslovakia, for example, has not recognized Russia, that is due to the home political situation rather than to consideration for her allies. Nevertheless, the attitude towards Russia is a political problem for the Little Entente. Czechoslovakia does not hide her aim of reaching, sooner or later, an understanding with Russia similar to that with France and Italy. That is the logical and intelligent expression of her efforts to add to her own security, and also to that of the new Central European régime, by having friendly relations with all the Great Powers. Yugoslavia's interests will undoubtedly be the same, even though her attitude to Russia cannot be dictated by purely Central European considerations, but must be governed by Balkan interests also. The situation is more complicated for Rumania, as she has an additional, a third, consideration, the eastern European; she is concerned with her own eastern boundary and that of Poland, and especially with the Bessarabian question, which is undeniably a barrier to good relations with Russia. Certainly, the common Central European interests of the Little Entente States will not cease to exist, even if the attitude of its individual members to another State—in this case, Russia—should vary in one or more particulars; but it is equally certain that an unfriendly attitude on Russia's part towards one of these States would influence her relations with the others and with the whole of Central Europe. Therefore, relations between the Little Entente and Russia, similar to those with France and Italy, obviously require the previous settlement of Rumania's attitude towards

Russia, and particularly the settlement of the Bessarabian question. This is, to be sure, a task that goes beyond the immediate aims of the Little Entente, but it is, all the same, one that stands in the way of its future development and stabilization.

The Little Entente, by its joint action, has won a secure place for itself and has succeeded in defending its views on the settlement of European and international questions. Its action in the Habsburg "Putsches" consolidated its political worth. The States of the Little Entente acted as one body beside France, Great Britain, and Italy at the Genoa Conference. It was informed of all phases of the preparations and progress of the conference, and, along with Poland, it formed a united block. It was equally unanimous with regard to Central European questions at The Hague and at the Assembly of the League of Nations. In defending the principle of regional treaties, especially in the solution of the great questions of disarmament and security, during 1923 and 1924, it came to stand with the political international public for a unity guaranteeing the new order in Central Europe, its stability and consolidation. Czechoslovakia, being elected to the Council, was the representative of that unity, and when the principle of regional "blocs" at length won acceptance in the electoral procedure of the Council, the Little Entente became one of the "blocs" whose right to representation is regarded as almost self-evident.

If we sum up all these results, it will be patent that the Little Entente has largely attained its objects, so far as they were shaped by the need of safeguarding the new Central European régime and consolidating order in that portion of Europe. The relations of the three Little Entente States with each other, their attitude towards the other Central European States and the Great Powers, and the whole conduct of the Little Entente in European politics represent positive, peaceful, and political values and strong guarantees for the permanence of the new Central Europe.

These results inevitably raise the question of the future development of the Little Entente and its policy and cause

us to revise those problems with which it has already dealt or tried to cope.

The common interests which called the Little Entente into being and have so far defined its policy have not ceased to exist. The maintenance of the new order in Central Europe and passive and active participation in making Central Europe a sound and consolidated entity in the European post-war system, that is a task which indubitably has not ceased to require the continual collaboration of the Little Entente States. But the results attained have brought the Little Entente to a point where a new practical formulation of its program is clearly needed. It was formed to be a defensive alliance against Hungary. And even if that State has not become a satisfied supporter of the new order, its economic relations with its neighbors are beginning to allow of a certain formal adjustment. Not only that: we are today faced with the possibility of adjusting Hungary's political relations with her neighbors. The Yugoslav Minister, M. Ninčić, spoke not long ago of the favorable basis for a policy of friendly *rapprochement* between Jugoslavia and Hungary, and announced that the conclusion of an arbitration treaty is agreed in principle, and that it may soon be possible to negotiate for the support of such a treaty. That is a situation which affects the whole Little Entente. There are no grounds for doubting that efforts will be made by Hungary to wrest this action, so as to weaken the Little Entente. But not even efforts of this kind, which will find the Little Entente as firm as it was towards Hungary in the first defensive period, will diminish the need of a new constructive program for Central Europe. In such a program there would be room for a positive attitude towards Hungary; she also would be given a place in it, in accordance with the new European situation since Locarno and with her own policy, as indicated by her willingness to conclude an arbitration treaty with Jugoslavia.

But not Hungary alone will come into account. The full achievement of Central European consolidation will undoubtedly require a new policy in all Central European questions—a new common policy, therefore, not only in respect



of Hungary, but also of Austria, which is already bound together with the Little Entente States by the sure ties of economic and political treaties. The policy of the Little Entente has not been indifferent to the Peace of Saint Germain, but has been concerned with it in essentially the same way as with the Peace of the Trianon. If this was not brought out in the treaties which formed its own legal basis, that does not mean that no notice need be taken of it in the future course of the Little Entente relations, which require a common constructive policy towards Austria.

The Little Entente is simply in its third phase. Its first stage was one of defense; in its second the factor of defense was interwoven with that of positive action; and the third is clearly to be a period of constructive work.

What will be aimed at is the union in constructive, economic, and political work of all the Central European States. The way will be shown for the realization of those objects which were in the minds of all who have smoothed the road for the Central European community and

who pointed out that it might one day be possible to make of it the United States of Europe.

When the Little Entente has to deal with constructive tasks of this order, it must overcome those differences which are due to the fact that not all its members have the same measure of interest in Central European problems. Whereas Czechoslovakia is, roughly speaking, almost exclusively a Central European State, Jugoslavia is divided politically between Central Europe and the Balkans, and Rumania, in addition to both these spheres, is also connected with Eastern Europe. The need for a constructive co-operation with a new stimulus, which will leave room for all the Central European States, has certainly to be felt with an intensity as great as was the need for a defensive front six years ago. And the form must be such as not to hinder either Jugoslavia or Rumania in their Balkan or Eastern policy, but such as will make their policy easier and enable it to give its contribution in the common effort for the peace of Europe and the world.

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## FATHER AND SON

By VLADIMIR STORONNY

Translated from the Russian by Helen G. Smith

**T**HE General walked back and forth with calm, regular steps, his hands in his pockets, and dictated. The tent was by no means high, and at each turn he was obliged to lower his close-shaven head, which was just beginning to turn gray. Every now and then he stopped before a low sideboard on which stood a glass of Madeira, sipped the fragrant wine slowly, frowned disdainfully, and, with his eyebrows slightly raised as though trying to remember where he had stopped, went on speaking. At a little camp table sat his adjutant, a tall, stout blond, two well dressed for war conditions, who, with his head slightly bent, took the notes. When the General stopped to think over a phrase, the officer did not raise his head, and, without lifting his eyes from the carefully

arranged lines, awaited further instructions.

"That seems to be all. Read it!"

In an even, monotonous voice, quite without accent, pronouncing each word most distinctly, the adjutant read the order, then, leaning back, looked questioningly at his commander.

"Good. Send it at once, please! There is nothing further. Good night."

The officer folded the paper carefully, laid it in a portfolio and the latter in a dispatch case, took his cap, shook hands with his commander, and went out.

The General approached the lantern burning faintly on the little table, raised his left wrist, and looked at his watch; it was a quarter to 11. He lighted a cigarette and began to walk up and down the tent.

Steps were heard at the door and a rapid interchange of whispers. "At once, Your Honor," he could hear clearly. The heavy canvas curtain was carefully drawn aside, and first the shaven head and then the awkward form of his orderly thrust itself in. Slowly and respectfully he looked round the walls of the tent, but, feeling the General's eye upon him, drew himself up and exclaimed:

"His Honor Ensign Smurof, Your Excellency!"

"Show him in."

The soldier disappeared. A small white hand lifted the curtain and the Ensign entered, young, well built, with a soft confiding expression in his deep, blue, childlike eyes. He took two steps forward, hesitatingly, smiled happily, but at once stopped, clinked his spurs, drew himself up, and stood at attention.

"First, be good enough to hurry when your commander requests it!" the General began in a low, sharp voice, intended to put a gulf between him and the officer.

"Pardon me, Your Excellency."

"I noticed with great surprise that you were not in line today. Instead of being an example to the ranks in this difficult campaign, an officer rides in the hospital wagon. I must say, Ensign, that if you are going to serve you must serve and not—" He wanted to say "act as if on leave," but remembered that this was war time and leave was impossible.

The Ensign stammered:

"My wound troubled me——"

"Be good enough to keep silent when your commander is speaking!"

The officer shuddered as though in pain, blushed deeply, the youthful face quivered, his eyes dilated, sparkled, and then grew dim. He clenched his fist and kept silent.

For a few seconds the General gazed at the Ensign with a cold, penetrating look, and then walked to the table and sat down. His sharp eyes gradually lost their disagreeable, gray look and an almost imperceptible smile hovered round his lips.

"Sit down, Paul!"

The officer looked around in confusion, walked hesitatingly toward the camp bed, and, as there was no other place available

in the tent, sat down cautiously on the edge.

"Don't be constrained; be pleased; smoke; if you want wine, there is some Madeira in the corner; make yourself comfortable."

"No, thank you, papa; I don't want any," the officer answered, recovering himself a little, and, taking out his cigarette case, began to smoke.

He could not yet accustom himself to this rapid transition from official relations to parental ones. It seemed as though the General understood him, for he looked carefully over a map, purposely giving his son time to recover. After waiting a few minutes, the commander raised his head, smiled pleasantly, and asked:

"What is the trouble—are you tired?"

At this smile the energetic, sunburned face became so kind, so warm, that Paul's lingering bitterness over his scolding was changed to joy.

"Dreadfully, papa! My feet are horribly rubbed!"

"You must not be such a dandy; wear sensible boots and not the kind you have."

Paul already felt better at these kind words from his father, looked at him delightedly, and smiled happily. He longed to tell his father how much he loved him and how he would like to save him from death and then pass away, but could not decide to do it for fear of making a fool of himself. This touching picture had often come to him when he was still in the military school; and he loved at night, when everything was quiet in the cold, dark room, to lie in bed with open eyes and dream and fancy scenes of battle, a cavalry attack, his father at the head of his regiment, surrounded on all sides by the enemy. The wearied General fights on, but his strength is exhausted. Death is close at hand, when suddenly death-dealing saber blows strike the enemies' helmets. Some fall, others flee in terror, and at the side of his triumphant father rises the figure of a perfect daredevil. The General, much affected, grasps the hand of the bold hero, but the latter gives a low moan, and, wounded unto death, falls from his saddle to the ground. The helmet falls to one side and the General recognizes his son.

"Look here!" Paul rubbed his eyes in amazement; he was falling asleep. "Here is a letter from your mother."

The General handed his son a long white envelope with a Red Cross stamp. Paul jumped up quickly and seized the letter impatiently. He longed to kiss the dear, familiar paper with the firm, womanly handwriting, but felt confused, remembering that he was an officer, in the vanguard, in his General's tent; so he bit his lip nonchalantly, lighted a cigarette slowly, and opened the letter.

When the Ensign finished, tears shone on his eyelashes and his hands trembled. To hide his agitation he turned toward the corner and leaned against the tent wall, closed his eyes and thought of his mother and sister at home in Petrograd, worrying and suffering.

"Paul!" called the General.

The boy did not move.

Smurof raised his head, looked fixedly at his son's face, whistled softly, and smiled. The Ensign was asleep.

Very silently the General rose, approached his son on tiptoe, and, leaning over him, picked him up and laid him carefully on the bed.

Returning to the table, the General was about to pick up the map, but his mind was diverted by the letter just received from his wife. She was greatly worried about Paul and begged her husband by all the saints to take good care of their son. One phrase in particular lingered in his memory: "You know," his wife wrote, "I have always forgiven you everything, though God knows it was not always easy, but if you do not take care of my Pasha, it will be terrible, Sergius." Curious creatures, women—as though the General would let his son be killed on purpose!

Smurof frowned. He could not bear to be reminded of his past sins. To be sure, he deserved reproaches—gambling, heavy debts, distractions, and infidelity. But that was all folly, the amusements of days long past.

To the murmuring and pattering of the rain Smurof grew pensive.

He recalled his starting out. He had refused point-blank to let his wife go to the station. "It's not a woman's affair,

not her place," he replied shortly to his wife's entreaty, but realized that it sounded curter and harsher than he intended.

Standing before a mirror, Paul had adjusted his uniform, smiling in a strained way, trying not to show his agitation before his father and the women, and joked with his sister Lena, who was helping him and was frankly excited over the parting and her brother's warlike appearance. Reverently, and at the same time playfully, she pulled first at his sword knot and then at a fold of his shirt—the only light-hearted one in the whole house.

In the corner, leaning against the door jamb, had stood the mother. She shivered with cold, her head bent, an old gray Orenburg shawl around her shoulders, dressed in a simple black gown, and such a pathetic little figure that she looked like a frightened partridge. There was nothing extraordinary about her, she was simply a mother. She had evidently been crying a long time; her nose was swollen and her thin, sallow face was red from weeping. She looked old, though she was only forty. Her eyes were dry and almost stern, her miniature-like features expressed complete submission, despair, and anguish, and only her trembling lower lip betrayed her, twitching convulsively.

Giving a hurried glance at his wife, the General felt a dread of what might happen.

"Well, Paul, it is time to say good-by!"

As rapidly as possible he made the sign of the cross over his wife and daughter, kissed them on the forehead, and turned away. He had known it would be like this, and yet he was alarmed. His wife clung to her son's neck as though beside herself; her right hand with an awkward movement threw his head back, smoothed his brow, holding back a rebellious lock of his chestnut hair, as though that were very important, and, looking in her son's sad yet smiling face with half-senseless glassy eyes, she sobbed repeatedly: "Oh! Oh! Oh!"

"Take her away! take her away!" Smurof cried angrily in his agitation, tearing away her moist hand from his son's brow, and, forcibly taking him away

from her, pushed him out to the steps and slammed the door behind him.

Cold and measured sounded the spurs of the officers as they descended the staircase in silence.

At the foot the old nurse slipped out from the porter's lodge, rushed headlong past the astonished General, and clung to her foster child. She had succeeded in hiding there and waited for their departure. Clinging to the Ensign's breast, she whispered hurriedly:

"God bless you, our Heavenly Mother guard you. God bless you; your country calls you, but there is nothing for an old woman like me to do."

Three times she made the sign of the cross, three times over the young man, and pressed something into his hand.

"Papa," Paul cried in smiling confusion, blushing deeply, and fingering irresolutely some crumpled blue and red papers; "elle m'a donné d'argent, soixante cent rubles."

"The foolish woman!" scolded the General. He was much touched.

"Take it, Paul, take it and guard it," he said impressively to his son. "You must respect the old. These rubles are more precious than our thousands. Thank you, my dear, for your loyalty, for the children, for your love. Take care of my daughter and wife. Farewell." He put his arms around the old woman and kissed her.

"Thank you, my benefactor, and yet you must leave us," the old nurse said tearfully, but suddenly recovered herself, kissed the General's hand, and shuffled up the stairs.

"Your Excellency, an officer with a package."

"Ah! come in!" Smurof came back to reality at once, annoyed that he had been caught dreaming, as he considered it a sign of the weakness of old age.

Without removing his raincoat an officer of the general staff entered, dripping, saluted, and handed him a white envelope marked "secret." A pair of clever eyes gleamed below his cap, and the short black mustache on the white face looked quite out of date.

"Are you tired, my friend? Do sit

down! Will you have a glass of wine?" And without waiting for an answer Smurof cried: "Kromenko, bring some Madeira."

"Thanks for the wine. I am terribly tired, but I cannot sit down. I have messages for three more regiments."

He drank the wine eagerly, in one swallow, smacked his lips, and twirled his mustache.

"Fine. I am deeply grateful, sir. I was fortunate in coming here."

"Good-by, my friend!" the General answered pleasantly, rising and extending his hand. The officer went out and the clatter of the horse's feet as he galloped off was quite audible.

Smurof carefully read the instructions for the next day, put away the paper in his side pocket, rose, drank some Madeira, stood hesitatingly by the bed, and, still under the influence of his tender recollections, began to observe his son.

The youth slept, his head a little to one side on the pillow. His rosy lips, outlined by a scarcely perceptible down, were half open, revealing his white teeth. From time to time his lips stirred, murmuring disjointed, indistinguishable words, and then the soft features of the youthful face beamed with childlike happiness.

Smurof felt with surprise that the sight of this familiar face, so like his wife's, recalled something sweet and long forgotten that enveloped him in a warm wave.

The General threw a plaid beside the bed, spread it out on the ground, took off his boots, wrapped himself in his great coat, and slept for a few hours the sound sleep of a soldier. At daybreak he was on his feet.

The quivering notes of the bugle sounded in the damp air.

The officers rushed out from their tents, buttoning their coats and fastening their ammunition belts, swearing as they collided in the darkness with the soldiers hastening to them with their horses, which were snorting with terror and prancing wildly. When the signal died away at one end, the trumpet took it up at the other, a third answered, and throughout the whole camp, to the sound of tramping horses and hurrying people, resounded the joyous signals of alarm.

"Do tell me where is Squadron 6," called a youthful soldier flying past Paul, and, without waiting for an answer, he was swallowed up in the groups approaching.

"First squadron to the right—trot—march!" the command cut through the blue mist from somewhere to the left.

It began to grow light.

There was no rain falling, but a kind of sleet; a white mist in the raw air of a cold morning settled on their collars and spotted their harness and saddles, making their horses steam as they sped along the soft mud of the highroad. At the right a sparse forest straggled up the hill, at the left a swamp covered with moss and low pines, interspersed with young birches. There was a smell of pines, dampness and autumn leaves.

In the rear there resounded cries of command; the squadrons pressed to one side; groaning and panting in the mud, a horse battery passed at a brisk trot.

Paul looked about, saw two officers approaching, and saluted. The older, evidently the commander of the battery, looked him straight in the face.

His back pained him; his left shoe caused him agony whenever he used his bruised foot; he was exhausted by fatigue and lack of sleep, and he suffered because he could not clean his teeth, and so had a very bitter taste in his mouth, which was increased by the after effect of nicotine.

He had not yet been in action; his regiment had always been in the rear of the right flank of the army and had had nothing but reconnoitering service.

"Ensign! Write verses later; don't dawdle; you are not in the manège!" Sharp as the lash of a whip the loud cry of the squadron commander resounded close to his ear, and before his distracted eyes there rose the sallow, haughty face of Count Hearst.

"Pardon me," Paul said, in confusion as he saluted, and, not knowing how to get to the first platoon, he turned back and went to the quartermaster. "It is horrid;" he thought of his squadron, blushing in anything but a friendly way.

An officer of the general staff came toward him at a gallop, back of him another, and then two orderlies.

"Trot!" The command rolled from

squadron to squadron, and the regiment moved forward at a rapid pace.

"What is the matter?" Paul asked, overtaking a companion of the second platoon.

"Go ask your father!" the officer answered, turning his head toward him.

At that moment the Baron stepped forth from the ranks, and, letting the platoons pass him, cried out in a calm, sharp voice:

"Attention—we are going into action!" He turned his horse and, galloping past, returned to his place.

"Into action—what, at once?" Paul asked in astonishment, and was surprised at his own calmness. He had always thought it would be something extraordinary. The cannonading resounded in the distance, but he was already used to these sounds. They always seemed something far off, at one side.

Half an hour later the squadron passed the baggage train, then two infantry regiments hastening by forced marches, and, turning round to the right, advanced at a gallop by the crossroad along the edge of a woods at the left. And now the cannon shots seemed much nearer. The road was torn up everywhere and muddy, and all their attention was concentrated on their horses.

The front ranks drew in suddenly. Those behind, being unable to stop, fell over them; the horses became confused, the ranks intermingled. Only with the greatest difficulty could they prevent their horses from sinking on their hind legs into the mire.

From the woods, crawling through the thicket to the road, there advanced at a run in close ranks, with their rifles at their feet, one after the other, the platoons of the guard infantry, a handsome, mature set of fellows.

"Smurof, how are you, my friend?" Turning as he ran, a tall, graceful officer called, smiled to him, and disappeared.

"Vasia!" Paul called after him, as he had not at once recognized his cadet schoolmate.

A battery rumbled past them. For a moment he caught sight of the pale face of a cannoneer, distorted with pain or fear, seated with his back to the horses on

the gun carriage and clinging firmly with both hands to the netted shield. The guns bounced terribly at the hillocks and hollows, leaped to one side, and bounded into the woods at the left.

The squadrons moved on at a gallop. At the left, behing the woods, frequent distant firing was audible, and the peculiar noise of the bullets. A number of men were bustling around the Red Cross wagons, some with stretchers, some with other things. From the woods came a line of bearers carrying limp, gray objects like sacks. Here they stopped.

"The wounded!" Paul said at last.

He felt somewhat sick.

Trach! There burst low over the woods a whitish-yellow cloud. Whiz: Something buzzed high above them. A column of earth rose fifty paces from them.

"That is a real one!" Paul thought, and unconsciously bent in his saddle.

Then he felt ashamed, and proudly and consciously straightened himself, rose in his stirrups, and, forcing himself to smile, looked about. Strained, sterner faces, neither frightened nor angry. His head swam, he had a curious, contradictory feeling, a burning of fearful delight overcame him, his soul was filled with gladness, something warm reached his heart, filled it to the brim, and died away.

"Your Honor—the trench," the quartermaster screamed sharply to him.

His horse stood still for a minute, then gave a leap. The Ensign could scarcely keep his place, falling over the mane of the leaping horse and losing his stirrup. The squadrons went on at full speed. Like a cinematograph picture, the guns flashed past him, the indistinct masses of horses, the overturned wagons, and the separate gray groups.

"Conquered!"

The squadron was passing to the left.

"Stop!"

Overcome by a dreadful wave of agitation, giving his horse to his soldier, stumbling and catching his spurs at the marvelously interlaced roots of the old trees, Paul ran forward to an open place, seized his binocular, and looked anxiously around.

Two hundred paces from the clearing

there began a small grove and a young birchwood, forming a strip parallel with the woods. Beyond that two or three white buildings, probably a farm, and in the distance the ground was smoking on the hill, about seven or eight hundred paces away. His heart stood still at the sight.

The close ranks of the gray infantry dragged up something, cut, and dug. A little to the left a cloud of flashing smoke rose noiselessly. A battery moved out between the buildings, just escaping the nearest one.

"Heavens! Is it possible they are the Prussians!"

"Your Honor, stop!" Paul heard a hoarse whisper back of him, looked around, and leaped into his saddle.

To the right and left, trying to move noiselessly, the soldiers rode out, serious and intent.

A strange, dull calm, almost apathy, overcame Paul, similar to a faint. He wanted to smoke, but remembered that it was no time for it, and smiled.

At the edge of the forest the regiment, obedient to one will, stopped for a few seconds and formed in line. The horses shook their heads and stamped with uneasiness.

At the right the figure of a solitary rider came forth from the ranks, at once halted, and remained rooted to the spot before the deploying squadrons.

Hundreds of burning eyes were fastened on the General; the bristling pikes were lowered noisily; hundreds of hands seized the hilts at the left and clinked them sharply, hardly unsheathing their swords.

It was quiet, perfectly quiet.

The commander drew his sword and turned his horse.

Hundreds of swords clanked.

"Ah!" Paul groaned as the sound died away.

Stamping and clattering all around; the whistling of the wind in his ears; the earth rose to meet him in waving strips beneath his feet—faster and faster. And his horse went furiously on.

At a rapid pace the horses fought their way into the woods. "Stop!" some one yelled at his very ear. The branches lashed his hands and face. Suddenly his

consciousness grew more acute—there was a very bright light. Now, at once, ah!

Glancing forward—the commander had already turned into the field and led the rushing squadrons toward the enemy.

Spurring forward, he passed his neighbor; he almost flew, then drew in his bridle. "Ah! only don't fall; hold on!" Right and left there flashed past him the neighboring lines.

There was prolonged buzzing—a hum and noise in his ears. Smoke rose in front of him.

"Ah! Ah!" thought Paul.

At the right a soldier shot ahead of him, turned and vanished; he had probably fallen.

Paul sat firmly in his saddle, set his lips, and dug his spurs deep.

His horse went rapidly on.

There was a tree ahead of him with low branches—turn more to the right.

They cut at his face sharply.

"A branch," thought Paul.

Separate groups of cavalry were still following the routed enemy.

Smurof, at the head of a small division, on his steaming, snorting horse, was forcing his way through troops of men and horses, past the heaps of gray forms and conquered guns and rode at a trot up to Cavalry Captain Hearst. The latter, white as a sheet and scarcely able to draw his breath, stood with one hand on his drawn sword, the other on the wheel of an overturned gun, and, setting his teeth, tried in vain to cross his right foot over his left.

"Wounded, Count?"

"Pardon me, Your Excellency, my horse fell—I hurt my foot," he muttered through his teeth.

Two soldiers came running up to him.

"The battery is ours, General," Hearst suddenly burst out, and, almost fainting,

slipped from the soldiers' hands to the ground.

"Ours, Count, a splendid victory," Smurof smiled. "How is the squadron?"

Hearst shook his head faintly and tried to smile also. "A few killed—ten, twenty, I don't know."

"Have you seen my boy?" the commander asked quietly, after a moment's silence.

"There—it seems he is wounded," the Captain answered, waving his weakened hand toward a clump of trees standing alone, and then lost consciousness.

Smurof was off at a trot.

He did not look long.

Leaning against the trunk of an old birch, his mud-spattered legs stretched before him, sat the Ensign and stared dully at the ground, straight before him.

"Paul, where are you hurt?" the General asked in alarm.

The Ensign did not answer. Smurof dismounted hastily, went up to his son and slapped him on the shoulder. His head moved from the tree, hung limply, and then sank to one side; over his left brow there was a small blackened hole.

"Pasha, Pashenka—oh!" sobbed the General, clasping the lifeless head of his son, and with distracted eyes stared into the beloved face. His lower lip quivered, his face wrinkled in a pitiful, elderly grimace.

No one moved from the spot.

Smurof rose slowly, gazed round with a heavy, unintelligent look at those about him.

"The devil!" the General cried in a hoarse voice as he drew himself up, approached his horse, adjusted his cap, jumped into the saddle with a light spring and pulled the reins. His hands trembled, but his voice was firm: "Staff trumpeter, call to arms!"

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You cried across the worlds, and called us sons! . . .  
Weep not for us, but for your own trapped selves. We  
died. And there you stand, no step advanced!

—Hermann Hagedorn.

# INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

## GENEVA NAVAL CONFERENCE

(NOTE.—Following is the text of (1) Ambassador Gibson's speech at the final session of the Geneva Naval Conference, and (II) speech delivered at the same session by Mr. Bridgeman, the head of the British delegation.)

### I. Ambassador Gibson's Speech

The conference has now reached a point when it is essential to review the situation and to determine whether we can usefully continue our work with any hope of a successful conclusion.

Since the proposals which have been laid before us by Mr. Bridgeman represent the final decision of the British Empire delegation, I fear, as I have already informed Mr. Bridgeman, that we shall be forced frankly to admit that our efforts at present to find a basis for negotiation acceptable to all three powers have not been successful.

I should like to take this occasion for stating somewhat fully the American views on the subject, not by way of argument with my colleagues, but because the solution of this problem can be found only if all conflicting views are clearly stated and left for future consideration.

First of all, let us consider why we came here. The President of the United States, on February 10, extended to the Powers signatories to the Washington Treaty an invitation to meet in Geneva to agree upon extension to auxiliary craft of the principles of that treaty. Great Britain and Japan accepted this invitation.

The President's initiative in calling the conference was in conformity with the repeatedly expressed desire of our Congress, as specifically set forth in an act of February 11, 1925, that armaments should be effectively reduced and limited in the interest of the peace of the world and for the relief of all nations from the burdens of inordinate and unnecessary expenditures.

The President's invitation left no room for doubt as to the purpose he had in mind, and the proposals to be made by the American

delegation could have been forecast with considerable accuracy.

It was known from the President's message that we would propose limitation of auxiliary craft by categories, that we were in favor of limiting them according to the principles of the Washington Treaty.

It was not difficult to forecast even the tonnage levels which we would suggest, as it was obvious that no fresh complications in the world situation had called for a material increase over the figures suggested by us at Washington in 1922, namely, 450,000 tons for both classes of auxiliary surface vessels.

In strict conformity with the spirit and in view of the President's invitation, the American delegation on the opening day of the conference laid on the table clear, simple, and comprehensive proposals for a limitation of naval armaments. We were confident that proposals of this general character would be acceptable to the Powers represented here.

It was not unreasonable to feel that, even if the specific figures suggested by us as a basis of discussion were not acceptable, a reasonable limitation might be achieved on the basis of the present strength of the strongest navies in the different categories—that is to say, the British Empire in cruisers and the United States in destroyers and submarines—with the result that by agreeing upon such figures we should be relieved of the dangers of competitive building.

The Japanese delegation subsequently indicated its willingness to negotiate on the basis of the minimum figures suggested by the American delegation.

It should be recalled that the minimum figures of the American proposal involved a considerable reduction in the destroyer and submarine tonnage now possessed by the United States.

From the first, however, we encountered a serious difficulty in the claim of the British Government that it needed a considerably larger number of cruisers than it now possesses. Instead of the forty-eight cruisers now in service, the British Empire delegation has set forth in the report of the technical



committee a need for fifteen 8-inch gun cruisers and fifty-five cruisers of a smaller type, a total of seventy. The claim for these figures was defended on the ground of the absolute naval needs of the Empire.

The American delegation has never been able to reconcile the conception of absolute naval needs with the negotiation of a treaty to fix limitations on the basis of mutual concessions.

If the sole purpose of our negotiation be that of setting forth the view of each power as to their requirements without regard to the navies of others, it is difficult to see how we can arrive at a treaty for the limitation of navies.

Further, we have not yet been able to understand why, in a time of profound peace and at the moment that we are seeking to reduce the burdens of naval expenditure, the British Government considers a considerable program of naval expansion as an absolute and even vital necessity.

In an effort to meet the views of the British Empire delegation we have indicated our willingness to make very substantial modifications in our original proposals respecting cruisers. We have agreed to discuss a tonnage in the cruiser class far in excess of what we had hoped might be fixed as a limitation for the future. This was done in an effort to help meet the British claim for numbers of vessels.

Further, we have agreed to discuss the number of 10,000-ton cruisers and to accept a secondary class of cruisers, provided that the secondary type of cruisers should not be of a maximum individual displacement which will preclude the mounting of 8-inch guns, a caliber of gun which was agreed upon by the signatories of the Washington Treaty.

Unfortunately, these efforts to meet the British position, together with other American proposals, to which I shall refer later, were not considered sufficient. Any further concessions on our part would have involved a complete surrender of the right to build ships responsive to our needs, and we were obliged to take the ground that, if agreement were to be reached, there must be some measure of reciprocity in concession.

We frankly recognize that the naval needs of various powers differs, and we never have contested the argument which had been put forward that the naval requirements of the

British Empire could best be met by numbers of vessels.

One of the virtues of the system of limitation of naval strength by total tonnage in classes is that each country is left free to use its tonnage allotment according to its special needs.

We have felt, however, that the making of a treaty to which we could honestly subscribe as representing the limitation of armament was dependent upon meeting these requirements within total tonnages which constituted a limitation and not an expansion.

With a large number of naval bases scattered along its lines of communication, we can quite well understand the desire of the British Empire for a certain number of cruisers of the smaller type.

At the same time we feel that it should be recognized that our own geographical position and our lack of bases resulting in part from the restrictions of the Washington Treaty require a larger type of cruiser affording a longer cruising radius.

We felt, further, that the repeated expression of our willingness to reduce the total cruiser tonnage to the lowest limits acceptable to the British delegation was sufficient evidence that we had no thought of engaging in a program of construction which could be any cause of apprehension.

The British delegation in its proposals sought to secure agreement to limit very strictly the number of the larger type of cruisers with 8-inch guns and to limit all other construction to small-size cruisers armed with 6-inch guns, a type of ship of relatively small use to us because of its lack of cruising radius and protection.

The immediate and obvious results of acquiescing in the British proposals would have been that the British Empire would have been able to build exactly what it desired and that we, on the other hand, would be restrained from building what we consider that we might need, and yet the tonnage levels insisted on by the British Empire would result in a substantial increase even over present strength.

It may be well here to touch upon the view which has been expressed that we have rendered agreement difficult by our alleged insistence to build a large number of 10,000-ton cruisers armed with 8-inch guns. These the British delegation terms offensive vessels, as distinguished from the 6,000-ton cruisers

armed with 6-inch guns on what they call defensive cruisers.

No such distinction was recognized at the time of the Washington Treaty. The 10,000-ton cruiser with 8-inch gun armament was fixed by the British delegates at that conference and adopted as non-controversial. Furthermore, the United States did not commence the destruction of cruisers of this size.

Five cruisers of this type have now been practically completed by the British Empire and six more are in process of construction, while four vessels of 9,750 tons are now in commission. The United States has two 10,000-ton cruisers which are about 15 per cent completed and six for which the contract has been recently let. We have none that will be afloat for approximately two years.

In the act authorizing the construction of these cruisers it was provided that in the event of an international conference for the limitation of naval armament the President was empowered in his discretion to suspend in whole or in part any construction authorized by the act.

The British Empire delegation has drawn a sharp distinction between the offensive and aggressive character of 8-inch-gun cruisers and the essentially defensive character of the 6-inch-gun cruiser, which they feel would, but which do not, serve our purpose.

The American delegation cannot but feel that every warship possesses essentially offensive characteristics, and that no ship is built for the sole purpose of defending itself against attack. We cannot follow the reasoning which attributes to 6-inch-gun cruisers a purely defensive rôle.

We are told that they will police trade routes and protect British commerce upon the seas. But, in order to afford effective defense to British commerce upon the seas, these cruisers must in time of war effectively deny the sea to others.

When we come down to essentials, the claim on the part of any nation for the right to maintain in time of peace a cruiser strength sufficient to afford complete security to its commerce in case of war renders impossible any effective naval limitation by international agreement.

When we are asked to limit strictly the number of cruisers on which 8-inch guns may be mounted and eventually to abandon that gun altogether in favor of the 6-inch gun, we are compelled to consider the effect of such a

limitation upon our situation, in view of the fact that the British Government has at its disposal approximately 888,000 tons of fast merchant ships capable of being readily converted into cruisers and armed with many 6-inch guns, as contemplated by the Washington Treaty.

We, on the other hand, have only 180,000 tons of such ships. As was so ably brought out by Lord Jellicoe, converted merchant ships played a great part in the late war.

There is another matter which has given us cause for reflection. At the time of the adoption of the Washington Treaty, as I have mentioned before, the delegates of the British Empire looked upon a total tonnage for surface auxiliary craft of 450,000 tons as an acceptable and reasonable figure.

But now we are faced with a program calling for 647,000 tons of auxiliary surface craft—a tonnage far in excess of that contemplated at the time of the Washington Conference.

What has brought about this change on the part of the British Government? What new factor in world affairs has appeared upon the horizon which has caused them apprehension?

One of the mightiest fleets on the high seas, that of Germany, has disappeared. So far as we know, no other great maritime nation has embarked on any program which could conceivably be considered a menace to the British Empire.

Other than the powers here represented, there are in the entire world but five navies possessing modern cruisers of effective combat value; the strongest of these has approximately 72,000 tons, and the total effective cruiser tonnage of all five (combined) is now less than 200,000.

The British contention has been that their proposals make for economy, while ours call for a large outlay. We cannot admit the justice of such a claim.

We have proposed a low limitation on total tonnage, which means a very large saving. Economy can only be realized by reduction of total tonnage. The fact is that within the total tonnage limitation the larger the unit size of vessel the greater is the economy, both in initial construction and in operation and maintenance. Both high total tonnage and small units are necessarily expensive.

I should like once more to stress that the

American proposals would obviously permit of drastic economies, and that a proposition largely to increase the tonnage of auxiliary craft beyond that which any country now possesses would impose, we believe, an unnecessary burden.

The latest proposals of the British Empire delegation do not indicate any substantial reduction in the tonnage demands or modifications in the position taken by the British representatives on the technical committee during the early days of the conference.

The proposals of the British Empire delegation which have recently been submitted to us contain the points of difficulty which we have encountered from the outset, and, in addition, a new difficulty in that a combined tonnage limitation for all auxiliary craft, including submarines, is suggested. This total, fixed at 590,000 tons, is to be augmented by an additional 25 per cent of so-called overage vessels.

But the age limit for replacement within the tonnage limitation of 590,000 tons has been so reduced that we have in effect a proposal for a total limitation of effective vessels of over 737,000 tons.

If we deduct from that figure the highest submarine and destroyer tonnage heretofore suggested by the British Empire delegation, namely, 90,000 tons of submarines and approximately 221,000 tons of destroyers, there would remain a tonnage limitation for cruisers of at least 426,000 tons. This is over 75,000 tons in excess of the British cruiser strength upon completion of vessels now under construction.

This figure could be materially increased under the combined tonnage system proposed by the British through the utilization of a part of the destroyer and submarine tonnage for cruiser construction.

It is obvious that a treaty fixing total tonnage limitations at any such figures would not be a present limitation, and that, even without a treaty, it is unlikely that any of the Powers would reach any such maximum tonnage before 1931, when, in any event, we are to meet again to consider the question of naval armament.

Thus, for the immediate future, the only real effect of the British proposals is to restrict types of cruisers, not building programs, and to obligate the United States, in case it should desire to build within the total tonnage limit proposed, to construct many 6,000-ton 6-inch-gun cruisers, a type

which we have clearly indicated is not adapted to our needs.

I cannot but feel that the British Government has unnecessary apprehension as to the use which might be made by the United States of reasonable freedom of action in the cruiser class within strict tonnage limitations.

It is to be remembered that if the total tonnage for cruisers should be fixed as low as 300,000 for the United States and the British Empire a certain part of this will be consumed in the construction of the maximum size cruisers of a number to be agreed upon.

A further considerable part is already taken up, as far as the United States is concerned, by the existence of ten 6-inch-gun ships of the *Omaha* class, aggregating approximately 70,000 tons.

The only practical question arising, therefore, is whether, in addition to building an agreed number of maximum size cruisers, none of which has yet been completed by the United States, our future construction of secondary cruisers with 8-inch guns within this narrow limit could be on such a scale as to give concern to the British Empire.

In an effort to meet any possible concern of the British Government on this score—an apprehension which, I hasten to add, we consider unwarranted by anything in our past or present policy—we had already suggested the possibility of inserting in the treaty a political clause providing in effect that if the building program of any of the signatory powers within the tonnage limitation agreed upon for cruisers should give concern to any other contracting powers a meeting of the signatories could be called at any time after 1931, and if a satisfactory agreement was not reached the treaty might shortly be terminated.

It is difficult to see why this would not adequately meet any possible apprehension, as it would not be possible for any power to make any substantial progress on a building program within the short time prior to the termination of the treaty.

Furthermore, I may add that we are so confident that nothing in our own policy could give ground for such concern that we felt no hesitation in suggesting such a clause.

The American delegation was greatly impressed by a statement recently made by the British Foreign Secretary to the effect that war between the British Empire and the

United States was already outlawed in the hearts of both nations.

We give our thorough endorsement to this view, and the sincerity of this endorsement has been proved in practice by the fact that our government has not indicated misgivings or concern because the British Empire has built up a cruiser force entirely disproportionate to our own.

We find it difficult, however, to reconcile the British conviction that war is already outlawed between us with their present unwillingness to recognize our right to build a limited number of the type of ships we would desire, or with their willingness to risk the success of this conference because they fear the problematical possession by us during the life of this treaty of a small number of 8-inch-gun cruisers, and this in spite of the fact that any apprehension which might be occasioned by such problematical construction is amply covered by the political clause which offers a release from the obligation of the treaty.

Before concluding I should like to take occasion, in the name of the American delegation, to express once more our appreciation to the Japanese delegation for the proposals they have brought forward and supported as regards low-tonnage limitations. We feel that the firm desire of their country to effect limitation of armament at or below existing tonnage levels will have a profound influence.

We regret exceedingly that we have as yet not been able to harmonize the conflicting views on naval limitation. We believe that on broad principles, looking ahead to its influence on disarmament among the nations of the world and the interest of peace, an agreement between the principal naval powers is of surpassing importance.

We believe that we can all afford to make a very strict limitation which will largely decrease our armaments in the near future and, consequently, decrease the burden of taxation and the fear of war.

We cannot believe that if the three great naval powers are all willing to make this limitation and reduction there is any resultant danger to their respective governments, their trade routes, or their possessions.

We believe we should deal with this subject on a broader and higher ground than our need of meeting all conceivable eventualities.

From generation to generation during the last hundred years it has become more and

more evident that these three nations intend to and will live in a state of peace, and we should approach this subject of naval limitation on the basis that war between them is unthinkable.

The interruption of our work should not be interpreted as indicating a permanent inability to agree upon an effective method of naval limitation, and it is our hope that a thorough study of the whole problem of naval armaments may lead to the finding of some method of reconciling the views of our respective governments, and that a satisfactory agreement may shortly be concluded for a greater limitation of auxiliary naval craft.

In conclusion, I should like to express, on behalf of the American delegation, our warm personal esteem for our associates of the British Empire delegation and of the Japanese delegation.

It has been a privilege to work with them on this problem, and we trust that, even though we have not succeeded in reaching an agreement at this time, our work may mark a step forward toward eventual agreement acceptable to us all.

We are all of us united in the sincere desire to promote good understanding and friendship between our three countries, and I am confident that the present inability to agree will not discourage us in our efforts to achieve substantial limitation in naval armaments.

## II. Mr. Bridgeman's Speech

I agree with the chairman in thinking that our discussions have not been by any means useless, and that the exploration we have made will have been advantageous in preparing for further advances in the direction of limitation. All three Powers most certainly had the same goal in view. In attempting to reach it we have traveled sometimes together in pairs, sometimes all three on the same track. At other times we have sought different roads, and the examination of those different routes will have contributed toward the final selection of the right one, which, perhaps, may, after all, be the one that has not yet been discovered by us. My government desire me to try to make clear the way in which we have approached the task and our genuine desire for limitation of naval armament.

In the message from President Coolidge conveyed to the conference at its first plenary session we were enjoined to come to an agreement "rendering impossible any form of naval competition between the three Powers." This was subsequently amplified by a statement by the chairman of three cardinal points which should guide us. They were: (1) Elimination of competitive building; (2) we were to consider security and defense and not aggression; (3) we must study economy. The British delegation have endeavored to keep those points faithfully in mind in all proposals which they have put forward.

First was the avoidance of competition, and it was with that end in view that we proposed that there be two classes of cruisers, two of destroyers, and two of submarines, in each of which the maximum tonnage for each individual vessel be fixed. Without this provision it seemed to us that mere fixation of total tonnage could not remove the danger of competition and would, in fact, increase it. If one Power used their total tonnage for the construction of the largest type of vessels, it would lead to an attempt on the part of the other Powers to follow their examples, and to increase, instead of decrease, offense strength, and the maximum would, as experience has shown, become the standard size.

This is well exemplified by the decision taken at Washington to limit cruisers to 10,000 tons and 8-inch guns. The effect has been that this maximum has been taken as the standard for most of the cruisers built since that date.

It was for this reason that, while agreeing to the ratio proposed by the United States of America in the largest type of cruisers, 10,000 tons and 8-inch guns, we desired to limit the numbers of those large cruisers. We offered to refrain ourselves from laying down any more and not proceed with the *Dorsetshire*, on which money has already been spent, while America was to be able to build up to equal numbers and Japan to the number of eight. We suggested that no other cruisers be built except those of lower tonnage and mounting no gun larger than 6-inch.

Again, in destroyers the American plan gave an opportunity of building destroyers up to the size of 3,000 tons, and if this size be adopted there would be little difference between large destroyers and small cruisers, and the tendency would have been to build destroyers of the largest type. We, therefore,

proposed to limit the size and armament of destroyer-leaders and destroyers to a figure which took into account the existing practice of the three Powers. On this point we were all able to agree.

It was for the same reason that we proposed two classes of submarine. But in this we were actuated by the additional motive of limiting offensive strength. We regard the larger submarine, as we regard the larger cruiser, as a weapon of offense. And by this restriction in the size and number of large submarines we desired, in the chairman's words, to avoid "the suspicion of aggressive intent."

In all these cases we also suggested the limit of guns they should carry, and I am glad to say that, so far as guns are concerned, we were able to agree in respect of destroyers and submarines. But, as regards displacement of vessels, the size agreed upon in each case exceeded the figure proposed by us.

Again, in all these proposals our plan would have led to greater economy, and more of the taxpayers' money would have been saved in each country. We cannot, therefore, be charged with departing from the chairman's third injunction, to exercise "wise economy."

We made another proposal in the direction of economy which, if adopted, would save many millions of pounds to all three countries. This was the reduction in future of the size of battleships and the extension of their age limit. It is true that in this direction no actual building can be begun before 1931. But preparation for designs begins about two years before a keel is laid, and if we agree upon future policy now we should save a great deal of anxiety and uncertainty and be setting an example to the world. When I first mentioned this it was seized upon by suspicious parties as an attempt to give us a permanent advantage, though under the Washington Treaty we were permitted to build the *Nelson* and the *Rodney* in exchange for scrapping four other battleships, in order to give us the equivalent in vessels mounting 16-inch guns with those of the United States of America and Japan, and so establish the balance of 5-5-3, which was the basis of that agreement.

It is true that these two ships of ours were the last to be built. But it never entered our heads that our proposal could be regarded as calculated to disturb the balance arranged at

Washington for battleships. I therefore explained, when making the proposal, that it would necessitate some elasticity in the figures in the replacement table. My object was to show that we were willing to agree to any modification which might become necessary in order to preserve the balance arrived at in Washington. I hoped the conference would, at least, have agreed to pass a resolution that unless any unforeseen circumstances arise before 1931, we recommend this reduction in the size and this extension in the age of battleships; for in this direction lies much the greatest saving which can be effected. The Japanese delegation have expressed sympathy with our view, and the American delegation—and I thank them both—have consented, if agreements on other points be reached, to consider it in a preliminary way. A clear pronouncement on this point would be an enormous advance in limitation and economy.

After working for some time on these lines, we found ourselves in marked disagreement with the American delegation on the subject of cruisers. We have been told that "our respective navies should be maintained at the lowest level compatible with national security," and we proceeded to explain quite plainly what was our problem in this respect. We said that it was numbers we required, and if a limit could be put upon the number of large cruisers and a low maximum size on the smaller cruisers, we would arrive at a much lower total tonnage than would be possible if other countries demanded an unlimited number of ships of 10,000 tons and 8-inch guns. But we found that the American delegation were unwilling to put a limit within a total tonnage to the number of cruisers carrying 8-inch guns.

Although we have stated our reason for wanting a number of small cruisers, we do not understand what are their reasons for demanding so many large cruisers or so many with such high offensive weapons as the 8-inch gun. We have stated that the geographical position of our mother country and dominions should be borne in mind. We said so in accepting President Coolidge's invitation, and have frequently repeated, that a number of small cruisers is a vital necessity to the empire, whose widely scattered parts are divided from each other by seas and oceans, and whose most populous parts are dependent

for their daily bread on sea-borne trade and would perish if we failed to protect it.

No doubt it is not easy for countries differently placed fully to realize our feelings in the matter; but no Briton who was at home during the war at its most anxious time will forget the feeling that situation brought home to us. Month by month we found our rations of bread, meat, sugar, and other articles lowered, and we could see the spectre of starvation slowly approaching. Is it to be wondered at that every one of us feels that it is our duty to make what provision we can to protect ourselves and our children against a recurrence of such a danger?

Though we are carrying a heavy burden of taxation, though we are suffering from industrial depression, you will find few people in Great Britain who will demur to providing the money necessary to keep open the waterways of our food and raw materials. We regard it as an insurance against a terrible risk and, like other insurances, it is a provision against unforeseen disaster and not a provision against danger from any particular country or against any present menace.

Sufficient proof that we are not nervous about any danger from American action lies in the fact that we have made no complaint as to American superiority in destroyers and submarines, or shown any desire to build up to equality in those classes. We have made no concealment of our needs or of the reasons for our requirements. No one could have put the case more clearly than did Mr. French, chairman of the House Naval Committee, in presenting the navy estimates in the American House of Representatives on January 4 last. He said:

"Close the lanes of the sea to the ships of Great Britain and suffering will be brought to the people of the British Isles within a period of weeks. Turn to the United States. Our country could be cut off from the rest of the world, and there would be food for our people, there would be fuel oil for our use, there would be materials of all kinds for our service. The lanes of the sea might be closed to us for weeks or for years. Should the necessity arise, the United States within her own territory could sustain her people without suffering, and could produce material to meet whatever emergency naval necessities might require."

At the same time, without delay, we set to

work to fix the tonnage of our requirements at the lowest possible figure. Though we had 114 cruisers just before the war and many more some ten years earlier, we are only asking for a maximum of 70 now. No one can say that we have not gone far in reducing our requirements.

It was pointed out at the last plenary session that an obstacle to settlement was that we could not reconcile our differences with Japan, but that if some basis could be found which would be mutually acceptable to the British and Japanese delegations, it might be possible for the American delegation to make agreement complete. We have consequently made a great effort to put our requirements into a form which would be acceptable to the Japanese delegation, and we believe we were met by at least an equally strong attempt on the part of the Japanese delegation to the same end.

The proposals which were published a few days ago embody the result of those efforts. We understand that these proposals, in the main, would not meet with opposition from the Japanese delegation. These, together with the other proposals we made, would bring about in the near future a very sensible limitation of naval armament. This scheme, as carefully explained by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a statement made in the House of Commons on July 27 (the full text of which I am circulating to the conference), is a temporary arrangement intended to last till 1936, the date of expiration of the Washington Agreement. I am also circulating the draft proposals contained in this scheme, with a brief explanation of the various clauses.

The British delegation's proposals entail savings far in excess of any other scheme before the conference. Our proposals for reductions in the size, tonnage, and calibers of guns and the extension of the life of capital ships would save over £50,000,000 to the British Empire during the period of replacement, and proportionately large savings for other countries. Our cruiser proposals would save £1,000,000 on every cruiser to be constructed in the future after a ratio in large cruisers has been attained. For destroyers and submarines they would stop the ever-increasing tendency to raise the size and cost of these vessels. In each case we should have eliminated competitive building. In each case we should have effected economy. In each

case we were considering security and banishing aggression from our minds.

What have we done to try to meet objections to our original plan? We have frankly stated our needs and given our reasons for holding them, and explained our conception of national security; we have agreed to try to fix total tonnages, provided there is a proper division of classes and a maximum fixed for each type. This we understood to be agreed by the American delegation at the Preparatory Disarmament Conference, and we had presumed it would also be welcomed here. We have made repeated efforts to put our total tonnage at the lowest figure compatible with security, and our final effort is embodied in our latest proposals. But we have had to raise the maximum figures for limiting the size of destroyers and submarines to meet the wishes of other parties, thereby increasing the tonnage we should have liked in these cases to diminish. We have offered to agree upon a maximum building program over a period of years, so that each nation should have complete knowledge of the position of the others. But that has not proved acceptable. After the war, like the United States, we scrapped a very large number of warships, amounting to a tonnage of 1,797,000 tons in battleships, cruisers, and destroyers, in the interest of limitation. In the same way now, no impartial critic can say that we have not made our full share of concessions as a contribution towards arriving at agreement.

I am given to understand that the American delegation object to limitation in second-class cruisers to 6-inch gun caliber and insist on freedom to mount any gun up to 8 inches in these ships. Whilst we are unable fully to understand their objection, I can assure them that our attitude is not due to fear of any unfriendly action on their part. It is due to the feeling that, as we came here to try to agree to the limitation of armaments in the future, we cannot append our signature to a clause which would violate the three cardinal points laid down at the outset of the conference by the American delegation. We believe that it could have no other effect than that of a considerable increase in the offensive strength of the fleets of the world. It is obvious that without any agreement and without calling a conference America has the power and the means to build as many cruisers within the limit of 10,000 tons and 8-inch guns as she pleases. We hoped that in the

endeavor to bring about effective limitation she would have been willing to join with us in setting a lower standard for future cruiser construction which would have been an example to all nations.

It is a great disappointment to part without arriving at comprehensive agreement, and we should have been glad of an agreement, even if it had only included those items on which there seems to be no difference of opinion. I made a formal suggestion to this effect, which was, however, found to be unacceptable. I am circulating a copy of it. It was as follows: Even if there is for the present no apparent prospect of coming to a complete agreement about small cruisers, it would be most unfortunate if the conference were to separate without arriving at some international arrangements tending to economy. A large measure of agreement has already been reached with regard to 10,000-ton cruisers, flotilla leaders, destroyers, and submarines. It seems to us that similar agreement might well be reached with regard to battleships. These results are not all that had been hoped for, but they are of great value, and it would be an international misfortune if they were lost on the present occasion. Sooner than see the conference wholly fail, we are authorized to sign an agreement, even if it embodied only the points on which provisional agreement has already been reached by the three delegations.

But if it be now found impossible to agree upon a formula which is acceptable to all parties that would not indicate a spirit of antagonism between the three Powers, still less would it mean that we intended to enter upon competition in new construction. We shall not then disperse in a spirit of bitterness or despair. The peace of the world does not depend upon a comprehensive form of words and mathematical tables suitable to the various needs of each Power, but on the friendly and peaceable spirit of the great nations. No formula could succeed in insuring peace if the spirit of peace was not present, and no failure to find a formula is disastrous if the nations concerned still hold fast to the will for peace and detestation of aggression, to which I am convinced all present today adhere as steadfastly as we did before we met.

I am speaking today not only for His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and the Government of India, which I represent at this conference, but I am authorized by the delegates representing His Majesty's Gov-

ernments in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to say that they are in agreement with the statement of the case which I have had the honor to make.

## News in Brief

AT THE WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE held at Geneva last August, Prof. E. M. East, of Harvard University, called attention to the fact that the world contains 13,000,000,000 cultivable acres, two-fifths of which are already under cultivation. As under the present state of affairs it requires 2½ acres to support each individual, the world could only support 5,000,000,000 persons unless radical changes occurred in the economic system. At the current rate of increase "saturation point" would be reached in about 100 years.

THE FOLLOWING DELEGATES have been appointed by the Secretary of State, under authorization of the President, to the Eighth Pan American Sanitary Conference, which meets at Lima, Peru, on October 12, 1927: Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming, Surgeon B. J. Lloyd, and Surgeon J. D. Long.

THE BRITISH FORESTRY COMMISSION is seriously concerned about the timber reserves of Great Britain, which were largely depleted during the World War. With 3,000,000 acres of woodland, more than half is at present commercially unproductive, and present state and private planting scarcely makes up for current fellings. Post-war planting, particularly of oak, so much used in shipbuilding, will not be mature until a large part of the present timber reserve is exhausted.

A SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE on immigration and emigration has been announced by the Department of State to be held in Havana, Cuba, in March, 1928.

JAPAN AND GERMANY, after three years of arduous work upon it, have signed a most-favored-nation treaty. This signifies a full resumption of pre-war commercial relations between the two countries.



THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW submitted its report to the Council of the League of Nations, which accepted the report and ordered it placed on the agenda of the 1927 session of the League. The committee considered that five subjects were ripe for immediate international agreement. These subjects are certain aspects of questions of, 1, nationality; 2, territorial waters; 3, diplomatic privileges and immunities; 4, responsibility of States for damage done in their territory to persons or property of foreigners; 5, piracy. The report recognizes the invaluable work done in the American continent on codification.

THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER and the premiers and treasurers of the six Australian States, in a three-day conference in August, settled the tangled questions as to equitable financial settlement between the States and the Federal Government, which have been under discussion for twenty years.

TO THE FOURTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS, meeting in New York August 21 to 24, came representatives of the negro populations of the Gold Coast, British West Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, French Africa, Belgian Congo, Guadeloupe, and the United States. This conference aimed to develop an international sentiment on the negro's problems by exposing them fully to view. The congress represented the Pan African movement, which is intended to reinforce the efforts of negroes to improve their conditions in their present homes.

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS, with a representation from more than thirty nations, met in Toronto in August. Before adjourning, on August 12, the Federation authorized the creation of a world committee on peace through education. A subcommittee has been studying this question for the past two years and presented resolutions to the Congress. It was voted to postpone until the next meeting, two years hence, in Geneva, that section of the resolution on military training which condemned such training in civilian schools.

AN ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION is among those presented to the triennial congress of the

International Co-operative Alliance which opened in Stockholm on August 15.

KING FUAD OF EGYPT made, this summer, his first state visit to England. He studied the needs of the British cotton business in England while at the same time building up diplomatic and political contacts.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES consumed in 1925 over two billion dollars. This is more than one-fourth of the total net public expenditure during that year, and represents an increase of 37.1 per cent since 1910. The National Industrial Conference Board, which is responsible for these figures, states also that public education absorbs more of the public funds than "all our military, police, fire protection, and prohibition expenditure combined." The cost per child for each day of the school year has increased from 18 cents in 1890 to 28 cents in 1925 at normal money value. The survey of the board shows that there is now a greater proportionate enrollment than in 1910, a longer time of attendance, better equipment, and better teaching.

GRADUATES OF BRITISH UNIVERSITIES have been awarded twenty-three fellowships, amounting to \$125,000, for two years' study in the United States. The fellowships provide that the recipients shall travel widely and attend professional meetings while in this country.

GEODESISTS FROM ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE COUNTRIES met in Prague the latter part of August and the first of September in a third general assembly. Co-operation of adjoining countries in actual measuring and mapping is a necessity, and the exchange of ideas in methods and instruments, as well as results, is the immediate benefit of such meetings.

A GROUP OF PREPARATORY SCHOOL STUDENTS and graduates has been organized as a part of the "floating university" cruise of the *Aurania*, which sailed from New York September 21. Small classes and individual supervision will characterize their academic work.

MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE NATIONS co-operate to improve observations on time, says a field worker in the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN SWITZERLAND are to be exhibited in a national fair to be held in Berne next year.

A SCHOOL OF ARTS, TRADES, AND ENGINEERING in Valparaiso, Chile, is soon to be built at a cost of approximately four million dollars. The best features of similar schools in the United States are to be introduced in the new institution.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### BOOKS ABOUT CHINA

A CHINESE MIRROR. By *Florence Ayscough*. Pp. 458. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. Price, \$5.00.

The inner meaning of Chinese life and thought, the philosophy which permeates all its customs and culture, these are what Mrs. Ayscough reflects in her "Chinese Mirror." And she is wonderfully qualified for such a work through her quarter-century residence in China and her sympathetic study of its ideographs, language, and poetry.

"Love-Poetry-Mother" is the literal rendering of the Chinese name given her by her instructor. Under his tutelage she builds a house. It is called the Grass-Hut-by-the-Yellow-Reach. It has courtyards, buildings, tiled garden walls, and a Great Gate, all built by correct Chinese ritual. The raising of the ridgepole is a ceremony, the choice of decorations and their placing all properly completed according to the customs of the land.

However, as one reads through the book—the trip up the Great River, the exploration of the Purple Forbidden City—one finds in the customs and the art a symbolism of something far deeper than mere superstition.

Mrs. Ayscough takes great pains to explain the basic philosophy of the Chinese scholar.

All the ceremonies mean something to him unknown to the untutored. He has a deep and balanced conception of Spirit and its positive and negative expressions in heaven, earth, and man. The Spirit and its manifestations are all harmonized about one Vital Essence.

It is here that one begins to fathom how foreign is the idea of war to all Chinese thought. "They have experienced fighting," says Mrs. Ayscough, "plenty of it, but, so far as I know, the note of glory and triumphant victory is never sounded. The miseries of war, and not only the physical miseries—these Orientals bear with stolid calm—but the spiritual ills that must attend the rousing of hate, form the theme of their songs."

There are many drawings and diagrams in the book and poems from the Chinese at frequent intervals. These, translated by Mrs. Ayscough, were put in verse by her friend, Amy Lowell.

IN CHINA. By *Abel Bonnard*. Translated from the French by *Veronica Lucas*. Pp. 361. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

This book, written by a Frenchman, received the Grand Literary Prize of the French Academy. Even in translation the language flows with balanced grace; the diction is of remarkable charm and beauty.

This is a travel book, but the author adds to the vision and curiosity of the traveler the lore of the historian, the mind of the philosopher, and the culture of the lover of old literatures. Therefore, M. Bonnard draws out of his survey of things Chinese thoughts rare and penetrating. As an instance of this, notice his comment on the effect of Chinese art on our sensibilities. "It rouses," he says, "a kind of austere emotion in us, unique in character because, instead of dissolving in mere feeling, it prolongs itself in thought."

Again he says, "he who is truly and in his soul a traveler is composed of more than one person. He is student, observer, and loiterer, . . . and sometimes the loiterer picks up more valuable information than the enthusiastic student." So he writes his observations on Chinese religion, poetry, the populace, the towns, the Great Wall, the rivers, and the old past of China.

There is little direct political interpreta-

tion of the country. He sees a certain philosophic avoidance of action in the Chinese and an absorption in detail. But he notes that through Young China great changes are due. He watches frenzied demonstration, beneath which he thinks he sees but nervous hysteria. He sees an apparently stoical people, but with, in reality, a high-strung nervous temperament, incapable as yet of the discipline of continuous political pressure.

The book has numerous poems translated by Arthur Waley and interesting pen-and-ink sketches. Its picture of China as she looks to a European is well worth the scrutiny of Americans.

**CHINA IN TURMOIL: STUDIES IN PERSONALITY.**

By *Louis Maqrath King*. Pp. 229. Index. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$4.50.

A third remarkable volume on China is this by a consul of the British service, retired in 1924. Mr. King has lived and dealt with a large number of leading men in his life in China. His labors took him north, south, east, and west. For five years he was on the Chinese frontier of Tibet. At other times he lived in other places, sometimes in the interior. First and last, he knew well many outstanding men and appraised their qualities. His spirit is friendly and apparently unprejudiced; therefore this collection of character studies is vastly interesting.

Mr. King uses few names, unfortunately for our curiosity; yet this method of picturing men anonymously gives him a freedom that might otherwise be impossible.

The portraits are of all stripes of character: the autocrat, the brigand, the magistrate, the iconoclast, the pariah, the philosopher, the soldier, and of all political faiths or none. They are, Mr. King says, "all types save one—the weak." In each the author marks the unique trait, gallant, brilliant, or courageous, and yet he does not blind himself to detracting frailty or roguery if they are there. A little different from westerners, they are still real men. The following, from the chapter on the diplomat, is relevant to recent events and explanatory of the selfless philosophy of the Chinese scholar: "I sometimes think," he said, "that what we need in China is a Bolshevik upheaval. It would rid us of the militarists as well as of our

foreign shackles. It would wipe the slate clean for us to start afresh." "You, as a member of the ruling class, would hardly survive to take part in the revival," I replied. "What does that matter?" he said. "I am thinking of my country."

**THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN CHINA.** By *Tsi O. Wang*, Ph. D. Pp. 245. Paper. New Republic, Inc., 1927. Price, \$1.00.

To imbibe an understanding of old China, its culture and customs, is not enough for today. It gives but an explanatory background. Nor is it enough to travel through her cities, observing things with an open and appreciative mind. A study of types of strong Chinese leaders is not sufficient. These may reveal the boiling spirit of rebellion and unrest below the surface. But to see, in its relations, the revolutionary and seething phenomena of today one must know something of the student uprising in China, their similarity to the youth movement currents in other lands, and the new ideals which animate the rising and rebelling generation.

The insistence of the elders in old China upon filial obedience, ancestor worship, and the whole network of the customs, age-old and hitherto unquestioned by old or young, have gravely circumscribed the liberties of youth. Then western education brought notions of personal freedom. There was a struggle between new and old. When the tight bonds broke, the very strictness of the old customs acted like a spring released, and Chinese youth were hurled far from the philosophy of the ancients. As always, the sterner the repression, the more violent the release.

Yet violence is possibly a misleading term to apply to the manifestations of revolt in the Chinese youth movement. Their emphasis is upon ideas, not force.

Ever since the opening of the century, but particularly since the World War, a spirit of unrest and upheaval has been abroad in most lands. Dogmas have all been challenged; the past has been searched, fiercely searched, for error. Naturally enough, it has been youth, particularly young students, who, with their fire, their dauntless sincerity, have thrown themselves most ardently into the effort to change the affairs of men.

In China, for a generation or more, chosen young people have been picked to send westward for occidental education. They have returned scorning much that they have seen, but intelligent in western arts, sciences, and business. They have become leaders of other youth.

Dr. Tsi C. Wang has here striven to be impersonal in tracing these changes. He calls his book a biography of young China. It is an interesting study. He gives biographies of many leaders and reformers. There are those who popularized the use of the vernacular in books and magazines; those who set out to educate the people in what they conceived to be the principles of a free China. They revolt against the family rules, against the old culture, against social distinctions, against militarism, capitalism, religion, and, above all, against foreign dominance.

The steady and hopeful element in the disturbing general ferment, however, is the selfless love for China, a fervent, vibrating reality. Then, too, it is self-discipline which takes the place of the old discipline from others. Young China, so far as she expresses herself, seems not to deify reckless indulgence, as have many rebellious youth among us.

The revolt now going on in China is said by the author to be more cultural than political, though many social reforms advocated are beneficent.

To a westerner it seems that it must, in the long run, be good for China to have its youth so earnestly stirred, to have their motto, as it was stated by one group to be, the saying of their sage, Mencius: "Might shall not overawe us; riches shall not seduce us; poverty shall not discourage us."

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EUROPE SINCE WATERLOO. By *William Stearns Davis*. Pp. 928, maps, bibliography, and index. Century Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$6.00.

The author of this really masterly work fitly characterizes its scope in these words: "This narrative presents in non-technical language the story of the great nations of continental Europe, from the exile of Napoleon to the World War."

Seldom, indeed, in human history has almost an exact century framed an entire era in so many countries; but events from the close of the Napoleonic wars to the treaty

closing the World War cover less than a decade over a century. It is a measurable time, a convenient epoch in which to scrutinize comparative growth in Europe.

The author limits himself to continental Europe; he does not follow internal affairs in Great Britain, nor, for that matter, in the United States, except as they obviously bear upon the continent of Europe. Since this era chances to be the century marked by various peace movements, Mr. Davis takes cognizance of them with intelligence. Setting aside those "excellent people" preaching peace as a philosophical dogma, there were, he says, "men of good will taking notice of the signs of a developing system for tiding over national collisions." He scans the history of The Hague conferences, yet in no place does he give quite credit enough for the foundations there laid.

It is not in the telling of "movements" or currents, however, that Mr. Davis is at his best. Forced to drop them at one place, he does not always take them up where they might well be followed later. His special excellence is in the carrying of the thread by means of biographical history.

Reading this book, one follows, without effort and with a sense that the author is fair-minded, the development of a century. Russia, France, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, and Turkey are all seen, one feels, in the light of later events. The early years are seen to lead up to the World War and what followed. And there America comes into the story.

The great value of any study of history to the amateur is not the events themselves, standing alone, but their interrelation and the interpretation put upon them by the author. Every historian, however impartial, looks at events from a background body of ideas. It is here that one likes Mr. Davis.

He lays claim, in the preface, to three tenets. These are sanely, though not obtrusively, to the fore in the book. The first is his belief in a just nationalism, his belief that devoted loyalty to one's native land is reconcilable with love for humanity. The second, that on the whole democracy is the best principle of government so far developed to secure the greatest good to the largest number. The third, that the spirit of Christianity, as opposed to materialism, is the motive which must finally inspire better world conditions.

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor  
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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

## SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

## MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling International disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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## IMPORTANCE OF CENTENNIAL ASSURED

AS a result of the conferences held with leading men in Europe during the months of August and September by the President and Secretary of the American Peace Society, the Centennial Celebration, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, next May, is assured. At the interview in Paris with M. Briand, August 31, the distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs cordially accepted the invitation to speak at one of the meetings. While, of course, a man in his position is subject to a variety of vicissitudes, there is every reason to believe that M. Briand will be one of the leading lights during the time the American Peace Society keeps open house in honor of its one-hundredth birthday.

But there are other lights assured. Sir Austen Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, was interviewed a few days later in Geneva. There is no doubt that he desires to come. He could not agree, however, to do so without the consent of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin. At a subsequent conference in London between Mr. Burton and Mr. Baldwin, it developed that there is little doubt that Mr. Chamberlain will also be present.

Herr Stresemann, Germany's Minister of Foreign Affairs, has also definitely promised to attend, especially if the

foreign ministers of England and France are to be present.

M. Titulesco, Foreign Minister of Rumania; M. Ignatz Paderewski, founder of the Polish Republic and world renowned pianist; Prof. Paul Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the provisional Russian Government under Prince Lvov; Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, well-known Norwegian explorer, have all definitely agreed to come.

Chancellor Ignatz Seipel, of Austria, gave out an interview to the Associated Press in Vienna, September 25, in which he said:

"I all the more readily accept this invitation of the American Peace Society to the centenary celebration in Cleveland in May, 1928, as I have carried none but happy recollections of my visit to the greatest democracy of the world and its warm-hearted people. At the same time I cherish the hope that no urgent business of state may prevent my departure from Austria when the time comes."

The American public will agree that this is an interesting galaxy of world figures. Aristide Briand, born in 1862, has long been a leading personage in the public life of France. After an experience in journalism, he became a Deputy in 1902. He has been a member of the Chamber throughout the twenty-five years since that time. During 1904-06 he took a prominent part in framing the law for the separation of Church and State. At the outbreak of the World War he was

Minister of Justice in Viviani's Government. As Prime Minister, he presided over two cabinets, October, 1915, to December, 1916; and December, 1916, to December, 1917. He returned to power for a year in January, 1921, and again in November, 1925. In Painleve's Government of 1925 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, an office he has held in every government since except that of Herriot. He is at the head of the French delegation in the Assembly of the League of Nations. He was primarily responsible for the Treaty of Locarno. He is a member of the so-called Socialist Republican Party.

Dr. Gustav Stresemann, born in 1878, member of the German People's Party, is now the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. He has been a successful industrialist. He was Chancellor of the Reich under the Coalition Cabinet in 1923, when he was largely instrumental in ending the conflict with France in the Ruhr. He was Foreign Minister in Marx's Cabinet and in Luther's first and second cabinets. It is largely due to his influence that Germany accepted the Dawes Plan. He was one of the signatories to the Locarno Pact. He is the head of Germany's delegation to the League of Nations.

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen is professor in the University of Oslo. He has done conspicuous work as an explorer of Arctic waters. Between the years 1893-96 he succeeded in reaching 86th degree and fourteen minutes north latitude, the highest point attained up to that time. He represented Norway as Minister to the Court of St. James in 1906-1908. He took an active part in the separation of Norway and Sweden in 1905. After the Armistice, as Commissioner of the League of Nations, he vigorously supervised, with the assistance of National Red Cross so-

cieties, the repatriating of many thousands of war prisoners and conducted a vigorous propaganda for the relief of the victims of the Russian famine. In 1921 he became head of the relief work in Russia, representing forty-eight Red Cross societies and twelve governments. As High Commissioner of the League of Nations, he worked for the protection and settlement of refugees, especially Russian, Armenian, and Greek. In 1923 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, with which he furthered agricultural demonstrations on model farms in Russia. Every Norwegian is acquainted with his great interest in education and athletics. He is a delegate from Norway to the League of Nations.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, born in 1863, has long been conspicuous in English politics. He is the son of the former Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain. He was Civil Lord Admiral, 1895-1900. He was associated with the Treasury in 1900-02, Postmaster General 1902-03, and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1903-05. In 1921 he was the leader of the House of Commons in Lord George's Coalition Government, during which time he signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty. He signed the Locarno Treaties. He is Chief British delegate to the League of Nations and Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in the Baldwin Government.

Prof. Paul M. Milykoff is probably the most distinguished living Russian. He was born in 1859. He was expelled from the University of Moscow for participation in students' riots, but was later readmitted and given his degree. He specialized in Russian history, his "Outlines of Russian Culture," in three volumes, being translated into German. In 1894 he was in prison for a short time because of his liberal opinions; but he was soon released, after which he went to Bulgaria, where he was appointed professor in the

University of Sofia. He has lectured in the University of Chicago and as Lowell lecturer in Boston. In 1905 he returned to Russia, where, in protest against the government of that time, he became political editor of the *Retch*, an important Liberal paper. He helped to form the Constitutional Democratic Party with the view of achieving political freedom, a constitution on democratic lines and universal suffrage for Russia. As a member of the third and fourth Dumas, he led opposition to the government. On the revolt of the troops during the World War he was made Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government under Prince Lvov, Kerensky being the Minister of Justice, favoring at that time a constitutional monarchy. Milykoff received representations of the Allies and announced the Russian Revolution March 18, 1917. He disapproved of Kerensky's policy and opposed the Bolsheviks. After the Armistice he went to London and later to Paris, where he now resides.

Ignatz Seipel, Chancellor of Austria, was born in Vienna in 1876. He is a Roman Catholic priest. From 1909 to 1912 he was professor at Salzburg, during which time, in co-operation with Heinrich Lammasch, the distinguished economist, he prepared an edition of the writings of Hugo Grotius on international law, and published also, in 1907, "The Economic Teaching of the Fathers." In 1916 appeared his "Nation and State." He was appointed to the faculty of the University of Vienna in 1917. His work, "Nation and State," caused Emperor Charles to include him among those to prepare the way for peace. Members of the Austrian parliaments consulted him as an expert in framing the new constitution. After the war he became leader of the Christian Socialist Party. May 31, 1922, he became Chancellor. After attempts at his assassination and, because of opposition to his measures, in the

autumn of 1924 he resigned as Chancellor and carried on active propaganda for lasting peace, lecturing not only in Austria, but in other lands. He again became Chancellor in 1926. He stands for the economic unity of central Europe and a European confederation which would neither coerce nations for economic reasons nor violate economic laws because of national aspirations.

Ignace Jan Paderewski, well-known Polish pianist, composer, and statesman, has already taken steps to rearrange his schedule on the Pacific coast that he may attend the Conference. Our readers will wish to be reminded that Mr. Paderewski created in 1900 a series of prizes, under the "Paderewski Fund," for the encouragement of American composers. During the war he threw himself wholeheartedly on the side of the Polish cause. In 1915 he organized a "General Committee of Assistance" for the victims of the war in Poland, establishing branches in Paris, London, and the United States. Immediately after the war he formed a Coalition Ministry, of which he was Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. To him more than any one else is due the recognition of Poland by the Powers. As early as 1917 he was officially recognized in the United States as the representative of the Polish people. He was a member of the Peace Conference in Paris, first delegate of Poland to the Council of Ambassadors, and to the League of Nations. When proposed for the presidency of the Polish Republic in 1921, he declined and resumed his musical career. It is only just to think of him as the Father of the Polish Republic. The Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* was entertained by Mr. and Madame Paderewski September 21 last at their beautiful Villa Lyon Borson, at Morges, on Lake Geneva. Mr. and Mrs. Paderewski are looking forward with keenest pleasure to their coming visit to America.

Alberto Pirelli, it is now believed, will be another of the speakers at the conference. This leader of the rapidly developing rubber industry of Italy, an officer during the war, a member of both the Dawes Commission and the Debt Funding Commission, is president of the International Chamber of Commerce.

## SHOULD YOU WISH TO HELP

**W**HILE the public-spirited citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, have graciously underwritten the expenses of the great Conference, the extra work of bringing all this to pass has eaten seriously into the budget of the American Peace Society. It has been found necessary to employ extra help, to incur many additional expenses for printing, mailing, travel, and the like.

Between now and the first of December, friends of the American Peace Society will have to come forward with \$15,000 at least.

Many of the Directors have already contributed liberally to meet the special needs of this new and unusual enterprise; but, we repeat, \$15,000 is needed at once.

The American Peace Society asks for no charity. It offers an opportunity to men and women concerned to promote a better international understanding.

It may be added that we now have, practically completed in manuscript, a definitive history of the American Peace Society, carefully prepared by Edson L. Whitney, Ph. D., graduate of Harvard University, formerly member of the faculty of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and now economic analyst in the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. This work is now being edited by the Secretary of the American Peace Society. Funds are needed with which to bring out this volume in time for the celebration next May.

Contributors are asked to send their

checks to the American Peace Society, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

## A QUESTION AS TO INVITING RADICALS

**I**N PLANNING for the Centennial Celebration of the American Peace Society the managers are already confronted with a number of difficult problems. One is how far should "Radicals" be invited to participate in the conferences? Such a conference should be, not so much a display of half-baked opinions as a historical and scientific exposition of international friendliness and co-operation. We have already asked a few of our more intimate counsellors for advice in this particular. We hereby ask for an expression of views from every quarter.

From our correspondence upon this matter, we lift and publish a letter from our well-known friend, William Allen White, of Emporia, Kansas. In his letter Mr. White says:

"You ask me how far 'we ought to go to invite radicals to our conference.' I should say, not far.

"Perhaps we ought not even to start. The strength of the peace movement from now on will be in holding its endeavors out of the pioneers, scouts, and sharpshooters back with the main body of the troops—to use military terms. A lot of radicals are using peace propaganda for a more or less economic purpose. I think these people should not be allowed in our conference. What we need are men of Senator Burton's type, congressmen like Green of Iowa, men like Hughes, and Lamont, and Morrow.

"I am accounted a radical myself, although why I do not know, for I loathe the economic internationalist who is trying to produce peace in the interest of revolution. I believe firmly in the capitalistic system of economic organization which prevails throughout Christendom. And because I believe in that system I realize that the world needs peace to maintain it. And I distrust those radicals

who say that communism will bring peace. If I thought peace would bring communism, I should be for war; for, after all, liberty and justice are vastly more important than peace. And only in so far as liberty and justice prevail can peace abide with us."

There is a suggestion of another sort, this time from the World Alliance on International Friendship between Churches. This organization is planning to hold a conference in St. Louis, November 9, 10, and 11, for the purpose of discussing the problems of arbitration and conciliation, the outlawry of war, and the reduction of armaments. In the announcement of the meeting it is stated that: "The World Alliance welcomes to its platform men and women of unqualified sincerity in the cause of international goodwill and international peace. The utmost liberty of utterance is encouraged, for the program is arranged not only to appraise actual conditions throughout the world, but to promote various constructive measures for the development of international goodwill."

In the development of the great conference next May, should its officers adopt the former or the latter view herein set forth? The officers will probably do as they think best; but their views may be modified, for they are reasonable people, especially if the opinions submitted are thoughtful and calculated to help.

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### ALL IS NOT WELL

**A**LL is not well in Europe. Many find it easily possible to believe that another general European war is just around the corner. In the Balkans, smoldering fires seem ready to break into flames at any moment. In Macedonia, for example, there is a revolutionary party bent upon establishing a Macedonian autonomy. These revolutionists are embarrassing both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia,

particularly the Serbian Government. They charge the Serbs with being unwilling to apply the minority clauses of the Neuilly Treaty in Macedonia, and with ruthlessly closing Bulgarian schools and churches and prohibiting the Bulgarian language. They charge that Macedonian populations are being subjected to a terror unknown in the history of Macedonian sufferings; that more than fifty Macedonian students of the Universities of Scopie, Zagreb, Lubiana, and Belgrade are at this moment in prison in filthy underground passages of the Scopie dungeons, charged only with having Bulgarian literature on their persons, and that these students are being tortured by the severist methods of the inquisition. This revolutionary organization, acting inside Macedonia, disclaims that they are acting with Bulgaria against the Serbs. The movement, sufficiently financed to maintain press bureaus abroad, cannot be said to be negligible.

Neither can it be said that the trouble between Yugoslavia and Italy over the Treaty of Tirana affecting Albania is permanently settled. There is an Albanian Revolutionary Committee quite as active as the one in Macedonia. October 14, Tzena Bey, the Albanian Minister to Czechoslovakia, was shot by an Albanian student while entering his hotel in Prague. Tzena had only recently arrived as envoy to Czechoslovakia. He was formerly Albanian Minister to Belgrade and came into prominence during the rupture of diplomatic relations between Albania and Yugoslavia because of his efforts to promote a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The assassination is considered as another evidence that a Balkan crisis is near.

The recent troubles between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, due to the activities of the Comitadjis, seem to have been amicably settled, at least for the time. At least the Government at Belgrade has declared

itself satisfied with Bulgaria's promise to suppress the raids across the frontier. It will be recalled, however, that this arrangement seems to have been brought about through the intervention of London and Paris, as was the case a short time ago in the uprising between Yugoslavia and Italy over Albania. How long peace may be expected to remain secure under such circumstances is a serious question.

It developed during the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations this summer in Geneva that the issues between Hungary and Rumania, particularly over land questions, are still acute. The problems involved are legal, social, and economic. During the eight years following the war, nearly two million new small farms, involving the division of approximately fifteen million acres of land, were established. These so-called land reforms extended even to the estates of the Rumanian Dynasty. The Revolution of Central Europe has relied upon these land reforms to satisfy the masses of people; but they have been largely at the expense of Hungary. Hungary is resentful. And so the issue is joined. The whole matter will come to the fore again in December. An interesting aspect of the situation is that Hungary offers to submit the legal aspects of the controversy to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague; but Rumania, backed by most of the Council of the League, refuses.

The problems incident to the minorities created by the new boundaries, to the Dantzig corridor, to the question of Germany's war guilt, and to the difficulties between Western Europe and Russia seem still to be acute.

Indeed, the relations between France and her Alsace-Lorraine are not altogether happy. In early October an Alsace-Lorraine "home-rule party" was organized at Strassburg. How strong this party is

we are unable to say; but the demands are fairly clear. The party asks for immediate home rule for the two provinces, albeit "within the framework of France." It is proposed that Alsace-Lorraine shall become a free member of the United States of Europe, with a German language having priority in every aspect of public life. It is proposed that public officers shall be natives of Alsace-Lorraine, and that the railway shall be returned to the people and government of Alsace-Lorraine. It is proposed, further, that there shall be a separate Alsace-Lorraine State Bank and postal system, with a fiscal organization distinct from France, and a special customs zone, with its own duties. It all has the appearance of a movement toward separation from France. It may be expected that the French will take vigorous action to suppress the movement.

These facts, combined with the breaking of diplomatic relations between England and Russia and the withdrawal of Rakovsky as Russian Ambassador to Paris because as a member of the Communist Party he recently put his signature to a Russian document peculiarly offensive to France, not to mention the race hatreds hovering everywhere like a nightmare, are some of the reasons for concluding that all is not well in Europe. Indeed, it would be easily possible to prove that there are in Europe just now more sinister influences making for war than there were known to exist in January, 1914.

This is one of the reasons why the American Peace Society aims to make its one-hundredth anniversary next May an occasion for concentrating world attention upon the international facts as they are, to the end that by conference and exchange of views between leading men of the various nations the war dangers may be lessened and the better ways of

settling international disputes clarified, accepted, and employed.

### COMING AROUND

FROM what may be called the preamble, it is clear that the drafters of the Covenant of the League of Nations evidently aimed to base it upon right premises. In their preliminary statement they felt it necessary to say:

"The high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by *the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments*, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."

In the subsequent work of the framers of the Covenant, however, little attention seems to have been given to this most encouraging preamble. Throughout its twenty-six articles there is no mention, directly or indirectly, "of the understandings of international law." Indeed, the instrument, so far as we are able to understand it, is an attempt to set up an international organization opposed to the principles of international law. When it was first proposed in the Council of the League of Nations to call a conference of all the nations for the extension of the principles of international law, the proposal was condemned and defeated. Not until 1924 were any steps taken by the league to vitalize the fundamental principle of the preamble. Since that time a special commission of the League has been working upon certain aspects of international law. In the final days of the Eighth Assembly there was evidence that

the League of Nations is beginning to see the light. September 27, to be exact, there was a discussion in the Assembly on the codification of international law. Señor Guani, of Uruguay, President of the Assembly, took occasion to remind the delegates of the work being done in the interest of international law in the Western Hemisphere. M. Politis, Greek Minister to France and delegate to the League, delivered an able address in the interest of a conference on the codification of international law. It is probable that such a conference will be held next year at The Hague. From the point of view of the American Peace Society, this is the most important of all international facts.

*The Manchester Guardian*, published in a country little interested in the codification of any kind of law, in its weekly edition of October 7, has an editorial in defense of international peace based upon the rule of law. It says:

"The League of Nations stands for nothing if it does not stand for justice between nations. Justice implies law, . . . no settlements should be sponsored by the League that violate this regard, or evade the law, . . . all nations should feel that whatever else may be in doubt legal processes, so far as they may be applicable, shall be freely open to them."

This is all symptomatic of the new light breaking upon the League.

The friends of peace working in Geneva have passionately addressed themselves to such matters as arbitration, disarmament, and security. They have sought with no little passion to combine these three as a means of outlawing war. It is all an interesting story of well meant, but misdirected, effort. The failure of the recent Naval Conference shows the difficulty of disarming by the simple process of whittling down programs. The danger of sacrificing security seems to stand in the way. And heretofore security has meant, especially for

the small States belonging to the League, military guarantees by the larger powers. But there is a decided difference of opinion between the small and the big nations on this matter. Probably the majority of the delegates of the League favor the enforcement of peace by a world policeman. But here the difficulty is the old difficulty of the mice when they started out to outlaw their common enemy, the cat. It was impossible to agree upon any happy way to bell that animal. The little nations are finding it difficult to get the big ones to act as their policeman. Under the Locarno agreements, Great Britain has accepted a police appointment for the precincts lying between France and Germany; but she has declined a similar job for Eastern Europe and other sections. The plan of organizing an international police for the maintenance of peace seems to be more theoretically plausible than practicable.

And yet the so-called Protocol of 1924, disavowed by Britain, keeps raising its head in Geneva. "The Protocol is dead; long live the Protocol," expresses the view of many of the delegates. The principle of the Protocol is the principle of the Covenant of the League itself. The men who drafted the Covenant thought they were giving the members of the league such security that they would be willing to disarm with comfortable minds. The Covenant failed to convince, and the nations refused to disarm for fear of attack. It was in the face of such a situation that the authors of the Protocol proposed that the league should be vested with the power of making war on any nation that threatened the peace, to bring its full force down on the head of any nation that refused to submit any case to arbitration. But, when this plan was carefully analyzed, it was found that no country is

as yet prepared to commit its army, navy, and foreign policy into the hands of Geneva.

The whole scheme, like so many well-intended efforts, when tested by cases that might possibly arise, proves to be top-heavy and unworkable. A majority of the nations neither could nor ought to interfere in Europe. They could not do so without possibly precipitating a World War. England could not undertake the guarantees proposed by the Geneva Protocol without alienating Canada and Australia, for Canada and Australia are not quick to assume responsibilities for the frontiers of Europe. The absurdity of the Protocol, as a workable instrument, appears in its grotesqueness when we note that it would empower the League to order the British navy to undertake blockades which might embroil her with, say, the United States. If in force, it would empower the South American nations to invoke the League against the United States in case the latter should refuse arbitration. It is evident, therefore, that such a plan would not tend to establish security. It would extend the fears of insecurity.

It is in the light of such facts that the wiser men at the head of things in Geneva are returning to the older, much slower, but far more practical way of developing international law with the co-operation of all nations, in international conference assembled. That the League of Nations is at last favorable to a universal conference at The Hague in the interest of a "firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments" is most encouraging. It is a return to the premises upon which the framers of the Covenant hoped at the outset to create their structure for peace. It is a fresh evidence that the better minds of Europe are returning to the ways attested by experience.



## AS TO DETACHMENT

**M**OST of us enjoy a fine phrase and like to see it in happy wedlock with another well-dressed member of its race. For this reason we enjoy the makers of phrases, such as the philosophers—at least most of those we know about. They seem so convincing. Their intuitive generalizations carry a satisfaction in themselves. There is a little thrill in Hegel's argument, for example, that the State "is the realization in history of the ethical idea." We don't know exactly what that means, but we like it. There is an illusion of finality about it which is soothing to one's mental strain. No boggy of detail to fret us. We instinctively resent any attempt to drag Cyrano's nose into our enjoyment of his poetry and valor. When the Genevese, Amiel, tells us that "we should be able to detach ourselves from all that is perishable and cling absolutely to the eternal," he seems to say something important. The happy thing about these lilting phrases seems to be their detachment from the here and now, from the washing of dishes, the buttering of parsnips, the paying of bills.

We have just finished reading "World Unity," Vol. 1, No. 1, published by the World Unity Corporation, 122 East 34th Street, New York City. Everything about this new charming magazine—cover, paper, everything—has been a joy. We like its subtitle: "A monthly magazine for those who seek the world outlook upon present developments of philosophy, science, religion, ethics, and the arts." Our instinctive if ungrammatical reaction to that combination of words is, "That's us."

The magazine's "Statement of purpose" strikes us also with a fascinating detachment right where we sometimes think we live. We are told that "World Unity" will endeavor to "interpret and record those significant changes in present-day

thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to realize the finer aspirations of mankind." That's what we are talking about. Note the fine detachment. "Significant changes in present-day thought"; there's detachment and the little thrill that goes with it. "Humanized civilization," . . . "finer aspirations of mankind" where can one find a more synthetic chunk of arresting vocabulary?

Here are some more from the same statement: "The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics, and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for *World Unity Magazine*." There is an Attic flavor to that sentence with, however, a detachment rather rare among the Greek writers. Such words charm and hold the attention—for a while.

There is no doubt that detachment is the word. Indeed, the "Statement" hurries on to say: "With political, economic, or sectarian matters, or the promotion of any concrete program, or the upbuilding of any exclusive organization, the magazine has no concern." We are glad that we were able to hit upon this word detachment.

Let us finish the "Statement":

"To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class, or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age, wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which *World Unity Magazine* is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

"Because the attitude and aim of *World Unity Magazine* reflects the outlook of an increasing host left unsatisfied by the extremes of purposeless culture and self-centered propaganda, the editors are confident that a medium of this character has become inevitable at the present time."

All this pleases us. It strikes a responsive chord down, deep down in us. We wish we could have written those winsome words. They are so sonorous and detached!

Upon reflection, however, isn't there, after all, something disquieting about any over-detachment? Such words as "humanized civilization," "higher values," "spirit of the age," "humanity," do they really stand up real and substantial under the light of careful examination? One gathers the impression that the words are *too* detached; that they are a bit illusory and impalpable; for, when all is said and done, crime is personal; and so is virtue, and civilization, and humanity. Professor Hocking, of Harvard University, in his "Man and the State" wisely concludes that he "cannot accept the hypothesis that groups are minds, numerically distinct from the minds of their members. . . . We can neither reduce the individual to a mere transmitter of the universal life nor place the authorship of group deeds outside his consciousness and self-hood." We don't just like these phrases, but the thought seems sound and understandable.

What our poor old world seems to need, we fear, is not less, but more careful scientific study and analyses of "political, economic, . . . sectarian matters, . . . concrete programs," races, creeds, classes, nationalities, politics. Those who wish to detach themselves from the actual business of the world, of course should be permitted to do so. We have nothing but the friendliest feeling for the thoughtful disciples of detachment who are faring forth to regale each other with their ideals of "world unity." Yet, we are almost led to ask, how can there be world unity with political, economic, sectarian, or other facts of human experience left out? But, in the language of one of the "Black Crows," "Why bring that up?" Somehow we find it difficult to escape the suspicion

that phrases are peculiarly susceptible to over-detachment, — but all this is probably a *vezata quaestio*, itself in danger of too much detachment; so why go on?

## THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

THE Institute of International Law is one of the bright stars in the firmament of international hope, for it is concerned with realities in the world's struggle for peace. Founded at Ghent in 1873, it held its 34th conference during the month of August at Lausanne. From its beginnings it has been made up of leading experts in the realm of international law. Its inception dates back to Lieber, whom Lincoln chose to prepare his celebrated "Rules of War"; to Rolin-Jaequemyns, Monyier, Bluntschli, Calvo, and our own American David Dudley Field, jurist and author of the "Draft Outlines of an International Code." The total number of members of this select body cannot exceed sixty, although there are associate and honorary members. Its purpose is to aid the growth of international law in an exclusively scientific and unofficial manner. It labors to state the general principles of the science of international law in such a way as to satisfy the sense of justice of the civilized world and to help every serious attempt at the gradual and progressive codification of international law. From the beginning it has stood for the maintenance of peace.

This body of scientific men represents a happy medium between two extremes—diplomats acting under instructions from their governments, overcharged with authority, on the one hand, and, on the other, isolated individual writers on international law with too little authority.

Dr. James Brown Scott, President of the Institute, is our authority for the statement that "more resolutions were

adopted at the Lausanne meeting than at the five regular sessions held since the World War, . . . and even more than any other previous session of the Institute." The results of its work appear in declarations of principles and for the most part in doctrinal resolutions. The service rendered by the Institute consists in the fact, however, that these resolutions define the course States must take if they are to reach their self-appointed goals. As pointed out, at the conference in Christiana, by Mr. von Bar, "Alongside the *lex lata* the Institute should build the *lex ferenda*." In the light of this principle, seven projects of public international law and two relating to private international law were adopted at Lausanne. Those relating to public international law were: "Responsibility of States for Injury to the Person and Damage to the Property of Foreigners; second, International Aerial Navigation; third, Radiotelegraphic Communications; fourth, Navigation on the High Seas; fifth, Submarine Cables; sixth, Arbitral Procedure; and, seventh, International Commissions of Conciliation." The resolutions on private international law related to: First, "*locus regit actum*"; and, second, the Law of Cheques." A somewhat detailed account of each of these is to appear in the October number of the *American Journal of International Law*. The next session of the Institute is to be held in Stockholm.

One has but to read our statement of "The Foundations of Peace Between Nations," printed regularly in this magazine, to sense the importance the American Peace Society attaches to the distinguished and serviceable labors of the Institute of International Law. Furthermore, it is another encouraging sign that among the men concerned to advance the course of peace the realities of international effort are not dead.

## OUR DEADLOCK WITH THE WORLD COURT

OUR American opposition to joining the League of Nations has led many in this country to look with suspicion upon its court, the Permanent Court of International Justice. We are inclined to doubt that there is at this time any wide feeling in our country that we should be a member of the court.

We are glad, however, to call the attention of our readers to some "factors heretofore overlooked," as set forth in the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The article, entitled "A Way Out of the Court Deadlock," deals chiefly with the fifth reservation, conceived to be the only important factor in the situation. The article does not criticize this reservation, but takes the ground that, taken in its reasonable legal meaning, the reservation is quite justified. The author, proceeding from this angle, grants at the outset that the United States should be satisfied with nothing less than the unconditional acceptance of the reservation.

One difficulty is that there are differences of opinion as to the meaning of the reservation. The reservation reads:

"nor shall it [the Court], without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest."

One interpretation of this—the interpretation that was unacceptable to the States in the court—is that this reservation gives the United States the right, merely by an unsupported claim of interest, to prevent an advisory opinion in any question whatever, even if the United States has no material interest in the question, and even if the parties to the dispute desired to have the court give the opinion.

The second or reasonable legal interpretation would give the United States

the right to prevent an advisory opinion in cases in which the United States is a party, or in which the United States while not a party has a material interest, such an interest as a court would recognize. But the United States' right to prevent advisory opinions would stop there.

The article makes the point that, whichever is the true meaning, the fifth reservation certainly cannot bear both. It is necessary to choose.

The states in the court were afraid to accept unconditionally the fifth reservation, because of their fear that we meant it to bear the first meaning—a meaning that would give the United States the power, merely by an unsupported claim of interest, to interfere with legal functions of the League (which is the only body with power to request advisory opinions) and of the court.

So they attached to their acceptance a counter-reservation, to the effect that if the situation produced by their acceptance did not work out well, it could be withdrawn by a two-thirds vote. Naturally this does not satisfy the United States.

But an entirely different face would be put upon the whole situation if only the second meaning were officially established for it. The signatory States could accept it without fear—and without condition.

The signatory States evidently felt that the differences were not too great to be talked out. In sending their reply they suggested "such further exchange of views as the Government of the United States might think necessary."

But there is the rub. The United States has remained silent, preferring to let the whole matter drop—this in spite of the fact that repeated conversations are to be assumed as a matter of course in connection with a treaty, the court treaty or any other. Treaties are arrived at by negotiation, not by ultimatum.

In short, according to this article, if we of the United States wish to join the court we have simply to say that the fifth reservation means simply that the United States does not accept the right of the court to hand down an advisory opinion in a case in which the United States is a party or has a material interest, such as the court would recognize, and then, secondly, to propose further conversations relative to the whole business.

We are inclined to doubt the hopefulness of this plan. First, because of this country's lukewarm interest in the League's court; second, because the plan proposes that our government will accept the insinuation that it might claim an interest in a case where it has no interest; third, because we have already stated our reservation on the assumption that its language is clear and unequivocal.

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THE wanderer in Europe trying to keep his ears open is impressed by two brands of talk quite different in kind. One is the talk of international co-operation, of friendly intercourse, of peace; the other of war, a terrible war, and that before long. One Basil Stewart, speaking recently in London before a little gathering in Londonderry House, predicted with the characteristic solemnity of his ilk that the next World War will start on May 28, 1928, and that it will continue until September 16, 1936. It seems that he bases his prediction on "the symbolism of the Great Pyramid," combined with what he terms "prophetic forecasts of the Bible." In one respect he goes his fraternity one better, for he asserts that "the war will be accompanied by unprecedented convulsions of nature, floods and earthquakes." It is clear to him that "England will emerge victorious," but that "Russia will be wiped out entirely." There are somewhat more circumstantial details about

this hair-raising forecast; but it is at one with a great deal of the conversation one picks up in various European salons. It is difficult to treat the matter with equanimity, for when such talk becomes sufficiently general, the inevitable result will be war. Discussing with two of his clever courtiers the merits of Denmark, the profound Hamlet put the truth in his abiding way, saying, "for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."

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TALK in the interest of friendly settlement of international disputes is just now an imperative need. Mutual distrust, even more, perhaps, than hate and greed, impedes progress toward international security. As pointed out by M. Painlevé, speaking a short time ago at the unveiling of the war memorial at Nantes, "If by the stroke of some magic wand suspicion could be dissipated, if each nation could be convinced that no other would be the first to attack, from that moment no government could draw its people into war." Every motive of self-interest, to put the matter mildly, should lead not only responsible statesmen, but men and women everywhere, to talk in the interest of a warless world. In that same address, the distinguished member of the French Cabinet went on to say: "To proclaim that war is inevitable is to contribute knowingly or unknowingly to making it certain."

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VISCOUNT ROBERT CECIL, with whom we are not always in agreement, speaking the other day in London, expressed the attitude of the American Peace Society upon one matter with precision and completeness. He said: "My object is to get something done, not to quarrel with this party or that, and I do not want to be led aside in personal controversies more than I can help."

THE Governing Board of the Pan American Union has approved a convention to regulate aërial navigation between the republics of the American Continent. The convention is based upon the conclusions reached by the Inter-American Commission on Commercial Aviation, which met at Washington in May last, in accordance with the terms of a resolution adopted at the Fifth Pan American Conference, at Santiago, Chile, in 1923.

The provisions of the present convention apply only to private aircraft; it is set forth in the second article of the treaty. The convention sets forth the documents which must be carried by aircraft engaged in international flights, the qualifications of members of the crew, and provides that the carriage by aircraft of explosives and of arms and munitions of war is forbidden in international navigation. In addition, it is stipulated that each State may prohibit or regulate the carriage or use, by aircraft possessing the nationality of other contracting States, of photographic apparatus.

The regulations established by a contracting State with regard to admissions over its territory of aircraft of other contracting States shall, it is provided, be applied without distinction of nationality; but a State shall have the right to establish restrictions in favor of its own national aircraft in regard to the commercial transportation of passengers and merchandise between two or more points in its territory.

It is recognized that uniformity of laws and regulations governing aërial navigation within each country are equally as important as uniform rules for international flights, and it is therefore provided that the Pan American Union shall cooperate with the governments of the contracting States to attain the desired uniformity of laws and regulations for aërial navigation in the States to the convention.

The convention stipulates that each State shall deposit its ratification with the Pan American Union, which shall thereupon inform the other contracting powers, and that the convention shall come into force for each ratifying power forty days from the date of the deposit of its ratification.

The convention, as approved by the Governing Board, will be transmitted to the States, members of the Pan American Union, for the consideration of the delegates to the sixth Pan American conference, which will convene at Havana, Cuba, in January, 1928.

**W**HAT Commander Byrd thought when crossing the North Pole in the air, according to Bob Davis, has its own human appeal:

"I thought of the infinitesimal proportions of mortal man, of the frailty of the atoms that occupy the spaces, of the limitations of those who have taken over

the conduct of civilization. I caught for the first time, as in a flash of understanding, the inadequate results of the efforts to solve, not the enigmas of space and duration, but the problems of mankind."

And then Commander Byrd went on to speak of the primitive past, the gradual development of man, the development of the race out of the chaotic past, the coming of war, and he added:

"We have improved and progressed and developed, but we have failed to make the most of ourselves. We have explored everything except our consciences. We are still a horde of pigmies, selfish and envious, each striving for individual supremacy.

"We have come through the ages worshipping in our different ways the Supreme Being that best suits our multiplied faiths, but the sum total of our occupation of this shrinking planet is a pitiful demonstration of weakness. It is not the geographical, but the moral, limitations of the world that must be charted, and the really great explorers will be those who find the way to universal reconstruction, the first step in which is the abolition of war and the needless destruction of human life."

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### OUR TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE

**D**URING the month of September three informal notes, or aide memoires, were exchanged between our government and that of France on the subject of the new French tariff, which went into effect on September 6, in connection with the Franco-German Commercial Agreement, and has imposed a higher customs burden on our goods entering France than before. On the next day after the new tariff went into effect the American Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, Mr. Sheldon Whitehouse, protested to the French For-

eign Office against the discriminations imposed by the new tariff and preferred, in the name of the United States Government, a general claim for most-favored-nation treatment.

In a note delivered to Mr. Whitehouse eight days later, the French Foreign Office set forth its position in the matter. On September 20 Mr. Whitehouse delivered the State Department's reply to the French note, and on September 30 he received from the French Foreign Office a further rejoinder. The text of these three notes will be found in the *International Documents Section* of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

### French Statement of Position

In this first note the French Government admitted that the revised tariff increased the basic duties payable on certain products coming from the United States and withdrew certain benefits; but it also argued that these benefits, without being contractual obligations, had been claimed by other States, and that the exceptional treatment they imply is not in harmony with the constant increase in the United States tariffs and the reinforcement of customs barriers by the United States to the detriment of certain French exports. The French Government therefore decided—within the limits of the revision adopted in connection with the Franco-German Commercial Agreement—to return to the strictly legal position. The French Government declared itself ready to begin to negotiate a treaty within the next few weeks giving extended guarantees to individuals, corporations, trade, and navigation. It required, however, a preliminary assurance. It is unable to place on the same level the customs law of the United States, which excluded any favor to third States, and the French tariff, which accorded the positive advantages of the minimum rates and the most-favored-nation treatment. It is of the opinion that the prohibitive régime resulting from the particularly high tariffs now in force in the United States upon certain French products cannot be considered as in the same category with the moderate rates of the French minimum tariff, which offers United States exporters generous openings in the French market.

The French Government therefore required the assurance of the United States Government that if the negotiations were to guarantee the United States a more complete equality in the French market with competitors enjoying the minimum tariff, French exporters must be guaranteed advantages of the same nature on the United States market, not merely by the indiscriminating application of the United States tariff, but by such reductions or adjustments as might admit certain French goods to the United States market. The French Government undertook, on receipt of assurance to this effect, to decree a reduction of 50 per cent of the

revised tariff rates in favor of those United States products which are subjected to the maximum rates.

### U. S. Government's Reply

In its reply, dated September 20, the United States Government expressed its surprise and disappointment at the attitude of the French Government as given in the foregoing note, and observed that it had supposed that the French Government fully understood that the United States law fixing the tariff on imports does not envisage the conclusion of a reciprocal treaty.

On the broad ground of international trade relations, the United States Government expressed the belief that the only satisfactory basis of such relations is equal treatment for all nations. Any other policy can lead only to confusion and misunderstanding and is opposed to the soundest principles of world economics and especially of world good will. Unless this principle is admitted, there can be no confidence in the stability of trade relations, and the beginning of such discriminatory action could lead only to its extension throughout the world, thus creating trade groups, combinations against weaker nations, reprisals, and a long train of political and economic dangers. The principle of general most-favored-nation treatment, in its broadest form, as the basis of commercial treaties had been unanimously recommended by the members of the Geneva Economic Conference, and therefore it had the endorsement of the French members.

Furthermore, the United States Government relies upon the principles laid down in 1891, and confirmed in 1906, as the basis of the French tariff, namely, that the producer had the right that, in the formation of a customs tariff, the legislature should measure exactly the differential which separated him from his foreign competitor and that the tariff rate inscribed in the act should be the representation of this differential. It is precisely on this theory of protection that the rates of duty of the tariff law of the United States rest. The United States Government objected only to the fact that France is discriminating against the trade of the United States by applying to many

categories of United States goods rates in some cases four times as high as upon similar articles imported from Germany and other countries competing with the United States in the French market.

#### No Discrimination in Our Tariff

The note continued to state that the French Government appears to entertain the view that France is justified in discriminating against the trade of the United States because the average rate of duty imposed by the United States on imports from France is higher than the average rate imposed by France on the imports from the United States. But this is not discrimination. American rates are uniform on these imports and are the same for others as for France. The United States Government considers tariff rates a domestic matter and all discrimination unjustified. If the rates of duty on articles imported into the United States from France are proportionally higher than on those exported from the United States to France, this is merely that a large part of United States imports consists of manufactured articles and luxuries, whereas an equally large proportion of French imports from the United States are raw materials.

The higher duties in the present tariff law charged in the United States on the imports from France have not decreased the flow of French goods. In 1921 imports from France amounted to \$141,885,000, whereas in 1926 they amounted to \$152,030,000. Moreover, in any consideration of trade relations between France and the United States it is necessary to bear in mind the very large invisible exports of France by reason of expenditures of American tourists amounting to well over \$200,000,000 annually.

Absence of discrimination is a cardinal principle of clean-cut and friendly trade relations. The policy of the tariff law of the United States makes no discrimination whatsoever between articles imported from different countries, while discrimination in world trade against the United States has practically ceased. France alone seriously discriminates against American products.

#### The Geneva Doctrine

The French rejoinder, dated September 30, declared that the principle of equal treatment for all nations laid down by the United States Government is far from being generally accepted, as the United States Government seems to think it is.

The recent Economic Conference at Geneva, while declaring in favor of the reciprocal grant of most-favored-nation treatment, recognized, the note says, that it is for each State to decide "in what measure this fundamental guarantee should be inserted in a given treaty." The conference further declared that "the moment has arrived to put an end to the increase of customs tariffs and to begin a movement in the opposite direction," and that this could be done by the individual action of States in lowering their own tariffs as well as by commercial treaties.

In the past the French governments which have negotiated with the United States have found it impossible, having regard to the inequality of the advantages accorded by the United States tariff on the one hand and the French minimum tariff on the other hand, to base the relations between the two countries on the reciprocal ground of most-favored-nation treatment. The French law of 1919 made it clear that the grant of the minimum tariff was not the rule but the exception, the maximum concession. Every successive French Government had taken the view that the minimum tariff could not be claimed as a right, but could be obtained only as a practical concession by countries which gave French products a real chance of entering their markets.

The note goes on to rebut the American argument that the conditions which have been hitherto allowed for French exports into the United States have not been unfavorable, and that in consequence there is no occasion for concessions to be made on the American side. It is not of discrimination against French trade in the United States that the French Government complains; but it maintains that the American tariff is a serious barrier to imports, and especially to the products of France, owing to the particular character of its exports.

The régime from which French products at present suffer might be modified,



the French Government considers, by virtue of section 315 of the Fordney Act, which gives the President of the United States certain powers to change the classification of articles and reduce the duties on them.

## FRANCE AND THE SOVIETS

THE demand of the French Government for the recall of the Russian Ambassador in Paris, M. Christian Rakovsky, and the latter's consequent departure for Moscow are not considered in France as factors which will prejudice Franco-Russian relations. Two series of negotiations are in progress between the governments of France and of Russia, one concerning the question of a pact of non-aggression and the other dealing with the settlement of the debts. A more acceptable negotiator than Rakovsky may facilitate these negotiations.

### Proposals for Non-Aggression Pact

After the meeting of the French Council of Ministers on September 18 the following communique was issued by the Foreign Office:

The Council examined the question of relations with Russia, on which it had postponed its decision until the return of M. Aristide Briand, Minister for Foreign Affairs. It decided not to reply to the proposal for a pact of non-interference presented by the Soviet Government, as that government has already, on October 29, 1924, accepted a formal and unconditional engagement in that respect, the execution of which the French Government reserves its right to control. The Council considers that nothing at the moment justifies the breaking off of diplomatic relations, and is therefore considering the Russian proposal for a pact of non-aggression, which conforms to its policy as well as to the need of security of its Allies in the East. It has consequently requested the Minister for Foreign Affairs to pursue negotiations for this purpose, after assuring himself that all conditions which are of a nature to make it possible are fulfilled.

This was the first official reference made to the receipt from Moscow of a proposal for a treaty of non-interference and non-aggression, though it was known that the

Soviet Government was making desperate efforts to counteract the effects of the anti-Communist newspaper campaign by offering various guarantees of its good faith and intentions. The suggestion of a pact of non-interference is not important, as its implications are covered by what is generally understood by "diplomatic relations." The pact of non-aggression is also of slight interest for France, but as Poland is already engaged in trying to negotiate one with the Soviet, the French Government has an opportunity of giving support to its ally by negotiating on parallel lines.

### Russian Proposals for Debt Settlement

The Soviet Delegation negotiating the debt settlement has made the following proposals:

1. The Government of the U. S. S. R. undertakes to pay as its quota in settlement of the pre-war loans issued or guaranteed by the former Russian Governments and quoted in France:

Forty-one annuities of 60 million gold francs each, representing the average of the annuities fixed in the table of amortization and stipulated by the contracts of issue;

Ten annuities of 60 million gold francs each, as arrears and representing compensation for payments not effected since the interruption of the service on the debt;

Ten annuities of 60 million gold francs each, as supplementary bonus.

2. The present agreement will be revised in case the Government of the U. S. S. R. should grant, all other conditions being equal, to nationals of other creditor States in payment of pre-war loans or guarantees of the former Russian governments, a more favorable treatment than that accorded the French creditors. In that case the present agreement shall be amended so that French nationals will be granted an identical treatment on all points.

3. (a) The annuities mentioned in paragraph 1 will be paid into the common fund of Russian loans which will be established in Paris by agreement between the French Government and the Government of the U. S. S. R.

- (b) This institution (common fund) will effect the distribution of the annuities stipulated in paragraph 1.

(c) The bonds on which payment will be made will be entitled to new coupons by the common fund.

(d) The following bonds will be excluded from the benefits of the present agreement:

1. Bonds at present in the possession of nationals who are not French;
2. Bonds not quoted in France.

(e) The following two categories will be subject to a special examination concerning participation in the benefits of the present agreement:

1. Bonds introduced in France and having been sold by foreigners to French persons later than . . . (measures to be taken in order to assure the observance of this provision);

2. Bonds quoted in Germany which French nationals who have acquired French nationality by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles possessed before November 11, 1918.

(f) In cases of dispute a mixed commission of the common fund shall determine which bonds are entitled to enjoy the benefits of the present agreement.

## II

### Credits

Commercial and industrial credits destined for the development of economic relations between the U. S. S. R. and France will be opened in France under the following conditions:

1. The total figure of these credits is fixed at 120 million dollars.

2. The credits shall be granted in annual quotas of 20 million dollars during a period of six years.

3. They are destined exclusively for orders given to French industries or for purchases made from French houses, among others colonial products, in the proportion of two-thirds for orders and one-third for purchases.

4. These credits are destined solely for productive purposes, that is to say, machinery for industry, agriculture, transportation and municipal economy in the U. S. S. R.

5. Amortization of each quota of these credits is to be effected at the end of six years, but payment of interest begins from the first year of the granting of the credits;

6. The Soviet delegation is ready to examine with the French delegation the real guarantees whereby the regular payment of interest and principal of these credits will be assured.

## III

The agreement on the debts will not enter into force until after the conclusion of an agreement concerning the above-mentioned credits.

## IV

The Government of the U. S. S. R. undertakes to deposit in a French bank as guarantee the sum of 30 million gold francs, within six months from today, representing half of the first annuity destined for the payment of holders of pre-war loans. This sum will be divided among the above-mentioned bondholders immediately after the ratification by the two governments of the agreements concerning the debts and the credits.

### Moscow Explanations for Home Consumption

There is a growing criticism in Moscow, especially from the "opposition," of the Soviet Government's sudden willingness to negotiate seriously the question of the debts. In view of this, the official government organ, the *Izvestia*, has explained that the proposal made does not involve any real concession to French capitalists which the Soviet is offering, but merely an apparent one, veiling a profitable commercial transaction. Sixty million gold francs annually is, it writes, a mere trifle compared with the original debt, the interest alone on which formerly amounted to 400,000,000 gold francs annually. Now "by the Paris agreement," the Soviet Government has arranged to wipe out the whole of this enormous debt, the principal as well as the interest, with 6% annual payments of 60,000,000 gold francs each. This in itself, the newspaper comments, would be a brilliant commercial achievement, but it is not all; the payments begin only after France has given credits to the Soviet. A few arithmetical calculations suffice to show that "the economy on the interest," by obtaining credits at normal rather than the present exorbitant rates, will unquestionably more than compensate for the annual payments to France.

Moreover, the *Izvestia* concludes, these payments will paralyze the anti-Soviet agitation among the French *Petite Bourgeoisie*. Reconciliation with France is most important for preventing her joining the anti-Soviet bloc which is now preparing for war against the U. S. S. R.

## GERMANY AND WAR GUILT

THERE was a startling suddenness in President Hindenburg's blunt denial of German guilt for the World War, made in the course of his address at the dedication of the Tannenberg Memorial, on September 18. Only his immediate associates and, according to later official statements, the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister knew of what he was going to say. His speech produced a sensation everywhere in the world.

### President Hindenburg's Denial

The Battle of Tannenberg was the first great German victory over Russia during the war. Hindenburg directed it on the German side, and the opening of the memorial was as much a tribute to him as to the occasion. In his address he expressed pleasure "at having had an opportunity of meeting again in spirit of comradeship his fellow-combatants and liberators of East Prussia." Then he continued:

The Tannenberg national monument is devoted primarily to the memory of those who fell fighting for the freedom of their country. But their memory and the honor of my still living comrades adjure me, in this hour and at this spot, to declare solemnly: The accusation that Germany is responsible for this greatest of all wars we hereby repudiate—all classes of the German people unanimously repudiate it. It was not out of envy or hate or desire of conquest that we drew the sword. The war, on the contrary, with all the terrible sacrifices demanded from the whole nation, was the extreme measure resorted to in preservation of our existence against a host of enemies. With clean hearts we marched out to defend the fatherland; with clean hands the German army wielded the sword. Germany is ready at any moment to prove this fact before impartial judges.

In numerous graves, the symbols of German heroism, rest warriors of every party, without distinction. They died united in love and loyalty to their common fatherland. May every discord melt into harmony at the foot of this memorial! At this spot let every German hand grasp the hand of every German whose heart is filled with love of the

fatherland and whose mind cherishes above all things else the thought of German honor! This is the deepest desire felt by me in opening this portal to the Tannenberg national memorial.

### Reactions in Germany

President Hindenburg's speech was naturally met with a general approval in the German press, although some of the Left journals have expressed doubts as to the advisability of raising the question at this particular time. The Nationalist press greeted the speech with a frenzy of enthusiasm. The attitude of the extreme Nationalists was, perhaps, best expressed by the Pan-German *Deutsche Zeitung*, which, in a leading article under a headline which may be translated "Now, at last, it means something!" said:—

Hindenburg, the field marshal and soldier, but also Hindenburg the President, has spoken. From August, 1914, up to the present day the world has been accustomed to listen when this man, the embodiment of German strength, German loyalty, and German soldierliness, has something to say. . . . No other nation in the world has a man like Hindenburg. All the others, the great men of other nations, clothe their speech in parliamentary forms; they twist and turn, hesitate and avoid saying anything definite. Hindenburg's talk is the talk of a man. It admits of no twists and misinterpretations.

For eight years thirteen German governments, the *Deutsche Zeitung* continues, have failed in the question of most importance to the German nation, the war-guilt question. Now Hindenburg has acted, not on his own, though the initiative came from him, but in agreement with the Government of the Reich. The Chancellor was there, and privileged circles knew on Saturday night that the demonstration was planned. Hindenburg's words are more than the pronouncement of a great man, they are an international political action of prime importance. Mere denials and sophistries are no longer of any use. Germany awaits the reply of the other nations, and it must be a straightforward reply. Germany must strive to compel the world to acknowledge the truth of Hindenburg's words.

On the other hand, the inadvisability of following up President Hindenburg's statement with diplomatic action was emphasized by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which represents Foreign Minister Stresemann's party. According to this organ the official German foreign policy has nothing to do with discussions of the war-responsibility question. Only in those political circles that are still beset by illusions can anyone still believe that the Treaty of Versailles can be upset by declarations about the "war-guilt lie." Not even the complete acquittal of Germany of responsibility for the war by an impartial tribunal would free her from the shackles of Versailles. The fundamental questions of German foreign policy are questions of power and authority, and they can be solved only by incessant striving to improve Germany's position among the nations.

#### Stresemann's Statement

Perhaps the most interesting comment on President Hindenburg's speech is contained in an interview given by Foreign Minister Stresemann to the *Paris Matin*. Herr Stresemann begins by marking his surprise that the President's speech had aroused so much comment in France since it only repeated opinions which were familiar in Germany and which had already been heard, for example, in a speech of Herr Marx delivered on August 29, 1924, and in one of his own at Hagen during the Ruhr occupation. He goes on to remark that opportunities for reflections on the origins of the war, such as are afforded by the inauguration of war monuments, occur far less frequently in Germany than in France, and he makes a veiled, though pointed, allusion to some of M. Poincaré's Sunday utterances. The President, he explained, is getting old; he will shortly be celebrating his 80th birthday. It was only natural that he should examine his conscience and in doing so give expression to the conviction—which he held in common with every other German—that the German army had entered the war with clean hands and a clean heart, and that the German people had only fought to defend itself against the dangers which surrounded it.

Herr Stresemann refers to what he describes as the culminating point in the

President's speech, the suggestion that the origins of the war, the events which led up to it, and the diplomatic correspondence which immediately preceded it should be submitted to an impartial court of arbitration. Seizing on the phrase used by M. Briand at Geneva, "peace by arbitration," he argues that if arbitration is the best method of settling disputes, it ought rightly to be applied to high moral questions just as much as to economic and financial problems. He asserts that the lively agitation which has been maintained in Germany for the past years against the accusation for war guilt is proof of the high moral value which is attributed in Germany to the idea of peace. Hence the demand for an impartial inquiry is far from being in contradiction with the peace policy which he is pursuing.

#### Reaction in France

The principal objection which the French press has expressed to the line of argument presented by Herr Stresemann is that it puts in question the whole of the Treaty of Versailles, including the principle of reparations. If France were once to admit that the premise of Germany's culpability might be unsound, the justification for reparations would immediately be demolished and no objection could be raised to the suspension of the Dawes scheme.

No official French comments on the question have as yet been made. On the contrary, it is reported that at the meeting of the French Cabinet at which the matter was discussed, it was decided that no government official, from Premier Poincaré down, should for the time being refer to it publicly.

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#### TANNENBERG MEMORIAL

THE monument erected to commemorate the Battle of Tannenberg, which was dedicated on September 18, is not as yet completed. It is situated south of the road between Hohenstein and Osterode, on a ridge overlooking the battlefield. It is surrounded by German and Russian war graves and occupies an area of about 40 acres. It takes the form of a big octagonal court of honor, 250 feet in di-

ameter, enclosed by thick, flat-topped walls surmounted by eight square brick towers, 60 feet high. In the walls between the towers are 40 halls of honor, approached through round arches, which are destined to contain the memorial stones and rolls of honor of the individual regiments which fought at Tannenberg. The court is entered through archways beneath the north and south towers. After his speech today, President von Hindenburg unlocked the gate of the north tower. In the middle of the court, surrounded by trees, stands a block of rough stone, in which a heavy bronze sword is embedded.

Each tower is to be dedicated to some special purpose. Two of the towers are to house the war pensioners, who will be appointed as guardians of the memorial, and are also to be used as hostels for bands of wanderers belonging to the "Youth Movement," for whom it is also proposed to construct a stadium behind the monument. One tower is to be dedicated to Field Marshal von Hindenburg; one to the other commanders at Tannenberg, busts of whom will be placed in it; one, the "Field Gray Tower," to the private soldiers whose life and death in the field will be depicted in a frieze, and one to the colors of the regiments. Lifts are to be provided in two of the towers to enable war cripples to ascend and obtain the view over the battlefield. According to one of the architects, the fortresslike character of the building is meant to symbolize the position of East Prussia as a German outpost surrounded by Slavs.

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## DEATH OF AMBASSADOR VON MALTZAN

ON SEPTEMBER 22 a tragic aëroplane accident caused the death of the German Ambassador to the United States, Baron von Maltzan, an important and picturesque figure in Germany's post-war diplomacy. During the war he first represented the Foreign Office at the general headquarters, and later on acted for the chancellor at the Eastern front. He was a member of what is known in Germany as the "Eastern School"—that is, the group which attaches particular im-

portance to maintaining contact with Russia, whatever sort of government she may have. After he succeeded Dr. Behrend as Director of the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office he played an important part in the negotiations leading up to the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Soviet Russia in April, 1922, at the time of the Genoa Conference.

### Von Maltzan under the Imperial Régime

Adolf Georg Otto ("Ago") von Maltzan, Freiherr zu Wartenberg und Penzlin, was born on July 31, 1877, at Varchow, in Mecklenburg. He studied law and entered the Prussian judicial service, transferring to the diplomatic service in 1906. After serving in Rio de Janeiro and Christiania, he was appointed first secretary in St. Petersburg in 1910. His undoubted ability and his keen interest in Eastern affairs led to his appointment to the German Legation in Peking in 1913. He was chargé d'Affaires when the war broke out.

Soon all communications with Berlin were interrupted and Von Maltzan found himself absolutely without instructions. Meanwhile the situation was becoming critical for Germany, the entry of Japan into the war on the side of the Allies was certain, and then the fate of the German colony at Tsingtao would be sealed in a few weeks. Von Maltzan took the initiative of offering, in the name of the Emperor, to return Tsingtao to China. He conveyed the news to Berlin by a telegram sent through a business man in the United States.

The contents of the telegram, to escape the censorship of the Allies, were worded cryptically: "Madame Butterfly becoming nervous. Fear for house, and return it to landlord." The officials at the Wilhelmstrasse did not understand what Von Maltzan meant, and put the telegram in their archives. The explanation came much later by devious postal channels.

### The Rapallo Treaty

When the Empire fell and the Socialists came into power, they looked on the Wilhelmstrasse with great distrust of the capacity of the officials. Investigating the files of the diplomatic correspondence during the war, the Socialists discovered Von Maltzan's telegram, to which an explana-

tion had by then been attached. The enterprise of the young diplomatist struck their imagination, and he became the favorite with the government, receiving rapid advancement; so that very soon he became Director of the Eastern Department at the Wilhelmstrasse. In this post he showed himself a decided partisan of good relations with the Bolsheviks, for he at that time saw no hope for Germany of finding friends in Western Europe.

Von Maltzan became the protagonist of the Treaty of Rapallo. He had the text of the treaty prepared long before the Genoa Conference, and would have had it signed but for the opposition of Herr Ebert, the President, who refused to agree to such an entanglement with Moscow. Dr. Rathenau, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, was also inclined to pin his hopes on relations with London and Paris. At the Genoa Conference M. Chitcherin and his associates, working in close understanding with Von Maltzan, inspired the German delegation with a fear of being left in the cold while Mr. Lloyd George was negotiating for a settlement. In a dramatic conversation in the early hours of the morning the scruples of Dr. Rathenau and of his colleagues were overcome and the Treaty of Rapallo came into being.

At the end of 1922 Von Maltzan became Secretary of the Foreign Office. In this capacity he conducted Germany's foreign policy under two foreign ministers—first, Dr. von Rosenberg, and from August, 1923, onward, Herr Stresemann—until he was succeeded in December, 1924, by Herr von Schubert and was appointed ambassador in Washington.

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### FINANCIAL REFORM IN GREECE

ACCORDING to *European Economic and Political Survey*, a scheme for the reform of Greek public finances has been drawn up under the auspices of the League of Nations, which, if carried out, will be of great aid to that country in its progress toward economic consolidation. The main features of this scheme are:

A loan of £9,000,000 is to be raised and its proceeds are to be divided into three portions of £6,000,000 each. One portion

will be used in refugee work; the second will serve for the payment of budgetary arrears; the third will go for the repayment of the State debt to the National Bank. The securities for the loan will be the surplus of the revenues which are under the control of the International Financial Commission.

A new bank of issue, to be known as the Bank of Greece, will be established. It will be a joint-stock company, with a capital of 400,000,000 drachmæ. The new bank will be entirely independent and will have the sole privilege of issuing notes. To insure the stability of its notes, provision is made for the maintenance of a minimum reserve of 40 per cent, consisting of gold and foreign currencies convertible into gold.

The Government of Greece undertakes certain obligations in regard of the maintenance of budgetary equilibrium. New advances by the Bank of Greece to the State will be kept within fixed limits. Provision is also made for the reform of the Greek administrative system.

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### NEW OUTBREAKS IN MACEDONIA

A SERIES of terrorist acts committed in Yugoslav Macedonia during the last few weeks has again brought the Macedonian revolutionists into prominence. This time the trouble is the outcome of the recent arrest by the Yugoslav police of 48 students of the Universities of Belgrade, Lyublyana, and Zagreb. The reasons for their arrest have not been made clear by the Belgrade authorities, and stories of alleged torture of these students in order to extort confessions from them had the effect of inflaming the revolutionary groups in Macedonia.

#### Actions of Macedonian Revolutionists

Soon after the arrest took place, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization issued a statement, in which it hinted at armed action in Yugoslav territory, since constitutional methods were useless under the present régime. No one took this warning very seriously, since everyone realized that the invasion of Macedonia by bands organized in Bulgaria was out of the question. The move-

ment of Bulgarian foreign policy toward a progressive understanding with Yugoslavia and the firm refusal of the Liaptcheff Government, supported by all Bulgarian parties, to allow this policy to be thwarted by irresponsible individuals make it impossible for Bulgaria to be used as a base for guerrilla operations, and consequently seemed to make the realization of these threats impossible.

The Macedonian revolutionaries, however, had another card to play. They decided to inaugurate a system of "terroristic reprisals," carried out by small groups of conspirators. In accordance with this decision, a number of dynamite outrages were perpetrated at Guevgheli and on the Skoplye-Guevgheli Railway.

The most serious incident in this series of outrages was the assassination, on October 5, of General Kovatchevitch, the Yugoslav commander of the troops at Istip.

#### Bulgaria and the Macedonian Outrages

The outbreak of terroristic outrages in Macedonia caused the Yugoslav and Greek representatives at Sophia to make serious representations to the Bulgarian Government, in view of the fact that documents seized upon arrested Macedonian revolutionists at Saloniki pointed to intimate relations between the active revolutionists in Macedonia and Macedonians in Bulgaria. The two representatives acted separately.

The Yugoslav Minister at Sophia, M. Neshitch, had a long conversation with the Bulgarian Prime Minister, M. Liaptcheff. While the interview was entirely friendly, reports concerning it gave rise to a violent controversy, which is symptomatic of the tenseness of feeling on the whole question. In some Yugoslav quarters the interview was described as an attempt on the part of M. Liaptcheff to interfere with the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, which was condoned by the Yugoslav Minister at Sophia. In view of these reports, the Yugoslav Press Bureau issued a long communique, in which it stated that M. Neshitch merely informed M. Liaptcheff about the crimes committed in Yugoslav territory by persons coming from Bulgaria and armed by the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization in order to enable the Bul-

garian Government to take such further measures as might be necessary to prevent such activities. The communique explains that M. Liaptcheff during the conversation condemned these crimes and thereafter asked M. Neshitch for details about the arrested students only for his own personal information. The minister's reply contained nothing beyond what was already known to the Yugoslav press. The communique ends: "As the Liaptcheff-Neshitch talk was reported in the Bulgarian press in a form which could give it some other character, we are authorized to issue the above statement."

The assassination of General Kovatchevitch aroused a great deal of indignation in Yugoslavia and for a time brought on a threat of war with Bulgaria. This threat was removed through the intervention of the British and the French ministers at Belgrade, and by the Bulgarian efforts to bring to book the guilty parties.

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#### THE MEEK

BY ARTHUR GUITERMAN

In Wildwood, a socially eminent Rabbit,  
Of dignity, substance and girth,  
Had chosen a suitable hole to inhabit—  
An excellent burrow of earth,  
When up came a Woodchuck, a genuine  
groundhog,  
Who wanted the place for his lair;  
The Rabbit, impressed by a seventeen-pound  
hog,  
Abruptly departed from there.  
But shortly thereafter a virtuous Badger  
Slid down from a neighboring shelf;  
The Woodchuck he slew as a robber and  
cadger,  
Bequeathing the hole to himself.  
A Fox who believed in the law of requital  
Appeared through the bordering fern;  
He questioned the Badger's manorial title,  
Demanding the burrow in turn.  
A battle ensued in a terrible smother,  
Affrighting the hardiest soul;  
The Fox and the Badger abolished each other,  
The Rabbit returned to his hole.  
So here is appended the mildest of morals,  
Accept it for what it is worth:  
"When all of the Haughty are killed in their  
quarrels  
The Meek shall inherit the earth."

—From the New York *Times*.

# A PEACE PIONEER AND HIS DESCENDANTS

By ALBERT W. STAUB

American Director, Near East Colleges Association

The first of the Dodge family, distinguished in America for generation after generation for religious zeal and philanthropic work, was William Dodge, who settled at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1629. The first New York member of the family was David Low Dodge, born in Connecticut in 1774, pioneer in the organized effort to promote peace between nations, and the first presiding officer of the American Peace Society, which was founded in his home, May 8, 1828.

David came to New York in 1805, as a partner in the firm of Higginson & Dodge, which became the largest wholesale drygoods house of its day in New York. He married a daughter of the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, grandfather of Grover Cleveland. He founded, in New York, in 1815, the first peace society known in history. He was also one of the founders of the American Tract and Bible Societies. He wrote several works on international peace, one as early as 1809, "The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World," and in 1812 another, entitled "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ."

David Low Dodge, as will appear from the illuminating article that follows, founded a line of philanthropists. For five generations the name has been prominent in the financial, social, and religious world.

His son, William Earl Dodge, became in 1833 a partner in Phelps, Dodge & Company, which still is one of the leading houses in the metal industries. He was one of the first directors of the Erie Railroad, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, and other lines. He was president of the National Evangelical Alliance, the National Temperance Society, and similar bodies, and a generous supporter of the Y. M. C. A. He was one of the founders of the Syrian Protestant College, now the American University of Beirut, Syria, to which he was a generous contributor. His son, the Rev. Dr. D. Stuart Dodge, was president of the board of trustees. Thus began the family's long connection with Near East relief and educational work.

William Earl Dodge, Jr., was born in New York in 1832. Besides being one of the leading financiers of New York, he was president of the National Y. M. C. A., president of the Evangelical Alliance, and an official of many religious and educational organizations.

Cleveland H. Dodge, fourth in line, was president of the Board of Trustees of Robert College, Constantinople, for seventeen years. He organized the Near East Relief. He was treasurer of the United War Work Campaign and active in many philanthropic organizations. The family's connection with the Near East has been carried a generation further by Cleveland H. Dodge's son, Bayard Dodge, who is now president of the American University in Beirut, and his daughter, Elizabeth Dodge Huntington, of Constantinople, whose husband is the vice-president of Robert College.

David Lowe Dodge, the founder of this distinguished family, became a Christian early in life, devoting his studies especially to the Bible. It was his devout acceptance of the teachings of Jesus that led his pious thoughts to world peace. Indeed, he based his whole philosophy of peace upon the Christian ethic.

It is most unfortunate for the literature of the peace movement that there are not more records of the conversations which must have taken place on many occasions and of the correspondence through a number of years between David Low Dodge and William Ladd.—THE EDITOR.

**D**URING the year of the Battle of Waterloo, David Low Dodge published a little volume entitled "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ."

On the title page there was printed the ancient prophecy, "And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

A century later Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, went to Riverdale-on-Hudson to lunch with one of his college friends. This friend was Cleveland Hoadley Dodge, the great-grandson of David Low Dodge. After lunch the President sank back into a comfortable chair and produced an official communication. It was the German Kaiser's offer to make peace.

For two hours and a half these two Princeton alumni discussed whether it

should be peace or war; whether the armies of the Entente should struggle through to the gates of Berlin or accept the offer of Germany. When the President rose from his chair his mind was made up and the next day the Armistice was declared.

Although Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge was not young enough to go overseas, he learned of the horrors of war from many sources. He was treasurer of the United War Work Campaign; his son, Cleveland, was wounded while fighting with a field battery and his nephew was a captain of infantry.

In the little book, which David Low Dodge printed, there were a number of significant paragraph headings:

"War is inhuman, as it oppresses the poor."

"War is inhuman, as it spreads terror and distress among mankind."

"War is inhuman, as it multiplies widows and orphans and clothes the land in mourning."



Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge learned that the greatest horror of war is not the terror of the battlefield, where brutality is tempered by heroism and death by martyrdom. From Belgium, from France, and the Near East appeals poured in to help civilian peoples who were starving and dying as a result of the war.

Both Mr. Dodge and his daughter, Julia Dodge Rea, were decorated for the relief work that they undertook to aid the people of Belgium. One day a group of persons interested in Turkish missions met at Mr. Dodge's office to discuss ways and means of aiding the sufferers from war atrocities in the Levant. At first it was hoped that aid could be given through the American Red Cross; but, as the sufferers were within the enemy's lines, it seemed best to organize a new committee.

Accordingly, the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief was established. Mr. Dodge offered to serve as treasurer and hoped that small sums could be procured to aid Armenian and Syrian refugees. Before he died, the informal committee had been reorganized as the Near East Relief and over a hundred million dollars had been collected to aid sufferers of the Ottoman Empire.

Mr. Dodge had close contacts with the Levant, where the suffering was greater than anywhere else except in Russia. He himself was president of the Board of Trustees of Robert College, at Constantinople. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Prof. George H. Huntington, who is the vice-president of Robert College. His sister, Miss Grace Hoadley Dodge, was president of the Board of Trustees of the Constantinople Woman's College until her death. His uncle, David Stuart Dodge, was president of the Board of Trustees of the American University of Beirut until his death took place, after the Armistice. His son, Bayard Dodge, is now the distinguished president of the American University of Beirut.

The many coincidences which connected Mr. Dodge with these institutions in the Near East enabled him to assure co-operation between them. In turn these organizations have been strong influences to create co-operation and understanding between different races and sects in the East.

A spirit of sympathy has sprung up between the subject races of the Ottoman Empire and the people of America. Before the war, Americans knew little of Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, except as they were worried by wandering peddlers or confronted by penniless immigrants. These races, on the other hand, knew America through the missionaries. Although they admired the uprightness of their American friends, they connected them with sectarian work.

During the war, as men were taken out to be slaughtered; as widows were transported, bereft of all material things and accompanied by hungry children; as panic-stricken sufferers fled from fire and battle, they learned to know what the sympathy and aid of America could mean. In turn America came to understand the people of the Levant, as the Samaritan came to understand the Jew on the road to Jericho.

Constantinople has been a clearing-house for refugees, who have fled from Russia, from Anatolia, and from the war zones of the Balkans. While wars and rumors of wars have encompassed the city, David Low Dodge's great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Dodge Huntington, has been forwarding this gospel of confidence. Her house at Robert College is a gathering place for needy children, for poor widows, and infirm people, who wish to sell needlework or seek aid. In countless little ways she has helped and is helping persons who have had hard luck, to face the difficulties of life and to start over again.

During the war her brother, Bayard, was in Syria, where conditions were tragic. Up and down the beautiful slopes of the Lebanon there was the ceaseless tolling of bells, telling of peasants who had starved to death. In the streets of the city there was the heartrending cry of little children picking up grains of wheat from the dust.

The great-great-grandson of David Low Dodge was on the ground and became the sainted hero of a whole nation in distress. Syria was entirely cut off from Europe and America. Even letters and telegrams could not pass through the blockade. Soup kitchens were started in Lebanon villages; a silk industry was organized in a

mountain school; over a hundred people were set to farming, and medical aid was given to the sick.

One afternoon in early October, 1918, young Mr. Dodge and his wife visited the Syrian committee that conducted a soup kitchen in the Lebanese village of 'Abeih. As they estimated the amount of food at their disposal for the coming winter, they realized how impossible it would be to aid all of the persons on their list. One by one names had to be scratched off. Every scratch seemed to mean a death. In the midst of this gloomy meeting, there burst a Syrian gentleman, who was so uproarious that all thought him drunk. He was not intoxicated, but brought the news of Prince Feisal's entrance to Damascus and Allenby's triumph.

In an hour the Lebanon was jubilant with hundreds of bonfires leaping into the air, church bells ringing for life rather than tolling for death, and a whole countryside laughing and crying because they had been rescued from the terror of famine and blockade.

Soon afterward the Near East Relief started its work of reconstruction on a large scale in Syria. For some months Mr. Bayard Dodge acted as director for the Syria-Palestine area and afterwards he was secretary of the local committee. He saw 27,000 refugees come down from Cilicia and a hundred thousand more Armenians expelled from Anatolia and forced among the Arab population of Syria. He saw 8,000 orphans come into Syria from the north and he was obliged to help in finding homes for them. He witnessed the growth of horrible refugee camps and is still trying to help to organize medical work for the Beirut camp.

During the past two years the refugee work in Syria has been conducted by a joint effort on the part of Danes, French, British, Syrians, Armenians, and Americans of many sects. Out of the common misery there has grown up a common sympathy and mutual understanding. Can there be a firmer foundation for peace than co-operation of this sort?

It is true, though, that peace cannot come unless these wartime efforts are accompanied by influences of a permanent nature. The basis of peace must be a leadership of men and women who have gained a broad enough vision to scorn

petty differences of race and sect and to yearn for brotherhood.

David Low Dodge wrote his ideals in a treatise on peace. Four generations of his descendants have engraved their ideals in a number of great institutions in the Near East, which is generally considered to be the cradle of future wars.

When the roar of cannons echoed across the Bosphorus; when Albanian was fighting Bulgar and Greek was fighting Turk; when Armenians were being transported and America had thrown in her lot with the Entente, the future leaders of Greece, Bulgaria, Armenia, Albania, and Turkey were living side by side at Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College.

Throughout those awful years of the Balkan and World Wars the compounds of those two American institutions were oases of love and confidence in a desert of devastation and hate.

Their influence is growing greater every year. At the present time the Turkish Government is sending students to Robert College to learn electrical engineering. Turkish students are crowding into the classes and the enrollment has reached a record size. The emancipation of Turkish women was largely brought about by graduates of the Woman's College, and as a result many Moslem girls are seeking education there.

It is not only in Turkey that Robert College has made its influence felt. Prominent Greek graduates have recently led a movement in their own land which has inspired wealthy Greeks to found an American college at Athens.

A Greek who lives in America has given \$100,000 for this enterprise. Several wealthy citizens of Athens have pledged \$400,000 more. Buildings are being erected and Greek and American committees are at work perfecting the organization.

Robert College graduates in Bulgaria have promoted a similar institution near Sofia. The Bulgarian Government has granted a generous concession of timber, which should yield about \$50,000, to help build the new school.

Both in Greece and Bulgaria the aim of these new movements is to set up models of Anglo-Saxon education. The people of those lands believe that graduates of Robert College exemplify character that is not

found elsewhere. They realize that the first need of their States is for character in public life and business. Accordingly, they are calling upon the aid of America to co-operate with them in a movement to produce character.

Before he died, Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge helped to build up these outgrowths from the work at Robert College, which interested him so much. As a result of his keen vision and wise planning, the affairs of six American colleges in the Near East have been co-ordinated into the Near East Colleges Association. For many years he paid all of the overhead expenses of a joint office while campaigns for funds were being conducted to place the colleges on a permanent financial basis. He not only contributed generously to the campaign funds, but took an active personal interest in all of the plans.

Mr. Dodge believed that the colleges were the means of developing peace and harmony in the Near East in a practical sense. His idea was to secure the active participation of all internationally minded people in America rather than confine the responsibility of a rapidly growing enterprise to a few wealthy families. During the last years of his life he had the satisfaction of seeing the contributors to this work increased from less than fifty to several thousand, scattered all over the United States. If future wars are to be prevented in the Balkans, will it not be because of these schools and colleges, in which broad ideas take the place of superstition and bigotry?

The Dodge family have been closely connected with the American University of Beirut from the very beginning. William Earl Dodge was one of the six original founders. Just after the Franco-Prussian War he visited Syria and laid the cornerstone of the principal building. His son, William Earl Dodge, Jr., was a trustee. Another son, D. Stuart Dodge, spent several years at Beirut as a teacher. Throughout the remainder of his life he helped the institution by selecting teachers and raising funds in America. When he died he was president of the board of trustees. Soon after his death his grandnephew was made president of the university.

One of the forces which unites men of all races and makes for peace is science. From the point of view of professional in-

struction and scientific research, the university at Beirut has a great opportunity. The Rockefeller Foundation is giving substantial aid to the schools of medicine and nursing, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation is interested in building up courses to teach commerce and economics. Last year the leading geologist of the British Museum spent three months at Beirut to study the collection of fossil fish in the university museum. The Mt. Wilson Solar Observatory and National Academy of Sciences have shown great courtesy to the Department of Astronomy. The university is republishing the standard flora for Syria and Palestine, which was compiled by a former professor. His Majesty the King of Egypt has asked another member of the faculty to edit part of his famous collection of manuscripts.

The university is a meeting place of many sects and races. During the past year there were enrolled 438 Syrian students, 204 Palestinians, 139 Armenians, 170 Mesopotamians (Iraqis), 98 Egyptians, 47 Persians, 30 Greeks, 25 from Russia and other parts of Europe, 10 from far-off places in Asia and Africa, and 17 from North and South America.

These students represented four sects of Islam, several groups of Judaism, Bahais, and over a dozen denominations of Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christianity.

Last year the teaching and administrative force included representatives of 14 nationalities and 9 religious sects, not counting the different Protestant denominations as sects.

The governments of Iraq, Palestine, the Sudan, and Ethiopia support students at the university. Most of them are to be trained as teachers for government secondary schools. The government examinations for Palestine are to a great extent made out and corrected by professors of the university. Medical assistants for the Sudan civil and military services are appointed by the president of the institution at the request of the Sudan Government. Negotiations are being carried on by the Department of Health of the Lebanon Republic to arrange for the university hospital to care for patients supported by the government.

Medical students are regularly exam-

ined by commissions composed of at least four nationalities, and commencement addresses are often given in three different languages.

At the commencement last June there were present the Acting High Commissioner of the French Mandatory Power, the admiral of the French naval base, the representative of the commander of the French troops, the ministers of health and justice of the Lebanon Republic, and also the presidents of the Senate and House of Representatives, the consuls of six or seven countries in Asia, Europe, Africa, and the two Americas, as well as many subordinate officials and representatives of religious sects.

Within the past few years the university has received visits from the former Shah of Persia, the King of Iraq, the Grand Head of the Whirling Dervishes, the Sherif Ali Haidar of Mecca, the cousin of the King of Italy, two members of the French Senate and the Recteur of the University of Lyon, the directors of Education of Palestine, the Sudan, Iraq, and Syria, the son of the grand sheik of the Matawali, a native bishop of Southern India, the heads of practically all of the

sects of Syria or their representatives, and a great number of European, American, and Asiatic visitors of all kinds.

In a part of the world where sects and nationalities have been so narrow that they have fostered bitterness against one another, it is impossible to estimate how much it may mean to send forth university men and women who have breathed the air of such an international atmosphere.

Men and women students of these different races and sects study in the same class-rooms, eat in the same refectories, join the same societies, and voluntarily worship together in large numbers. They have a religious society known as the "Brotherhood," which has as its motto "The realm in which we share is vastly larger than that in which we differ."

Thus has the influence of David Low Dodge gone forth to those parts of the world where wars have been bred since the beginning of time. In his own day there were few who had the vision of peace that he had. Today his descendants are teaching ideals of brotherhood and good will which awake harmonious chords in the hearts of a multitude of men.

## WILLIAM LADD

May 10, 1778—April 9, 1841

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

**W**ILLIAM LADD, founder, in 1828, of the American Peace Society, was widely known through the middle decades of the nineteenth century, in this country and abroad, as *The Apostle of Peace*.

While many of his writings are still available, his chief claim to interest in our day is his work of 1840, *An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms*, highly praised in his time and still respectfully referred to by writers on international affairs as his abiding title to fame. Elihu Burritt, one of his earnest disciples, laid the proposals of his "master" before European congresses—at Brussels in 1848, at Paris in 1849, at Frankfurt in 1850, and at London in 1851. Authorities on international law grant that the story of modern arbitration can-

not be told without frequent reference to the Society which Ladd founded, and that international conferences such as that held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 are tributes to his foresight, as for many years he specifically advocated such conferences and supplied them in advance with their programs. Charles Sumner, referring in 1849 to these labors, praised them highly and said that William Ladd had "enrolled himself among the benefactors of mankind."

His concentration upon a way for ending the war system led to such forgetfulness of self that few facts of his private life have been preserved. The rather fulsome biography by Hemenway, even the revised edition still in manuscript, contains few references sufficiently exact for the careful student. He was born in

Exeter, New Hampshire, the oldest boy, third among the ten children—six girls and four boys—of Colonel Eliphalet and Abigail Hill Ladd. The father at an early age was a sea captain, engaged in trade with the West Indies; later a merchant and ship builder of wealth and prominence in Exeter, member of the State Legislature, one of the five incorporators, January 3, 1792, of the first bank in Portsmouth, the sixth bank of our Republic (Stackpole's History of New Hampshire, Vol. II, p. 383), and for fourteen years aide on the staff of Governor John Taylor Gilman. There is evidence that the mother was a queenly and influential person of rare intelligence. The family moved to Portsmouth in May, 1792, and occupied a house now "properly marked as historic" (Stackpole, Vol. IV, p. 224).

William Ladd's education was not confined to the schools. True, he entered Phillips-Exeter Academy in 1787, where he prepared for Harvard College, which he entered in 1793 and from which he graduated, not without distinction, in 1797. It was, however, the salt of the ocean that gave tang to his views and temper. Upon leaving Harvard he went down to the sea, at first in his father's vessels and then in his own. At twenty years of age he was captain of one of the largest brigs ever sailing from New England. It appears that he made many trips to England and the West Indies, often accompanied by high adventure. Indeed, at the age of twenty-one he married, in London, Miss Sophia Ann Augusta Stidolph, age 19, and carried her to his home in America. On a trip in 1809 from London to Charleston he was boarded by a French privateer and informed that under an order of Napoleon Bonaparte his ship was to be burned. He remonstrated with such moral suasion, manifesting a determination to perish, if need be, in the flames with his wife, who was on board, that he was permitted to go on his way. After three years of seafaring life he was for a short time a merchant in Savannah, Georgia. Prompted then by a philanthropic desire to aid in the abolition of negro slavery, he parted with considerable of his fortune in an unsuccessful agricultural experiment on a cotton plantation in Florida. His experiences in the South covered a period of about six years. His

father dying in 1806, William returned to Portsmouth and took up again the life as a sea captain, which he continued until the outbreak of the War of 1812. That there are left so few records of Ladd's experiences at sea is but one of the unfortunate lacunæ in his record.

In June, 1814, Mr. and Mrs. Ladd moved from Portsmouth to Minot, Maine. On the fourth of July of that year he delivered an oration in behalf of the "Washington Republicans" and in honor of the thirty-eighth anniversary of American independence. While there are evidences in this oration of a fiery Federalist bias, the speaker showed that he was familiar with the history of his country, that he greatly revered George Washington, that he knew how to use the English language with precision and power, and that the possibility of an "Empire of Peace" was already working in his mind. From this oration it is clear that by practical experience in foreign lands he had acquired an international mind.

Two years later he represented his town in the Brunswick Convention, where again he showed his forensic bent and ability (Collections of the Pejepscoot Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 1). In this same year he represented his town at the General Court in Boston. He is known to have devoted himself vigorously in Minot to farming on a wide, scientific, and successful scale. There are numerous traditions of his many-sided social interests. His philanthropies were various and of a practical bent. The devout Hemenway, writing thirty years after Ladd's death, says: "The name of William Ladd deserves to be embalmed in the affections of mankind, as the noblest philanthropist of modern times." November 6, 1837, Emerson, writing in his *Journal*, associated William Ladd and William Penn.

In an era of great awakening, Ladd played an energetic and conspicuous part. He was that kind of man—robust, hearty, a commanding figure, high in forehead, red-cheeked, winsome, good to look upon, with a rollicking sense of humor. When, because of the influence, in 1819, of President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, and later of Noah Worcester, it became the object of his life "to promote the cause of peace on earth and good-will to man," it was natural for such a man to give his all

to "the great and noble cause" with a will. Beginning in July, 1823, he wrote and preached his faith to an increasing audience. He won the interest and help of many of the leading men of his time—Story, Wirt, John Quincy Adams, Kent, Webster, Emerson. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison wrote and dedicated a sonnet to him, and printed it in the first volume of *The Liberator*.

His writings became voluminous. An ardent Christian, licensed in 1837 by the Congregationalists to preach, led by his religious nature at times to assume an extreme pacifist position, he did not neglect the lessons of political history, such as the trial by jury, arbitration, the influence of law, and judicial settlement. He viewed the task of statesmanship to be the avoidance of irreconcilable disputes and the peaceable adjustment of conflicting interests.

His *Essay on a Congress of Nations*, written in 1831, marked the beginning of the wealth of literature on that theme. His essay of 1840, already referred to, was extensively circulated in its day. Through its one hundred and thirty pages Ladd

argues with clarity and cogency, free of all extreme views, in behalf of a periodic Congress of Nations for the establishment of a code of international laws, and a Permanent Court of Nations entirely distinct from the Congress, though organized by it, for the purpose of arbitrating or adjudicating all disputes referred to it by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations. For the execution of judgments against States he would rely wholly upon the force of public opinion. He believed ardently in the practical possibilities of extending peace between nations by the processes of justice.

His final illness crept upon him during an arduous lecture tour through the State of New York, when he found himself able to address certain of his large audiences only by speaking from his knees. When he started for his home in Minot and died at Portsmouth on his way, it was clear to his friends that he had literally given his life to the cause of peace. His grave is in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His wife, buried by his side, died December 29, 1855. There were no children.

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## NATION-MAKING IN CHINA

By T. Z. KOO

EVENTS of the greatest significance are happening in China today in such rapid succession that people are becoming obsessed with a sense of bewilderment when they try to follow the ever-changing situation. The following paragraphs are written in the hope that they will help those interested in China's welfare to reach a clearer conception of what is really taking place in our country:

### I. The First Fifteen Years

Our understanding of the present situation in China will be greatly helped when we have grasped the historical significance of the first fifteen years in the life of the young republic. Briefly summarized, three distinct periods are noticeable in these fifteen years.

A. *The First Period.*—When the Manchus abdicated, in 1911, after a short struggle with the Revolutionary Party, the Republic of China was proclaimed with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the first President in Nanking. This event was hailed all over the country with great rejoicing as heralding the dawn of the democratic

era in old Cathay. But the high hopes entertained then were not fulfilled. On the advice of his followers, but against his own conviction, Dr. Sun yielded his presidency to Yuan Shih-kai in 1912. By this action the real revolution suffered a setback, the effect of which has taken us all these fifteen years to overcome.

Dr. Sun was persuaded to relinquish the presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-kai on the ground that the revolution, having achieved its purpose in the abdication of the Manchu dynasty, now needed a man of proved administrative ability and experience to build up the new republic. By common consent that man was Yuan Shih-kai rather than Sun Yat-sen. Many, even among his own followers, thought so, and so Dr. Sun retired and Yuan Shih-kai became President.

What we were too blind to see at the time was that Dr. Sun, however inexperienced in political administration he might be, nevertheless was the product of the revolution and did represent in his person the spirit of progressive China. With him as President, real changes in the political

thought and life of the Chinese people would have been possible, because, in the eyes of the people, he would stand out in bold relief as a *definite break with the past*.

Yuan Shih-kai, on the other hand, while a great and able administrator, was the product of the imperial system and typified in his person the spirit of the *status quo*. As soon as he took over the presidency all those among our people who were not prepared to pay the cost for real change heaved a sigh of relief, for they now felt assured that the *old order would remain*. And they were right. The old order did remain all these fifteen years in spite of the revolution.

The first period is, therefore, a brief one, beginning and ending with Dr. Sun's first presidency. Although brief, no single event in the early history of the republic has had more to do in shaping the destiny of the nation than this relinquishment of the presidency by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1912.

B. *The Second Period.*—This period of four years from 1913-1914 was centered round Yuan Shih-kai. As soon as he took over the presidency, he immediately began, with consummate skill, to consolidate his own position. Yuan accomplished this by placing his own most trusted generals as governors of the most important provinces of China. This process went on until 1916, when he felt himself strong enough to declare a new monarchy for China under the title of Hung Hsien, with himself as the first Emperor. In doing this, however, Yuan Shih-kai overreached himself, and his carefully laid plans of several years collapsed around him like a house of cards. This period closed with his death.

C. *The Third Period.*—The next period of ten years, from 1916-1925, was characterized by a series of internal wars. The generals appointed by Yuan Shih-kai began to fight among themselves for wealth and power soon after his death. It was in this period that the great militarist factions like the Anfu Clique, the Chihli Party, and the Moukden Party rose to struggle against each other for supremacy.

The net result in this period of internal strife was the breakdown of the authority of the central government. Peking became

the political prize for each militarist faction as it rose in power. Instead of a national government, Peking became the property of the dominant military faction. In a sense, therefore, China has not had a central government for the last decade.

## II. The Rise of the Nationalist Movement

But all through these fifteen years, while Yuan Shih-kai was busy maturing his plans for the monarchy and while his generals after him were carrying on that senseless series of internal wars, a strong undercurrent of a totally different nature was slowly gathering strength in the nation. Year after year the people have watched and suffered with what was to the western mind, incredible apathy, the gross mismanagement of the affairs of their own nation, both internally and externally. These years of political turmoil, however, were not suffered in vain. For slowly through these years it was borne upon the consciousness of the people that, unless they begin to express some interest and to demand a share in the government of their nation, the state of affairs was not going to improve. It was this awakening which laid the foundation for the present nationalist movement.

Three fairly distinct stages in this awakening can be traced. During the earlier years of the republic up to 1919 the awakening was confined largely to the student and more intelligent merchant classes of China. The high points in this period which focused attention and roused feeling in a national way were the twenty-one demands of Japan and the Versailles Peace Treaty. While the central government remained powerless on both occasions, the students and merchants of the country combined in an economic boycott of Japan as a protest against the twenty-one demands and in a national strike to compel our peace delegation in Paris to withdraw from the conference as a protest against the settlement of the Shantung question.

From 1919 to 1925 the awakening entered its second stage when the laboring classes of Chinese were reached. Beginning from south China, the tide of nationalism swept steadily northward through the ranks of labor. From an in-



coherent mass, labor in China today has become a powerful group to be reckoned with in any national crisis.

The two events which stood out in this period as rallying points in the consciousness of the people were the seamen's strike of Hongkong in 1923 and the May 30th shooting affair of Shanghai in 1925. Both events served to intensify and deepen the already growing national consciousness of the Chinese people, particularly in the ranks of labor.

It was during this period that the Russian influence began to be felt in China. Russia, posing as the only country ready to deal with China as an equal, was welcomed by Dr. Sun and his followers, and Russian advisers were appointed to the most important departments in the southern government. The Russian contribution to the nationalist cause lies chiefly in adding method and experience in party organization and propaganda to the enthusiasm of the nationalists.

Since May 30, 1925, the nationalist awakening reached its third stage when it entered another stratum of Chinese society, namely, the farm workers. During the past year farmers' unions sprang up rapidly in south China and the movement promises to spread to other provinces whenever they come under the influence of the nationalist government. It is yet too early to estimate the power and strength of this group when thoroughly awakened to a sense of nationhood, but anyone with even a limited understanding of conditions in China will readily see the vast significance in this stage.

### III. The Kuo Ming Tang and the Nationalist Movement

The political expression of the nationalist movement is the Kuo Ming Tang or People's Party. This party was originally founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a secret organization, under the name of Tung Men Hui, for the purpose of overthrowing the Manchu régime. After the establishment of the republic the Tung Men Hui was reorganized and became the Kuo Ming Tang. Through thick and thin, this party has tried to preserve the ideas of the revolution. During the first years of the republic it opposed Yuan Shih-kai's efforts to abolish the parliament and suspend the

constitution. Defeated in this struggle, the leaders went down to Canton and established an independent government from Peking. Through many vicissitudes of fortune this government has developed into the present nationalist government.

The chief source of strength of the Kuo Ming Tang at the present time lies in the fact that it is the only political party which has even the semblance of a constructive national program for the country. Broadly speaking, this program consists of three main sections, namely, the political unification of China under the authority of a nationalist government, the readjustment of China's international treaties, and the betterment of the condition of hand workers. With such a program, the Kuo Ming Tang has given voice to the nationalistic sentiment, and as a result the northern drive succeeded beyond the wildest hopes of its originators. Today the territory under the control of the nationalist government embraces Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Fukien, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Shensi, Kansu, and Chekiang.

Opposed to the nationalist government we find three military factions. First and the most powerful comes the Mukden group, under the leadership of Chang Tso-lin, which at present controls the three eastern provinces, Chihli, and Shantung. Secondly, we have the group under the leadership of Sun Chuan-fang, which controls Kiangsu, and Anhui.\* The third group is known as the Chihli Party, with General Wu Pei-fu as the leader. This faction has Honan under its control. Outside of these three groups there are Shansi, under Governor Yen, and Yunnan, under Governor Tang, both of whom are maintaining an attitude of watchful waiting. Szechuen is claimed by the nationalist government, but its real status is still uncertain. Contrasted with Kuo Ming Tang, these military groups have no program of any kind except unification by military force. They are cordially hated by the people and their elimination is simply a question of time.

\*Since this was written Anhui has gone over to the nationalists and Moukden has entered Honan and Kiangsu. Sun Chuan-fang is therefore practically eliminated.

#### IV. The Communists and Kuo Ming Tang

Ever since the influx of western ideas into China communism has gained a small band of followers in the ranks of the intelligentsia. But the group has remained small and unimportant because of the innate aversion of the Chinese people to radical ideas of social organization. When the Kuo Ming Tang grew in importance and size and in the favor of the people, it led to a desire on the part of the communists to want to throw in their lot with the Kuo Ming Tang, so that under cover of the political influence of the party they can propagate and put into practice communistic ideas and principles. The Kuo Ming Tang, on the other hand, lacked organization and a spirit of abandon, and it was felt by the leaders that an influx from the communistic group would be a great asset to their own party machine and spirit. Accordingly, a union of the two was consummated soon after 1921. The division of labor between these two groups seemed to be that the political program of the party is to be in the hands of the Kuo Ming Tang leaders, while the propagandist activities are to be in the hands of the communists.

This influx of communistic members into the Kuo Ming Tang has resulted in a sharp division in the rank and file of the party. Those followers of Dr. Sun who are moderates and not sympathetic to communistic ideas are known as the "Rights," while the extremists and communists are known as the "Lefts." Just at present the Lefts are in the ascendancy in the party.

The left wing of the party has gained a strong foothold among students through the student unions and among laborers through the labor unions. It is just beginning to organize the farm workers into unions also. Through these means the left wing has gained tremendous power in the party and the moderates are powerless at present to overthrow this group for fear it will so shake and disrupt the whole fabric of the party as to endanger the nationalist movement in China. And so the activities of the left wing are tolerated by the party as a whole and, for the same reason, tolerated by the people at large. It is therefore quite wrong to say that China has become communistic. The real

situation is that a communistic wing in the Kuo Ming Tang is at present tolerated for the sake of the larger issue, namely, the successful prosecution of the nationalist movement.

#### V. Some Dangers Confronting the Kuo Ming Tang

From personal observations made in different parts of China, I see the Kuo Ming Tang facing some very serious problems in its immediate future.

The first and most serious of these problems is the question of how long the temporary alliance between the Kuo Ming Tang and the Communistic Party can be maintained. Signs of discontent and rivalry between the two groups are already evident. These, if not smoothed over, will inevitably lead to a split in the party.

Secondly, the party's economic program of workers' control of sources of production and a levy on capital, if carried to the extreme, will lead to such a serious disruption of the economic life of the country that it is more than likely to defeat its own end—the betterment of the working man's economic condition. With this end most people in China are in sympathy. But there is a law of average in the economic world beyond which one cannot go. Once this limit is overstepped, the economic order breaks down. The mass of hand-workers in China are uneducated people. When drunk with power and dazzled by the alluring prospect of high wages and short working hours, who can say to what lengths they will go?

Thirdly, the Kuo Ming Tang, in countenancing an anti-religions and anti-Christian propaganda, is tampering with men's consciences, always a delicate sphere to meddle in. History has shown us that it is literally true that men have no fear of that which kills the body but not the soul when it comes to matters of conscience. The religious forces in any country can develop into a formidable source of opposition to any movement which seriously threatens the liberty of conscience. In allowing religious institutions to be attacked I feel the Kuo Ming Tang is embarked on a policy of doubtful wisdom, because it is rallying against itself a considerable body of moderate opinion which would otherwise heartily support the party's program.

## VI. The Fundamental Issue

In the present situation in China there are two kinds of developments going on. To understand the situation right we need to differentiate between the two and attach to each the correct significance. There is, first, a fundamental process unfolding in China's national life and then, second, there are the particular manifestations of this fundamental process.

The fundamental process I will call the *Process of Nation-making*. China, as a nation, in the modern sense of the term, does not exist. She is, so far, still an aggregate of families just beginning to be conscious of nationhood. Hitherto the unit of Chinese political thought is the family and not the nation and the unit of political relationship is the family tie rather than the bond of citizenship. Loyalty to the family is far more real than loyalty to the state for the ordinary man. As long as this is true it is unthinkable that China can become democratized. Until the basis of political thinking in China is shifted from the family to the state in the minds of the people the work of the revolution cannot be said to be complete. At this very moment in our national life we are seeing the birth of this conception of the nation state gradually superseding the conception of the family state. It needed all these years of suffering and turmoil to force men's minds to this change. But at last this change is well on its way and daily gaining momentum. This is the fundamental issue we need to grasp in order to understand the significance of what is happening in China today.

The revolution in 1911 was a change in political labels only, unaccompanied by a change in political concept. When Dr. Sun relinquished his presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-kai, all hopes for the mental change disappeared. It has taken us all these fifteen years to work back to the point when the necessary mental change begins to be possible again. We may think, therefore, of the northward advance of the nationalist government in 1926 as ushering in the second stage in the people's revolution—a revolution essentially in the people's political thinking. This stage will not be complete until this

change in political ideals and ideas has permeated the mass of China's four hundred millions. Even with all the forces working in the country, this will take at least another decade. Then and only then we shall see the dawn of the third stage of the people's revolution, the stage of national reconstruction in our political and social life along indigenous lines.

Now a word about the second phase of this fundamental process, namely, the particular manifestations. By these I am referring to incidents like the May 4th movement, the Washington Conference agitations, the May 30th shooting affair, the boycott against Japan and now against Great Britain, the Kuo Ming Tang drive, General Chiang Kai-shek. Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, Chang T'ao-lin, Wu Pei-fu and Co., etc. These are like the whirlpools and eddies carried on the surface of a main stream. The nation-making is the main stream. The particular incidents and personalities I have just mentioned are the whirlpools and eddies. The main stream is permanent and irresistible in its onward sweep. The whirlpools and eddies are incidental and transient. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that we differentiate between these two phases of China's growth and refuse to be led astray by accepting the particular manifestations as the whole development. If we fall into this error, we shall become either pessimists or violent partisans, and this is good neither for our health nor for our business.

This fundamental process of nation-making is essentially educational in nature. The term "educational" is here used in its broadest sense. Everything which contributes to the progress of this process is included in the term. The senseless strife between the militarists is as truly educational for the people as the northern drive of the nationalist armies. The only difference is that one is definitely blocking and delaying the process while the other is helping forward the cause. There is no question whatever as to which has the support of the people's will and affection. Today the militarists are held in universal execration, while the nationalist Kuo Ming Tang, with its communistic left wing and all, is hailed as

saviors of China. From this it ought to be clear to us that persons and organizations in China today suspected by the people of blocking the free development of this

fundamental process will have their usefulness seriously affected and even their continued existence threatened. The same would be true of governments and nations.

## BRIAND'S PROPOSAL OF PERPETUAL PEACE

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following brilliant discussion of the recent proposal made to our government by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs appeared originally in the *Saturday Evening Post* and is reprinted here by permission.)

ON APRIL 6, 1927, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Briand, communicated to the press a statement of which the following is a translation:

For those whose lives are devoted to securing this living reality of a policy of peace, the United States and France already appear before the world as morally in full agreement. If there were need for those two great democracies to give high testimony to their desire for peace and to furnish to other peoples an example more solemn still, France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries. The renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is a conception already familiar to the signatories to the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaties of Locarno. Every engagement entered into in this spirit by the United States toward another nation such as France would contribute greatly in the eyes of the world to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which the international policy of peace is being erected. These two great friendly nations, equally devoted to the cause of peace, would furnish to the world the best illustration of the truth that the immediate end to be attained is not so much disarmament as the practical application of peace itself.

Although there is not, and is not likely to be, any occasion of war between these two friendly republics, it is a satisfaction to receive this declaration of amity. It is even more gratifying to know that Monsieur Briand feels assured that he may speak with confidence for both these "great

democracies," and with this assurance to declare that, "if there were need, . . . France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement . . . to outlaw war."

While this announcement did not produce great excitement in the United States, for which there appeared to be no occasion, it has been received with respect and satisfaction. To a portion of the American public this utterance has had a significance somewhat in excess of Monsieur Briand's form of expression, if not of his original thought. He stated to the world at large what, "if there were need," France was willing to do. No doubt he intended this for the public even more than for the Department of State, which he did not at that time officially address on this subject. Had he intended to do so, there was no reason why he should have delayed; for the public speeches of the President of the United States are replete with expressions of sympathy with the amity which Monsieur Briand proposes to render permanent.

The proposal of perpetual peace through the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy involves a noble conception; but it is not and cannot be entirely dissociated from contingencies. No one comprehends this better than the Foreign Minister of France. Why is Monsieur Briand ready to sign such a compact with the United States and not with other nations? He has himself stated the reason. It is that these two great democracies, "the United States and France, already appear before the world as morally in full agreement."

The declaration is then, in substance, that, being "morally in full agreement," these two republics may safely set the world the noble example of renouncing war as an instrument of policy, and thus insure to themselves perpetual peace.

It is not, then, the compact, but the fact of being morally in full agreement, that

constitutes the ultimate basis of peace. If Monsieur Briand's reasoning is sound, and it appears to be, the expectation of peace is as strong as, and no stronger than, the prospect of continuing to be morally in full agreement.

History affords many examples of the most solemnly pledged perpetual peace. Not one of these compacts has survived. Every one has been broken, for the simple reason that no generation of men can bind another to a course of action, or of inaction, which is repulsive to its sense of right.

Monsieur Briand's proposal will receive due consideration from the American Government. But no plan for peace can succeed without organized procedure for securing justice. That is the ever-recurrent problem. A bare promise to renounce war does not solve it. All such promises must be contingent. They will become viable only through the better organization of justice—not merely for any two nations, but for all who intend in reality to renounce war as an instrument of policy.

The consideration of Monsieur Briand's proposal by a government acting under a constitution and responsible to the people, involves several items which need to be taken into account before action can be expected. The first of these is the policy of general uniformity in the treatment of the nations with which the United States has to deal. What would be the effect of accepting Monsieur Briand's suggestion with regard to the United States and France alone, and refusing or failing to adopt it with regard to any other nation with which the United States has satisfactory diplomatic relations? Is the United States prepared to give a promise to all nations that it will never resort to military force in defense of violated right?

It may, of course, be said that such a total renunciation of the use of force is not contemplated in Monsieur Briand's suggestion. What, then, are the conditions by which this renunciation is to be qualified? Here, it would appear, is the real crux of the problem. But this brings into the foreground the question: What wars are justifiable and what wars would not be justifiable? Which reduces the whole problem of international peace to an effective provision for international justice, which

can only be secured by a legal and judicial and not by a merely political organization of the world. And this has thus far been the traditional policy of the United States.

What Monsieur Briand appears to have in mind as a basis of permanent peace between the United States and France is a political rather than a legal or juridical act—"the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy" as between these two countries.

This sounds well, no doubt, to those who believe that any resort to military force is unjustifiable and should therefore be renounced in every case. But what of the violations of right? What is to protect a nation from these? Until the world is better organized, there is no protection. There is no international law that forbids war, and there is no international court before which a violation of law can be brought without the consent of the offender. Does Monsieur Briand's proposal intend to provide for them generally, or even as between France and the United States? Further examination will no doubt determine this.

Another item to be taken into consideration in connection with Monsieur Briand's suggestion is the question, Who in the United States possesses constitutional authority to make a pledge of perpetual peace?

It is a recognized principle of constitutional interpretation in the United States that no authority can be exercised by any organ of government, under the Constitution, which is not expressed or implied in some form in the fundamental law which has created the government. This principle is implicit in a conception of government as an institution of limited powers.

At first thought the authority to make the pledge in question may appear to reside in the treaty-making power of the Constitution, expressed in Article II, section 2, defining the functions of the President, in which it is declared:

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

The authority conferred upon the President in this sentence is, however, far from being an absolute and unqualified author-

ization to make treaties on all subjects, and does not confer unlimited power, even with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The extent of this power to make treaties has been discussed in a number of well-known special treaties on the treaty-making power of the United States, and certain limitations of this power have been universally recognized by the writers on this subject.

Without entering here upon a discussion of the different interpretations of the treaty-making power which have been presented by learned authors, there is one limitation upon this power which is so clear that it appears to be indisputable, namely, that the treaty-making power was not intended to extinguish, abolish, or diminish any definitely delegated power in the Constitution regarding other substantive functions of government. Among these substantive functions the Declaration of Independence enumerates "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

In making provision for the exercise of these functions, the Constitution has distributed them among the organs of government in a definite manner. There appears to be in the form of government created by the Constitution no provision for a transfer, and least of all a suppression, of these powers without an amendment to the Constitution.

Among the powers accorded to the Congress as a whole, in section 8 of Article I, is the power "to declare war. This power is clearly distinguished in the Constitution from the treaty-making power, which is accorded to the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. In the Declaration of Independence this power is expressly differentiated from the power to "conclude peace" and to "contract alliances." The reason for this is evident. The right to levy war is a right inherent in the conception of a sovereign people. It is concerned not merely with the temporary fortunes, but with the existence of the State. As a right essential to the defense of the existence of the State, the total surrender of it is not to be regarded as a

subject of negotiation and concession. A conclusion of peace merely marks the conditional end of the exercise of that right; it does not extinguish the right itself. The contracting of alliances is a form of action in the sphere of expediency, in which something definite is obtained for something definitely promised, and implies that the right to levy war is so far from being surrendered in an alliance that the obligation to exercise this power is often the very basis of the contract.

It may, no doubt, be asserted that a pledge of another State not to exercise the right of war may be a valuable consideration, and may therefore rightly constitute the substance of a treaty. Supposing it to be so, this does not settle the question who has authority to make this pledge in perpetuity. Indisputably, the Constitution, as it is, accords to the Congress in perpetuity the right to declare war; and though Congress may in any case fail to levy war, neither itself nor any other organ of government has been constitutionally empowered to abolish that right. It is evident, therefore, that Congress may at any time constitutionally exercise that right, and that no Congress can deprive a future Congress of its constitutional right to levy war whenever the occasion seems to justify the exercise of the war power.

That the proposal in question only aims at the permanent abolition of the right to levy war in a particular case, and does not contemplate the total abolition of the right, does not solve the problem; for the reasoning which would permit the suppression of this prerogative in a particular case could be extended with equal vigor to other and, in theory, to all cases.

It is perhaps not inopportune to recall to mind that it is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States to enter into an unalterable contract. Even the Constitution itself was intended to be alterable, not, indeed, by momentary impulses, but by reasons based upon experience; and it is not within the capacity of one generation of men to forecast the experience of the future. When defined as the right to defend right by force, the war power is, and will always remain, the *ultima ratio* in human affairs.

## THE KAISER AND KING EDWARD

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following bit of very interesting pre-war history is reproduced from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*.)

IT IS well known that from his youth upward Kaiser Wilhelm II felt a strange and hitherto unexplained animosity towards his uncle, King Edward VII, dating from the time when the latter was Prince of Wales. The reason is now explained by certain documents hitherto stored in the secret court archives of the Habsburgs in Vienna and recently discovered by a young Viennese historian, Dr. Otto Ernst. The documents, of which we publish the relevant portions below, show that this animosity of Kaiser Wilhelm against his English uncle was based on unreliable and malevolent gossip of Russian grand dukes.

The first document, which bears the date September 4, 1888, is a confidential report from the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Kalnoky, to the Emperor Francis Joseph on an interview with the German Ambassador in Vienna, the Prince of Reuss. Prince Heinrich VII von Reuss was then 63 years old and had for ten years been Germany's representative at Francis Joseph's court; before that he had been German Ambassador in St. Petersburg.

### Report to the Austrian Emperor

The following is a translation of Count Kalnoky's report to the Emperor:

Prince Reuss, who returned yesterday from his holidays and who had had occasion to speak both with Kaiser Wilhelm and with Prince Bismarck, has brought back nothing of extraordinary importance concerning political questions. He told me, however, several interesting things, which I summarize below.

Kaiser Wilhelm is quite satisfied with the arrangements made for his coming visit to Vienna. Concerning certain details Prince Reuss got immediately into touch with the chamberlain (*Obersthofmeister*), Prince Hohenlohe.

Kaiser Wilhelm is satisfied with his interview [with Tsar Nicholas II] at Peterhof, at which, "unlikely as it might seem," no political questions were touched on by the two emperors. Though no practical results were obtained, the journey was well worth making.

The Kaiser (Wilhelm) speaks against the English court with great irritation and impatience, especially against the Prince of Wales personally, and will not hear of a visit to the Queen (Victoria), who has been so tactless as to overwhelm him immediately with good advice. [Kaiser Wilhelm succeeded to the throne on June 15, 1888—that is, not quite three months before this report was written.] Kaiser Wilhelm learned about the Prince of Wales that he (the Prince) had related that Kaiser Friedrich (the father of Kaiser Wilhelm) had told him personally that he wanted to restore Brunswick and the Guelph funds to the Duke of Cumberland, and that he also wanted to return Northern Schleswig to the Danes and Alsace-Lorraine to the French. Besides this, the Prince is said to have given currency to all sorts of malevolent gossip about his imperial nephew, which has made the Kaiser very sore. I could see from the questions of the Ambassador (Prince Reuss) that he wanted to make sure that the Prince of Wales will not be at the imperial court or the imperial hunt when the Kaiser visits Vienna.

The widow of the Emperor Friedrich (the daughter of Queen Victoria) remains a distinct embarrassment for Kaiser Wilhelm, because, to the greatest regret of her son, she refuses to go abroad and seems to be trying to form a court which may easily become the center of the opposition elements.

Kaiser Wilhelm is developing a sort of mania for the navy, and has organized a miniature fleet at the Havel lakes near Potsdam. It gave him great pleasure to find that he had succeeded in impressing the Russians through the German fleet which accompanied his Majesty to Kronstadt, and that he had been able to show that the German armored ships in the Baltic have to be counted with.

KALNOKY.

VIENNA, September 4, 1888.

The document bears Francis Joseph's initials.

### The Kaiser Seeks Peace

The second document is a confidential letter from Count Kalnoky to the Austrian Ambassador in London, Count

Deym. This private letter was written seven months later than Count Kalnoky's report to the Emperor Francis Joseph. The following is a translation of the second document. It should be explained that the Prince of Wales was the guest of the Austrian Kaiser at the Hofburg just before Kaiser Wilhelm's proposed visit.

SECRET AND POLITICAL REPORT No. 45 A Y  
Extremely Confidential

*Private Letter of Count Kalnoky to Count Deym in London.*

VIENNA, April 1, 1889.

Your Excellency's private letter addressed to me reached me safely, in which you reported the latest soothing and pacifying action of Prussian diplomacy concerning Kaiser Wilhelm's aversion to the Prince of Wales, and in which you mention certain events which occurred during the visit of the German Emperor to Vienna last October.

If the Prussian court and cabinet are now trying to prove that the almost passionate animosity at that time against the Prince of Wales did not exist, and if this is done in the hope of restoring friendly relations with the English court, having in view family relations and political considerations, this in our view is highly desirable. I took the liberty last autumn of expressing my fears that His Majesty had been dragged into such open enmity against the heir to the British throne through all sorts of gossip of very doubtful value. It was, I said, not his (the Prince of Wales's) nature to spin political or other intrigues. I then pointed out that the whole policy of the Allied Powers [Germany and Austria—Ed.] was entirely incompatible with inimical relations between the British and Prussian courts; whereupon Kaiser Wilhelm assured me that he fully realized the necessity of good relations with England, and he would give way by and by; but he could not tolerate being treated by his uncle (the Prince of Wales) as a "silly kid" ("dummer Junge").

If efforts are at present being made to bring about a reconciliation with the court of England, this corresponds perfectly with our interests and wishes, and we are ready to foster these efforts by all possible means. I recommend, therefore, to Your Excellency to adopt the same point of view; and please do not even mention the past fric-

tion and incidents between Kaiser Wilhelm and his uncle, the details of which are, in any case, unknown to you.

It could only lead to new misunderstandings and disagreements if we were to revive the memory of the conflict between the high guests who followed each other at the Hofburg, a conflict which was so painful to their imperial host (Francis Joseph). It would have a painful effect on the Prince of Wales if he were reminded that, though he was not invited to stay, he was more insistent than was considerate in trying to stay on in Vienna during the visit of the Kaiser (Wilhelm), nor would Kaiser Wilhelm and Count Herbert Bismarck desire to be reminded of the fact that we obtained our information about the extreme animosity against the English heir to the throne only through the unmistakably candid information from the Wilhelmstrasse (the German Foreign Office), and that the Prince von Reuss, who never acts without orders, drew not only mine, but also the Emperor's (Francis Joseph) attention to the fact that the presence of the Prince of Wales would upset Kaiser Wilhelm—a statement which I found confirmed later by the passionate utterances of His Majesty (Kaiser Wilhelm) against the Prince.

At that time the main trouble was certain depreciatory utterances of the Prince of Wales, which were related to Kaiser Wilhelm through Russian grand dukes—that is, through very dubious sources—and the gossip concerning the alleged intention of Kaiser Friedrich to restore Alsace-Lorraine to France. What Lord Salisbury today claims, that Berlin intimated to us that out of consideration for Russia it was not desirable to receive the visits of the Prince of Wales and Kaiser Wilhelm at the same time, is quite new to us. I am able to say that, on the contrary, personal considerations alone were advanced, to the exclusion of all political considerations.

But, as I already said, we do not want to hinder in any way the praiseworthy efforts of Kaiser Wilhelm and Prince Bismarck to effect a reconciliation between the English and Prussian courts. On the contrary, we should be glad to promote such an understanding, and would wish, therefore, not to recall events on which Berlin is now seeking to put another interpretation, as they were in reality. They seem to be will-



ing to make good the gross mistakes rather than to confess them.

KALNOKY.

#### Meeting with the Prince of Wales

The Prince of Wales must have had weighty political reasons for trying to force a meeting with his nephew at the court of the Austrian Emperor. It seems very probable, not only on the basis of the above documents, but also on the strength of other material in the Austrian archives, that the attitude of Kaiser Wilhelm had frustrated a meeting of three imperial persons which might have led to the co-operation of three of the most important powers in West and Central Europe. Six months later the Emperor Wilhelm apparently regretted his attitude, to judge from the second letter. A meeting between the Prince of Wales and the Kaiser occurred twenty-two months after the writing of this letter to Deym. The document which follows shows the effect created in Germany by the London visit of Kaiser Wilhelm. It is a report from the Austrian Ambassador in Berlin to the Austrian Foreign Minister.

BERLIN, August 23, 1890.

Your Excellency has no doubt been informed through the reports of the Imperial and Royal Embassy in London about Kaiser Wilhelm's stay in England and the impression which this imperial visit to the English courts created among leading statesmen and the public in that country.

I want to sketch roughly the impression which Kaiser Wilhelm's stay on English soil created here in Germany.

The strange circumstance was still noticeable in Germany a few years ago that, though the imperial government attached the utmost value to the development of cordial relations between Germany and England, an undeniable mistrust of English policy and a certain aversion to all that was English (*gegen englisches Wesen*) was manifested here.

If in the past year a decided change of public opinion in this regard was already observable, we now find a complete change in favor of England, prompted by the hearty and flattering reception which Kaiser Wilhelm enjoyed in England, and also by the

friendly action of England in ceding Heligoland to Germany.

The leading articles in the big English newspapers, which paid tribute to the moral earnestness, the rare diligence, and the other regal virtues of Kaiser Wilhelm, and mentioned the close kinship of the two peoples, have produced a widespread echo in Germany, which is clearly mirrored in the articles of the German daily press. To this there was added another important factor, which undoubtedly brought out the feeling of gratitude in German hearts—the cession of Heligoland. Small and unimportant as this island may be, and its strategical value disputable, every German nevertheless considered it a sort of humiliation that an island close to the mouth of three German rivers, and whose inhabitants belong to the old Frisian race, should remain in English possession.

In handing over Heligoland to Germany England made a very welcome present, and the concessions made in Africa are driven altogether into the background, since the majority of the German population is hostile to the present colonial policy, fearing that it will dissipate Germany's strength and unnecessarily overburden her financial resources.

It is years since so much praise and recognition of the United Kingdom was to be found in the German press, and this attitude of the public finds strong support in government quarters here, especially in the Imperial Chancellor's Office and the Foreign Office, where there is a real and expressed desire to bring German and English interests closer and closer to each other.

In Austria-Hungary this achievement of a *rapprochement* between Germany and England may be received with satisfaction, because the attitude of England toward the Triple Alliance is placed on a safer basis through the recent events.

EISENSTEIN.

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# NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE\*

By ALES BROŽ

IN present-day Europe there are some 50 to 60 million people belonging to national minorities. It is undoubtedly a large number, but before the war this number was twice as large, including whole racial groups, such as Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians, and others. In considering the political status of national minorities we must take into account whether the minority in question consists of a whole nation or of a fragment of a nation which has its own State and political independence. This is of great importance, for a national minority which represents a fragment of an independent nation, as, for instance, the Germans of Bohemia or the Germans of Southern Tyrol, is in a much better position than a minority consisting of an entire racial group. Thus, for instance, the Germans of Bohemia or the Germans of Southern Tyrol may look for sympathy and support to Germany and to Austria in case of real oppression. When, however, a whole nation is subjugated to foreign rule, at it was, before the war, with the Poles and Czechs, such a nation has nowhere to look for genuine sympathy and may find itself in danger of being gradually exterminated.

Regarded from this point of view, the present situation of national minorities in Europe, as compared with the pre-war situation, has undoubtedly greatly improved. The new territorial arrangement in Europe has, it is true, created some new national minorities, as, for instance, the German minority in Czechoslovakia and Italy, but, on the other hand, it has liberated 19 million Poles, 9 million Czechs and Slovaks, 7 million Southern Slavs, 5 million Rumanians of Transylvania and Bessarabia, and some 10 million people belonging to smaller racial groups, such as Lithuanians, Finns, Esthonians, Latvians, Danes, and others. On the whole, some 50 million people and, if we count the 26 millions of Little Russians of the Ukraine, in the Union of Russian Socialist Soviet

Republics, as being liberated, some 76 million people have been freed of foreign domination; so that, with the exception of four million Catalonians in Spain and of a million Bretons in France, there is today no large independent racial group in Europe under foreign rule.

Thus the present national minorities in Europe consist mainly of fragments of nations which are politically independent and have their own States. To a large extent, the existence of these national minorities is almost unavoidable, for in some parts of Europe nations are so intermixed that it is practically impossible to draw the frontiers in such a way as to avoid leaving fragments of other nations subjected to foreign rule. There are places in Bohemia, in Slovakia, or in Transylvania where Czechs and Germans, Slovaks and Magyars, and Rumanians and Magyars, respectively, are so intermixed that it is simply impossible to draw a clear racial demarcation line. In Bohemia and Moravia, for instance, there are several towns, such as Jihlava and Svitava, in which there is a considerable number of German-speaking inhabitants, while the surrounding districts are purely Czech. Unless each of these towns could constitute a State of its own, their German inhabitants had to be incorporated into the newly founded Czechoslovak State. Frontiers, moreover, cannot be drawn simply according to the nationality of the inhabitants. There are other reasons to be considered: economic reasons, strategic reasons, historical reasons, etc.

Of the present-day European States the largest percentage of national minorities, amounting to from 30 to 40 per cent of the total population, are found in the following States: †

Poland (Ruthenians, White Russians, Germans, Lithuanians); Rumania (Magyars, Germans, Ruthenians); Czechoslovakia (Germans, Magyars, Poles, and Ruthenians, who form an autonomous part of the Republic).

States having from 20 to 30 per cent of minorities: Soviet Russia (Little Russians, White Russians, Tartars, Bashkirs);

\* From *European Observer* of September 30.

† Dr. Jan Auerhan: *Jazykové menšiny v Evropě*, Praha.

Greece (Turks, Slavs, Bulgarians, Albanians); Latvia (Russians, Germans); Lithuania (Russians, Poles, Germans).

From 10 to 20 per cent: Hungary (Slovaks, Germans, Serbs, Croates, Rumanians); Ukrainians (Great Russians, Germans, Poles, Rumanians); Finland (Swedes, Russians); Bulgaria (Turks, Greeks); Spain (Catalonians, Basques).

From 5 to 10 per cent: France (Alsations, Bretons, Italians, Basques); Austria (Czechs, Croates, Slovenes); Esthonia (Russians, Germans, Swedes); Albania (Bulgarians, Serbs, Turks, Greeks).

National minorities of less than 5 per cent of the total population: Germany (Poles, Lusatian Serbs, Lithuanians, Czechs, Danes); Italy (Yugoslavs, Germans, French, Albanians); Sweden (Finns, Lapps); Great Britain (Celts, speaking Welsh and Scotch).

It will be observed that practically every European State contains a certain percentage of national minorities. Numerically, the strongest single national minority is that of the Little Russians (Ruthenians) in Poland, numbering nearly 5 millions; then comes the Ruthenian minority in Soviet Russia, numbering 4 mil-

lions (here we do not count as a minority the 26 millions of Little Russians of the Ukraine, which is an autonomous part of the Russian Soviet Union, but only those Little Russians outside of the Ukraine); the German minority in Czechoslovakia, numbering 3 millions; the Magyar minority in Rumania; Polish minority in Germany; Ruthenian minority in Rumania and the German and White Russian minorities in Poland, each numbering about one million people.

Since, as we have seen, it is impossible to draw a clear racial demarcation line, so that some national fragments must unavoidably be left under a foreign rule, the makers of the peace treaties, and especially President Wilson, have seen to it that a certain measure of protection and equal political and cultural rights were granted to the existing and to the newly created national minorities. Provisions to this effect were incorporated in the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain-en-Laye, Trianon, and Neuilly, as well as in the special treaties concluded between the Allied Powers on the one side and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece on the other.

## INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### TARIFF CONTROVERSY WITH FRANCE

(NOTE.—Following is the text of (I) Aide memoire delivered on September 14 by the French Foreign Office to our Chargé d' Affaires in Paris; (II) Aide memoire delivered by our Chargé d'Affaires to the French Foreign Office on September 20; and (III) the French reply, delivered on September 30.)

#### I. French Aide Memoire of September 14

The French Government has noted the proposals and requests contained in the aide memoire which the First Secretary of the Embassy of the United States was good enough to forward to the Political Director of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on September 7.

The French Government has considered, with the most cordial desire to do justice to American interests, the situation arising from the tariff reform of August 30, 1927.

It does not intend to deny that this reform implies, as regards certain products originating in and coming from the United States which are not included in lists A and B of the *modus vivendi* of March-April, 1910, an augmentation resulting both from the increase of basic duties and the withdrawal of the benefits which Article 2 of the decree of August 28, 1921, assured to the said products.

But it has appeared to the French Government that the benefits assured by this decree as to American products without any contractual obligation constituted a measure

motivated in 1921 by exceptional circumstances and particularly by the monetary position of certain European States to which other States had taken exception or had claimed the benefit of these advantages, and that finally the exceptional treatment which they implied for the United States was not in harmony with the constant increase in the American tariffs and the reinforcement of customs barriers practiced by America since that time to the detriment of certain specific products of the French trade.

The French Government has therefore deemed that it should return, on the occasion of the customs reform instituted in consequence of the Franco-German treaty, and within the limit of this reform, to the legal position which resulted from the simultaneous acts of 1910.

It welcomes, on the other hand, with the greatest satisfaction the offer made to it by the Government of the United States to substitute for these simultaneous acts, which have only given an incomplete status to exchanges between the two countries, a treaty giving to individuals and corporations of each of the two States as well as to their trade and navigation extended guarantees consistent in all points with their traditional friendship.

As the American Government suggests, it (*i. e.*, the French Government) is ready to begin within a few weeks the negotiation of a treaty of this nature, but it believes, however, that it should subordinate its adhesion to a preliminary assurance.

Today, as during the laborious negotiations carried on from 1897 until 1910, the French Government believes that it is not possible to place on the same level the indiscriminate application of the common customs law practiced by the United States, which excludes any present or eventual favor being granted to third States and the positive advantages of the most-favored-nation treatment and of the granting of the minimum French tariff.

On the other hand, the French Government is of the opinion that the prohibitive régime resulting for certain French products from the particularly high tariffs which the United States has in force at present and the moderate rates of the French minimum tariff, which offer to American exporters generous possibilities on the French market, cannot be considered as equivalent.

The French Government cannot, therefore, consider that Article 7 of the preliminary draft presented by the American Embassy under date of September 12 constitutes a favorable basis for the negotiations which it is disposed to undertake.

It would like to receive the assurance of the American Government that it agrees to consider that the negotiations which are about to be undertaken must on the one hand guarantee to America a treatment of more complete equality with its most favored competitor on the French market under the régime of granting the minimum tariff to the principal exported products and on the other hand guarantee to French exports advantages of the same nature on the American market not only by the application without discrimination of the tariff of the United States, but also, should there be occasion, by such reductions or adaptations of this tariff as might appear necessary to permit the sale of certain specific French goods on the American market.

If the French Government were to receive this preliminary assurance, which appears to it to be the indispensable starting point for the elaboration of a treaty consistent with equity and the interests of the two countries, it would be disposed, in order to facilitate the negotiations and to permit of their development in an atmosphere of active cordiality, to enact immediately a decree diminishing by 50 per cent the surplus rates instituted by the decree of August 30 for the benefit of products originating in and coming from the United States, which, not being covered by the statute of 1910, find themselves at present subjected to the maximum rates of the said tariffs.

This highly conciliatory measure would take place immediately after an exchange of letters specifying the object which the two governments have, in view in opening the negotiations for a definite treaty.

It may be withdrawn if these negotiations should not bring forth the happy result that the two governments hope for.

## II. American Aide Memoire of September 20

The Government of the United States has received the aide memoire of the French Government on the subject of possible tariff arrangements to be made between the two governments pending the negotiation of a definite treaty. This aide memoire touches also on the

French conception of certain principles which might be included in such treaty.

The Government of the United States is both surprised and disappointed at the attitude of the French Government as therein expressed. It had supposed that the French Government fully understood that the American law which fixes the tariff on imports does not envisage the conclusion of a treaty of reciprocity in regard to rates of duty.

Passing, indeed, beyond the mere limitations of the law into the broader field of international trade relations, it is the profound belief of the American Government that the only satisfactory basis of such relations is to be found in the domain of equal treatment of the trade of all nations. Any other policy can lead only to confusion and misunderstanding, and, in the opinion of the American Government, is opposed to the soundest principles of world economics and essentially of world good will.

Unless the principle of equality of treatment to all is admitted, there can be no confidence in the stability of trade relations, and the beginning of such discriminatory action can only lead to its extension throughout the world, thus creating trade groups, combinations against weaker nations, reprisals, and a long train of political and economic dangers.

The principle of general most-favored-nation treatment in its broadest form, as the basis of commercial treaties, was unanimously recommended by the members of the Economic Conference recently held in Geneva as a principle to be followed. This principle there had the endorsement of the French members.

It is the understanding of the American Government that the principles on which the French Government fixes its tariff are those expressed in 1891 by Monsieur Meline in his report on March 3 to the Chamber of Deputies. Monsieur Meline said at that time:

The producer demands, as is his right, that account be taken of the heavy costs which burden his labor and of the disadvantages to which he should not be subjected. In the formation of a customs tariff, he asks that the legislature measure exactly the differential which separates him from his foreign competitor, and that the tariff rate inscribed in the act be the representation of this differential.

Your commission . . . has tried to mand proper, and it is upon this basis that it

has tried to perform the difficult work which you have entrusted to it. It has searched for the exact rate which seemed indispensable for each branch of industry and agriculture to assure its existence and free development.

It has considered that, to give to the tariff a real value and to give courage and confidence to French production, it is important, above all, to fix the minimum rate which will be assured to them and below which in future there will be no concessions. It is upon this fundamental principle that our minimum tariff policy is based; it is this that determines its real character.

This theory was restated in 1906 by Monsieur Morel, who said:

We have been entirely guided by the fundamental rules laid down by the founders of the customs régime of 1892. . . .

Your commission . . . has tried to measure exactly the differences which exist between the French producer and his foreign competitor by reason of the costs which burden his work and the disadvantages which exist through no fault of his, and it has placed in the minimum tariff the figure representing this difference.

It is precisely on this theory of protection that the rates of duty of the American tariff law rest, and it is believed that a tariff designed for the protection of producers and the raising of revenue is not open to objection by other governments when it is applied equally to all.

The Government of the United States would therefore not criticise non-discriminatory tariff rates imposed by France, since it considers that rates are a matter solely of internal policy. It feels, however, that a protest is justified when these rates do not apply equally to all nations.

The American Government is not now making any criticism of the non-discriminatory rates France has adopted; but objects only to the fact that France is discriminating against the trade of the United States by applying to many categories of American goods rates in some cases four times as high as upon similar articles imported from Germany and other countries competing with the United States in the French market.

While the rates of duty of the American tariff rest upon the same theory of protection as do the "minimum" rates of the French tariff, it may be pointed out that the so-called "general" or "maximum" rates of the French tariff, in the words of the report of French Commission on Tariffs and Commercial Con-

ventions, submitted to the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, 1927 (Document No. 4220), are devised "in order to leave to the negotiators of commercial agreements the margin between the duties in the two columns as the essential counterpart which they may give in exchange for the advantages which they wish to procure."

The existing rates of the American tariff, it should be noted, embody no such margin for bargaining.

The French Government appears to entertain the view that France is justified in discriminating against American trade because it considers that the average rate of duty imposed by the United States on imports from France is higher than the average rate imposed by France on imports from the United States. But this not discrimination.

Our rates are uniform on these imports; they are the same for others as for France. This argument, moreover, is not admitted by the Government of the United States, which, as stated above, considers tariff rates a domestic matter and at the same time considers all discrimination to be unjustified.

If the rates of duty on articles imported into the United States from France are proportionally higher than on those exported from the United States to France, the reason is merely that a large part of American imports consists of manufactured articles and luxuries, whereas an equally large proportion of French imports from America is raw materials. Furthermore, the higher duties in the present tariff law charged in the United States on the imports from France have not decreased the flow of French goods, as is evidenced by the fact that in 1921 imports from France amounted to \$141,885,000, whereas in 1926 they amounted to \$152,030,000.

Moreover, in any consideration of trade relations between France and the United States it is necessary to bear in mind the very large invisible exports of France by reason of expenditures of American tourists, amounting to well over \$200,000,000 annually.

The American Government points out that it is entirely impracticable for countries to apply to each other's trade exactly or even approximately the same average rates of duty, which appears to be the logical conclusion of the French contention, in view of the varying commodities entering into international trade as well as the differences in

price levels, purchasing power, and other conditions of the respective countries.

In the trade between the United States and Brazil the position of the United States is the reverse of that existing with France.

About 95 per cent of the imports into the United States from Brazil are entirely free of duty, while a large proportion of all American exports to Brazil are dutiable. Yet the American Government does not, for this reason, contend that 95 per cent of the goods from the United States which are imported into Brazil should be admitted free of duty.

On the contrary, the Government of the United States cannot object to whatever duty may be levied by France or Brazil, or any other nation, when there is no discrimination as between the United States and other countries. Absence of discrimination is a cardinal principle of clean-cut and friendly trade relations.

The policy of the American tariff law makes no discrimination whatsoever between articles imported from different countries. Furthermore, discrimination in world trade against the United States has practically ceased. It is France alone, at the present time, which seriously discriminates against American products.

Article 317 of the present American tariff law gives the Executive the right to impose additional duties on goods coming from a country which discriminates in its tariff against the trade of the United States. The American Government is very loath to increase its tariff on articles imported from France, which is clearly at the present time practicing discrimination as contrasted with its treatment of similar goods imported from other nations which are competitors of the United States.

It has so far refrained from doing so, since it believes that upon reconsideration the French Government will realize the essential justice of the American principle, already, as noted above, endorsed by representatives of the other nations of the world assembled in conference at Geneva, that it will hesitate to discriminate against a nation which has always maintained an intimate friendship with France, and will therefore see its way clear both to the negotiation of a treaty guaranteeing general most-favored-nation treatment and to suspending in the interim its manifest discrimination against American products.

### III. French Aide Memoire of September 30

The aide memoire which the Government of the United States delivered on September 20 to the French Government has been the object on the part of the latter of an especially exhaustive examination, which gives rise to the following remarks:

The principle of the equality of commercial relations, which the Government of the United States declares is the only sound basis of international relations and the only guarantee against a number of political or economic dangers, which it sets forth in detail, is far from having received the unanimous adhesion which the Government of the United States considers as obtained.

It is true that this doctrine was formulated in the United States during the latter part of the 19th century, and "the equality of commercial conditions," completed, it is true, by "the abolition of economic barriers," was presented thus to the allied and associated powers as one of the conditions for the re-establishment of peace.

But the principle of equality of economic conditions, even completed by the abolition of economic barriers, was not considered by the Peace Conference of 1919 as a sufficient guarantee in itself to insure fair and peaceful relations between nations, and it is not the equality of commercial conditions, but the more comprehensive formula of the equitable treatment of commerce, which is contained in Article 23 (E) of the covenant of the League of Nations. There is no doubt either that the choice of this formula was dictated by reasons of necessary fair reciprocity and liberalism.

When in 1922 the nations of Europe again met at Genoa it was again not the simple formula of equality of commercial conditions that they envisaged as the guarantee of economic restoration. Article 9 of the Genoa deliberations states in effect:

The conference recalls the principle of equitable treatment of commerce set forth in Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and strongly recommends the resumption of commercial relations on the basis of commercial treaties, resting on the one hand on the system of a reciprocity adapted to special circumstances and applying on the other hand as far as possible the clause of the most favored nation.

All later technical conferences, in the first rank of which should be placed the interna-

tional conference for the simplification of customs formalities, admit that discrimination can be envisaged, and content themselves with condemning unfair discrimination (Article 2 of the said convention).

Lastly, since the Government of the United States desires in its aide memoire to refer the conclusions of the recent international conference at Geneva, it should be specified that the latter, while proclaiming that "the reciprocal granting of the unconditional clause of the most-favored-nation treatment as regards customs duties and trade conditions constitutes an essential element of the free and normal development of exchanges between nations," admits immediately afterwards "that it is for each country to decide in which cases and in what measure this fundamental guarantee should be inserted in a given treaty."

But what is most important to note is that the economic conference of Geneva, to which the American Government refers, did not only recommend the reciprocal granting in as large a measure as possible of the most-favored-nation treatment, but placed in the foreground of its declarations the necessity of lowering excessive tariffs by common agreement. The chapter relating to commercial policy and commercial treaties states:

The main conclusion to be drawn from the work of the conference in the field of commercial policy is that the time has come to put a stop to the growth of customs tariffs, and to reverse the direction of the movement by an effort made along three lines, viz:

(1) Individual action by States with regard to their own tariffs.

(2) Bilateral action through the conclusion of suitable commercial treaties.

(3) Collective action, by means of an inquiry, with a view to encouraging the expansion of international trade on an equitable basis by removing or lowering the barriers to international trade which are set up by excessive customs tariffs.

Thus the Economic Conference at Geneva associates with the idea of equality of commercial conditions the reduction by autonomous or contractual means of the excessive tariffs at present in force, and it is in full conformity with the doctrines of this conference, warmly upheld by the French delegation, that the French Government has proposed to the Government of the United States a treaty based both on the application in as large measure as possible of the most-favored-nation clause and on the customs adjustments

which might seem necessary in order to favor the commerce of the two countries.

France, on the other hand, has already applied the two inseparable aspects of the doctrine proclaimed by the Geneva Conference in a recent agreement with Germany.

She is preparing other treaties on the same basis, and she is able to note in the course of the negotiations which she is pursuing that most of the countries of Europe would consider it not as progress, but as a step backwards in commercial policy, a partial application of the Geneva doctrine by virtue of which, whatever commercial advantages may be exchanged, most-favored-nation treatment should be granted indifferently to all countries without taking into account the protectionism of some and the liberalism of others, in such a manner that there would result a benefit for the former to the detriment of the latter and a miscarriage of justice as regards the contracting State itself.

This opinion is furthermore in accordance with the one which the United States endeavored to cause to prevail in the world when, in 1778, in their treaty with France, they introduced the conditional clause of most-favored-nation treatment and obligation of a fair compensation for the advantages accorded by them to a third State and claimed by the contracting State.

The later declarations of President Monroe and President John Quincy Adams also proclaimed that the most-favored-nation clause could only be granted in exchange for special advantages. It would also be easy to invoke the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States, which decided, notably with regard to a treaty between the United States and Denmark, that the clause of the most-favored-nation obliged the two countries to avoid a hostile or discriminatory legislation, but that its object was not to interfere with the commercial arrangements with other countries based on the concession of reciprocal privileges.

Lastly, it was to respond to that constant preoccupation of equilibrium that the United States, during the 19th century, drew up a series of contractual systems the history of which was recently written by one of the late presidents of the Tariff Commission and which all tended to establish a reciprocity in fact.

When the Government of the United States abandoned its efforts in this direction a few years ago, one may wonder if the principal

reason was not in view of the rising level of its rates that it preferred the liberty of autonomous tariff action to a policy of tariff contracts whose first result would have been, generally speaking, to impose sacrifices upon it.

It is true that the Government of the United States thought it could invoke not only international doctrine, but French law itself. In order to bring out the spirit of this law, it relies upon the statements of Monsieur Meline and Monsieur Jean Morel.

But the French Government cannot approve the presentation of French tariff law which the Government of the United States believed it its duty to make to it, any more than it can its exposition of international law.

The tariff doctrine of France has been unvarying since 1892, but it does not correspond to the American Government's notion of it.

Indeed, the law of 1892 stipulated in its first article that "the minimum tariff may be applied to goods of countries allowing French goods to benefit by correlative advantages and which will apply to them their lowest tariffs."

This text expressly provides, therefore, that the absence of discrimination does not suffice to justify the granting of the minimum tariff, but that in addition there must exist advantages correlative to those included in the French minimum tariff.

Since the law of 1892 commented upon by M. Meline, and since the report of M. Morel in 1906, the French Government has always subordinated the granting of the minimum tariff—that is to say, the most-favored-nation clause—to the reciprocal granting of a régime favorable to its trade.

From 1892 to 1914 France concluded many treaties of commerce in which the concession of the French minimum tariff is limited to certain articles, in view of the not very favorable régime which the contracting States granted in general to the French export trade, and it is on the basis of this very French tariff law that the governments which from 1897 to 1910 negotiated with the United States in conformity with the doctrine which the government of this country is invoking were not able to see their way clear, in view of the disparity of French and American tariffs and in view of the inequality of the advantages resulting from the general tariff established by the United States and the minimum tariff in force in France, to establish



the relations of the two countries on the reciprocal granting of the most-favored-nation treatment.

The granting of the minimum tariff has never been considered by the French Government as the starting point of a negotiation which has secured for French export trade the necessary safeguards.

It is in conformity with this spirit that the law of 1919 (which the Government of the United States did not mention) stipulated that in commercial conventions France could accord "reductions in the rates of the general tariff calculated in percentages on the difference existing between this general tariff and the minimum tariff."

The law of 1919 thus makes it clear that the granting of the minimum tariff does not indicate that the minimum concession and the usual régime, but the maximum concession and exceptional treatment which negotiators can in exchange for correlative advantages accord to foreign countries.

In the opinion of all the French governments which have succeeded each other, the granting of the minimum tariffs may not be claimed as a matter of law, but can only be obtained as a matter of fact by the States which assure to French products real possibilities of sale on their market.

It is in conformity with this same conception that the French Government, in its explanatory statement of the draft tariff bill which it recently submitted to Parliament, contemplated that in case the needs of the French export trade should be met by an equitable régime, the most liberal application could be made of the law of 1919, namely, the general and unconditional granting of most-favored-nation treatment.

It is this treatment which the French Government has envisaged for the United States if, however, the United States are disposed to assure to French commerce equitable conditions and possibilities of facilities, to which, in order to respect the fundamental laws of the Republic, the government must subordinate the favorable treatment which it offers to the United States.

The United States cannot be surprised that France should wish, in order to safeguard its exchanges and commercial balance, to obtain contractual guarantees. She must do so in the interest not only of her monetary and economic restoration, but also of her inter-

national engagements. As the American experts were the first to say in the Dawes Plan, any country can only secure for itself possibilities of transfer by the sale of its goods.

The Government of the United States draws, moreover, from its trade with France and with foreign countries an ensemble of deductions tending to prove that France is not subjected to any discrimination, that this general régime which the United States accords it has not been unfavorable to its commerce, and that in order to improve this commerce there is no need to provide any concessions.

France is not complaining of being discriminated against by the United States; what she is complaining of is being subjected, together with other States, to a restrictive régime which, in view of the character of her production, is more prejudicial to it than to other nations, and which, although applicable to everybody, has hit its commerce most particularly.

When the Government of the United States invoke in support of its argument the comparison of our exports of 1921 and 1926, specified in dollars, it is no doubt fair to object that the year 1921, when France, still bruised by the German devastation, was incapable of exporting, cannot serve as a term of comparison.

Even if the figures of 1921—that is, \$141,885,000—are a trifle higher than those of 1913, amounting to \$136,877,990, in order to appreciate in an equitable manner the fate of French exports to America, it is from these latter figures that calculations must be made, taking into account, moreover, the worldwide increase of prices, even when specified in dollars, and France's present power of exportation as compared with that of before the war.

If the régime which the United States imposed on French exportation had not been subjected since 1913 to regular restrictions, both by the schedule of rates of the Fordney bill and by the manner in which they have been applied, the figure of \$136,877,990 for 1913 should have amounted in 1926 to about \$200,000,000, taking into account the increase which prices, specified in dollars, have undergone and the new possibilities of French exports.

It may, therefore, be rightly concluded that if the French exports of 1913 are calculated at \$136,877,990, and if the exports of 1926

are limited to \$152,030,000, that signifies that French export trade to the United States has undergone a formidable restriction.

It is impossible not to recognize that this restriction is due to the excessive elevation of American tariffs affecting the principal French products, as is shown by examples here given:

Fresh or dried or preserved mushrooms, 46 per cent ad valorem; perfumery, cosmetics, et al. containing alcohol, 40 cents per litre plus 75 per cent ad valorem; not containing alcohol, 75 per cent ad valorem; porcelains, 55 to 70 per cent ad valorem; cutlery dutiable by the piece, increased on an average of 45 per cent; cotton plush, 50 per cent ad valorem; upholstery fabrics, 45 per cent ad valorem; yarns, weaves and fabrics of wool, dutiable by the pound, increased by from 30 to 50 per cent; twisted silk threads, 25 per cent ad valorem; sewing threads and floss silk, 40 per cent ad valorem; silk in piece and knitted fabrics, 55 per cent ad valorem; velvet and silk plush, 60 per cent ad valorem; tulle and silk lace, 90 per cent ad valorem; clothes, articles of clothing of all sorts, 60 per cent ad valorem; clothes containing lace or embroidery, 90 per cent ad valorem; articles of jewelry or imitation jewelry, 80 per cent ad valorem; men's gloves, \$5 per dozen pairs or 10 francs per pair.

Duties of this nature are in most cases higher than those of the French general tariff for the same articles, and these duties are quadruple those of the minimum tariff.

It is to be noted moreover, that from 1913 to 1927 exports from the United States to France passed from 890,302,000 gold francs in 1913 to 1,512,968,000 gold francs from the period July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, although during that period the purchasing power of France was markedly diminished as a result of the monetary crisis and the increased production of France most probably allowed her to dispense with such large imports.

It can therefore not be contended that the present régime, to which imports from France into the United States are subject, has not seriously prejudiced French exports, and that the balance of benefits established by the simultaneous decrees of 1910 has not since that time been profoundly altered to our disadvantage.

Moreover, French exports encounter obstacles, not only by virtue of restrictions resulting from the new American tariff, but

also by virtue of the methods of its application, not only in America at the moment of customs clearance, but also in France itself, where, with a view of this clearance, the American customs administration asserts its right to resort to practices which the French law forbids to the French Government itself.

In addition to the tariff and customs formalities, there exists a series of regulations of a sanitary or phyto-pathological nature which are often completely fatal to agricultural exports from France.

To the argument of principle invoked by the American Government to establish that no concession can be made by America, and that that country cannot contemplate any treaty of reciprocity, the French Government is obliged to reply that it does not believe that these concessions are impossible under the American law and that it had, moreover, never envisaged such a treaty of reciprocity as would be forbidden by that law.

The tariff law of the United States, and notably Section 315 of the Fordney Act, gives the President the power, after an investigation of the possible differences in costs of production between articles wholly or in part the growth or product of the United States and of like or similar articles wholly or in part the growth or product of competing foreign countries, to change the classification and to decrease the rates of duty in such measure as may be necessary to equalize the costs of production.

As regards the regulations concerning the application of tariffs and the regulations of a sanitary phyto-pathological nature, it likewise does not seem that alleviations cannot be found for the treatment which in many cases appears unjust to French exporters.

The French Government wishes to emphasize that it is not a question of engaging in tariff bargaining negotiations; it is only a question in exchange for the particularly favorable régime of the French minimum tariff of obtaining for certain articles of French exportation a less prohibitive tariff incidence than that to which they are subject at the present time by means of a rectification effected conformably to Section 315 A of the compensatory duties which upon erroneous data the American Government has felt that it must establish, and of revising in such measure as may seem equitable the provisions of those regulations dealing with the applica-

tion of tariffs or with the preservation of national hygiene which at the present moment result in an absolute prohibition in fact for certain French products.

Upon these tariff alleviations, which in all respects conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and upon these administrative investigations which are called for by considerations of simple equity, the French Government, by virtue of the unchanging doctrine of France and of its laws, must make dependent the grant to America of the most favored régime which France grants to all other countries.

These countries have in fact only themselves obtained this régime by giving France similar guarantees, and it would constitute a failure to recognize their interests as well as those of French exportation to grant to American products, in spite of the restrictions to which at the present moment French products are subject, a treatment as favorable as that granted the products of other countries, which, on the contrary, in order to obtain it, have withdrawn the restrictions which they themselves opposed to French exports.

The French Government, moreover, cannot fail to regret that the aide memoire saw fit to mention Article 317 of the American tariff act, whose application would be in conformity neither with the common desire for agreement on economical questions nor with the still too recent memory of the struggles which our two countries waged upon the ground of international justice.

The French Government must express its deep surprise to see that, as a result of respecting the laws by which it is bound, it finds itself threatened with reprisals whose injustice or excess becomes apparent as soon as one tries to evaluate the actual damage on which the United States allege that they have to complain.

The recent increases of duties only touch in fact 180,000,000 francs' worth of American exports from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, which reached 7,561,834,000 francs—that is to say, scarcely 2½ per cent of American exportation. Furthermore, the French Government has been willing to propose a notable diminution of the duties to which, since September 6 last, this negligible proportion of American interests have been subject.

The American Government felt it could not agree to this proposition, and replied to it by a note of principle to which the present note,

in the eyes of the French Government, carries a decisive response.

The American Government will doubtless recognize, after having weighed the considerations above set forth, that on the ground of principles and of systems a compromise can doubtless not be found between the opposing points of view which the legislation of each of the two governments obliges it to maintain.

On the ground of practical measures, however, the reciprocal good will of the two countries can easily show itself by provisional amelioration of the damages which each of them claims.

The French Government has already shown this good will in proposing to alleviate in a certain degree the tariffs recently raised to the detriment of a part, negligible it is true, of American exportation. It is prepared to contemplate others which would not be of a nature to prejudice further negotiations for a long-term treaty or to render such a treaty futile if the American Government will not refuse, as it has hitherto done, to examine within the limits of its own legislation the just claims of the French exporters.

If this proof of common conciliation should result within a few days in a provisional arrangement, the French Government does not doubt that negotiations immediately to be undertaken may lead to a durable treaty protecting the interests of both countries.

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## TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HEDJAZ

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the treaty signed on May 20 between Great Britain and Hedjaz. Three notes were exchanged in connection with the treaty, one of them reaffirming Great Britain's right to liberate slaves.)

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, on the one part, and His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies, on the other part, being desirous of confirming and strengthening the friendly relations which exist between them and of consolidating their respective interests, have resolved to conclude a treaty of friendship and good understanding, for which purpose His Britan

nic Majesty has appointed as his plenipotentiary Sir Gilbert Falkingham Clayton and His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies has appointed His Royal Highness the Amir Faisal ibn Abdul-Aziz, his son and viceroy in the Hedjaz, as his plenipotentiary.

His Highness the Amir Faisal ibn Abdul-Aziz and Sir Gilbert Falkingham Clayton, having examined their credentials and found them to be in good and due form, have accordingly agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

#### Article 1

His Britannic Majesty recognizes the complete and absolute independence of the dominions of His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies.

#### Article 2

There shall be peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of Hedjaz and Nejd and its Dependencies. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to maintain good relations with the other and to endeavor by all the means at its disposal to prevent his territories being used as a base for unlawful activities directed against peace and tranquility in the territories of the other party.

#### Article 3

His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes that the performance of the pilgrimage will be facilitated to British subjects and British-protected persons of the Moslem faith to the same extent as to other pilgrims, and announces that they will be safe as regards their property and their person during their stay in the Hedjaz.

#### Article 4

His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes that the property of the aforesaid pilgrims who may die within the territories of His Majesty and who have no lawful trustee in those territories shall be handed over to the British agent in Jeddah or to such authority as he may appoint for the purpose, to be forwarded by him to the rightful heirs of the deceased pilgrims; provided that the property shall not be handed over to the British representative until the formalities of the competent

tribunals have been complied with and the dues prescribed under Hedjazi or Nejdi laws have been duly collected.

#### Article 5

His Britannic Majesty recognizes the national (Hedjazi or Nejdi) status of all subjects of His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies who may at any time be within the territories of His Britannic Majesty or territories under the protection of His Britannic Majesty.

Similarly, His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies recognizes the national (British) status of all subjects of His Britannic Majesty and of all persons enjoying the protection of his Britannic Majesty who may at any time be within the territories of His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies, it being understood that the principles of international law in force between independent governments shall be respected.

#### Article 6

His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with the territories of Kuwait and Bahrain, and with the sheikhs of Qatar and the Oman Coast, who are in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government.

#### Article 7

His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to co-operate by all the means at his disposal with His Britannic Majesty in the suppression of the slave trade.

#### Article 8

The present treaty shall be ratified by each of the high contracting parties and the ratifications exchanged as soon as possible. It shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications and shall be binding during seven years from that date. In case neither of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of the said period of seven years of his intention to determinate the treaty, it shall remain in force and shall not be held to have terminated until the expiration of six months from the date on which either of the parties shall have given notice of the termination to other party.

## Article 9

The treaty concluded between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies (then ruler of Nejd and its then dependencies) on the 26th December, 1915, shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the present treaty is ratified.

## Article 10

The present treaty has been drawn up in English and Arabic. Both texts shall be of equal validity; but in case of divergence in the interpretation of any part of the treaty the English text shall prevail.

## Article 11

The present treaty shall be known as the Treaty of Jeddah.

## News in Brief

THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE in the City of New York will hold its annual meeting at the Hotel Astor on November 18. The general topic will be "America as a creditor nation."

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON NARCOTIC EDUCATION is carrying on a progressive program of education as to narcotic drugs and drug addiction. It was organized in Philadelphia in the summer of 1926, at the call of the International Narcotic Education Association. The Secretariat of the World Conference is 4315½ West Second Street, Los Angeles, California.

THE PAN AMERICAN COMMISSION ON Simplification and Standardization of Consular Procedure convened in Washington, October 10. Among the decisions made at the conference was the use of the metric system for consular invoices by all countries in the conference. The conclusions of the commission will be referred to the Sixth International Conference of American States, which will meet at Havana, Cuba, January, 1928.

THE UNITED STATES WILL BE REPRESENTED at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations on disarmament, to be held late in the year, in Geneva, by Hugh R. Wilson, American Minister to Switzerland. Since the work of the preparatory commission is almost entirely political, no technical staff will accompany Mr. Wilson.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EUROPEAN MINORITIES was held in Geneva, August 20-23. Besides the German and Hungarian minorities, there were included in the congress representatives of Slavonic, Jewish, and other minorities, in so far as they are organized and in so far as they accept the principle of loyalty to the State in which they live.

AN INTERNATIONAL RADIOTELEGRAPH CONFERENCE, with representatives from practically all the nations of the world employing radio communications, convened at Washington on October 4. Mr. Hoover, United States Secretary of Commerce, was elected president of the convention. The particular work of the congress is the revision of the outgrown treaty of 1913, for presentation to the various governments.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS HAS A MEMBERSHIP of more than three millions and an additional Junior membership of six millions. It has become the recognized agency of the American people for extending relief service and general health service to humanity. Its work is sustained through membership dues, secured once a year, during "Roll Call." The enrolling of members for 1928 will take place this year from Armistice Day to Thanksgiving, November 11 to 24.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, stated that floods were almost continuous in the United States during the year. The society gave relief in 77 major disasters and rendered financial or other aid in 20 disasters in American insular territory or in foreign countries.

THIRTY-ONE COMMITTEES OF THE UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION met at The Hague during late August, to consider plans of action for the next general congress, which will be held in London in 1929. Experimental international

regulations for air post constituted a main part of this summer's work. The United States and 15 other nations were appointed at the Congress of 1924 as a committee to prepare the agenda for the London meeting. This committee will meet again next year to complete its labors.

THE MEXICAN SENATE HAS APPROVED a proposal made at the Pan American Conference in Chile in 1926 for treaties between all American nations, including the United States, such treaties to provide that no nation shall break relations with or declare war upon another without first submitting the differences for arbitration by delegates from five other American nations.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS MADE KNOWN its determination to frown upon American international loans which would interfere with the operation of the Dawes Plan, which would finance industrial monopolies, or which would be expended on competitive armaments. A further proposal, made by Secretary Hoover at the Pan American Congress last spring, is under consideration. It is that no American loans should be made to foreign governments or corporations to be used for unproductive purposes.

THE EIGHTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS adopted a resolution stating that all "war of aggression" is and remains forbidden. The preamble to this resolution contains the statements: (1) that war aggression can never serve as a means of settling international disputes and is in consequence an international crime; (2) that the solemn renunciation of all wars of aggression would tend to create a spirit of national confidence, and thus facilitate the progress of disarmament.

TROTSKY AND VULOVITCH WERE EXPELLED from the Executive Committee of the Communist International in September because they openly defied the present leaders as "usurpers." In October forty-four men were entirely expelled from the Communist Party on the charge that they were plotting to split the party or bring about a definite compromise at the approaching Communist conference.

AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED between French and German producers of chemicals,

fixing selling prices and dividing markets for fertilizers and dyestuffs.

A MEETING OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL has been called for November 7. Though this is to be a preliminary meeting, it is expected to have in hand the results of the deliberations of the American Society of Civil Engineers, recently meeting at Columbus.

THE DAIL EIRANN, by a vote of 76 to 70, re-elected William T. Cosgrave President of the Irish Free State Executive Committee on October 11.

FOLLOWING THE SUCCESSFUL DISTRIBUTION of "Friendship dolls" to some 13,000 Japanese children, the Committee of World Friendship Among Children is contemplating the distribution of "Friendship schoolbags" to Mexican children in the year 1928. The Mexican Vice-Minister of Education approves the project.

CASA ITALIANA, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S CENTER of Italian culture, built by contributions of Americans of Italian origin, was presented to the University on October 12.

EUROPEAN POPULATION IN THE BELGIAN CONGO increased 2,441 during the past year. Seventy-six per cent of these colonists were Belgians, which means that Belgium is taking economic possession of her colony.

STUDENTS OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY to the number of 300 have been invited by Argentina to visit the universities of that country in 1928. The expedition is backed by the Carnegie Foundation.

A CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, the outlawry of war, and reduction of armament is called by the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, to be held in St. Louis, November 9-11.

THE MUNICIPALITY OF PRAGUE opened in October a People's Higher Political and Social School. Admission is irrespective of previous training. The courses will aim to give wide and systematic instruction in sociology, science of government, and jurisprudence to such students, teachers, journalists, working men, and officials of the representative bodies as desire the instruction.

SPAIN'S NOVEL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY came into being on the afternoon of October 10. The 400 members were decided upon and invited by the Government, of which, under the King, Primo de Rivera is dictator. General de Rivera stated that the body would represent the various official bodies chosen throughout the country and also industrial, agricultural, and intellectual interests. Two of the sixteen women invited and certain well-known men, mostly Liberals, refused to accept seats.

A GROUP OF ABOUT A THOUSAND PROSPECTIVE CITIZENS of the United States will visit Washington early in November. These students are from the various adult education classes in the State of Connecticut. This is the second trip of the kind conducted by the State Director of Adult Education. The number of pupils who visited the national capital under his direction early last fall was 492.

AN INTERNATIONAL CITY is under consideration in the chambers of commerce of Buffalo and Niagara Falls. Committees are considering plans for the federation of these and neighboring towns on the Canada-United States border. Such a city would have, it is said, about 200 miles of water front—18 miles on Lake Ontario, 85 miles on the two banks of the Niagara River, 40 miles on Lake Erie, and 25 miles on each side of the Welland Canal.

THE ANNUAL ASSEMBLY of the International Peace Bureau, with headquarters at Geneva, took place this year in Paris, October 22 and 23. The question of the reorganization of the bureau was discussed.

EUROPEAN FAIRS SEEM TO HAVE REGAINED their old importance as agencies for trade promotion. Therefore the Specialties Division of the Department of Commerce has issued a calendar of fairs already held and those scheduled for next year in different countries of the world.

EARNINGS OF SHIPS DOCUMENTED under the laws of France are to be exempt from taxation by the United States. This exemption was granted by the Department of the Treasury as a result of compliance by the French Government with the requirements of section 213 of the revenue act of 1926

granting similar exemption to American-owned ships. Seventeen other countries have already entered into such a reciprocal arrangement with the United States.

A THIRD CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR will be held in Washington, January 15-19, 1928. Nine organizations of women, none of them specifically pacifist societies, are represented on the committee which conducts the conferences.

THREE ARBITRATION TREATIES recently registered with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations provide for compulsory settlement, by peaceful means, of all disputes between the signatories. The treaties are between Denmark and Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Belgium, and between Sweden and Belgium. The countries concerned pledge themselves to use either the International Court of Justice or an arbitral body or conciliation commission in case of differences.

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION is sponsoring a project for a Universal Peace Congress to be held in Vienna in 1930, in which all the religions of the world will be entitled to representation. The purpose of the gathering will be to "consider how the forces of religion in all nations can be mobilized in a concerted action against war and that spirit and those things that make for war."

THE UNITED STATES WILL BUILD a permanent building for the Seville Exposition, which is to be opened in Spain on Columbus Day, 1928. It is the plan of the various American nations which are to put up structures for this exposition to devote the buildings afterward to a large university. That erected by the United States will be used for university reading-rooms, especially for American students.

A COMMISSION OF FOUR DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS from Spanish universities reached New York in October to study American university organization. They intend to formulate details of a plan of organization to be recommended to the new University of Spain. Under the guidance of members of the Rockefeller Foundation, this commission will visit the important colleges of this country.

THE LABOR FEDERATION OF PORTUGAL has voted to sever all relations with the labor movement of Russia, since it disapproves of the principles and methods of the Third International.

REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES in Porto Rico have prepared a petition to President Coolidge, asking for a revision of Porto Rican laws, so as to provide for a governor elected by the people of that country.

THE EIGHTH PAN AMERICAN SANITARY CONFERENCE was opened in Lima, Peru, October 12. Delegations of medical and sanitary officials from all the American nations attended the conference.

A COFFEE EXPOSITION, celebrating the two-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of coffee into Brazil, opened October 12, in the city of Sao Paulo. The exposition was held in the Palace of Industry and contains exhibits showing every phase in the production, preparation, and marketing of coffee.

STUDENTS FROM TWENTY-SIX DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES or races and from fifteen different religions are enrolled in the five American colleges in the Near East. These colleges are the Sofia American Schools, founded in 1860-63; Robert College, at Constantinople, founded in 1863; the American University of Beirut, founded in 1866. Constantinople Women's College, founded in 1871, and the International College of Smyrna, founded in 1891. Though Christian in spirit, the schools are non-sectarian and represent important contacts for understanding between the religions of the lands in which they are located.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK REPUBLIC has conferred the Cross of the Order of the Savior upon the Rev. E. O. Watson, editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*. Dr. Watson, once Secretary of the Washington office of the Federal Council of Churches in America, was later Secretary of the American Friends of Greece. The cross was conferred upon him because of his labors in behalf of refugees who poured into Greece from Asia Minor in 1922-23.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ACQUISITION AND GOVERNMENT OF BACKWARD TERRITORY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *M. F. Lindley*. Pp. 377 and index. Longmans Green & Co., London and New York, 1926. Price, \$7.50.

The term "backward territory" is quite easy of application in the case of uninhabited land, and also country occupied by obviously savage peoples. The upper limit of its application, however, is open to dispute. No absolute criterion of normal status in civilization is everywhere accepted. Shall the standard be oriental or western, or perchance even Nordic western? In international law, backward territory is an unknown term, says Dr. Lindley. Yet, as familiarly used, it is obviously intended to refer to territory below the level of western or European civilization. Since international law itself has arisen in the west, this means, though Dr. Lindley does not categorically so state, that the measuring of civilization level shall be done by the west and by its own standards.

As world history has evolved and nations have expanded and grown through many eras, certain rules to regulate discovery and effective occupation of new lands have been formulated, which rules have a bearing upon the present titles to those lands. The history, therefore, of these adventures in discovery, conquest or colonization, and of the rules generally accepted during the time the expansions took place, has its value for the present.

International law, however, develops as time goes on. It not only has to meet changing political conditions, but—a much more important consideration—it responds to advancing public opinion. The welfare, for instance, of backward or handicapped peoples is of increasing concern to the world as a whole. This exerts a moral, if not at first a legal, force, and law shortly crystallizes this moral force into new rules. In the international field this is international law in the making.

In the book in hand the author discusses,



first, territory and its acquisition under the rules of national, or, if formulated at the time, international law. He considers several regions of the globe separately, and the history of their discovery, exploitation, or abandonment. Part two considers the "acquiring sovereign," whether ruler, individual, or corporation. Part three discusses methods of acquisition and related matters, including League of Nations mandates. Part four treats of the exercise of sovereignty. Under this come such topics as the welfare of natives, native property, slavery and other labor, trade in drugs, intoxicants, arms and ammunitions.

Dr. Lindley has written of all this in a style clear and not too technical. The treatise will be valuable to anyone interested in international justice and its establishment, whether he be legally trained or not. It will be of service, too, to those concerned for codification of international law.

As a volume it is also admirable. The light paper, so much used in England, makes it a delight to handle. For those who wish to read further, a table of cases cited is provided; authorities quoted are indicated in marginal notes, and a full index provides for easy reference.

**WHITE WATERS AND BLACK.** By *Gordon MacCreagh*. Pp. 404. Century Co., New York, 1926.

**JUNGLE PATHS AND INCA RUINS.** By *William M. McGovern*. Pp. 526. Century Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$5.00.

To the lover of adventure these two books of exploration in unknown Amazon jungles will provide thrills in plenty. To the man interested in primitive Indians they will also prove interesting. Yet the two books are as utterly different as the two men who write them.

Mr. MacCreagh has had many previous adventures in hunting and exploring expeditions. He has penetrated the wilderness in the Himalayas, in Thibet; has traded in India, hunted in Siam.

The book he now writes is the story of a scientific expedition from the United States which set out to explore the headwaters of the Amazon and Negro rivers. They started from La Paz, with the intention of crossing the Andes, making studies in the jungles

and emerging on the other side of the continent of South America. Mr. MacCreagh went along to deal with the natives, provide mules, and generally convoy the company and its six tons of equipment.

Mr. MacCreagh surveyed his party when it assembled, found the men for the most part unused to wilderness conditions, some of them past middle life, used only to the college cloisters; one, at least, a man so crabbed and cantankerous that he had antagonized a whole shipload of passengers coming to South America. He foresaw trouble in the personnel, and later found it. But he rides the top of the wave with hilarious humor. "My record," he says, "shall be devoid of all scientific value, and shall therefore be different from all other records of travel."

When all but one other member of the expedition have, for one reason or another, abandoned it, those two turn back again up the river network and penetrate far among the most notorious "Bad Indians" of the region. The explorers' notes and observations on these Indians are interesting.

The second and larger book is written in quite another temper. The McGovern expedition almost reverses the route of the other. Mr. McGovern is a young English anthropologist. With one companion, and such helpers as they could get on their way, he went up the Amazon and Negro rivers, getting specimens of birds and snakes, and studying the Indians of a large section of this unexplored middle of the continent. Like the other expedition, they returned back once to Manaos. They then made another *sortie* into the country, crossing the Andes and taking in La Paz on the homeward way.

Though not without humor, Mr. McGovern is much quieter and more informational in style. He stops to make explanations, which are a help in understanding not only his book, but the other.

The best-developed part of the book is the first part, dealing with the upper river basins and the natives. There is some disappointment in store for the reader keenly interested in the Inca civilization. The space devoted to these ruins and history is meager compared with the first part of the trip. The Inca discoveries are crowded into a scant hundred pages, after four hundred, twenty-one devoted to the jungles east of the Andes.

This part of the journey is full of wonder, however, and the reader is left with an appetite for more, which is not altogether an undesirable result.

The continent of South America is better apprehended from perusal of the two books. Bolivia and Peru with their marvelous past, Brazil and its duties and possibilities for the future, are better understood. The difficulty of fixing boundary lines in the untracked jungles or in the forbidding Andes region is more easily seen. There is more meaning even to the map of South America.

**THE LIVING CONSTITUTION.** By *Howard Lee McBain*. Pp. 277 and index. Workers' Education Bureau Press, New York, 1927. Price, \$1.60.

This is the first book to be published by the Workers' Education Bureau, although this organization, which is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, was heretofore sponsor to a series of books for workers. Those books, called "The workers' bookshelf," were intended to aid the worker in his adjustment to industry and to the society in which he lives.

The present book is written in delightful literary form, confining itself skillfully to clear and simple diction. Though far from radical, indeed, with admirable judicial balance, Professor McBain attacks several controversial points in our laws or government; he punctures not a few carelessly accepted dogmas.

One is left, in fact, with a feeling of loyalty to the Constitution itself, while observing that many changes have crept into American practise through the years.

He shows the actual flexibility of the Constitution. He explains the truth underlying some rather blind phrases, such as, for instance, "government of laws and not of men." He shows the practical difficulty of the American congress representing the majority; he shows that the President has come to wield much legislative power and little executive power, contrary to the intention of the framers of the Constitution.

Professor McBain's conclusion is that, while our Constitution lacks perfection, even perfectibility, "It has been found good—exceedingly good," after having been tried in the crucible of men's hearts and minds; but that, on the last analysis, any government is only

as moral as those who "hold the throttle of power."

**THE WAR-MYTH IN UNITED STATES HISTORY.** By *C. H. Hamlin*. Pp. 93. Association to Abolish War, and Vanguard Press, New York, 1927.

Professor Hamlin, of Atlantic Christian College, takes up in this book seven major wars waged by the United States, and picks out their causes and results. He attempts to show, among other things, that in each case it is untrue to assume that one's country's wars are always in a just cause.

Having a thesis to prove is not usually conducive to a judicial investigation. Yet it does no harm to know the other side of any argument. In the case of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Hamlin carefully spreads out all that can be said on the British side, and shows all the weaknesses of that of the colonies. This part of the work is a decided contrast to the fearless, but more judicial, work in the same field by Charles and Mary Beard.

In the case of the Mexican War and the War with Spain, the author's conclusions are more convincing; but surely his handling of the World War, however one may agree with his main thesis, is not that of a large grasp. His attack on propoganda may not be too strong, but one questions his statement, that in entering the war America "contributed to the wrecking of European civilization."

However, in so far as Professor Hamlin pleads for an "education which is honest, which can sift the true from the false," all peace workers and historians can follow his attempts in that general direction.

**REVOLT IN THE DESERT.** By *T. E. Lawrence*. Pp. 328, index and map. Doran, New York, 1927. Price, \$3.

Books on the World War continue to flow from the presses. We are learning continually more of the details, which were previously lost in the rush of events.

The mysterious British leader of the Arabs, who finally broke the power of Turkey, had been almost a legendary hero until this, his own story of the campaign, placed the Bedouin movement on the basis of recorded history. The whole story is astounding, even when told with the modest simplicity of this narrative. This British intelligence officer at Cairo, only in his twenties, rated too delicate

for active military service, believed that the Arab revolt might succeed if properly advised and led. He asked for leave. Then, in an unofficial capacity, Lawrence visited Feisal, and shortly he had become, to all intents, an Arab, in Arab dress and deep in the confidence of the two leaders he chose—"Feisal the prophet and Auda the warrior." Then follows a record of the rousing of the tribes and the campaign until the Arab seizure of Damascus.

The story is told almost casually, but with a seemingly unconscious brilliance. It is somber, like Lawrence's eyes, sensitive like his mouth, keen and steady as his brow, but occasionally crackling with impish wit. One feels the harsh glare of the desert and the chill of the hills, and now and then the inevitable veil which always hangs between the occidental and the oriental. When, for example, the taking of Damascus was quite sure and all about him were flushed with the excitement of the hour, Lawrence suffered a revulsion of distaste and homesickness. All night he lay among the tamarisk, realizing how he was "tired to death of these Arabs," with their "unrestrained capacity for good and evil." Yet in the dawn he took up again his cares, resumed his responsibilities, and saw the thing through to a brilliant finish.

The first story of the campaign was in more voluminous form, written in 1919. It was stolen and Lawrence laboriously rewrote it. It was called "The seven pillars of wisdom," and only eight copies were printed in England, of which he destroyed three. The others went to friends. In this country twenty-two copies were printed, of which only 10 were for sale. The "Revolt in the Desert" is a condensation of the other, but it contains all the essentials of the larger book. Its publication does nothing to detract from, but adds largely to, the almost mythical and heroic character of this modest, studious scholar, who had formerly explored the Arab country in the interests of history, learned the Arab tongue, and, finally, in the war achieved the apparently impossible feat of welding and leading these fluid people.

**YOUTH AND CHRISTIAN UNITY.** By *Rev. Walter Van Kirk*. Pp. 267. Doran, New York, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

Not the "Youth Movement" as it is sometimes understood—that radical, restless revolt against all the things that ever have been; this book considers quite another phase

of the activities of youth. It is, in fact, largely a book of information for the young.

The present tendency among the churches to draw together, an adult movement, is reviewed. Then there are chapters on the views of youth and youth's opportunity. The student Christian movement, the Y. M. C. A., and the Y. W. C. A. are conspicuous examples of work in the field of unity.

One of the results of the World War was the conviction of leaders in the church that a basis for co-operation must be found, and with an understanding of the present status of world religious unity, and with youth's optimism and energy, the author feels that the youth movement can be a tremendous force to weld humanity together.

## LETTER BOX

DUTCH HOUSE, RAGLAN GARDENS,  
MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND, *Sept. 21, 1927.*

*The Editor:*

DEAR SIR: Amid all the distractions encompassing this imperfect, yet developing, human race, it is not easy for governments or public bodies to find among their numerous preoccupations that moment of mental leisure which would enable them to single out any one issue demanding prior attention, but it is the conviction of many men and women, particularly among that great mass of quiet people who are not adherents of any school of political thought, that the one vital issue is the reduction of fighting material and personnel. That one nation calls armaments defensive for itself and describes them as offensive for another is the barrier from which one is thrown back time after time.

But are we all going to remain in this dilemma? Briefly, armies, navies, aircraft, land destroyers, terrific explosives, deadly poisons, human cunning, great bravery in facing death and danger, are some of the chief products of humanity in our day. Why must so much of the time, thought, research, insight, and earning power of the wonderful human creature be absorbed in this manner?

Years ago, when speaking in public on the need for reduction of armaments, I was accused of exaggeration in stating that more than half the public income of the world was expended in connection with wars and the defensive and offensive departments; so I set myself the task of searching out facts and figures to back that statement, and published them in 1923, in a book called the "Problem of Armaments." The figures, embracing 1900-1920, compiled from official

Year.	Warlike expenditure.	All other expenditure.	Combined national debts.
1900	£284,618,820	£705,319,779	£4,003,445,153
1901	340,693,493	704,863,158	4,099,101,388
1902	334,477,626	758,716,267	4,202,489,039
1903	315,597,790	764,268,188	4,238,202,573
1904	287,665,591	835,335,393	4,299,601,395
1905	297,174,066	894,903,045	4,579,395,168
1906	310,546,320	941,050,347	4,690,107,801
1907	306,524,874	926,157,703	4,711,631,159
1908	333,643,671	967,369,819	4,750,578,511
1909	350,201,137	1,033,461,598	4,840,637,276
1910	356,736,800	1,016,751,456	4,995,345,378
1911	376,041,436	1,055,995,729	4,974,089,362
1912	411,511,018	1,120,977,389	4,988,933,040
1913	479,846,177	1,093,701,078	5,076,504,542
1914	1,267,692,412	1,149,358,374	5,749,706,332
1915	3,437,998,982	1,287,064,350	8,467,500,894
1916	7,213,672,647	1,701,042,724	14,191,089,808
1917	10,363,316,610	2,829,281,044	22,299,539,762
1918	13,212,004,422	5,790,084,507	33,460,023,068
1919	14,242,644,850	9,453,523,133	46,126,020,390
1920	7,011,546,454	11,219,949,556	53,044,027,778
Totals for periods. £61,534,155,196		£46,249,174,637	

sources in the 14 chief countries and reduced to pounds sterling, demonstrated that the statement was no exaggeration, but fell far short of the facts.

May I be permitted to reproduce one of the tables here.

Other tables, such as expenditure during the war, naval and mercantile losses, damages on land, direct money costs to belligerents, war pensions, liabilities, etc., were equally arresting, but I cannot ask you to reproduce them here. Might I, however, just remind your readers that 20,775,459 active men were wounded and at least 8,646,024 killed.

The period of history, 1900-1920, is of great interest, the figures recorded revealing the stupendous effort that these fourteen nations had made to render themselves safe. Over sixty-one thousand millions spent by all the fighting departments and forty-six thousand millions for all other purposes, but the latter includes large sums for interest on previous accumulations of war debt and heavy pensions payments, both properly chargeable to warlike expenditure, demonstrating that, on a conservative basis, the fighting proclivities of these peoples had absorbed about 70 per cent of the money collected from them by taxation up to 1920.

I have lately been endeavoring to bring these comparative tables up to date; but, although my figures are far from complete, there is every indication that 70 per cent expended on the warlike side of life since 1920 is not far out.

And how much have we advanced to a solution of the complication that brought about the Great War to end war?

It appears that politicians have not been able to submit themselves to the higher impulses stirred within them at the armistice period, nearly nine years ago, and the fact still remains that the human race is intolerably burdened by this diversion of cash,

talent, and energy to these purposes. Whether viewed from the varying angles of common sense, enlightened self-interest, commerce, engineering, science, education, or our at present limited knowledge of God, the mental reaction is the same—that this surely is the question of supreme importance today.

And if, unhappily, our present-day civilization should break and sink under this burden, it will be the result of our tacit submission to an impotent fatalism which agrees that there is no way out.

This menace is a standing challenge to the higher capabilities of men and women, and the time surely has more than come when we must stand against it and definitely take steps to lessen it. It is said that neither governments nor the press can take any steps unless their constituents bring sufficient pressure to bear upon them. This may be true of governments, but I cannot believe it to be final concerning the press, which might, by definitely and continuously devoting some of its space and talent in the direction of a great campaign, place humankind under a greater debt than it already owes to the journals of our time.

May I hope, sir, that you will not only insert this somewhat lengthy communication, but will go further and help to sound a clarion call to this and other nations to rally all their forces against this common danger. May it not be the happy duty of the press, in this and other countries, to strike a note which will elicit from armament-ridden citizens all over the world a determined and emphatic protest against this burden? Such a note needs to be struck again and again, until ways and means of expressing this protest emerge and weld themselves into such a force that no governments could withstand. That seems indeed the only hope left for our day and generation.

I am, sir, yours sincerely,

ARTHUR G. ENOCK.

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*It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

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# THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

## SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawyer once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

## MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

# THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.



# ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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## EARLIER DAYS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

**T**HE history of the Peace Movement in America up about to the beginning of the World War is almost entirely a history of the American Peace Society, which Society is to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary next May.

One would expect to find in the records of such a Society many an interesting little fact, sidelight, perhaps, on men and affairs of an earlier day not familiar to the public, nor possibly to the student of history.

It is a fact that the American Peace Society has had associated with it many of the creative men and women of America. Since the outset, men responsible for the work of the Society, its officers, total well over a thousand in number.

Besides the founder of the Society, William Ladd, successful both as a sea captain and farmer, as a writer and public speaker of marked ability, there were on the Board of Directors at the very beginning of the Society such men as Simeon Greenleaf, of Portland, Maine; Governor John T. Gilman, of New Hampshire; Noah Worcester, D. D., John Tappan, and Dudley A. Tyng, of Massachusetts; Moses Brown and Nicholas I. Brown, prominently associated with the founding of Brown University; William B. Green, Oliver D. Cook, and George Benson, of Connecticut; Eliezer Lord, Anson

G. Phelps, Robert C. Sedgwick, W. W. Russell, and Dudley W. Chester, of New York City; Alexander Henry and Jared Raustone, lawyers of Philadelphia; and Dr. Stephen S. Cleveland, of Cincinnati.

William Ellery Channing, of Boston, was actively associated with the American Peace Society for many years and from its beginning. R. W. Emerson, of Andover, Massachusetts, was long a member of its Board of Directors and of its Executive Committee. George C. Beckwith, D. D., Howard C. Dunham, Thomas C. Upham, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Amasa Walker, Francis Wayland; Joseph E. Worcester, J. H. Gallaudet, Samuel Greele, Lewis T. Stoddard, Titus Coan, S. V. S. Wilder, Esq., of New York; Thomas S. Grimke, of South Carolina; Rev. Charles Lowell, of Boston; Stephen Longfellow, of Portland, Maine; Melvin Copeland, Francis Fellows, William Watson, Thomas Vose, Charles Sumner, Lewis T. Stoddard, John Owens, Edward Noyes, Thomas Thompson, Jr., Rowland B. Howard, James D. Miles, Julia Ward Howe, John Greenleaf Whittier, are some of the persons who served, most of them through many years, as officers and supporters of the early American Peace Society. It is well within the facts to remark that at least three men sacrificed their lives for the Society, William Ladd, George C. Beckwith and Benjamin F. Trueblood.

Presidents of the Society, since David Low Dodge, of New York City, presided

at the first annual meeting of this Society, in 1829, have been: Rev. John Codman, Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1830-1831; Hon. S. V. S. Wilder, New York City, 1831-1837; William Ladd, founder of the Society, 1838-1840; Samuel S. Coues, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1841-1846; Anson G. Phelps, New York City, 1847; Hon. William Jay, New York, 1848-1858; Dr. Francis Wayland, Providence, Rhode Island, 1859-1861; Dr. Howard Malcolm, Boston, 1862-1872; Hon. Edward S. Tobey, Boston, 1873-1891; Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Boston, 1892-1910; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1911-1915; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, New York City, 1916; Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio, Texas, 1917-1920; Hon. Andrew Jackson Montague, Richmond, Virginia, 1920-1924; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1924 to date.

Others associated with various phases of the Society's activities have been Elihu Burritt, one time Secretary of the Society and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*; Joseph Story, William Wirt, John C. Calhoun, Phillips Brooks, Edward Everett Hale, Josiah Quincy, Andrew Carnegie, and others.

Among these men prominent in the American Peace Society before the Civil War, one Francis Wayland was President of Brown University, another William Allen, was President of Bowdoin College; Nathan Lord was President of Dartmouth College; A. P. Peabody was Professor of Latin in Harvard University; T. H. Gallaudet was the founder in America of the first schools for the deaf; Prof. T. C. Upham was Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College, while Nicholas Brown was founder of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Amasa Walker was not only Lecturer on Political Economy at Oberlin, Harvard, and Amherst Colleges, he was Secre-

tary of State of Massachusetts, 1851-1853, and a representative in the United States Congress, 1862-1863. Thomas S. Grimke was not only a distinguished South Carolinian judge, but a State Senator, 1821-1830. William Ellery Channing, founder with Noah Worcester of the Massachusetts Peace Society, predecessor of the American Peace Society, became known as the most distinguished apostle of Unitarianism. Among the others, Charles Sumner was United States Senator for many years. William Jay was a distinguished judge, author of the life and writings of his father, John Jay, and of the "History of the Mexican War," and other works. Charles Lowell was Congregational minister and father of the poet, James Russell Lowell. Stephen Longfellow was a lawyer, member of the 18th Congress, and father of Henry W. Longfellow, the poet. Simon Greenleaf, well-known educator, was author of the "National Arithmetics." Anson G. Phelps was the New York merchant and philanthropist. Articles on William Ladd and David Low Dodge appeared in the November number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Noah Worcester, the first Life Member of the American Peace Society and one of its Directors throughout the last years of his life, was author of the influential pamphlet, "A Solemn Review of the Customs of War." Worcester was born 1758 and died in 1837. He served in the American Army as a drummer boy in the War of Independence. He was a member for a time of the New Hampshire Legislature. He was a Congregational minister and a prolific writer, author through many years of the first peace periodical, called *The Friend of Peace*. The state of the public mind on the matter of international peace at the time of the founding of the Massachusetts Peace Society, in 1815, is interestingly illustrated by the fact that Worcester found

it difficult to find a publisher for his essay "A Solemn Review of the Customs of War." It was finally published, Christmas Day, 1814, but anonymously and with the understanding that Worcester would share with the publisher the entire risk of its publication. But the article soon went through many editions, reaching over twenty thousand copies and appearing in translations in a number of foreign tongues. The pamphlet advocated the founding of peace societies before any such society existed. It was this "Solemn Review" that convinced Jesse Appleton, President of Bowdoin College, of the need of public education on peace, and it was President Appleton who first influenced William Ladd, later founder of the American Peace Society, to devote his life to the cause. The following is a quotation from the "Solemn Review," showing something of the prophetic vision which Noah Worcester had of the future peace of the world, and that in 1814.

"But if the eyes of the people could be opened in regard to the evils and delusions of war, would it not be easy to form a confederacy of nations and organize a high court of equity to decide national controversies? Why might not such a court be composed of some of the most eminent characters from each nation, and a compliance with its decisions be made a point of national honor to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve the blessings of peace?"

In the *Harbinger of Peace* for April, 1829, first periodical published by the American Peace Society, it is clear that the notion of a juridical union of nations was spreading. It appears that the *Christian Spectator* had recently printed an article entitled "A Suggestion to Peace Societies," signed by "Pax," the point of which was:

"Now let it be one object of peace societies to induce the National Government

to add to these noble subjects of philanthropic diplomacy the *abolition of war itself*, and the reference of all international differences to a court of nations."

It was in reply to this that the editorial in the *Harbinger of Peace* went on to say:

"If Pax had just taken the trouble to read the publications of the peace societies he would have found that what he recommended to be the beginning they considered the end of their exertions. . . . In all the peace publications of the day, he may see frequent allusions to the "Great Scheme" of Henry IV, and others of like nature, the object of which is the establishment of such a court as is recommended by Pax. . . .

"The court of nations, suggested by Pax, is the end, and not the beginning, of the operations of peace societies—the fruit, not the seed. To attempt to obtain such a court in the present state of society would be to try to drive the wedge wrong end foremost. . . . Public opinion must be very much changed before such a congress of nations will ever be organized, and this is the very specific object to which our efforts are to be directed."

In the winter of 1837 to 1838 the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society presented a course of lectures in the City of Boston. The speakers were: Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., a professor in the Harvard Divinity School, editor of the *Christian Examiner*, and a Director of the American Peace Society; Rev. Rufus T. Stebbins, a Director of the American Peace Society; Rev. William E. Channing, the Unitarian divine, Vice-President of the American Peace Society; Rev. Samuel J. May, a noted Unitarian of his day, brother of Mrs. A. Bronson Alcott, Director of the American Peace Society; Amasa Walker, the economist, delegate of the American Peace Society to the first International Peace Congress in London in 1843, to the Peace Congress in Paris, 1849, and Vice-President of the American Peace Society; William Ladd, founder

and President of the American Peace Society, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, of Concord, Massachusetts, whose address on "War" is found in volume 11 of the Centenary Edition of the Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson and as a pamphlet published by the American Peace Society.

A further evidence of the early work of the American Peace Society is the story of its efforts in behalf of "A Congress of Nations."

At the first annual meeting of the American Peace Society, May, 1829, a prize of thirty dollars was offered by the Board of Directors for the best "dissertation on the subject of a Congress of Nations," to be written during the year. The essays were to be sent to the office of *David Low Dodge*, 227 Pearl Street, New York. The successful candidate might take his choice "of being made an honorary member, receiving a gold medal, or the money." In May, 1830, the time for receiving the essays was extended to January, 1831. Since only two papers were presented at that time, one of them was withdrawn, and the offer was increased to \$50, but without any adequate result.

During the summer of 1831 two gentlemen of New York offered, through the Society, a prize of \$500 for the best essay and \$100 for the second best. The judges were *Hon. Joseph Story*, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; *William Wirt*, who had been Attorney General during the administrations of Monroe and J. Q. Adams, and *John McLean*, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. About 40 essays were handed in and five were considered to be about equal in merit. The donors of the prize, however, declined to have it divided and the amount was raised to \$1,000, to be given to the best essay only. The time was extended to June 20, 1834.

For this contest the judges appointed were John Quincy Adams, ex-President

of the United States and member of the House of Representatives; Chancellor Kent, of New York, and Thomas Grimke, a lawyer of South Carolina, who died during the year and whose place was filled by Daniel Webster.

Again the committee could not agree on any one candidate, and the prize offer was withdrawn.

The President of the American Peace Society, however, chose five of the best essays for publication, on the authorization of the Executive Committee. These five, together with a sixth, written by the President, Mr. Ladd, were published in a volume together in 1840 and widely distributed in this country and abroad.

Many of the invaluable records of the American Peace Society were destroyed in the Boston fire of November, 1872, and that, sadly enough, but a few weeks after the great Peace Jubilee, which the Society had so successfully promoted. Enough, however, has been preserved to serve as sources for a book of several hundred pages, now in manuscript and nearly ready for the printer. From out the very earliest days in the history of the Society, let us reprint the following letter, under date of January 1, 1828, appearing in the *Harbinger of Peace* the following August:

"It cannot be denied that war has been one of the greatest evils which has afflicted mankind. It is equally evident that if it is ever excluded from the world it must be done by moral influence and a concert of action, which shall expose the fallacy of past feelings and maxims on this subject and array against it the understandings, the consciences, and the hearts of men.

"In this view we have regarded with deep interest, from their commencement, the labors of peace societies and have felt that the cause has never as yet commanded the attention which its importance deserves.

"And we are of the opinion that the time has come when much good may be accomplished by the establishment of a National Peace Society, sustained by auxiliaries, founded on such general princi-

ples as shall exclude doubtful disputation, and embody in one system of action all who will lend their aid to enlighten the public sentiment and eradicate a war spirit from the land."

This letter was signed by such men as William Jenks, Howard Malcolm, James D. Knowles, Lyman Beecher, and Edward Beecher.

### A BASIS FOR UNITY JUST NOW

EVERY "plan"—and there are many plans—before it can be applied as a practical agency for the promotion of peace between States must pursue one straight and rather clearly defined road. Assuming that it contemplates the co-operation of all civilized States—and it is difficult to imagine any effective peace alliance of a few powers—it must be formulated in an international conference of duly accredited delegates from each of the States. It must then be returned to the various States for ratification. When accepted by the various nations in accordance with the constitutional methods peculiar to each, the plan becomes operative for the nations that have ratified it. This, it would seem, is the course any plan must take before it can become effective.

Thus there is evidently at least one unifying principle upon which the various peace workers of the world might properly agree, namely, that if any adequate steps are to be taken toward the upbuilding of peace, toward the substitution of methods of justice for the modes of war, there must be, and the sooner now the better, an international conference of *all* the nations.

Incidentally, such a conference, if called, would make it possible for the United States to sit down again around the table with her sister States in the society of nations. It would enable the

structure of international co-operation to rise again toward a greater uniformity. It would lessen the political irritations so common just now and make easier the legal, the judicial settlement of international disputes. It would do no violence to the constitutional methods peculiar to any government. Without such a conference there can be no outlawing of war.

We do not object to the phrase "outlawry of war," but we feel that it is not a self-explanatory phrase. It cannot mean simply the passage of a resolution "that all wars of aggression shall and always will be prohibited." For the nations to agree, by any form of contract we can now imagine, that all wars are crimes would not, in our judgment, outlaw war.

On the proposal of the Polish delegation, the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations unanimously adopted a declaration that "all wars of aggression are, and shall always be, prohibited," and "that every specific means must be employed to settle disputes, of every description, which may arise between States." The declaration went on to say: "The Assembly declares that States members of the League are under obligation to conform to these principles." These declarations grew out of a belief in the solidarity uniting the community of nations, and of a conviction that "a war of aggression can never serve as a means of settling international disputes, and is in consequence an international crime." We hope that the passage of such declarations will "create an atmosphere of general confidence calculated to facilitate the progress of the work undertaken with a view to disarmament." We are inclined, however, to the view that we have here little more than the juggling of phrases. In his most interesting book, "The Outlawry of War," Dr. Charles

Clayton Morrison argues "that in modern civilization there is no such thing as aggressive war," and that if there were "it could not be outlawed." But, in our view, if nations provide for the peaceable adjustment of their differences, the lawful promotion of their interests, and accept and follow such methods in accordance with the principles of laws duly accepted and ratified by themselves; and if, in the long run, nations find that they do advance their interests best by such means, then it may be said war has been outlawed, for then the methods of law and order will naturally supplant the methods of force and bloodshed.

Principles for the conduct of nations in matters of war and peace adopted at such a conference and ratified by the nations, with a World Court universally accepted for the settlement of differences of interpretation, are, as we understand it, the hope of the most thoughtful advocates of the outlawry of war. If this be so, we accept the phrase in all its fullness. But the point here is that the two main aspects of such outlawry, law and judicial settlement, are of themselves dependent upon a prior step, namely, the calling of a universal international conference.

The necessity for such a conference is no reflection upon the League of Nations. The League is a going concern, rendering valuable services in a variety of ways. It is not, however, universal. It does not include just now such rather important States as the Soviet Union, Spain, Brazil, not to mention the United States. What is needed, therefore, is a Conference where these States, as well as all the members of the League of Nations, can sit in, and go at the problem of universal peace in a universal way. It would appear that every person or organization interested in a plan for world peace, therefore, should begin with a preamble substantially as

follows: "It is urged that there should be an international conference of duly accredited delegates from all civilized nations, to the end,"—to be followed by the plan.

It would seem that every peace worker could join with every other along this common road; for whatever plan is proposed—reduction of armaments, arbitration, security, judicial settlement—must, if it is to end in anything practical, be taken that way. World peace is a world-problem best capable of solution only in a world way.

## REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

**W**E ARE not opposed to regional arrangements between governments in the interest of peace. We favor them.

When M. Briand proposes to a group of newspaper men something of a no-more-war treaty between France and the United States, we look upon it as a friendly gesture and a contribution to the peace effort of our age, and that whether it ends in anything tangible or not. When a distinguished Englishman like Mr. Wickham Steed asks for a closer co-operation between the United States and Great Britain, and goes on to ask if we cannot find means without any restriction of our sovereignty, without entangling treaty obligations, to assure the world that our policy is and always will be to strengthen the hands of those who wish to establish arbitration and disarmament as the civilized methods of mankind, we are encouraged, for such kind of talk tends to keep us away from friction-producing things.

When the British Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, declares at the Guildhall in London, as he did November 9, that M. Briand and Herr Stresemann deserve the greatest credit for advancing the cause

of European peace during the last five years, he himself is promoting peace in a very effective way. It was a gracious and helpful thing for him to maintain that the labors, courage, and vision of M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann are responsible for so great a part in the advance from war and hatred, and that their example should be emulated by the statesmen of the Balkans and eastern and central Europe. It is the spirit such as this out of which grows the effort to extend the beneficence of peace between States.

We dare to hope that this is the meaning of the defense treaties between France and five other powers. In November, France completed her system of mutual-defense treaties begun some seven years ago. The French Bloc, as it now stands in Europe, includes France and Belgium, France and Yugoslavia, France and Rumania, France and Czechoslovakia, and France and Poland. There is a suspicion that these treaties constitute in reality military alliances; but France contends that they fall naturally within the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and that they do not provide, except in the case of Belgium and Poland, for military aid in case one party becomes the victim of an aggressive war. In the case of Rumania, for example, a Russian war to regain Bessarabia would not call for French military aid. France looks upon the treaties as regional security compacts, quite consistent with Article 21 of the Covenant. And yet these treaties do, as a matter of fact, contribute to the military strength of France, which may mean, also, to her political strength.

It is all a highly complicated matter, for in the face of these arrangements, quasi-military alliances, France is striving for the closest possible co-operation not only with England, but at last with Ger-

many—indeed, with Spain and Italy. It is a very interesting situation, for these latter countries cannot look with unalloyed joy upon the five alliances.

The new treaty between France and Yugoslavia completes a zone of influence stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic, threatening the Italian aspirations in the Balkans. Indeed, Italy has opposed this treaty between Belgrade and Paris. After the signature of the treaty there were demonstrations of hostility in various Italian cities.

But regional agreements there are. This method of international activity seems to be in the wind. Bilateral treaties, for example, have multiplied rapidly, especially since the war, some forty such being registered with the League of Nations. They may prove to be serviceable as agencies for the promotion of peace, temporarily. But when a regional agreement such as this last, between France and Yugoslavia, stirs up demonstrations of opposition of a threatening kind in Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, Padua, threatening Yugoslavia consulates and French embassies, it doesn't sound so encouraging.

Theodore E. Burton, speaking before the Interparliamentary Union in Paris last August, came nearer to the realities in any hopeful regional agreement when he pointed out that "the crux of the matter is treaties for conciliation and methods for the peaceful settlement of controversies between nations. Until there is some machinery for the settlement of quarrels, until there is security, disarmament is impossible. . . . Much more effective than any plan for limiting armies and navies is a spirit of good will and co-operation which shall prevail over the globe, and, 'like gracious drops of heavenly dew, shall spread its blessings all abroad.'"

## MR. BURTON'S RESOLUTION

**T**HEODORE E. BURTON, President of the American Peace Society, does not content himself with discussing the theories of peace. He would get something done. He has prepared a joint resolution to prohibit the exportation of arms to any country engaged in aggressive warfare in violation of arbitration or other peace agreements. The resolution has been filed with the Clerk of the House and will be introduced during the earlier days of the coming Congress. Mr. Burton's influence, as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, is assurance that his resolution will give the coming Congress something serious to think about. The full text of the resolution follows:

### "JOINT RESOLUTION

"To prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to certain foreign countries.

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

Sec. 1. That it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to any country which engages in aggressive warfare against any other country in violation of a treaty, convention or other agreement to resort to arbitration or other peaceful means for the settlement of international controversies.

### President to Determine

"SEC. 2. Whenever the President determines that any country has violated any such treaty, convention, or agreement by engaging in aggressive warfare against any other country, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful, until otherwise proclaimed by the President, or provided by act of Congress, to export any arms, munitions, or implements of war from any place in the United States or any possession thereof to such country, or

to any other country if the ultimate destination of such arms, munitions, or implements of war is the country so violating any such treaty, convention, or agreement.

"SEC. 3. Whoever exports any arms, munitions, or implements of war in violation of section 2 of this resolution, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to report any violation of section 2 of this resolution to the United States district attorney for the district wherein the violation is alleged to have been committed."

Mr. Burton looks to support for this resolution from various quarters in Europe. He believes it to be in keeping with the Locarno and other agreements. He finds that a number of Latin-American countries have already made an agreement of this kind.

## ONE WONDERS WHY

**O**NE wonders why men choose to advertise their fears of war. Is it due, like other excitabilities, to the activity of sun-spots? Professor Tchijevsky, of Moscow, addressing the American Association for Advancement of Science at its last annual meeting, called attention to the unusual sun-spot activities and to the disturbances that might be expected to follow. He expressed the belief that all great disturbances on the earth, social as well as physical, seem to attend or follow these periods of sun-spot activity. Indeed, we are told by some authorities that the sun-spot activity has a direct bearing upon the weather, affecting storms and floods. The Russian Professor went on to point out that these operations in the sun follow eleven-year cycles—three years of minimum excitability of human beings, two years of increasing excitability, three years of maximum excitability, and



then three years of return to the minimum of excitability, closing the cycle. We are told that this year, next year, and 1929 mark the maximum of sun-spot activity and therefore of human excitability. A writer in a recent number of *Harper's Magazine* finds some proof of this theory in our excitement over certain murder trials, over our aviators, and over the case of Sacco-Vanzetti. It may be that wars are born of sun-spots.

We are more inclined to think, however, that the itch for the unusual is quite apt to be an evidence of too much concentration upon one thing. The man bent upon looking for weeds finds few flowers in his fields, while the seeker for flowers notices but few of the weeds.

Men who live only in caves think only in cave terms. In the seventh book of his *Republic*, Plato sets this forth with characteristic clarity and accuracy. Imagine an underground den with an opening towards the light. Behold human beings in this cave from childhood, chained by the necks and legs in such a way that they can see only before them, toward the rocky wall immediately in front. Behind them and just outside the opening is a low wall, like the screen Marionette players have before them and over which they show their puppets. At a distance above and beyond this low wall are lights. Along the wall, with the lights beyond are men passing to and fro, some carrying vessels, some figures of men and animals made of wood or stone or other material; some talking, some silent, all casting their shadows on the wall of the den in front of the prisoners. These poor prisoners, therefore, see only their own shadows or the shadows of the objects passing above and behind them. Such prisoners, if they were able to talk with one another, would only talk in terms of the shadows before them. Any voice would appear to be the

voice of a shadow. Truth to such men would be only the shadows of the images. Suppose, then, that one of these prisoners is liberated, that he turns his head, that he walks toward the light, which he sees but painfully. What would be the result? The real objects would seem less real than the shadows in his cave. If he lift his eyes toward the sun he would be dazzled. All reality would be unreality, for a time.

Thus it is that men devoted to one specific task, and for a long and continuous time, tend to become disqualified for participating in other realms of experience. That is why Darwin, after his years of devotion to the details of his science, became incapacitated for enjoying any more either poetry or music. It is why civilians devoted to civilian pursuits are incapable of drafting a war vessel, organizing or equipping an army, or directing a battle. It is why the military expert is disqualified for running a department store, directing a college, or shaping a constructive foreign policy.

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### PLAYING AT PEACE

**S**Ocial progress seems to be the product of the clash of divergent views multiplied by the passing of time. Mr. H. G. Wells, who succeeds in selling his views on a remarkable scale, is convinced that since 1914, in spite of vast volumes of pious intentions, hardly anything of practical value has been done to prevent future wars. He finds as a result of his cogitations that it is a delusion to say that any hopeful effort for the peace of the world has even begun. Men and women laboring to overcome the war system are only "playing at peace."

As far as we have been able to follow Mr. Wells' many views about an improved world order, be they of the family,

of sex, of religion, or of peace, we believe them to be wrong; but when he says that the various peace workers of the world are only playing at the game, he may be right. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other. That peace talk bores many people may be an item in the evidence that he is right. It is difficult for us to conceive that a man who believes that there can be no international peace except there be a superstate, with power to enforce its decisions through navies and armies directly under its control, the only sovereign power within its realm; who believes that we must all be prepared to see our own country and our own flag subordinated to such a collective control; who insists that any other protestations of peaceful intentions are made "either unintelligibly or in bad faith," and who goes so far as to say that no one can be an advocate of organized world peace and a full and complete patriot at the same time, it is difficult to believe that any man with such views can be right on any international opinions he may have. We cannot agree with him that world peace depends upon the acceptance of a "common currency," that "the idea of world peace runs counter to the general processes of nature," or that "war, both internecine and external, is nature's way." But the writer of this editorial is not prepared to say that Mr. Wells is wholly wrong when he charges the peace workers with only "playing at peace."

One wonders, however, what Mr. Wells would say about some of the public utterances of certain men capable of visualizing for the future nothing but war. There are indications that certain men enjoy playing at war, and that in public print. A distinguished Rear Admiral of our Navy, for example, has seen fit recently to express publicly his views relative to our future naval defense requirements

in the Pacific. Nowhere in his article does he leave us the least bit in doubt as to his beliefs. He agrees that the Washington Arms Conference of 1922 was "Great Britain's greatest naval victory," a victory of the first magnitude. The master mind behind it, he writes, was the distinguished Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour's "easy victims were an American Secretary of State, an American ex-Secretary of State, two American Senators, and one hundred ten million American people." But the admiral does not end there. He adds: "The conference did more to discredit diplomacy as a safe and honest method of settling difficulties among nations than all our other ventures in that deceitful art added together."

The admiral is apparently playing at war, and that in the open. There seems, but little doubt of that. Indeed, he begins his remarks by assuming that Japan will seize the Philippines some day; at least, that this is "more than 50 per cent. probable." Then he goes on with his interesting game. Under the terms of the Washington agreement, he finds, it is easy for Japan to capture the Philippines and extremely difficult for the United States to recapture them. If Japan were to capture the Philippines it would be of enormous advantage, not only to Japan, but also to Great Britain, for the reason that we would have to send all our fleet and merchant marine to the western Pacific, leaving the rest of the oceans, including our undefended coasts, to the mercy of Great Britain. This is all the more easily probable because England could then sell all sorts of merchandise to both sides of the controversy at her own prices and get quickly out of the distressing economic condition in which she is at present. Thus the admiral plays on.

He weaves a veritable mare's nest of difficulties around what "will most prob-

ably be our next naval war." He thinks out his game in substantial detail. He takes into account the vastness of the ocean, the tremendous force of the winds, the violence of the waves, the tons of fuel, supplies and ammunition, the hundreds of merchant vessels that will be needed in addition to the fighting ships, the helplessness of our fleet seven thousand miles away from its bases and close to the bases of the enemy. There are the determined attacks on our fleet by night and by day, especially by submarines, enemy airplanes, especially torpedo planes and bombers, operating easily against us from the near-by Islands. The game, as the admiral plays it, of recapturing the Philippines is a difficult one, and all because our magnificent fleet, capable of greater achievements than any fleet ever assembled before, has been deprived of its fair chance by its own countrymen. He tells us that the ships of the so-called "1916 program" constituted the finest expression of scientific genius in the history of mankind, and that "they were designed for use in recapturing the Philippines, if at any time the islands be captured." "And now, alas," he runs on, "our four American delegates sank or scrapped most of those outstanding products of American genius upon which millions of dollars had been spent and (which was far worse) sacrificed the safety of the Philippines and all reasonable hopes for peace."

From this last phrase—we hadn't noticed it until just now—it may be that we have misjudged the admiral hastily, for he, too, may be playing at peace. Perhaps we should feel confirmed in a suspicion we have long felt, that the men who are professionally interested in playing at war are, after all, on the last analysis, themselves playing at peace.

It may be added that while playing at peace, as the game is ordinarily con-

ducted, is comparatively harmless, playing at war in the columns of the daily papers by professional warriors may end in irreparable harm. We have no doubt that the war offices of the world—it is their business—are figuring out with every mathematical aid every possible war contingency, be it on land or on sea. If every one of these experts were to rush into print with the steps he thinks should be taken to meet every conceivable contingency; if, in short, every military expert were to play his game in the open, as has the admiral, fears and suspicions might naturally mount by leaps and bounds. In our judgment, therefore, playing at war, even though on the last analysis the game seems to turn to playing at peace, should be strictly an indoor game. The welfare of States is best promoted under civilian control. It is not the business of our military experts to fix, to criticize, or to direct through the public press or other agency of propaganda the course of our public policy.

It ought not to be necessary to advise our friends of Japan or Great Britain that the people of the United States are not contemplating, even as the remotest possibility, any of these mysterious happenings so interesting to the admiral as he goes about playing at war. Or is it playing at peace?

#### DOWN IN NICARAGUA

**L**IBERAL and informed American opinion relative to affairs in Nicaragua is hoping for an improvement in that land after the coming election. In the meantime, however, the mess does not seem to improve.

Our State Department, under date of October 26, published a list of engagements in Nicaragua since the signing of the Stimson agreement in May last, together with the number of combatants

killed. According to that report, there was an engagement at La Paz on May 31 when two marines were killed, fourteen Liberal Nicaraguans, and a number wounded. At El Ocotol, July 16, between three and four hundred Liberal Nicaraguans were killed, over one hundred wounded, and one marine was killed. At San Fernando, July 26, six Nicaraguans were killed, fifteen to twenty wounded, and one American killed. At the same place, on the next day, twenty fleeing Nicaraguans were killed or wounded by pursuing marine aviators. Along the northern border, on August 16, two Nicaraguans were killed in skirmishes. At Telepaneca, on September 3, eight Nicaraguans were killed or wounded. Five days later five Nicaraguans were killed at Sanate. On September 19 several Nicaraguans were killed or wounded at Telepaneca. October 9, 67 Nicaraguans were killed or wounded and four national guardsmen were killed. Commenting upon this report, our Secretary of State said that he did not believe a single person had been killed by the marines or by the national guard except outlaws. Since the total killed now reaches nearly six hundred, outlaws seem to be rather plentiful.

Antedating this report, it appears there was a battle in Nueva Segovia between three hundred Liberals on the one hand and our marines and national guard on the other. In this battle sixty-two Liberals and four soldiers of our guard were killed. In this instance it appears that the marines were searching for two marine aviators lost while bombing certain Liberals under Sandino. It also appears that Sandino's forces have increased, especially since the action in El Ocotol on July 16.

When it is recalled that Colonel Stimson, having established his pacification program on May 15, telegraphed the De-

partment of State, "The civil war in Nicaragua is definitely ended," it seems he must have made something of a slip.

Later reports are no less discouraging. Under date of October 27, the Associated Press, reporting from San Salvador, announced that the Nicaraguan Sandino had taken possession of the towns of Sebaco, Muy Muy, and Esquipulas, and that General Téllez, Liberal mayor of Ocotol, who signed the Stimson agreement with Moncada, has been exiled from Nicaragua. The same day, our State Department issued a special report announcing details of the Nicaraguan Claims Commission, which is composed of one Conservative, one Liberal, and the American Commissioner, Mr. Hill. To be effective, the claims, with full details, must be presented before December 1, 1927. While damages for acts committed during the revolution will be awarded to claimants regardless of nationality, it has been decided that no person or organization having taken part in the revolution—that is to say, Liberals—nor citizens of countries who have furnished arms to the revolution parties are to be granted claims for damages. On October 28 the Associated Press announced from Managua that more than four thousand claims had been presented to the commission, amounting to over five million dollars. Commissioner Hill declared that he expected the total to exceed six million dollars.

We are in no position to speak for the State Department, but it seems reasonable to believe that it will breathe easier when it can wash its hands of this whole Nicaragua business. Our Secretary of State seems not inclined to complain of the onerousness of his task. He handles each issue as it arises. To the inquiry whether or not General Moncada, now in Washington, is eligible for the Presidency of Nicaragua, he has given an affirmative opinion. When asked by President Diaz some time

ago to establish an American Protectorate in Nicaragua, he evidently refused. In any event, such a protectorate has not been established. But the Secretary cannot be pleased at the killings still going on. He can't be comforted by what seems to be the fact, namely, that Liberals have just carried over three-fourths of the municipal elections. It is doubtful that he is pleased at the prospect of further loan negotiations with Nicaragua based upon the report to be made by Mr. W. W. Cumberland, formerly financial adviser in Haiti, now resigned. When Mr. Kellogg tells us that the action of our troops has been directed only against bandits, and that our aviators are simply working for the constabulary, it must be a bit irritating to have President Diaz decorating our officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps for their actions against Liberal troops and citing "for bravery in action" our marine aviators.

In such a situation we all hope that the coming elections will relieve us from further responsibility in that stricken quarter for many a day.

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### MR. LIAPTCHEFF

**M**R. LIAPTCHEFF is Prime Minister of Bulgaria and evidently a man of hopeful ability. Having passed through the social storms resulting in the overthrow of the Agrarian Government and the breaking out of civil war; having, indeed, served some time in jail along with the other bourgeois ex-ministers, he has for two years been the head of the new cabinet, bent upon the realization of more democratic ideals.

Due largely to his labors, the internal situation in Bulgaria has greatly improved. From the very start he has pursued a moderate policy.

His statesmanship has recently been tested in a manner affecting the external

policies of his country. It had to do with the Macedonian problem. When it is recalled that Mr. Liaptcheff is himself a Macedonian, born in a district now a part of Yugoslavia, to which he would not be allowed by the Belgrade Government to return, one would expect him to be a fervid Nationalist. One would expect also that he would be decidedly sympathetic toward the Macedonians. And yet, when the Macedonian revolutionists began their recent acts of terrorism in the interest of a Macedonia free from Yugoslavia, Mr. Liaptcheff came out vigorously and unequivocally against the method used by the comitadjis, going so far as to declare martial law in certain sections of Bulgaria with the idea of preventing the formation of terroristic plots against Yugoslavia.

In the special session of Parliament, Mr. Liaptcheff was denounced by every opposition leader, charged with disloyalty to the national cause and with subserviency to a neighboring State. He has, however, resolutely persisted in his course, albeit with moderation and restraint. Brought into power by the military group and supported by the ardent Nationalists, he has been able to demonstrate the wisdom of sincerity and patience. The Balkans constitute a safer place to live in because of Prime Minister Liaptcheff of Bulgaria.

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**T**HE Mexican Supreme Court, it appears, has handed down a decision, November 18, holding that articles 14 and 15 of the petroleum law are unconstitutional. Our State Department is justified in the view that such a decision is of great importance. It may indeed open a way for the adjustment of the controversy between the two governments. The text of the decision is not yet available; but it is evident that the United States and Mexico are in position once more to open up diplo-

matic negotiations with the view of starting again the full operation of American-owned oil properties in Mexico, and of reaching an understanding calculated to protect American oil properties from retroactive legislation deemed by Washington to be confiscatory. Incidentally, the decision by the Mexican court will go a long way toward the re-establishment in the United States of faith in the processes of law and order on both sides of the Rio Grande.

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**V**ISCOUNT ROBERT CECIL spoke in the House of Lords November 16, criticizing the government for the failure of the Three Power Naval Conference at Geneva. We do not praise or condemn Viscount Cecil's speech; but from the dispatches we gather the impression that the feeling is growing in England, perhaps in part because of Cecil's work, that the failure of the Three Power Naval Conference was a great misfortune, and that the work of that conference should be resumed. The correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*, under date of November 18, wired his paper that two groups of popular conservative newspapers in England—the Rothmere and Beaverbrook Press—have hit upon the brilliant idea of pushing peace and disarmament in their news columns, rather than in their editorial columns alone, with the view of attracting their readers' attention more effectively to the subject of peace. The *Liberal Nation* credits Rothmere and Beaverbrook, respectively, with having discovered "what is dimly rising to consciousness in the minds of their public."

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**D**R. KELLY MILLER is the distinguished Negro Dean of Howard University. It pleases us to quote his views on "The Long Struggle Upward." He says:

"If we take the world at large, we are forced to the definite conclusion that it has been growing steadily better ever since man began his upward way from the valley level of animal existence. It is a far cry from the primitive law, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' to the ultimate ideal, 'Love thine enemy; do good to them that hate you,' and yet mankind has been plodding its weary way from the law of enmity to the law of amity. The human race is still far from the goal, but is surely on the way. It is a long way from the Christ ideal, 'If thine enemy strike thee on the one cheek, turn unto him the other also,' but civilization is to be gauged by its approximation to this ideal.

"The World War has taught us the folly of force. Hatred is the most uneconomical thing in the world. The world learns but slowly. The ladder reaching from earth to heaven slants slowly upwards. Love is the one standard in terms of which all progress must be measured. Bitter as are the hatreds of the world today, they are as nothing when compared to those of the bygone darker ages. The hatred of race for race, nation for nation, religion for religion, and individuals for each other is fading away as the centuries come and go. So far have we advanced on the upward grade.

"Yes, the world is growing better; but we must be patient with God and his slow-working plan of evolution towards human perfectibility. We are not yet half way between the old Adam and the new man Christ. The human race will have to struggle upward for as many ages as it has already existed before it may expect to attain unto the great consummation."

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**T**HE sudden death of Dr. Charles Herbert Levermore in Berkeley, California, October 20, while delivering an address on Plans to Promote World Peace, leaves a vacancy in a large circle of warm and admiring friends. His last formal communication to the American Peace Society begins as follows: "The question is, Can the remnants of the peace societies which have survived the war, and other societies which are internationally minded,

be brought together and welded into a well-organized community; and, if so, on what basis and with what purpose for their renewed activity?" He then goes on to enumerate the societies to be considered, whether or not they can be brought to agree upon any common purpose and the possibilities of a comprehensive non-partisan international review. It was the happy fortune of the Editor of this magazine to know Dr. Charles Levermore rather intimately for over twenty years, to travel with him, to speak from the same platform, to enjoy those little comradeships incidental to belonging to the same college fraternity, to agree with him, to differ with him, to oppose him in public debate, to converse with him in foreign lands, to love and to admire him always.

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**N**EWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War in President Wilson's Cabinet, recommended to the International Goodwill Congress at St. Louis, in November, in a closing Armistice Day speech, three things. They are:

A declaration by the President and the Senate, as part of the fixed policy of the United States, that this country will not exercise its legal right to trade with a nation declared by the League of Nations to have been the aggressor in war.

Resumption of negotiations for American participation in the World Court by appointment of a commission to meet with a similar commission of present members of the court.

Negotiations by the United States with other nations of treaties similar to the Locarno treaties, which bind their signatories not to go to war, whatever the provocation.

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**A** PAGEANT in honor of the Indian Peace Treaty of 1867 was celebrated

October 12 at Medicine Lodge, Kansas. This pageant, said to be "one of the most significant pageants ever staged in Kansas," was attended by two hundred and twenty-five Indians, members of the five tribes which participated in the important Indian Peace Council of 1867—Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Plains Apache Tribes—some of them survivors of the Council. There were cowboys, relics of days when Kansas was a range country, and old frontiersmen, pioneers of the Kansas prairie. The pageant was held in a natural amphitheater. There was an address by Governor Johnson, of Oklahoma; by Gov. Ben S. Paulen, of Kansas, and other public men, including Indians. The pageant consisted of scenes connected with the signing of the treaty. It represented the collective work of practically all the twelve hundred inhabitants of Medicine Lodge, under the direction of the Curator of the Oklahoma Historical Society. From the reports, it is evident that the pageant was most impressive. It was a panorama of history. Those who saw it lived in the past. It was in celebration of a treaty which resulted in turning the Indian Territory over to the Red Men and in leaving Kansas to the whites. More than that, it was a celebration of a peaceable adjustment which has happily endured through the succeeding years.

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**T**HE Ford Motor Company plan for rubber production on a large scale in the State of Para, Brazil, is a fresh illustration of the amazing activities of modern business. It appears that the Ford Company has received a rubber concession of over three million acres in the Amazon Valley, lying on the Tapajos River. Settlements are to be established on the development, and steamships of the Ford fleet will make regular trips to the district. It is possible that there will be air-

plane communications between the plantations and Detroit. Details have been closed and the work is expected to begin at once. A widespread sanitary campaign against the dangers of the jungle is planned. Mr. Ford seems to have been led to the step by the example of his friend, Harvey Firestone, who, after ex-

periments in many sections of the world, has at least one million acres in Liberia, where he expects to harvest rubber in 1930. These two enterprises will certainly have an effect upon world markets. They are a very concrete expression of the oneness of our human family and of the vision and courage of men.

## WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

### THE GILBERT MEMORANDUM

**T**HE Memorandum addressed on October 20 to the German Government by Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, the Agent General for Reparation Payments, represents the first serious conflict in the application of the Dawes Plan, which has now been in operation for over three years. We are giving the full text of this important paper in the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*; below the reader will find a brief summary of the Memorandum and of the reply to it made by the German Minister of Finance, Herr Köhler.

#### Mr. Gilbert on Germany's "Good Faith"

In his Memorandum, Mr. Gilbert points out that the development of German industry and commerce and the improvement of the standard of living of the people require the constant cheapening of production and an increase in real wages without a rise either in prices or the cost of living. To secure this, a steady supply of new capital is needed, based on savings at home or borrowings abroad. Under present conditions Germany needs not only the creation of new capital, but also the rebuilding of the old liquid capital lost in the inflation. She requires, therefore, a special incentive for saving and for careful spending.

Mr. Gilbert accepts at full value the assurances of the German Government that its policy is to do everything in its

power to fulfill its obligations under the Dawes Plan. He points out, however, that German public authorities are developing programs of expenditure and borrowing "with but little regard to the financial consequences of their actions." The rising level of public expenditure is giving an artificial stimulus to economic life and is threatening to undermine the stability of public finances. If these tendencies are allowed to continue unchecked, a serious economic reaction will, he is convinced, certainly take place. The remedies for this condition consist primarily in a reversal of the present tendency to overspending and overborrowing and a régime of strict economy. If the German authorities act quickly, they will have it in their power to avert a crisis.

#### The Dangers in the German Budget

The Agent General next calls attention to the criticisms of the German budget made by him in his report of June 10 last, and quotes certain passages from the Finance Minister's speech, which emphasize the need for reducing and postponing expenditure. He points out that, notwithstanding these admissions, the tendency of the government policy is in the direction of enlarged commitments. The authorizations of the expenditures in the 1927-28 budget were increased by 600,000,000. before its enactment, bringing the total up to 9,130,000,000m. as compared with an actual expenditure of 8,543,000,000m.



in 1926-27. Of this increase only 540,000,000,000m. were for reparations payments. Mr. Gilbert also points out in this connection that both the 1926-27 and the 1927-28 budgets show an excess of current expenditure over current revenues of over 850,000,000,000m. in each year, which is covered by loans and appropriations from surplus reserve funds.

Another point of criticism is afforded by the law, passed on April 9, 1927, postponing for a further two years the definitive settlement of the financial relations between the Reich and the States and communes, in spite of the fact that the Agent General had addressed a letter to the Finance Minister emphasizing the importance of such a settlement in connection with the fulfilment of the Dawes Plan. Repeating the criticisms already made in his previous reports, Mr. Gilbert states that the present settlement is open to grave objections of principle. The States and communes are drawing larger payments than ever before from the Reich and are pressing for more to meet their constantly increasing expenditure, over which the Reich exercises no adequate control.

The Memorandum then proceeds to deal with the proposed increase in the salaries of government officials, the annual cost of which is estimated at between 1,200,000,000 marks and 1,500,000,000 marks. It is assumed that States and communes, postal services, and the railways will also make similar increases. Other proposals involving new expenditure which have not yet become law are a measure indemnifying German nationals for property lost abroad, which is estimated to cost about 1,000,000,000 marks, and the new education law, the final cost of which has not yet been calculated.

The Agent General summarizes the probable consequences of these new measures, which, he insists, are endangering the stability of the budget, the maintenance of which was the corner-stone of the Experts' Plan.

#### Relation of States and Communes

The second part of the Memorandum deals with the finances of the States and Communes. It draws attention to the

enormous borrowing by these bodies in the form of long-term loans, which, since the beginning of 1926 have amounted to £,600,000,000m. of which 1,600,000,000m. has been raised abroad. These foreign borrowings have made heavy drafts upon Germany's foreign credit and have tended to raise difficult questions under the Treaty of Versailles. Overborrowing, both at home and abroad, proceeds from the same source, namely, rising public expenditure. Though the Reich has no direct control of the foreign borrowings of States and communes, it has "a unique opportunity and even responsibility, for leadership."

The third section deals with German credit and currency policy. It points out the confusion created by the frequent opposition of the financial operations of the States and communes to the policy of the Reichsbank, and also by the administration of the public funds, which has tended very strongly to diminish the influence of the Central Bank over the money market.

In conclusion, the Agent General warns the German Government of the consequences of an economic crisis and points to the remarkable progress made since the establishment of the Dawes scheme, the re-establishment of German credit at home and abroad, and the reorganization of German industry. It would be deplorable if these achievements should be imperiled by short-sighted internal policies. The creditors of Germany, he adds, feel that reasonable prudence in the management of public finances is a necessary element of good will.

#### German Reply to the Memorandum

Finance Minister Köhler's reply to Mr. Gilbert's Memorandum, while it gives general expression to the German Government's agreement with the Agent General on many points, is mainly a defense of German economic policy along the lines of the recent speeches of the Ministers of Finance and Economic Affairs.

The German reply opens with the remark, frequently repeated, that many of the important problems raised in the Agent General's Memorandum are governed by domestic political considerations,

which Mr. Gilbert does not touch upon because they do not lie within his competence as Agent General for Reparation Payments. Although the government of the Reich realizes that dangers may arise out of the peculiar nature of German development since the war and the inflation, and will do everything it can to avert them, it does not find itself able to attribute the tension in the present economic situation principally to the causes suggested by the Agent General.

#### Evidences of Germany's Recovery

The Minister describes the German economic recovery, the reabsorption of nearly one and a half million unemployed since the beginning of this year, the increase of exports in spite of the efforts involved in these processes, and the by no means negligible formation of fresh capital at home as evidenced by savings and other bank deposits. The extent of German indebtedness abroad, he continues, is not disquieting, in view of the pledges given as security and their productivity. Anxiety concerning short-term credits will have to be dispelled by rapid consolidation. The Reich government is working out a scheme, in co-operation with the States and communes, for the consolidation of the short-term indebtedness of the public bodies.

A too sharp expansion of business could only in a very small degree be attributed to measures taken by public bodies. Taxation and internal loans do not create additional purchasing power. The foreign loans and credits raised by the public bodies, however considerable, have had, at any rate, no decisive effect in artificially stimulating economic life. Moreover, they have been employed preeminently for productive purposes.

Turning to the finances of the Reich, Herr Köhler, as in his recent speech, attributes the greater part of the increase in expenditure to the war and its social and political consequences. The government intends, however, to frame the 1928 budget with an eye to the strictest economy. It realized the dangers of an unlimited increase of expenditure in the ordinary budget, even for purposes in themselves justified. As for the extraordinary budget, the government agrees

unreservedly with the Agent General that it is to be regarded with the utmost concern. The government proposes to do everything possible to prevent an increase of the need for loans, and to slow down the execution of some of the essential undertakings so that they can be financed by means of temporary appropriations from current revenue until the issue of loans is possible.

#### Loans of Public Bodies

The government agrees that the raising of loans by States and municipalities for administrative purposes is at present absolutely inadmissible; but administration is not the only task which, as the result of a development peculiar to Germany, the municipalities have to perform. They have also to satisfy certain requirements of private business, and it is obvious that in so far as the fulfilment of these requirements leads to a more fruitful working of private business within the community, it must be regarded as thoroughly productive. On the other hand, the local governments, when they undertake such productive expenditure and desire loans to that end, must bear in mind the general economic situation of the Reich.

Herr Köhler gives a table showing that loan schemes for public bodies have been considered by the Foreign Loans Control Committee to the amount of 2,185,595,170 marks—1,076,778,420 for municipalities—and that loans to the amount of 1,630,073,950 marks have actually been approved. He also gives a table showing the purposes for which application was made, in which only 28,000,000 marks come under the head "Miscellaneous," the rest being for such productive enterprises as electricity, water works, and gas.

Attention is then drawn to the undesirability of a premature financial arrangement between the Reich and the States before the economic position has become fully settled. Herr Köhler defends the bill for the raising of officials' pay and pensions, pointing out that the costs consist largely not in the payment of officials, but in the support of war victims. It is pointed out that for this end neither a raising of taxation nor an increase of the postal or railway tariffs is contemplated.

Reference is merely made to the Finance Minister's speech, in which he counted on the continuance of the present conditions for the necessary covering revenue—a confidence which the Agent General finds dangerous. Naturally, it is added, the aim of reducing the total salaries bill by administrative reform is kept steadily in view. The defense of the Compensation Bill indicates that the Finance Minister has not abandoned the hope of marketing railway preference shares to finance it.

The costs of the Education Law will play no part for three years. The Education Bill is a solution of problems intimately bound up with the common culture of the German people—a solution which is assured by the Constitution and which is particularly urgent, because until this law comes into force the States cannot constitutionally settle their educational problems.

In conclusion, the German Government insists that it has never artificially prejudiced transfer and will not think of doing so in future. The real test, whether genuine transfer in the sense of the Dawes Plan is possible in the long run, has yet to be faced. Its surmounting is dependent, as the Agent General himself admits, largely on the economic policy of other countries. The government expresses its confidence that trust in the loyal co-operation of all concerned in the Experts' Plan will continue to be the basis of their joint labors.

#### French Reaction to the Controversy

In its reactions to the Gilbert Memorandum and the German reply, French opinion is generally in agreement with the arguments adduced by the Agent General, and especially with that refuting the suggestion that German responsibility ends with the payment of the reparation sums in Germany and does not extend to the problem of transfer. The view is held in Paris that, since Germany undertook, in accepting the plan, to co-operate to the fullest extent in its execution, anything calculated to prejudice either the payments within Germany or the transfers abroad is done at Germany's own risk. For this reason alone the plain language of the

Agent General's Memorandum is approved, as it is considered very necessary that Germany should be reminded that reckless expenditure, even on internal matters, likely to endanger the success of the Dawes Plan, becomes a matter of importance to Germany's creditors and ceases to be a purely internal affair. The complaints that the Agent General's criticisms imply an interference with Germany's sovereign rights are dismissed as both mistaken and insincere.

In many quarters in France the impression prevails that influential persons in Germany have deliberately aimed at the present situation for the direct purpose of rendering the plan unworkable. For some time it has been a commonplace of the French press that sooner or later Germany would make a bid for the revision of the Dawes Plan by the method of demonstrating that it was "unworkable." That this has not been attempted earlier has been attributed to the fact that the full annuity year has only just been reached, and that, therefore, a complete experiment has not yet been made with the plan, and that it would be absurd to denounce as unworkable a plan that had not yet been fully applied. It is considered that the actual demand for the revision of the plan may be expected in 1930, and that meanwhile the preliminary arguments can be marshaled.

At the same time the general tone of comment in the Paris press is that the continuance of the reparation payments is essential to the future of French finance, that the armies of occupation are still in the Rhineland, and that in the event of a default Germany must be prepared to take the consequences.

#### GERMAN ECONOMIC POLICY

THE Gilbert Memorandum has occasioned an extensive discussion within Germany of the country's economic policy. Below we are giving summaries of the views expressed by Dr. Stresemann, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Herr Curtius, the Minister of Economic Affairs, and Dr. Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank.

### Dr. Stresemann's Views

Speaking at Dresden, Foreign Minister Stresemann said that even though the economic development of recent years has been favorable, and nothing provides better proof of this than the fact that unemployment had been reduced to an extent unknown before the war, this development carries with it serious dangers, less for the present than for the future. German economic life needs the milliards of marks which have flowed into it in the form of foreign credits, and the fact that by means of these credits the fate of other nations is linked up with the economic development of Germany is to be welcomed. But the absorption of the milliards is only justified to the extent that they are fully employed for productive purposes; non-productive foreign loans constitute a serious encumbrance for Germany.

Herr Stresemann criticized the manner in which German vitality is at present expressing itself through an excess of festivities and building activity, which is out of keeping with actual conditions and awakens the impression abroad that the German nation, which had lost the war, is able to afford things which the victorious nations cannot afford. This is a big economic and political mistake on Germany's part, and it must be combated by every possible means. He spoke of the contract between the real life of Germany today, characterized by strenuous efforts, and the outward appearance of thoughtlessness and *joie de vivre* which was unfortunately assuming greater proportions from day to day. He regretted the disposition in foreign countries to judge Germany rather by appearances than by facts, especially in those circles abroad which are trying to exploit the accusation that the Germans are deliberately living beyond their means in order that Germany should be unable to fulfill her obligations.

Herr Stresemann went on to speak of the necessity of the administrative reform to which the Reich Government is at last turning its attention. The nation, he said, cannot lose the biggest war in history and afford to keep up the bureaucratic muddle which Germany supports today. The striking contrast between the "nationalization" of industry and the state of the administration showed how right the gov-

ernment is to tackle the problem. With regard to the formation of the "Einheitsstaat"—unified or centralized system, as opposed to the present German federal system—which is closely bound up with administrative reform, he said that they could not and would not compel any Federal State to surrender its independence, but any State that sought incorporation in a unified system should not be hindered. They must have the courage to take decisive steps.

In conclusion, Herr Stresemann said that Germany's comparatively favorable economic position can only be preserved if they realize the dangers menacing future development, if they read aright the excess of imports over exports, and endeavor to bring about the necessary changes.

### Herr Curtius on the Foreign Loans

Speaking before the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, Herr Curtius stated that the checking of foreign borrowing early this year, the big capital issues, and the Reich loan of February have shown that the German money market is by no means in a position to finance the economic development of recent months. Germany is, therefore, thrown back on foreign capital. The German economy not only can, but must, continue to absorb foreign capital. It seems to him that at least the present volume of foreign credits must be maintained. But the question of confidence is very important, and the strictest discipline must be maintained.

According to the latest figures of the Reich Statistical Bureau, foreign long-term indebtedness amounted at the end of October to 3,950,000,000m, including the Dawes Loan of 800,000,000m. Short-term indebtedness amounted to 3,600,000,000m. The annual interest, without amortization, was estimated by the bureau at 460,000,000m. to 470,000,000m. The sum of 3,990,000,000m. long-term debts included some 2,000,000,000m. borrowed by private industry. Compared with the total capital of German industry, 34,200,000,000m., this foreign indebtedness was small. Herr Curtius drew the comforting conclusion that trade and industry are in nowise in danger, and that the security is beyond all doubt. The same applies to the loans of the public bodies, because the whole taxable capacity of the population is be-

hind them. He considers any trouble on the short-term market out of the question, "if we do not ourselves disturb foreign confidence."

Herr Curtius then repeated his well-known view that Germany's trade balance should give no cause for anxiety, and pointed to the recent increase in the export of finished goods, in spite of the home "boom."

But, at the same time, Herr Curtius laid stress on the importance of controlling foreign borrowing. He outlined the new rules for the Control Committee and the new Committee of Appeal. The Federal States appear to have obtained various concessions. The only difference between the ordinary committee and the Committee of Appeal will be that on the latter the Ministers of Finance and Economic Affairs and the president of the Reichsbank may sit in person, instead of their representatives. A State whose application for a loan has been rejected may also appeal to the second committee. Herr Curtius confirmed the reported intention of those concerned to encourage the consolidation of short-term municipal loans. In conclusion, Herr Curtius said that the situation is not critical, and the Agent General, as far as he knew, was of the same opinion. All they have to do is to keep their heads and work together.

#### **Dr. Schacht's Defense of the Reichsbank Policy**

Speaking also before the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, Dr. Schacht gave a long defense of the much-criticized policy of the Reichsbank. The check placed on foreign borrowing last winter was never meant to be more than an experiment to test the strength of the money market. But when they lowered the discount rate to 5 per cent they did not know that the government would suddenly issue a 500,000,000m. loan. It came as an entire surprise to them at the Reichsbank. The pressure was too heavy and the banks began to bring in short-term foreign money at higher rates than the Reichsbank rate. If any reproach could be leveled at the Reichsbank, it was for not interfering sooner.

The Reichsbank has never opposed foreign borrowing by industry, or even by public bodies, for really urgent purposes.

It has only objected to the pace of the borrowing and to the total indebtedness. One of the difficulties of the Control Committee is that naturally only "productive" schemes are laid before it, and it has no means of passing judgment on other undesirable or unnecessary or not urgent expenditure of the municipalities. The problem cannot, therefore, be solved by the committee alone. He hinted at the desirability of a central institution of control with certain powers of supervision over local finances. Such provision as there is has hitherto been in the hands of the States and has not been sufficiently used.

#### **Principles of Control Over Foreign Borrowing**

A set of guiding principles has been laid down by the German Government for the recently reorganized Foreign Loans Control Committee. These principles are to be applied in the examination of all proposed foreign credits of the Federal States, municipalities, and municipal organizations of various kinds, whether they are to be obtained directly by the public bodies in question or indirectly through semi-public or private banking institutions. The principles are to apply also in cases where public bodies provide guarantees or security for private foreign loans, and to the marketing of municipal bonds abroad.

Foreign loans are regarded as "comparatively unobjectionable" when, in the case of long-term loans, they are contracted for not less than ten years, with, however, the right of redemption at the latest in five years, and when, in the case of short-term loans, they are contracted by Federal States only, not municipalities, for not more than one year, solely in order provisionally to reinforce the working funds. In such cases the State must make a solemn declaration to the committee guaranteeing that repayment is assured when due, and that there is no question of conversion into a long-term loan. It must also forward periodical reports to the committee, giving details of loans thus contracted. All municipal short-term loan schemes must be subjected to the security of the committee.

Loans contracted by States and municipalities must, apart from the "compara-

tively unobjectionable" cases mentioned, be employed for immediately productive purposes—that is to say, for paying enterprises which can be depended on to meet the interest and amortization charges without resort being necessary to the general revenues of the public body in question. These enterprises, moreover, must definitely contribute to the general economic development of the Reich either by helping to increase exports or decrease imports, or in some other way; local interests are not sufficient. The enterprises must be urgent, in the sense that the proposed expenditures cannot be postponed. No special pledges may be given as security, and the transactions must not be bound up in any way with other public enterprises.

## POLITICAL CRISIS IN RUSSIA

**C**OINCIDENTLY with the tenth anniversary of the Communist régime in Russia, the Soviet Government is facing the worst political crisis in its history. Never, during the whole decade of their rule in Russia, have the Communist leaders been so sharply divided into opposing camps. Nor have the rival leaders ever been so bitterly outspoken in their mutual attacks and recriminations.

The celebration of the tenth anniversary, which began on November 6, passed in an atmosphere of open party strife. It was preceded and followed by drastic measures taken against the opposition by the group in control of the Soviet Government.

### Trotsky's Expulsion from Communist International

The first important event in the party strife was the expulsion of Trotsky from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He and Zinoviev are the outstanding leaders of the opposition to the group led by Stalin, which is in power. Zinoviev, who for seven years was the head of the International, was expelled about a year ago. Trotsky's expulsion was threatened last August, but was delayed until October 23.

The basic charges against Trotsky and Zinoviev are that they are attempting to organize a second party of their own fol-

lowers, creating a secret factional organization, surreptitiously printing and circulating illegal propagandist literature, and maintaining communication with expelled Communists in Germany and other foreign countries.

Another charge against them originated from the fact that they opposed and voted against the "historic manifesto" of the Tsik, or the "Red Parliament," issued in connection with the tenth anniversary. This manifesto was addressed to the workmen and peasants of the U. S. S. R. and to "all toilers" in other countries. Among other matters, it promised the gradual introduction of a seven-hour day in Soviet factories and the abolition of the death penalty, except in the case of political offenses and acts of banditry. The opposition leaders have criticized this manifesto as insincere.

### Opposition Attacks on Stalin

The expulsion of Trotsky from the International did not put a stop to the attacks made by him and the rest of the opposition on Stalin and the ruling group. At a meeting of the Central Control Committee, which took place soon after the expulsion, a dramatic public clash occurred between Trotsky and Stalin. In a speech delivered by him, Trotsky directed bitter personal accusations against Stalin, recalling the political testament wherein Lenin accused Stalin of excessive roughness and advised his removal from the post of Party Secretary. Declaring that the "roughness and lack of loyalty whereof Lenin wrote have become the qualities of the ruling faction and its policy," he accused the party leadership of shifting its basis of support "from the worker to the petty bourgeois, from the poor peasant and agricultural laborer to the rich peasant, from the Shanghai worker to Chiang Kai-shek, from the British proletariat to Hicks and Purcell."

Stalin's reply to this stormy attack was firm, resolute, and self-possessed. Regarding Lenin's testament, he declared that he had twice offered resignation since Lenin died, but it was rejected. He defended the suppression of the Opposition platform, saying that the foreign bourgeoisie would derive encouragement from the press of the Soviet Government, be-

cause it falsely stated that the party leadership intended to abolish foreign trade monopoly and pay war debts. Stalin declared that the Congress would decide the question of Trotsky's expulsion.

Similarly, other opposition leaders continued to carry on their campaign, although on all their public appearances they found themselves heckled and shouted down by the adherents of Stalin. One of the opposition leaders, Smilga, who had been "banished to Siberia" a few months ago for supporting Trotsky, returned to Moscow. At an important Communist gathering in Moscow he defied the audience to shout him down, but eventually he retired defeated.

The opposition diplomats, M. Rakovsky, recalled from Paris, and M. Kamenev, who had not yet been recalled from Rome, threw themselves into the active struggle against the Stalinists in connection with the preparations for the Communist Party's annual congress in December. They harangued stormy meetings of workmen in Moscow, denouncing the ruling clique. Referring to the "unseemly conduct" of these heretical envoys, the Soviet press stated that "Rakovsky and Kamenev attempted to sway the masses by malignant anti-party falsehoods, but their lying accusations brought on them a definite and deserved defeat."

#### Opposition Expelled from the Communist Party

These continued attacks resulted finally in a still more drastic measure taken by the Stalin group. At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party held on November 14, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Smilga, and their most prominent followers were formally expelled from the Communist Party. Placed in this manner outside the Communist ranks, they no longer have the right to participate in the party's decisions, and any future criticisms of Soviet Party policies on their part may be regarded as counter revolutionary and definitely illegal.

The Communist press, in commenting on this action of the party executive, declared that the party masses will welcome the expulsion, and it accuses the expelled leaders of undermining the proletarian dictatorship by creating a conspiracy to

form a second party and adopting Social Democratic theories about the impossibility of building a Socialist Soviet union, and the necessity for Soviet agriculture to develop along the same lines as under capitalism.

#### FRANCO-YUGOSLAV PACT

THE signing of a treaty of friendship between France and Yugoslavia has been greeted in Europe as a political event of first-rate importance. While placing the relations between France and Yugoslavia on a treaty basis, and to that extent presumably adding another link to the chain of peace, the incident has aroused unfavorable comment in Italy.

#### Outcome of Long Negotiations

The present treaty is the outcome of negotiations which lasted a long time. Negotiations for a treaty of friendship between France and Yugoslavia were begun as far back as 1923. They received a slight set-back early in the following year through the advances which were made to Yugoslavia by Italy and which resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Rome. They were, however, taken up later, and in March, 1926, during a visit of M. Nintchitch to Paris, the treaty was initialed. It has remained unsigned since then for various reasons, chief of which was the wish to do nothing which might in any way cause umbrage to Italy. It was hoped for a time that it might be possible to conclude a tripartite agreement between France, Italy, and Yugoslavia which would have served as a sort of Locarno for the Adriatic, but this idea made no progress. The moment for signature has now been chosen when the relations between France and Italy are remarkably cordial.

The treaty contains, in the first place, a mutual pledge of friendship and an undertaking by the contracting powers not to make war upon one another, and secondly, an agreement to submit any differences to arbitration. The opportunity will be taken to conclude at the same time a Commercial Treaty and a Consular Convention covering the status of citizens of either country on the territory of the other.

### Italy and the Pact

In explaining to foreign correspondents the situation created by the signing of the treaty, M. Briand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, said:

Our agreement is founded on sentiments which never fluctuate, and it contains no point directed against anybody. Not only is it negatively innocuous, but it is completely turned toward peace. It is conceived in entire conformity with the rules of the League of Nations, and makes reference to the League in essential articles. Everybody will be able to judge when the treaty is registered with the League and published.

It can still be converted into a triple pact if Italy chooses to enter, and it may become the basis of a new Locarno, extending to the Balkans. M. Briand stated that "though the present treaty is confined to France and Yugoslavia, it nevertheless remains open to anybody with good will, and its signatories will be happy if such good will is manifested. It will be welcomed with the greatest satisfaction. The accord was initialed eighteen months ago, and if the signature was delayed it was because we envisaged a larger pact. Circumstances have not favored our hopes, but nothing prevents us from reaching our goal in the near or remote future. We will do impossibilities to succeed."

M. Briand's declaration was not favorably received in Italy. For example: *Giornale d'Italia* describes M. Briand's statement as "imprudent," asking that since the pact with Yugoslavia is a "re-affirmation of principles" contained in the covenant of the League of Nations, what necessity had arisen to supplement the pact. The truth lies, continues *Giornale d'Italia*, to the contrary, for France shows that it has no faith in the Geneva institution.

On the other hand, if credit should be given to the affirmation that the pact is a pacific instrument and does not contain any secret military clauses, "as is affirmed in many quarters, and is not ignored by us," the fact that France, by signing the treaty, wished to give Yugoslavia tangible proof of her friendship at the moment when Yugoslavia relations with Italy were very unsatisfactory is one which can hardly please Italy.

### THE MACEDONIAN IMBROGLIO

THE Macedonian question continues to be acute. The latest developments in the situation have been the decision of the Bulgarian Government to place the provinces bordering on Macedonia, under martial law for the purpose of preventing the passage of the comitadji from Bulgaria to Macedonia and the apparent transfer of comitadji activities to Albania.

#### Bulgarian Martial Law

The decree establishing martial law in the provinces of Petritch and Kustendil came up for discussion before the Bulgarian Parliament on October 18. M. Liaptcheff, the Prime Minister, in an impressive opening speech, stated that this exceptional measure had been taken independently of any outside pressure on the initiative of the government itself. M. Liaptcheff pointed out that the treaty of peace, which had detached from Bulgaria part of her territory and people, had created a painful situation, the consequences of which are still being felt throughout the Balkans. Speaking in particular of the population of the Province of Petritch, he declared that as a result of its relations with the population in Yugoslav and Greek Macedonia, it is especially sensitive to events taking place on the other side of the frontier. At the same time, outrages would not provide a remedy. "On the contrary," said the Prime Minister, "nothing could be more disastrous or more dangerous for the Bulgarian State and the entire Bulgarian nation than these actions, which are the actions of madmen." These courageous words made a profound impression on the House.

M. Kosnitckhi (Stamboulovist) insisted that the Macedonian revolutionary outrages, so blameworthy in themselves, were the natural consequences of the intolerable régime instituted by the Yugoslavs in Macedonia, and said that if the Yugoslavs wanted peace they should return their schools and churches to the Macedonians. His party reproached the government for having taken sides against the Macedonians by proclaiming martial law in the border departments.

The Socialist leader, M. Pastoukhoff, protested against the description of the



Macedonian revolutionaries, who were fighting for the freedom of their country, as vulgar brigands, and declared that his party, although it condemned the outrages, still maintained that Macedonia should belong to the Macedonians. The Yugoslav régime in Macedonia, he said, was a shame to Europe, and although the Socialists desired a sincere understanding with Yugoslavia they would not agree to Bulgaria's becoming a Yugoslav gendarme by proclaiming martial law.

There is a great deal of anti-Yugoslav feeling in Bulgaria. A part of the Sofia press has openly attacked the Prime Minister for prohibiting protest meetings against the Serbs in connection with the trial of nineteen Macedonian students in southern Serbia, who are accused of plotting against Yugoslav authorities.

#### Macedonian Activities in Albania

While the measures taken by the Bulgarian Government are likely to diminish trouble in Macedonia, the whole situation is not regarded in Belgrade as completely satisfactory. Of special importance is the reported growth of activity of Macedonian comitadjis in southern Albania, where they are apparently preparing raids into Yugoslav and Greek Macedonia. Albania makes an excellent base from which to make further attempts to stir up trouble in Macedonia, all the surer because any attempt to follow up the criminals or to make reprisals would at once give Italy the right to interfere under the Tirana Pact.

### THE MANOILESCU TRIAL

ON OCTOBER 24 the Rumanian Government ordered the arrest of Mihail Manoilescu, former Undersecretary of State for Finance, on the charge of plotting the restoration of Prince Carol to the Rumanian throne. M. Manoilescu was placed on trial before a court-martial and the incident acquired a very large political importance in the Rumanian situation.

#### Manoilescu's Acquittal and Its Repercussions

The court-martial acquitted Manoilescu. Five judges voted three to two to set him free, and the verdict was greeted with

cheering. Arguing in M. Manoilescu's behalf, one of his lawyers declared:

Our present system is balanced on the sharp edge of a sword. If it be the wish of the people, Prince Carol may return not only as Regent, but as King. One can stem a rivulet, but not a river. One can repress the wishes of the Government, but not the will of the people.

Reopening the dynastic question, which was settled by Carol's denunciation of the throne and confirmed by law in January, 1926, the arrest and trial of M. Manoilescu aroused intense interest among Rumanians. The interest was increased by the defendant's impassioned plea in his own behalf and the demand of the prosecution that he pay the full penalty of the law—five years' imprisonment.

The immediate results of the trial have been the enactment by the Senate of a new law providing for drastic penalties for discussion of the succession question and a perceptible drawing together of the groups opposed to the Bratiano régime.

#### Growth of Opposition to Bratiano

It is impossible to tell to what extent the outcome of the Manoilescu trial will consolidate the opposition to the Bratiano family, which has ruled Rumania for the past fifty years. Negotiations have been inaugurated between Julius Maniu, General Averescu, and Professor Jorga, leaders of the Opposition parties, for a united front directed toward a "return to legality." M. Maniu, leader of the National Peasant Party, the most powerful Opposition group, has made a formal declaration in Parliament, announcing that the party will openly defy the new law on the Protection of the Dynastic Order and the Safety of the State.

The new enactment provides drastic penalties for even a private discussion regarding the possible change in the form of government or the dynasty. M. Maniu, with an appreciation of the gravity of his declaration, stated that in view of the fact that the government's measures "are a flagrant violation of the fundamental laws of the country and the conditions of the union of the newly acquired provi-

sions, our conscience prohibits us from associating ourselves with a dictatorship, humiliating our personal and civic dignity." He declared that the measures

were taken on the basis that the new law will not be respected and the application of them would be permitted only by "public force."

## GENTLENESS

By G. H. GRUBB

(The following gracious lines, peculiarly appropriate to the coming Christmastide, dropped upon us from 39 Airdale Road, Balham, London, just as this magazine was about to go to press.—THE EDITOR.)

OF ALL the virtues, gentleness has a halo of a kind peculiarly its own. It is a lovely halo, something which brings out the sunshine with a radiance that goes beyond where the rainbow ends.

I suppose that most of us, if we think about it at all, visualize gentleness as having the background of woman. As I write, the immediate picture comes to me, not of a queen graciously and gently bestowing honors upon her courtiers, but a dreary part of the town, which the sun never seems to visit, and there, in all its grim setting, I gaze, with a throat that chokes, upon a ragged gentle lady taking a poor blind man safely across the roadway. Every upspoken thought from that child mind enmeshes one in its enveloping beauty, in its unsurpassing gentleness.

Yet I would deny the entire prerogative of gentleness to woman. It is her nature, her upbringing from away over the hills of time. Thank heaven it still comes very naturally to most of our women kind. But we find it, too, very definitely in the mind of many men. And why not? Was not Christ the epitome of gentleness? I see no reason—and we are abjured in these days of hard facts to be guided by reason—why we men, with all our limitations and poor foibles, should not take to ourselves some little mead of the beauty of gentleness.

One wonders at times why gentleness fails to attract both men and women. Your true artist, he of the inspiration, whose every sense of form and composi-

tion—be it picture, poem, or symphony—is, must be, inherently gentle. He may deny it. He may, for convention's sake, hide his light under the bushel. But it is there.

I regret the shyness. It were better that the light should come from out the bushel and guide us on our way. If it stays under the bushel too long, the bushel may be consumed and the candle—mayhap it be that—gutter away.

The world needs this gentleness. Some good folk have it. There is an inner urge within them which sends it out. Of one thing you may be certain: you may not come by true gentleness in the class-room, unless it be the class-room of life. That makes of us fair souls of gentleness, if, of course, we will.

As I see it, the old world rolls on its undeniable way. We, so they say, grow old with it; only so microscopically. Even so, for us the passing of ten or twenty years is the cutting away of a big slice of this life. Those years have not been clogged with joy and happiness, neither have they been clogged with sorrow and pain. The happiness, perhaps, has left us complacent and content. It is possible that the sorrow has left us resigned. Both reactions should, I think, have been different. Our happiness should have made us yearn to give others the sun that was in us, and the pain and sorrow should have brought us that exquisite and radiant gentleness which spreads a gossamer film in the lives of all those about us.

But true gentleness wields a greater sway than that. It penetrates to the farthest corners of the earth. It lights up the eyes of those we love and brings a little friendship to the lonely.

# OUR UNITED STATES\*

By CALVIN COOLIDGE

## MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE UNION LEAGUE:

Both because of the conditions that brought the Union League of Philadelphia into existence and the patriotic devotion which has characterized its history for more than threescore years, it is especially gratifying to me to receive the mark of approbation of my public services which it has bestowed.

Because it has so seldom used this method in the expression of its sanction, it is the more precious to those upon whom it is conferred. The knowledge of your favor publicly declared will add increased force to the well-known admonition not to be weary in well-doing in the discharge of my office.

Beginning its course in this very month, in the perilous days of the nation before the Emancipation had been proclaimed, this League has rendered most distinguished service during the conduct of three wars and in the long intervals of an even more glorious peace.

### Union Resisted Three Wars

Those three conflicts have demonstrated that our Union was not to be broken asunder, that the reaches of liberty were to be extended to include the Spanish islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, and that the standards of the free nations of the world were to remain supreme.

While each of these wars has marked most important eras in our national development, and has laid a new foundation of sound and firmly established principles, yet it has been the activities of our people in the pursuits of peace that have raised our country to the high position which we hold in the world at large.

The Union League represents a history long enough, and a series of events important enough, so that you may well gather once in each year to commemorate its foundation.

Everybody is ready to come to the support of Abraham Lincoln now. Everybody is for the Union now. But in the autumn of 1862 the situation was far

different. Not only were the Southern States in arms and winning many victories, but there were very considerable elements in the North in sympathy with them and loudly opposing the prosecution of the war.

### Origin of Club Recalled

It required not only conviction, but no small degree of courage openly and publicly to resist their influence. The most patriotic efforts were required to fill the ranks of the army, carry the weight of taxation, finance the cost of equipment and supplies, and bear all the other burdens of fratricidal strife.

In that time of deep distress a little band of less than a score of men met and determined to associate themselves together to support the government of their country and further the cause of national defense. They became an example to be followed in many other sections.

From such beginnings this great institution has been created. It now represents a membership running into the thousands, holding an extensive property and exerting a profound influence for sound principles of government. If we seek for the main motive which has produced these marvelous results, we shall find that it is an abiding faith in America.

### What "America" Means to Him

I do not mean by America merely that territory stretching from ocean to ocean between the Great Lakes and the Rio Grande. That country has lain there throughout the ages, with its rich plains and mighty forests, its vast deposits of minerals, the far reaches of its water-courses and all its other natural resources. But, as such, it cast no influence over the lot of humanity.

It was only with the coming of the white races of the seventeenth century that it began a career which has raised it to its present place in the world. Its phy-

\* An address delivered before the Union League Club, Philadelphia, November 17, 1927.

sical attributes lay dormant until their power was released by the hand of man.

America is much more than a geographical location. It is a combination and a relationship. It is the destiny of a masterful, pioneering people, enduring all the hardships of settling a new country, determined to be free.

It is the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, with a system of local self-government. It is the development of the farm, the factory and the mine, the creation of a surpassing commerce, and the opening of vast lines of travel by sea and land, with broadening opportunities for education and freedom for religious worship.

#### **"Incomprehensible Triumph"**

Our country is the result of incomprehensible triumph, conferring upon its own people untold material and spiritual rewards and indirectly raising the standards of the world.

It is a combination of all these elements, with their past history and their present aspirations, that we refer to as America.

This nation today cannot be compared with what it was in 1862. Rocked with war, the South clinging to slavery, parts of the North tinged with disloyalty, Europe saying that the bubble Republic was about to break, and in many quarters openly rejoicing in that prospect, our country presented anything but an attractive appearance.

It could not be denied that under such conditions there was some reason for apprehending that the Government, the institutions and the organization of society, which had been established here, were not sound and could not gather sufficient force for their perpetuation. Yet, notwithstanding this appearance, which shook the confidence of so many, the founders of this League looked beyond the disorders of the hour, and, determining to support what was sound and right and reform what was wrong, kept their faith in their country.

#### **Land of Peace and Loyalty**

At present our land is the abiding place of peace, universal freedom and undoubted loyalty, holding the regard of the world

as a mighty power, stable, secure, respected. The people are prosperous, the standards of social justice were never so high, the rights of the individual never so extensively protected.

If the founders of this League, under the circumstances of their time, were able nevertheless to believe in their country and raise a standard to which those who were determined upon its defense might repair, how much more ought we of this day and generation, the inheritors of all the advantages which their sacrifices secured, the most fortunate people on the face of the earth, not only to have, but by our actions constantly proclaim our faith in America.

No one would claim that our country is perfect. No one with a proper sense of proportion, or even a limited knowledge of the world, is likely to make it the object of vainglorious boasting. Yet a moderate endowment of such sense and such knowledge ought to be sufficient not only to silence most of our critics and apologists, but to fill them with a wholesome respect and admiration.

#### **Study of Problems Urged**

A nation which has raised itself from a struggling dependency to a leading power in the world, without oppressing its own people and without injustice to its neighbors, in the short space of 150 years, needs little in the way of extenuation or excuse.

But having faith in our country does not mean that we should be oblivious to or neglectful of its problems. The human race is finite. By its very character it is necessarily subject to limitations. We may have sound principles of government, but they will be administered only imperfectly. We may have wise laws, but they will be obeyed only partially. We may have judicious institutions of society, but they will be supported only incompletely.

But because we cannot expect perfection is no reason why we cannot expect progress. In that field our success is unrivaled. The pre-eminence of America is unchallenged in the advance which it has made in promoting the general welfare of its people.

### Stress on Economy

While we have not neglected religion and education, we have considered our welfare in the past mainly on its economic side. Our population has increased rapidly over a considerable space of years. We have received large numbers of foreign people. For the most part they were vigorous, enterprising and of good character, but almost always without money and too often without learning.

But to the exigencies of frontier life many of our native-born have found themselves in a similar situation.

To form all these people into an organization where they might not merely secure a livelihood, but by industry and thrift have the opportunity to accumulate a competency, such as has been done in this country, is one of the most marvelous feats ever accomplished by human society.

It could never have been done without the utmost of private and public attention to the business side of life. Yet it has been done. The task is by no means complete, but the framework has been erected, and no one can deny that the construction is making steady progress.

### Every One Benefited

The object of this economic endeavor has not been the making of money for its own sake. It certainly has not been for the purpose of endowing an aristocracy with wealth. It has been fostered and encouraged by the government in order to provide the people at large with sufficient incomes to raise their standards of living to a position worthy of a free and enlightened nation.

In the carrying out of this mighty project, which in its conception and its execution has never been surpassed by any effort for human advancement, our inhabitants have found the added benefit of a corresponding development of character. The results have reached into the humblest home in the land, carrying hope and cheer with the knowledge that the door of opportunity has been opened to them.

It would be entirely wrong to assume that our present position has been secured as a result of accident. It has come from a carefully thought out policy, which has been for the most part consistently followed.

### Private Initiative

We have always held very strongly to the theory that in our country, at least, more could be accomplished for human welfare through the encouragement of private initiative than through government action. We have sought to establish a system under which the people would control the government and not the government control the people. If economic freedom vanishes, political freedom becomes nothing but a shadow.

It has therefore been our wish that the people of the country should own and conduct all gainful occupations not directly connected with government service. When the government once enters a business, it must occupy the field alone. No one can compete with it. The result is a paralyzing monopoly.

It was in pursuit of this policy that we disposed of the national domain. The Federal Government endowed the agriculture of the nation with a vast empire at a merely nominal cost. To serve the needs of those regions, it granted great land subsidies, sometimes accompanied with credits for the construction of their railroads. It is even now spending large sums for the building of highways, especially for the benefit of those localities.

### Protective Tariffs

In order that we might be something more than a nation of agriculturists, without any domestic markets for farm produce, where each family merely provided the means for its own subsistence, compelled to pay tribute to foreign manufacturing centers, that we might be a self-sustaining community receiving those benefits which come from a diversity of occupation and interests so desirable in the building of national character, capable of supplying our own means of defense, we have adopted, and very generally maintained for a period of more than 100 years, a system of protective tariffs.

This has enabled us to develop our natural resources, build up our great industries, furnish employment for our increasing population and markets for our various products of farm and factory. This policy has lately been extended to include restriction upon immigration.

Without the influence of a protective tariff, it would never have been possible for our country to reach its present stage of diversified development, with its liberal rate of wages, its unprecedented distribution of wealth, and its high standards of living. If these conditions are to be maintained, that policy will have to be continued.

#### Against Drastic Cut in Duties

In some few lines we can compete with all the world, but in general our agriculture and our industry are compelled to make a larger outlay to provide their establishment, pay a very much higher rate of wages, and therefore find their costs of production are greater than in foreign countries.

Any material reduction in our general tariff rates would ultimately result in a drastic deflation of agricultural and industrial values, in the rate of wages, and in the standards of living.

Under our present system our foreign commerce has reached the highest peacetime record, and our national income has steadily increased to the enormous proportions of \$90,000,000,000 for the last calendar year. This represents a volume of production and trade far in excess of that which any other country ever reached. It is the zenith of our prosperity. All of this should be considered in any appraisal of the worth of our long-established policy.

While we have placed the enterprise of the country unreservedly in private hands, we have adopted a system of government regulation and denounced by law restraints of trade and unfair practices in trade, in order that the public might have the full benefits of all fair competition and the opportunities of our commerce be equally free to all. Privilege has no place in either our political or economic system.

#### "Antithesis of Communism"

Those are some of the economic results which have accrued from the American principle of reliance upon the initiative and the freedom of the individual. It is the very antithesis of Communism, but it has raised the general welfare of the people to a position beyond even the promises of the extremists.

Arising from this same principle is popular education, the right to justice, free

speech, and free religious worship, all of which we cherish under the general designation of liberty under the law. We rest on these foundations. They have been the supports of an unexampled progress, prosperity, and general enlightenment. All of these look rather large to us now. It is probable that in the coming generations they will appear small.

It is always necessary to keep in mind that we have not reached this point in our development without a world of struggle and effort, accompanied by many disappointments and many temporary recessions. We have demonstrated that we are able to meet adversity and overcome it.

#### Prosperity the "Test" Now

The test which now confronts the nation is prosperity. There is nothing more likely to reveal the soul of a people. History is littered with stories of nations destroyed by their own wealth. It is true that we have accumulated a small but a blatant fringe of extravagance and waste, nourished in idleness, and another undesirable class who seek to live without work.

A successful people are always a mark for the vicious and the criminal. But these are conspicuous mainly by contrast. The great mass of our people, whatever their possessions, are conscientious and industrious, seeking to serve humanity. They know that the doctrine of ease is the doctrine of surrender and decay. To the effort which built this country, they are giving increased effort to maintain it. The heart of the nation is sound.

Nothing has more completely demonstrated the character of America than the experience of the last few years. Unexpectedly we were carried into the war. Without faltering, with a wonderful spirit, we met the requirements of those perilous days. We not only conquered the enemy, but we conquered ourselves. In the hour of victory we required no spoils; we expected no reprisals.

#### Restoring Nation's Finances

In the reaction from war-time exaltation the moral power of the nation suffered little diminution. With remarkable restraint and extraordinary self-control, refraining from excesses, we turned to the

peace-time problems of restoration and reconstruction. The people bore the shock of deflation with small complaint. They have pressed steadily forward with their faces toward the dawn.

The work of restoring the national finances has met with large success. The burden of taxation has been extremely heavy, but it has been borne with great courage. Three times it has been materially reduced. Millions of taxpayers have been entirely relieved and heavy reductions granted to others, saving the nation between \$6,000,000 and \$7,000,000 each day.

The enormous debt has been partly refinanced at progressively lower rates and increasingly diminished in amount. At the end of this fiscal year almost one-third of the entire debt will have been paid. The saving in interest alone is about \$1,000,000 for each day.

#### Debt "Menace" to Our Credit

But well over \$18,000,000,000 of debt still remains. It is a menace to our credit. It is the greatest weakness in our line of national defense. It is the largest obstacle in the path of our economic development. It should be retired as fast as possible under a system of reasonable taxation. This can be done only by continuing the policy of rigid government economy.

These results have not been easy to accomplish. They have been extremely hard. They have been anything but commonplace. They mark a new epoch and set a new record in successful government financing.

The great burden of the work will be indicated when it is remembered that the Congress was called in extra session in the spring of 1921, and remained in session for nearly two years. The task is not yet completed, but we have reached the point where we can see the end. We are turning toward a new era.

Because of the past insistence on economy in national expenditures, we are in a position to have further moderate tax reduction. But let it be remembered that tax reduction is possible solely on account of economy. Anybody can spend the money somebody else has saved.

#### Outlay on Public Works

We can begin to consider internal developments. Each year \$75,000,000 goes out of the Federal Treasury for constructing roads. Flood control must be completed. A waterway system for the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries, with one arm reaching to the Gulf and another to the Atlantic, probably through the St. Lawrence, is only a question of time. The Colorado River project is pressing; the Columbia Basin is not far distant.

On the sea we shall round out our navy with more submarines and more cruisers, and private ownership should provide it with an auxiliary merchant marine of fast cargo boats.

On land we shall be building up our air forces, especially by encouraging commercial aviation. We wish to promote peace. We hold a great treasure. It must be protected.

Our relationship with the vast territory between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn in a commercial way will become more intimate. Much of that country could be greatly benefited by lines of aviation, which we should hasten to assist them to open.

A good system of highways should join the principal points in North and South America. While their own governments must necessarily build these, we can assist in their financing.

These will be some of the rewards of a judicious management of the national finances.

Our rise in the world has given us new problems, new responsibilities, both domestic and foreign. The web of our affairs is extremely delicate, extremely intricate. Producing, transporting, marketing, financing, all require a higher skill, a more intelligent organization, than under a less developed, less prosperous people.

It is, in fact, that skill and that intelligence which have been the measure of our success. The entire life of the nation, all its economic activities, have become so interrelated that maladjustment in any one of them is sufficient to cause serious disarrangement in all the rest.

**All Must Co-operate**

We have become one nation. We can only survive through the most elaborate system of concerted action. Any part which fails to function is chargeable with disloyalty to the whole people.

We have been drawn into close relationship with other nations. As inventions have closed up the intervals between different countries they have been brought nearer together, not only physically, but economically and morally.

We are more concerned than ever with our foreign affairs. The wealth of our people is going out in a constant stream of record dimensions for restoration and development in all parts of the world. We want our moral influence to be on the side of liberty, of education, of fair elections, and of honest constitutional government.

Where our obligations to our own citizens under international law have required it, we have extended our help to those who were attempting to secure these results. But we have refrained from meddling

interference, because we recognize not only the right but the necessity for each people to work out their own destiny.

**Plea for Faith in America**

This, I believe, is a fair representation of what has been taking place in the immediate past, and what we may hope for in the immediate future.

Rightly understood, there is no more sensational story of human experience. Society is made up of constants and variables. The variables attract us by their contrasts and are always appearing in the headlines. But the constants always predominate, always push ahead in the march of progress.

We hear enough of criticism, we hear enough of the evil; but we must not forget commendation, we must not forget the good.

This is our government. This is our society. This is our country. It is solid, sound, secure. It is for us to put forth sufficient effort to keep it so. It is for us to maintain inviolate that profound faith so grandly exemplified by the founders of this League in all things that are American.

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## THE BIRTH OF THE NATIONS

By KAJ FR. HAMMERICH

Translated from the Danish by Julius Moritzen

### I

SOME hold that the nations are older than history, and that the origin of the national concept is prehistoric. Others aver quite the opposite, and insist that the concept of nationality belongs to recent history. Before such extreme points of view, it might be argued that the truth is to be found in between.

The fact is, however, that such a solution of the question does not apply in the present instance, for the word "nation" is a common expression for widely differing ideas. Sometimes it is employed ethnologically, meaning race, for instance. Again, it may be used collectively for citizens within a sovereign commonwealth.

In this day, when national issues are so consequential to political schemes, it may have its special interest to follow up the subject of nationality and try to discover what lies back of the national idea.

The great periods in history arrive when races meet, or separate, or mix. But race and nation do not complement each other. The races have existed since the dawn of time and created history, not *vice versa*. And every race, no matter how circumscribed, includes various groups, each of which may be said to constitute a nation.

It is more logical to conceive of a nation as a sort of subdivision of race, perhaps even tribal in its narrower sense. But such a designation is not wholly satisfactory. Take the Jews, who since ancient



times have lived as a people apart in various sections of the world, especially in southern and eastern Europe; despite their tribal predilections, they cannot be designated a nation. The same applies to the Poles right down to 1918, and also to the Italians for centuries, until the middle of the nineteenth.

Racial fellowship, then, does not alone determine the nation, for the nation represents a peculiar blending brought about by many other factors than the ethnological. What entitles a people to be classed as a nation is rather that state of affairs where a common language, common descent and history, and finally economic entity, like so many strands entwined, constitute an ensemble not born of a single cause or event—a something evolutionary, so to speak. The national consciousness is that result where a people recognizes itself as a unit.

As history measures years, this national consciousness may be classed as a modern product. It was not the national consciousness which gave the Roman Empire its strong foundation. Reaching from the Atlantic Ocean, through northern Africa, far into Asia, it could point to neither a common language, a common history, tradition, nor culture as the unifying principle. And yet, in spite of its diversified population, the empire kept together longer than any world domain after it. It was the position of the citizen as such which proved the supporting pillar in the Roman structure.

Now, citizenship is a juridical concept, while national consciousness depends more on the sentiments and perceptions as moral factors. It may be true indeed that such citizenship does not bind to the same degree as does the feeling of nationality, but on the other hand it is more practical in its intent. The Roman citizen enjoyed the fruits of his country's great institutions. The army, the administration of the affairs of state, the legal machinery, created order and authority and for about two hundred years internal peace. All this contributed toward the erection of a civilized commonwealth, where culture and social enjoyment were for every citizen without distinction, whether he spoke

Latin, Greek, Celtic, Punic, or the Syrian language.

Rome, then, furnishes us with an example of a State built on a wholly different principle than the national. This also explains where the principle of citizenship obtained the strength to hold together the great world empire in spite of its different nationalities. When the principle no longer held good, it was due to the fact that the institutions which sheltered it lost their strength, and no other means were at hand to replace it. National entity was nonexistent; and it was in vain that Constantine the Great made his epochal effort, namely, to create unity by making Christianity the religion of the State. The old saying once more held good, that the kingdom of this world and the Kingdom of God do not serve the same purpose.

## II

The Peace of Verdun in 843 caused Europe to be divided along the lines which in the main constitute the frame work for the national States of today. From here Germany, France, and Italy arose as political entities. About the same time England resolved itself into a national whole. In the course of the subsequent century a number of other European countries followed suit.

At Verdun the more important European States were grouped with regard to such natural divisions as were furnished by the seas, the mountains, and the great rivers. This, first of all, was a strategic arrangement. But each frontier became in a measure a wall around a people with kindred racial characteristics, while by no means so homogeneously separated that they formed nations as these are understood at the present day. Even less so can the Verdun meeting be said to have considered the political idea as underlying the creation of national commonwealths. But, such as the grouping was, each division contained the possibility of unification, in that in each there was a racial element so numerically greater and both physically and morally superior to the others that it could either absorb these or keep them in subjection.

While war has been an outstanding

means for attempting to mold diversifying elements into a national whole, the national consciousness was long absent. The goal was to obtain dominion, first at home and then abroad. All States were for a long time organisms of conquest. There was no thought of creating a national State that could balance itself when it had reached its natural boundaries. The ability of war to unify the people, however, at this stage of development has a value that should not be underestimated.

A most important factor with regard to the birth of the nations has been the dynasties. Dynastic politics, treaties, marriages, and rights of inheritance, together with the wars, put the crown on national unity. In this manner the British Empire gathered its scattered forces into its national fold. The dynasties in France and Spain and of the Hapsburgs have also been decisive factors in shaping their national structures. But the expansive politics of the dynasties did not allow them to stop short at the national problem. As soon as a certain unity was obtained within the respective borders, their goal extended beyond. How far the ruling powers were as yet from the national idea is exemplified in the case of King Stefan the Holy, of Hungary, who around the year 1000 ruled over a considerable territory, with a mixture of Magyar, Slavic, and German population, and who said in a book of law, "The State that builds on common language and culture is both weak and foolish."

It is the French dynasties since the days of Hugo Capet which have worked systematically to join nation and State into a political whole. France became the country whose institutions the other continental States copied; whose language became the international medium for communication; whose literature, art, and further culture furnished an impulse for the entire intellectual world.

There is a prevailing idea that through several centuries Europe found in France and England the two national commonwealths from which development may be traced in a direct line to the present, so that modern Europe, with its 28 States, which all claim to be national, represents a resultant application of the principle

that the two western powers decreed in the seventeenth century.

This, however, is nothing more than an illustration. The principles are not identical. France and England, it is quite true, long ago could have been called national by virtue of their inner character. But, when all other things are considered, it is just as true that the expansive policies of these nations plainly showed that the national principle was not a fundamental factor with them; for by this must be understood a country which not only is a national commonwealth in itself, but which permits other countries to be likewise. It is this demand that is characteristic of the present day. The right of self-determination is the thought that furnishes the key to true nationalism. It is in this that the present differs from the past.

### III

Just as the principle of nationality was a foreign concept right down to the close of the eighteenth century, so nothing was known of what constitutes national consciousness in the sense this has become a reality in the nineteenth. This national consciousness is a much later state of development than the political. In older times the consciousness of the people was much more closely attached to the native soil than to the nation as such. The right of possession, a piece of ground one could call his own, ruled the sentiments. With full justice, Goethe said that the national consciousness was something in the nature of a phenomenon that appeared only at "certain times."

When, then, did these modern ideas, the national consciousness and the principle of nationality, originate, since they are not inherited from the old national States? The answer must be that in their modern form the ideas sprang from the French Revolution, since which time they have been nourished, cultivated, and adjusted until they have reached the development of the present.

A leading factor in the national development was the awakened political life that brought with it parties and their organization. Here again France is the prototype. With the aid of the political parties, the national idea obtained the

organization that it had missed before. How closely has been the connection between the forward march of the democratic parties and the flourishing development of the national movement is seen through such typical examples as Norway, the Baltic States, Poland, etc.

But while the democratic parties in the beginning of the nineteenth century bore the national movement forward, everything that was antidemocratic became indifferent to nationalism. First of all, Napoleon, and afterwards the reaction against Napoleon, especially the Congress of Vienna in 1815. When the Congress took upon itself to change the map of Europe it had no compunction to mix the nationalities within the States; for instance, Germans and Poles, French and Germans, Austrians and Italians, etc. When the Polish national craving showed itself at the Congress as a specter, the Czar, Metternich, and the King of Prussia unmercifully forced it back into the grave. These three were also instrumental in suppressing the German national "*Burschenschaft*" movement and similar tendencies, which all together were spoken of in official decrees as "*demagogische Umtriebe*," without the least regard for national stirrings within.

But in spite of what official power did to obstruct its way, the national idea continued to grow in association with liberalism, which was supported by the press, that in most countries ranged itself in opposition to the governments and placed itself at the disposal of liberal democracy. Newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets presented the national idea from day to day, and in this way the problem came before the people.

#### IV

The result of all this was seen in the great number of insurrections and wars of independence which were fought in various parts of Europe. The start was made in 1821 with the nearly seven years war of the Greeks against the Turks. About the same time risings took place in southern Italy and Piedmont, which Austria put down. After the July Revolution of 1830 had once more brought the liberal parties into power in France, national expectations took on fresh hopes, in that

France was counted on either to assist directly or to maintain neutrality. Belgium then succeeded in becoming independent of Holland. The Poles rose against Russia, but were ruthlessly brought into subjection once more. The revolt in central Italy and the Vatican State, Austria crushed in the morning.

The Paris February Revolution of 1848 became the lead for a new outbreak of the national movement more violent than ever before. With Lamaratine at the head, the provisional government in Paris made itself the official spokesman for the liberation of the nations. Immediately Lamaratine assumed power he addressed a manifesto to the foreign governments, in which he emphasized France's often-proclaimed principle of nationalism, and he declared, "If it is the will of Providence that the hour has come for the suppressed nations in Europe or elsewhere to rise up, then France will consider itself justified in arming and in protecting the peoples' legal striving after national growth."

The last part of Lamartine's proclamation was not made a reality, for France did not take part in the many heated battles that were follow so soon after. However, his prophecy about the hour of uprising having arrived was realized to the full. In 1848 the nationalities in Slesvig, Bohemia, Posen, Galicia, Croatia, Hungary, Rumania, and central and southern Italy were aflame, and at the end of that year some twenty different groups were in arms against each other. When the curtain rang down on this act of Europe's national drama, there was a restful interval of a few years. Of the wars that followed, only two were of a dynastic-political character, namely, the Crimean War and the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866. The rest were all wars of nationality. And of all these the Franco-German War of 1870-71 proved the most fateful with regard to Europe's future.

During all this time the question of language became more and more evident as the central point around which turned the national cause. What France initiated in 1794 with respect to its German-speaking population soon spread far and wide, and hardly a country escaped. It was the nineteenth century that made language

assert itself as the soul of nations. The eighteenth century looked at language from the literary and intellectual viewpoint, but in the nineteenth its political weight was discovered.

When language was still a matter of private inclination, the French of the eighteenth century satisfied themselves by saying that "*le style, c'est l'homme.*" A well-known German politician answered in 1848, "As the style makes the man, so language makes the nation." With this he showed that language had advanced to become a big political issue, a matter of state.

From 1815 Germany for a long time remained the pioneer with regards to this language awakening. Literature and science, statesmen, poets, and philologists strove with each other in this field, and the outgrowth was that Pan-Germanism that wanted to include all kindred elements in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Russia, France, and Denmark. Pan-Slavism also asserted itself as an idea that meant to unite Russians, Poles, Czechs, Serbians, Bulgarians, and many others who, according to the professors of philology, belonged to the same language group, while hardly able to understand each other. Language finally became a two-edged sword, dividing the people dwelling in a common European camp. No longer the underlying support for love of country, it also became the instrument of hate toward others.

The right of national self-determination has shown itself to be identical with the right of self-determination with respect to language. What Europe had more or less passionately cultivated during the last hundred years or so reached its final triumph when the language problem was advanced to the foremost place in 1919. The old strategical boundaries that formerly had made economic entities of the State now burst their limitations, and instead of the old national problems Europe was confronted with a new—the national minorities. The question is whether Europe can stand the fate of being still further divided through this self-determination. The League of Nations was no doubt created as a counterweight.

## A SHORT CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN CHINA FROM 1911-1927 \*

1911

- Feb. 19. Russian note to China demanding commercial facilities in China.
- March 17. Law against opium smoking comes into force in China.
- March 28. China accepts all Russia's demands. (See February 19.)
- April 15. American, British, French, and German banks sign agreement for loan to China of \$50,000,000.
- May 8. Opium agreement signed at Peking between China and Great Britain.
- July (?). Secret deputation of Mongol princes to Russia.
- Aug 14. Russo-Japanese agreement concerning railways in Manchuria.
- Sept. 2. Agreement signed between China and Japan for extension of Peking-Mukden Railway line into Mukden.
- Oct. 10. Rebellion against Manchu dynasty began at Wuchang.
- Oct. 11. Wuchang captured by the revolutionaries.
- Oct. 13. Reformed government proclaimed and General Li Yuan-hung elected President.
- Oct. 27. Yuan Shih-kai practically made a military dictator by edict.
- Oct. 30. Yuan Shih-kai goes south to conduct operations against revolutionaries.  
Edict published from throne in Peking apologizing for past neglect and granting immediate constitution and free pardon to rebels.
- Nov. 3. The native city of Shanghai passed into the hands of revolutionaries.

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\* This chronology was printed in *Bulletin of International News*, issued in London by the Association for International Understanding, Vol. III, No. 4, of February 21, 1927. In some cases of minor importance the dates have not been verified, but they may be taken as correct within a few days.

Compiled by the Association for International Understanding, London, with assistance from the Royal Institute of International Affairs, for the period 1920-1926, inclusive, and reprinted by courtesy of the association.—EDITOR.

- Nov. 8. Yuan Shih-kai elected Prime Minister by National Assembly.  
 Nov. 9. Republic proclaimed at Canton.  
 Nov. 10. Great massacre at Nanking by Manchus.  
 Nov. 14. Wu Ting-fang appointed military governor at Shanghai.  
 Dec. 1. International Opium Conference opened at The Hague. Mongols carried out *coup d'état* in Urga.  
 Dec. 2. Nanking fell to revolutionaries.  
 Dec. 6. Regent resigned.  
 Dec. 18. Peace conference opened at Shanghai between Imperialists and Republicans.  
 Dec. 29. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, organizer of the revolution, elected President of the Republic.  
 Dec. 31. Shanghai Peace Conference ended.

## 1912

- Jan. 1. Dr. Sun Yat-sen formally installed at Nanking as President of the Provisional Republican Government.  
 Jan. 5. Republican manifesto issued. Revolutionary activities continued throughout January.  
 Jan. 6. Railway from Peking to sea occupied by troops of foreign powers, thereby enforcing provisions of the protocol of 1901.  
 Jan. 15. Dr. Sun Yat-sen offered Yuan Shih-kai presidency.  
 Jan. 20. Republicans communicated to Peking terms to throne in the event of abdication.  
 Jan. 23. International Opium Convention signed at The Hague.  
 Jan. 28. The generals' memorial to the Cabinet at Peking concerning provision for the royal family.  
 Jan. 30. International agreement signed regarding Commission of Bankers to receive customs revenue.  
 Feb. 4. Yuan Shih-kai submitted to Republican leaders series of counter-proposals for treatment of Imperial family.  
 Feb. 12. Abdication of Manchu dynasty. Republic formally inaugurated.  
 Feb. 14. Resignation of Sun Yat-sen from provisional government.  
 Feb. 15. Yuan Shih-kai elected provisional President.  
 Feb. 20. General Li Yuan-hung elected Vice-President.  
 March 10. National Council at Nanking adopted a provisional constitution. Yuan Shih-kai inaugurated President of the Republic of China in Peking.  
 March 13. Tang Shao-yi appointed premier.  
 March 23. Opening of the first trial by jury.  
 March 29. Coalition Republican Cabinet formed (Lu Cheng-hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs).  
 April 29. National Council formally opened by President at Peking.  
 June 18. Agreement signed between France, Great Britain, United States, Germany, Russia, and Japan regarding reorganization loan to China.  
 June 27. Tang Shao-yi, the premier, resigned.  
 June 29. Lu Cheng-hsiang nominated premier.  
 July 14. Cabinet crisis.  
 July 29. Attempt to impeach the premier.  
 Aug. 1. Mr. G. E. Morrison, the correspondent to *The Times* at Peking, appointed political adviser to Chinese President.  
 Aug. 8. Announcement of Russo-Japanese agreement delimiting respective spheres of influence in Mongolia and Manchuria.  
 Aug. 12. Four societies amalgamated, including the Tung Meng Hui, founded in 1901 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen under the name of the Kuo Min Tang.  
 Aug. 24. Dr. Sun Yat-sen visited Peking.  
 Aug. 30. Contract for Crisp loan signed in London.  
 Aug. (?). Serious outbreaks in inner Mongolia. Rebellion crushed by Chinese.  
 Oct. 3. Belgian railway loan arranged.  
 Nov. 3. Agreement signed between Mongolia and Russia at Urga, under which Russia undertook to support Mongolia in maintaining her autonomy.  
 Dec. (?). Chinese Government applied for postponement of Boxer indemnity charges for twelve months. Application subsequently rejected.

## 1913

- Feb. 22. The Empress Dowager Lung Yu died.
- March 21. Sung Chiao-jen, the acknowledged leader of the Kuomintang, was assassinated at Shanghai.
- May 2. United States and Mexico formally recognized Chinese Republic.
- Sept. 11. Japanese Government demanded reparations from Chinese for loss of lives and property of Japanese during the recent rebellion.
- Sept. 13. China agreed to Japanese demands.
- Sept. 16. Japanese flotilla sent to Yangtze River, owing to China's failure to carry out agreement with regard to reparations to Japan.
- Sept. 25. Japan renews ultimatum to China regarding Japanese subjects at Nanking.
- Sept. 28. China apologizes to Japan.
- Oct. 6. Yuan Shih-kai elected President of the Republic.
- Oct. 7. Li Yuan-hung elected Vice-President.
- Nov. 4. The President ordered the dissolution of the Kuomintang throughout the country.
- Nov. 5. Joint declarations signed by Russia and China recognizing autonomy of outer Mongolia and Chinese suzerainty over it.
- Dec. 23. China and Germany signed agreement for the construction of two railways in China to be built by German engineers and financed by German capital.

## 1914

- Jan. 26. Hsiung Hsi-ling resigned post as Minister of Finance.
- Jan. to July. Active brigandage, depredations of "White Wolf."
- Feb. 8. Honan Railway loan issue announced.
- Feb. 13. Sun Pao-chi appointed Minister of Finance.
- March 12. Dr. Froyland murdered.
- March 15. British intimation to China demanding recognition of interests.
- March 18. Yuan Shih-kai opened convention for amendment of provisional constitution.
- May 2. Constitution amended by Yuan Shih-kai promulgated. Cabinet resigned.

- May 4. Chinese troops massacred defenceless Mongols.
- June 3. Chinese Government pays compensation for Dr. Froyland's murder.
- July 1. Military governors abolished by presidential mandate.
- Sept. 15. Treaty signed at Washington with United States for the settlement of disputes by reference to a Permanent International Commission. Ratifications exchanged October 22, 1915.
- Oct. 5. Japanese took over administration of Shantung Railway line. Agreement signed with Anglo-Franco-Chinese Corporation.

## 1915

- Jan. 7. Chinese Government gave notice of cancellation of "war zone" in Shantung and requested Japan to withdraw troops.
- Jan. 18. Japanese Minister presented to Chinese President a memorandum containing the "twenty-one demands." Prolonged negotiations then took place between the two governments.
- May 7. Ultimatum delivered by Japanese Minister to Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with explanatory note, giving China until 6 p. m. on May 9 in which to comply with the terms of a revised list of demands, which had been presented on April 26.
- May 8. Chinese Government replied to ultimatum agreeing to accept the revised list of demands, together with the exchange of notes in connection with Fukien Province.
- May 13. United States Government sent identical notes to Chinese and Japanese governments regarding her treaty rights, the political and territorial integrity of China, and the "Open Door" policy.
- May 25. Treaties and agreements embodying the revised list of demands signed with Japan, together with an exchange of notes regarding Fukien.
- June 8. Sino-Japanese Treaty ratified and documents exchanged.
- Aug. 14. Monarchical agitation in Peking.
- Aug. 29. The Chouanhui decided to petition the Tsanchengyuan in favor of a monarchy.

Sept. 4. Japanese Government agreed to cancel her zone in Shantung.

Sept. 6. President Yuan Shih-kai sent message opposing monarchial restoration.

Oct. 25. Dr. Wellington Koo appointed Minister to Washington.

Oct. 28. Japan, Great Britain, and Russia advised China to postpone conversion to a monarchy.

Nov. 5. Majority of provinces in China voted for establishment of monarchy, with Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor.

Nov. 20. Representatives of Mongolians, Tibetans, and Mohammedans voted unanimously in favor of a monarchy.

Nov. 21. Ex-Prince Regent led a Manchu petition urging President Yuan Shih-kai to accept the throne.

Dec. 11. President refused to become Emperor. Later, after second petition, the President accepted the honor.

Dec. 15. Representatives of Japan, Great Britain, Russia, France, and Italy advised the Waichiaopu in favor of delay, but declared that they would not enroach on China's independence.

Dec. 28. Yunnan declared its independence.

Dec. 31. Edict published that new dynasty would begin January 1, under the name of Hung Hsien.

#### 1916

Jan. (?). Revolutionary movement in several provinces.

Jan. 31. Mongolian insurgents advanced on Peking.

Feb. 23. Mandate published by Yuan Shih-kai, stating the question of a monarchy was to be postponed.

March (?). Yuan Shih-kai decided to abandon project.

April 3. Yuan Shih-kai's abdication demanded.

April 6. Kwangtung Province, including city of Canton, joined in revolt against Yuan Shih-kai's Government.

April 7. Kwangtung declared its independence.

April 13. Chekiang declared its independence. Kiangsi declared its independence.

April 17. Revolted provinces declared against Yuan Shih-kai.

April 23. Yuan Shih-kai agreed to surrender all civil authority to Tuan Chijui ministry.

May 14. Li Yuan-hung named as President by revolted provinces.

June 6. Death of Yuan Shih-kai. Li Yuan-hung to assume Presidency.

Aug. 1. Parliament opened. Li Yuan-hung took oath to constitution.

Aug. 15. Affray between Chinese and Japanese troops at Cheng Chiatung.

Nov. 1. Feng Kuo-chang elected Vice-President.

Nov. 8. Wu Ting-fang appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

#### 1917

Jan. 21. Dispute between China and Japan *re* affray at Cheng-Chiatung settled.

March 22. Further payments of Boxer indemnity to Germany stopped.

May 14. American note to Peking deploring the internal dissensions.

May 23. Constitutional crisis in China. Dismissal of Premier Tuan Chi-jui. Wu Ting-fang appointed acting premier. Eleven provinces revolt.

June 18. President dissolved Parliament.

July 1. Ex-Emperor Hsuan Tung issued decree announcing succession to throne.

July 4. Li Yuan-hung took refuge in Japanese legation.

July 5. Tuan Chi-jui and Feng Kuo-chang assumed command of Northern and Southern armies respectively.

July 6. Provisional government established at Nanking by Feng Kuo-chang.

July 8. Emperor Hsuan Tung abdicated. Tuan Chi-jui appointed premier.

July 9. Republicans surround Peking.

July 15. Peking monarchists surrendered.

Aug. 3. Feng Kuo-chang assumed office as President.

Aug. 14. China declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Sept. 6. Provisional government established at Canton.

Sept. 8. Allies agree to postponement of Boxer indemnity payment for five years.

- Oct. 1. Arrest of Sun Yat-sen ordered.  
 Oct. 8. Severe floods in China cause greatest devastation ever recorded.  
 Nov. 2. Publication of American-Japanese agreement on their respective interests in China.  
 Nov. 23. Tuan Chi-jui resigned premiership.
- 1918**
- Jan. (?). Great floods in China.  
 Jan. 22. United States Government protested against firing by Chinese rebels on American gunboat on Yangtze River.  
 Jan. 27. Capture of Tochow (Hunan) by Southerners.  
 March 4. British and Japanese gunboats fired on in Yangtze River.  
 March 10. Chang-Tso-yin's army moved within the Great Wall at Peking.  
 March 25. Tuan Chi-jui reappointed premier.  
 April (?). Pingkiang sacked by Northern troops.  
 May 15. China-Japanese agreement concerning Far East signed by Peking.  
 May 26. Sun Yat-sen resigned post of generalissimo of Constitutional Military Governor of Southwest.  
 July 19. Military party secured majority in election for new parliament.  
 Aug. 21. General Wu Pei-fu sent message to military governor of Nanking calling upon him to take lead in restoring peace.  
 Sept. 4. Hsu Shih-ch'ang elected President of the Chinese Republic.  
 Sept. 24. Preliminary agreement concluded with Japan regarding Shantung railways, together with an exchange of notes under which China conceded to Japan the control of the Kirin-Changchun Railway for 99 years. This had been included in the original "twenty-one demands" (Article 11).  
 Oct. 10. Hsu Shih-ch'ang inaugurated President.  
 Oct. 14. Southern leaders declared war on Hsu Shih-ch'ang.  
 Dec. 1. Hostilities of civil war ordered to cease.  
 Dec. 23. Chien Nung-hsun appointed premier.
- Dec. 29. Peking Government published statement outlining endeavors to arrange basis of peace with South.
- 1919**
- Feb. (end). Conference at Shanghai between North and South.  
 March 11. Conference at Shanghai suspended.  
 March 12. Clash between American and Japanese soldiers at Tientsin.  
 April 8. Peking Government sent communiqué to Chinese delegate at Paris Peace Conference to demand cancellation of the treaties and arrangements with Japan.  
 April 20. Conference between North and South reassembled at Shanghai.  
 April 30. Council of three at Peace Conference gives Shantung agreement in favor of Japan.  
 May 5. Official statement regarding Shantung issued by Japanese delegate at Peace Conference.  
 May 7. Chinese delegate at Peace Conference instructed not to sign treaty, owing to Shantung clause.  
 May 12. International consortium organized.  
 June 11. Riots at Shanghai.  
 June 15. Ministry resigned.  
 Aug 1. Chinese Parliament passed bill declaring state of war with Germany at an end.  
 Aug. 23. Foreign Relations Committee of United States Senate rejected Shantung clause of peace treaty.
- 1920**
- Jan. 24. Japanese Government offered to open negotiations regarding Shantung.  
 May 7. Chinese consortium loan completed by acceptance of terms by Japan.  
 May 15. Mandate published appointing Admiral Sa Chen-ping acting premier in Central Government.  
 May 22. Chinese Government refused Japanese offer of January 24 on basis of Versailles Treaty.  
 June 1. Treaty of friendship signed with Persia. Ratifications exchanged Feb. 6, 1922.  
 July (beginning). Wu pei-fu, general in command of army in Hunan, ad-



vanced towards Peking in order to displace Marshal Tuan Chi-jui and "Anfu" Party. Chang Tso-lin, Inspector General of Manchuria, demanded reconstruction of cabinet at Peking and dismissal of General Hsu Shu-tseng.

July 9. President dismissed Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun from their commands.

July 15. Tuan Chi-jui defeated by Wu Pei-fu south of Peking.

Aug. 4. Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun arrived at Peking.

Aug. 11. Mandate issued appointing new cabinet, with Chin Yun-peng as Prime Minister.

Aug. 22. Tsao Kun appointed inspector general of Chihli, etc.

Sept. (?). Administration of Concession Zone of Chinese Eastern Railway came under Chinese control. Ch'en Ch'iung-ming, Kuomintang Commander in South Fukien, began hostilities against Kwangsi faction at Canton.

Sept. 23. Presidential mandate authorizes control by China of Russian rights and interests.

Sept. 27. Declaration proposing agreement between China and Soviet Russia.

Oct. 2. Russo-Asiatic Bank agreement with Chinese Government *re* Chinese Eastern Railway.

Oct. 15. Agreement signed in New York by representatives of America, Great Britain, France, and Japanese banks for formation of new financial consortium in China.

Oct. 20. Treaty signed at Washington *re* duty on goods imported into China by United States citizens. Ratifications exchanged November 5, 1921.

Oct. (end). Kwangsi leaders fled from Canton. Wu Pei-fu appointed assistant Inspector General of Chihli, Shantung and Honan.

Nov. (end ?). Provisional government established at Canton by Sun Yat-sen, Tang Shao-yi, and Wu Tingfang.

Nov. 7-Dec. 21. Famine in China reached its height. Fifteen millions reduced to starvation.

## 1921

Feb. 1-3. Baron Ungern-Sternberg proclaimed Outer Mongolian Republic. April 7. Sun Yat-sen elected "President of China" by Parliament at Canton.

April-May. Conference at Tientsin and Peking between the three Super-Tuchuns—Chang Tso-lin, Tsao Kun, and Wang Chan-yuan (Hankow).

May 5. Sun Yat-sen formally assumed office.

May 20. Treaties of commerce and amity signed at Peking between China and Germany. Ratifications exchanged July 1, 1921.

June 30. Banque Industrielle de Chine suspended.

July 6. Soviet troops occupied Urga and Mongolian Red Government established at Urga.

July 8. United States refused to surrender its rights in China under a contract between that country and Federal Telegraph Company.

Aug. 12. Official invitations sent by President of United States to Great Britain, France, Italy, and China to take part with United States in conference on Far East and limitation of armaments. All subsequently accepted.

Sept. 7. Japanese Government made specific proposals for settlement *re* Shantung.

Sept. 26. Agreement amending treaty of 1899 concluded with Mexico.

Oct. 5. Chinese reply rejects Japanese offer of September 7.

Oct. 18. Further Japanese note sent. Chinese reply November 3.

Nov. 5. Treaty signed by Mongolian Red Government and Soviet Russian Government.

Nov. 22. Declaration by Chinese delegate to Washington Conference *re* non-alienation of Chinese territory.

Dec. 1-Jan. 31, 1922. Conventions between Chinese and Japanese delegations at Washington Conference.

Dec. 10. Resolution regarding extra-territoriality adopted by Washington Conference.

Dec. 17. Chin Yun-peng resigned premiership of Central Government.

Dec. 24. Government formed with Liang Shih-yi as Prime Minister under protection of Chang Tso-lin.

## 1922

Jan. 8. Presidential mandate abolished Russia land privileges as from April 1, 1922.

Jan. 28. President Hsu-Shih-ch'ang resigned, succeeded by Li Yuan-hung, the former President, who had resigned in 1917.

Feb. 1. British offer to surrender lease of Weihaiwei to China announced by Mr. Balfour at Washington Conference.

Feb. 4. Treaty signed at Washington by Japan and China *re* settlement of Shantung question. Ratifications June 2, 1922.

Feb. 6. Treaties relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China and to the Chinese customs tariff signed at Washington by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal.

March 28. Agreement signed at Peking *re* evacuation of Japanese troops along Shantung Railway Zone.

March 31. Tariff Revision Commission held first meeting at Shanghai.

April 29-May 4. Fighting in Chihli Province between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu culminated in victory for Wu Pei-fu.

May 21 (?) Fengtien Province declared independence and elected Chang commander of the forces.

June 6. Armistice concluded between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu at Chingwangtao on board H. M. S. *Curlew*.

June 8-16. Wu Pei-fu occupied Chingwangtao.

June 13. Dr. W. W. Yen Prime Minister of new cabinet of Central government.

June 16-17. Sun Yat-sen defeated by Ch'en Ch'iu-ning.

June 29. A commission met at Canton for transferring Shantung to China.

Aug. 9-14. Further defeat of Sun's general by Ch'en Ch'iu-ning.

Aug. 14. Sun arrived at Shanghai, hav-

ing escaped in British gunboat.

Sept. 30. China elected a non-permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations.

Oct. 2. Joint commission at Weihaiwei began.

Oct. 13. Foochow captured by adherent of Sun.

Nov. 30. British post office closed, in accordance with instructions of Washington Conference.

Dec. 5. Agreement signed at Peking between China and Japan *re* Shantung Railway.

Dec. 17. Last Japanese troops withdrawn from Shantung.

Dec. 18. Chang Shao-tseng appointed prime minister of Central Government. Combination of Yunnan and Kwangsi forces with Sun Yat-sen's supporters captured Wuchow and threatened Canton.

Dec. 20. Chinese Government informed informally that Great Britain would devote further payments of Boxer indemnity to mutually beneficial purposes.

Dec. 31. French, American, and Japanese post offices closed.

## 1923

Jan. 15. Ch'en Ch'iu-ning abandoned Canton and retired to Weihaiwei.

Jan. 17. Revised tariff came into force.

Jan. 26. Joint statement issued at Shanghai signed by M. Joffe, head of Soviet Mission and Sun Yat-sen.

Feb. 10. Agreement concluded with France *re* utilization of French share of Boxer indemnity. Banque Industrielle de Chine to be refloated.

Feb. 21. Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton and formed a government.

March 10. Note to Japan proposing annulment of treaties and exchange of notes of May 25, 1915, and asking for restitution of Port Arthur and Kwantung.

March 21. Japanese Government refused to consider Chinese proposal of March 10.

May 31. Provisional agreement for rendition of Weihaiwei signed.

June 5. Chang Shao-tseng's cabinet (Central Government) resigned.

June 9. Japan protested against attack by Chinese on Japanese bluejackets at Changsha on June 1.

June 13-14. President Li Yuan-hung left Peking, forced by civil governor of Chihli to sign resignation at Tientsin.

Aug 1. Chinese authorities in Manchuria attempted to seize Land Department of Chinese Eastern Railway.

Aug. 10. Note signed by seventeen countries demanding damages for Lincheng Railway outrage.

Sept. 2. M. Karakhan arrived in Peking.

Oct. 5. Tsao Kun elected President of the Republic.

Oct. 10. New constitution promulgated.

Nov. (beginning). Fighting of troops of Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Ch'ung-ming near Canton.

Dec. 1. Sun Yat-sen threatened to seize customs revenues at Canton.

Dec. 6. Foreign marines landed to guard customs-house. Warships despatched by Great Britain, United States, Japan, France, Italy, and Portugal.

## 1924

Jan. 13. New cabinet, Central Government, Sun Pao-chi Prime Minister.

March 24. Provisional agreement for *de jure* recognition of Soviet Government signed by M. Karakhan and Dr. Wang. Peking Government denounced Dr. Wang's signature.

April 28. Foreign warships withdrawn.

May 8. United States Congress remitted balance of American share of Boxer indemnity.

Agreement between China and U. S. S. R. regarding *de jure* recognition.

May 31. Soviet Government renounced Russian share of Boxer indemnity.

June 16. Chinese note to United States, Japan, and France stating that in future China and Russia alone would deal with Chinese Eastern Railway.

July 2. Sun Pao-chi resigned. Dr. Wellington Koo acting Prime Minister.

Aug. 9. Note presented by Peking Government to Diplomatic Corps demanding rendition of Shanghai Mixed Court.

Aug. 11. Joint note from powers to Peking Government *re* protection of lives and property at Shanghai.

Sept. 2. Sun Chuan-fang declared war on Lu Yung-hsiang.

Sept. 3. Lu Yung-hsiang declared war on President Tsao Kun.

Sept. 7. Chang Tso-lin declared war on Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu.

Sept. 12. Dr. W. W. Yen appointed Prime Minister (Central Government). Russian Legation at Peking handed over to Soviet envoy.

Sept. 18. Presidential mandate appointed Wu Pei-fu "commander-in-chief of army for suppression of rebels."

Sept. 20. Agreement signed at Mukden between Chang Tso-lin and Soviet Government.

Oct. 13. Lu Yung-hsiang's resistance in Chekiang Province collapsed.

Oct. 22. Feng Yu-hsiang, one of Wu's generals, deserted him, occupied Peking, and demanded cessation of hostilities.

Oct. 24. Wu Pei-fu dismissed by President.

Oct. 25 (?). Dr. Yen's cabinet resigned.

Oct. 30. Chingwangtao occupied by Chang Tso-lin's troops.

Oct. 31. Emergency cabinet formed by Huang-fu.

Nov. 2. President Tsao Kun resigned.

Nov. 10. Conference at Tientsin between Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang, and Tuan Chi-jui, who had been living in retirement since 1920.

Nov. 15. Tuan Chi-jui accepted office as Provisional Chief Executive.

Nov. 25. Provisional cabinet constituted, Tuan Chi-jui as premier.

Nov. 29. Ex-Emperor took refuge in Japanese legation in Peking.

Dec. 9. Powers signatory to Washington agreement agreed to recognize government on certain conditions.

Dec. 17. Note from powers handed to Peking Government regarding protection of lives and property at Shanghai.

Dec. 24. Government gave formal assurances to powers that treaties would be recognized.

1925

- Jan. 16. Chang Tso-lin's troops attacked combined army of Sun Ch'uan-fang and Chi Hsi-yuan.
- Jan. 17. Central Government replied to powers' note of December 17, agreeing to protect lives, etc., at Shanghai.
- Jan. 29. Chang Tso-lin's troops entered Shanghai.
- Feb. 5. Ch'en Ch'iung-ming launched attack on Canton.
- Feb. ?-April 21. "Reorganization conference" inaugurated at Peking by Tuan Chi-jui and attended by members of Peking Government and military leaders.
- Feb. 21. Peking Government paid \$300,000 in settlement of claims *re* Lincheng outrage.
- Feb. 23. Ex-Emperor took refuge in Japanese concession at Tientsin.
- March 12. Death of Sun Yat-sen.
- April 12. Agreement reached settling "Gold franc controversy."
- May 30. Chinese students demonstration at Shanghai in international concession. Nine Chinese killed.
- June 1. General strike declared at Shanghai.
- June 1-4. Series of riots at Shanghai; state of emergency declared. Twenty-one killed (including those of May 30), sixty-five wounded.
- June 2-13. Notes exchanged between Foreign Office at Peking and Diplomatic Corps *re* Shanghai incident.
- June 6-13. Yunnanese driven from Canton by Cantonese.
- June 12-30. Rioting, attacks against foreigners and student demonstrations at Peking, Chinkiang, Hankow, Kaifeng, Amoi, Tientsin, etc.
- June 15-18. Negotiations at Shanghai between Chinese and representatives of Diplomatic Corps. These broke down.
- June 20. Anti-Imperialist strike spreads to Hongkong and Canton.
- June 23. Foreign concession at Canton fired on. One Frenchman killed. British subjects wounded, Chinese killed and wounded. French consul informed Canton Government that indemnity would be demanded.
- June 24. Two notes address by Peking Government to Diplomatic Corps:
- (a) demands *re* Shanghai incident;  
 (b) revision of unequal treaties.
- June 26. Formal protest by British Minister at Peking *re* firing on British concession at Canton. Note from Canton Government to British and French consuls demanding compensation and surrender of Shameen to Canton.
- July 1. New Cantonese Government (Kuomintang).
- July 2. Commission (French, Italian, and American representatives) appointed to negotiate *re* Shanghai incident. United States Government sent note to powers suggesting immediate appointment of mixed commission to consider gradual abolition of extraterritoriality.
- July 4. Peking Government refused further negotiations unless extraneous questions also discussed.
- July 16. President Coolidge issued executive order remitting all payments of American share of Boxer indemnity recived after October 1, 1927.
- July 17. Conference of British Foreign Minister, American, French, and Japanese ambassadors in London decided on judicial inquiry into Shanghai incident.
- Aug. 5. Ratification of two treaties of February 6, 1922, exchanged at Washington following ratification by French Chamber on July 7.
- Aug. (?). Strikes and riots at Tientsin.
- Aug. 12. Strike Committee issues regulations governing Canton-Hongkong boycott.
- Aug. 19. Peking Government invited powers to special tariff conference *re* tariff autonomy.
- Aug. 21. Diplomatic Corps agreed to resume negotiation *re* Shanghai mixed court.
- Aug. 26. Canton Government disowned responsibility for regulations of Aug. 12.
- Aug. (end). Moderate members of Canton Government expelled.
- Sept. (beginning). Swatow occupied by Ch'en Ch'iung-ming's "Anti-Red army."
- Sept. 5. Agreement with Belgium *re* Boxer indemnity.
- Sept. 15. Note presented to Peking

Government *re* judicial inquiry into Shanghai incident.

Sept. 17. United States Government convoked commission on extraterritoriality for December 18 at Peking. Meeting postponed subsequently.

Sept. 21. Peking Government refused to appoint Chinese jurist to judicial inquiry into Shanghai incident.

Sept. 24. Powers represented at Washington sent identical notes in reply to Chinese note of 24th June *re* modification of treaties, tariff conference, and extraterritoriality commission.

Sept. 26. Anti-British strike at Shanghai ended by agreement.

Oct. 7-27. Commission held inquiry at Shanghai.

Oct. 15. Chang Tso-lin's troops withdrawn from Shanghai before Sun Ch'uan fang's troops.

Oct. 20. Nanking surrendered to Sun Ch'uan-fang.

Oct. 20-Nov. 10. Retreat of Chang Tso-lin's forces before Sun Ch'uan-fang.

Oct. 21. Wu Pei-fu arrived at Hankow.

Oct. 26. Special tariff conference opened.

• Nov. 1. Agreement with Italy *re* Boxer indemnity.

Nov. 6. Cantonese forces under Chiang Kai-shek recaptured Swatow.

Nov. 13. Agreement between Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yu-hsiang for withdrawal of Chang's forces from neighborhood of Peking.

Nov. 17. Report of commission of inquiry at Shanghai completed.

Nov. 19. Agreement reached at tariff conference *re* tariff autonomy and abolition of Likin.

Nov. 26. Feng Yu-hsiang's forces occupied Peking.

Dec. (beginning). Pakhoia and Hainan Islands taken by Cantonese Nationalist forces.

Dec. 6. Kuo Sung-ling (formerly supporter) defeated Chang Tso-lin.

Dec. 15. Japanese War Department announced decision to send reinforcements to picket South Manchurian Railway.

Dec. 15 and 19. Diplomatic Corps at Peking presented notes to Chinese Foreign Office insisting on restora-

tion of full communication between Peking and the coast.

Dec. 23. Full summaries of findings of three judges on the Shanghai Commission published. Shanghai Municipal council forwarded \$75,000 compensation for Chinese killed and wounded. Resignation of police officers concerned accepted.

Dec. 24. Chang Tso-lin defeated Kuo Sung-ling.

Dec. 26. Mandate published in Peking appointing Hsu Shi-ying Prime Minister.

Dec. 27. Kuo Sung-ling executed.

Dec. 28. Japanese War Department decided to withdraw additional troops from South Manchuria.

Dec. 29. General Hsu Shu-ting (Little Hsu) assassinated.

## 1926

Jan. 7. British Foreign Office announced constitution of statutory committee to advise on best use of funds of Boxer indemnity and decision that delegation of three Chinese and three British members, under chairmanship of Lord Willingdon, should study whole question in China.

Jan. 10. Unofficial negotiations for settlement of Hongkong boycott broke down, owing to pressure by Canton extremists.

Jan. 12. The International Commission of Extraterritoriality (in China) held its opening session at Peking.

Jan. 21. Marshal Wu Pei-fu, acting in agreement with Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Sun Ch'uan-fang, began his advance from Hupei Province against Peking.

Jan. 21. M. Ivanov, general manager of Chinese Eastern Railway, arrested by Chang Tso-lin as result of dispute with Russian authorities of the railway over payment for transport of troops.

Jan. 23. M. Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador, sent note to Peking Government demanding release of M. Ivanov within three days; at the same time the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs wrote direct to Marshal Chang Tso-lin.

- Jan. 24. Agreement reached for release of M. Ivanov and other arrested Russians and resumption of traffic.
- Feb. 21. Commissioner of Chinese maritime customs at Canton announced closing of part of Canton owing to seizure of cargo by strikers.
- Feb. 25. Seized goods surrendered and port of Canton reopened.
- March 4. Peking Government denounced French treaties dealing with Indo-China frontier.
- March 9. Foreign shipping fired on by Taku forts, and mines reported to have been laid at entrance to Peiho River leading up to Tientsin.
- March 10. Diplomatic protest presented to Peking Foreign Office in view of violation of 1901 protocol.
- March 13. Two Japanese destroyers fired on by Kuominchun forces in Taku forts.
- March 16. Diplomatic body at Peking authorized naval commanders of the powers in Tientsin to present ultimatum to the rival Chinese commanders at Taku demanding free access to the sea by river from Tientsin, discontinuance of hostilities there and of search of ships, and the removal of mines from Peiho.
- March 18. Peking Government and rival commanders accept demands of diplomatic body. Students' riots at Peking; police guarding the cabinet fired on students, killing about forty.
- March 20. *Coup d'état* at Canton. General Chiang Kai-shek arrested Russians, extremists, and strike leaders; Canton Government notified Hongkong that they would appoint a delegation to settle the boycott. Cabinet (Premier Chia Teh-yao) resigned.
- March 22. Kuominchun forces retreated from Tientsin, but remained in possession of Peking.
- March 23-April 15. "Siege" of Peking.
- April 6 and 16. Diplomatic body protest against aerial bombardment of Peking.
- April 6. Peking Government notified Belgian Government of their desire to revise Treaty of 1865 or, failing revision, to denounce it.
- April 10. "Chief Executive" Tuan Chi-jui deposed by Kuominchun. Kuominchun invited Wu Pei-fu to take control in Peking, but Wu declined.
- April 12. Collapse of boycott negotiations, owing to Hongkong's refusal to pay strike compensation.
- April 20. Tuan Chi-jui ceased finally to function as chief executive and left for Tientsin.
- April 25. Kuominchun evacuated Peking. Second *coup d'état* by General Chang Kai-shek—this time against the Moderates.
- May 13. Dr. W. W. Yen became premier and inaugurated a "Regency Cabinet" in the absence of any recognized head of the Chinese Republic.
- May 15. Kuomintang Convention at Canton; resolution passed making Communists ineligible as departmental chiefs in Kuomintang Party.
- June 1. Kuomintang Party issued proclamation ordering new Canton Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, to institute negotiations for ending the strike.
- June 4. Hongkong Government accepted Cantonese invitation to negotiate. Revenues of the salt gabelle at Tientsin taken over by local military governor.
- June 5. Sino-Soviet discussions which had been taking place at Mukden regarding Chinese Eastern Railway broke down, owing to Chang Tso-lin's refusal to agree to Soviet demands. (See January 21-24.)
- June 18. Report of Lord Willingdon's delegation on Boxer indemnity signed. (Text: British White Paper. *Cmd. 2766.*) (See January 7.)
- June 23. Dr. W. W. Yen resigned premiership and was succeeded by Tu Hsi-kuei.
- June 28. Inconclusive meeting at Peking between Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu.
- July 13. Tang Sheng-chih, in alliance with Cantonese, occupied Changsha, defeating Wu Pei-fu's troops.
- July 15. Opening of general "allied" attack on Kuominchun.
- July 15. Hongkong-Canton negotiations opened.
- July 23. At an informal meeting of

- the delegates the Peking tariff conference was adjourned *sine die*.
- July 25. Hongkong-Canton negotiations suspended for consideration of proposals made on either side.
- Aug. 13. Diplomatic body (subject to reservation by Italian Minister) approved draft agreement for rendition of Shanghai mixed court.
- Aug. 14. Defeat of Kuominchun at the Nankou Pass.
- Aug. 17. Chang-Tso-lin's forces occupied Kalgan.
- Aug. 18. Canton-Hunan forces captured Yochow.
- Aug. 28. Announcement by Kuomintang that General Feng Yu-hsiang (leader of Kuominchun) had been admitted into the party and was in alliance with Canton.
- Sept. 1-Oct. 11. Siege of Wuchang; the sister cities of Hanyang and Hankow were occupied by the Cantonese early in September.
- Sept. 2. Chinese authorities at Harbin seized vessels belonging to the Chinese Eastern Railway and dissolved the railway's education department.
- Sept. 4. British naval forces at Canton and Swatow cleared away strike picket boats and expelled strike pickets from British-owned wharves at Canton.
- Sept. 5. Wanhsien "incident." In attempting to release British ships, which had been seized (with their officers) by the local general, Yang Sen, British naval forces clashed with Chinese troops and bombarded Wanhsien city. Casualties: British, 8 killed, 7 naval, 1 civilian, 15 wounded; Chinese, military (killed and wounded), about 260; civilians, under 100 killed, about 140 wounded.
- Sept. 11. M. Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador at Peking, departed, after his recall had been demanded by the Peking Government.
- Sept. 12. British naval guards withdrawn from Canton wharves.
- Sept. 16. Report of International Commission on Extraterritoriality (in China) unanimously adopted. (Text: British White Paper, *Cmd.* 2774.)
- Sept. 17-Oct. 15. Series of engagements round Nanchang between Cantonese and troops of Marshal Sun Chuan-fang.
- Sept. 18. Canton Foreign Minister informed British Consul General that boycott would be ended on or before October 10, and that simultaneously 2½ per cent surtaxes (5 per cent on luxuries) would be levied on foreign goods.
- Sept. 27. Agreement for rendition of Shanghai mixed court published.
- Oct. 2. Dr. Wellington Koo appointed Acting Premier and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- Oct. 10. Canton Strike Committee and Kuomintang Executive announced end of boycott, but continuance of anti-Imperialist struggle; strike pickets withdrawn.
- Oct. 11. New surtaxes levied by Canton Government.
- Oct. 16-19. Revolt in Chekiang Province against Marshal Sun Ch'uan-fang suppressed.
- Oct. 18. Report of the Advisory Committee on the Boxer Indemnity, analyzing Lord Willingdon's report, presented to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (Text: British White Paper, *Cmd.* 2766.) (See January 7 and June 18.)
- Oct. 21. Peking Government demanded revision of Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1896, commercial clauses of which fell due for reconsideration on October 20.
- Nov. 3. Declaration by Diplomatic Body at Peking that they could not recognize the legality of the Canton surtaxes.
- Nov. 5. Cantonese occupied Kiukiang; Sun Chuan-fang's army in retreat, withdrawing from whole province of Kiangsi.
- Nov. 6. Peking Government informed Belgian Minister that 1865 Treaty must be considered as terminated; Belgian Government proposed laying question before Hague Tribunal and took steps accordingly.
- Nov. 10. Japanese Government replied that they would consider revision of tariff and commercial articles of Sino-Japanese Treaty. (See October 21.)

- Nov. 17. Outbreak of labor troubles and strikes at Hankow.
- Nov. 18. Military Council of Chang Tso-lin, Chang Tsung-chang, and Sun Ch'uan-fang at Tientsin decided on united action against the Cantonese.
- Nov. 23. Arrest of fourteen persons connected with the Kuomintang in British Concession at Tientsin for seditious activities; they were handed over to the Chinese authorities.
- Dec. 2. Eugene Chen and other Kuomintang leaders arrived at Wuchang.
- Dec. 3. Cantonese occupied Foochow and extended their power over Fukien province; by the end of the month they had advanced to neighborhood of Hangchow in Chekiang.
- Dec. 8-17. Conversations between Mr. Lampson (new British Minister to China) and Eugene Chen at Hankow.
- Dec. 18. Statement of British policy read to Diplomatic Body at Peking, recommending unconditional grant of surtaxes promised by Washington Conference, and early steps towards treaty revision.
- Dec. 20. Nationalist demonstrations at Hankow; anti-Imperialist speeches by Russian adviser Borodin and Sun Fo (son of Sun Yat-sen); Eugene Chen asked British Consul General for removal of barricades at entrance of British concession.
- Dec. 26. British statement of policy published.
- 1927**
- Jan. 1. Mr. Eugene Chen, the Foreign Minister of the Canton Government, rejected the British proposal for the application of surtaxes on the ground that it would help the Northern faction. Anti-foreign strike was declared in the concession of Kiukiang. The Nationalist Government issued a mandate consolidating the cities of Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang into one city, named Wuhan, to be the Nationalist capital.
- Jan. 3. Mobs invaded the concession at Hankow. Marines were landed.
- Jan. 4. Marines were withdrawn, an arrangement having been made with the Chinese to police the concession. The mob returned and invaded the concession at Hankow. Business closed down. Mr. Chen issued a proclamation stating that the Chinese police and military would preserve order and safeguard life and property.
- Jan. 7. Practically all British women and children had left Hankow.
- Jan. 9. The Shanghai municipal council issued a proclamation announcing its intention to maintain law and order. Mr. O'Malley, counsellor of the British Legation at Peking, arrived at Hankow.
- Jan. 11. Belgian reply to the British memorandum on China. The Belgian colony at Hankow was evacuated in American warships. The Belgian Consul at Hankow was mobbed.
- Jan. 12. The Nationalists at Hankow published a proclamation stating that those concerned in the above outrage had been arrested. Mr. O'Malley had a conference with British business men at Hankow and later with Mr. Eugene Chen. Mandates issued imposing a 2½ per cent surtax on ordinary goods, with a further 5 per cent on luxuries, as from February 1, and declaring tariff autonomy on the part of China from January 1, 1929.
- Jan. 17. Dr. Wellington Koo and the Belgian Minister met at Peking to open negotiations for a new treaty.
- Jan. 18. Mobs at Foochow looted two British schools, etc.
- Jan. 19. The assembly of the Royal Marine Battalion, a thousand strong, formed for service in China, began in Great Britain.
- Jan. 21. A statement was issued by the British Foreign Office to the effect that the sole object of the military and naval dispositions was to protect the lives of British subjects. Dr. Wellington Koo and Mr. Yoshizawa, the Japanese Minister, met to begin negotiations for the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce between China and Japan.
- Jan. 24. A British War Office communiqué gave the constitution of the Shanghai defense force.
- Jan. 26. The National Joint Council in Great Britain sent message to Mr. Chen.



Jan. 28. Proposals corresponding to those made to the Canton Government were made by Sir Miles Lampson to the Northern Government.

Jan. 29. The negotiations between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Eugene Chen for the settlement of the question in regard to the Hankow and Kiukiang concessions concluded. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, in a speech at Birmingham, outlined the terms of the British offer to China.

Jan. 30. Mr. Chen announced that un-

foreseen events had occurred that prevented the signing of the agreement which had been discussed with Mr. O'Malley.

Jan. 31. The Chinese Foreign Office at Peking presented a note to the British Legation protesting against the dispatch of military and naval forces to Shanghai.

Feb. 1. The Peking Government dismissed Sir Francis Aglen, the Inspector General of Customs.

Feb. 2. The British Legation protested against the above.

## INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### AGENT GENERAL GILBERT'S MEMORANDUM FOR THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the memorandum addressed on October 20 to the German Government by the Agent General for Reparation Payments.)

I am presenting this memorandum for the purpose of calling attention to the dangers involved in the present economic situation, in the hope that by doing so fully and frankly at this time I may render some service to the German Government and to the German economy, as well as to the international situation generally.

I approach the problem from the standpoint adopted by the Experts' Plan, and reiterated in the conclusion to my last report, "that what is in the interest of the German economy is also in the interest of the execution of the plan."

In considering the interests of the German economy I should assume that the general aim of Germany, as of other modern industrial States, would be the continuous development of industry and commerce, both domestic and foreign, with a view to the gradual improvement of the standard of living of her people. For this the most favorable conditions internally would seem to be the constant cheapening of production, accompanied by such increase of wages as cheapened production will permit and as will

neither increase prices nor the cost of living.

Stable prices particularly favor stable trade. But the development of industry and commerce also requires a steady supply of new capital, based on savings at home or borrowings abroad; and under prevailing conditions in Germany there is need not only for the creation of new capital, but also for the rebuilding of the old liquid capital destroyed by the war and lost by inflation. In Germany, therefore, there is a special need and a special incentive for saving, and for careful spending as well. Under these conditions, sound and well-ordered public finance, which underlies the whole economic life, is of the utmost importance.

From the standpoint of the execution of the Experts' Plan, I accept at full value the often-repeated assurances of the German Government that its settled policy is to do everything within its power to fulfill the obligations it has undertaken. The aim of the plan was to put the problem of reparation to the test of practical experience under a program which, as the experts said, "adjusts itself to realities."

It is fundamental to this conception that the German Government should permit the plan to have a fair test, and, while the test is in progress, that the German Government itself should exercise prudence in the management of its affairs.

Recent developments in public finance do not appear to be in the interests either of

German economic life or of the execution of the Experts' Plan. The evidences, in fact, are accumulating on every side, and more rapidly within recent months, that the German public authorities are developing and executing constantly enlarging programs of expenditure and of borrowing, with but little regard to the financial consequences of their actions.

The rising level of public expenditure is already giving an artificial stimulus to economic life, and it threatens to undermine the essential stability of the public finances. If present tendencies are allowed to continue unchecked, the consequence is almost certain to be serious economic reaction and depression and a severe shock to German credit, at home and abroad.

The remedies consist primarily in reversing the present tendencies toward overspending and overborrowing, and applying instead a régime of strict economy and of ordered public finance. These are remedies which lie largely in the hands of the German Government, and, if they will act promptly and effectively, the Reich and the other public authorities still have it in their power to prevent a crisis.

The economic situation, though it is already showing signs of tension, does not seem as yet to have developed points of immediate danger. Moreover, some of the new expenditures that threaten the most far-reaching consequences are still only in the stage of discussion and have not yet been authorized by law.

In presenting this memorandum, it is unnecessary to go much into detail. Each of my public reports as Agent General for Reparation Payments has pointed to various sources of danger that seemed to me to have appeared from time to time and my last report, dated June 10, 1927, warned particularly against the tendencies of budgetary and credit policy.

I have also had numerous conversations on these subjects with the Minister of Finance, the President of the Reichsbank, and less frequently with the Chancellor of the Reich. In the following pages I shall endeavor to bring matters up to date, with a review of recent events in public finance and credit policy, and to indicate the relation of these events to the economic situation in Germany, as well as to the execution of the Experts' Plan.

## I. THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE REICH

In my report of June 10, 1927, I made the following general observations on the German budget:

The point that stands out most clearly in the budgets of the Reich is the constantly mounting level of expenditure. The problem of checking the rising tide of government expenditures has, in fact, become acute, and it requires the closest attention, not merely from the standpoint of the Experts' Plan, but in the interests of the German economy as a whole. At the same time it is clear that the essential stability of the German budget remains unimpaired, and that the problems presented by the budget should yield readily enough to a steady application of sound principles of budget-making.

The upward tendency of the expenditures and commitments of the Reich clearly appears from the following summary of recent events:

On December 17, 1926, the Reichstag voted a supplementary budget for the financial year 1926-27. This added about 1,000 million reichsmarks to the expenditures originally authorized for that year, bringing them up to a total of 8,534 millions.

On January 5, 1927, the draft budget for 1927-28 was submitted to the Reichstag, carrying estimated expenditures of about 8,525 million reichsmarks.

On February 16, 1927, the Finance Minister made his budget speech in the Reichstag, outlining the financial position of the Government. With regard to budget policy, the Minister said:

We must arrange to get along with what we have, even if we have to postpone and reduce expenditures for things which are desirable and useful. \* \* \* Our burdens are so great that we must take advantage of every opportunity to save. \* \* \* Our tasks during the next few years will be very difficult and bitter. \* \* \* Years of restriction and struggle are facing us.

With regards to administrative reforms he said:

A definitive financial settlement (between the Reich and the States and communes) pre-supposes not only a rationalized State administrative system, but also a private economic system which is not shaken by crises.

With regard to reparation payments, he referred first to the agreement made last

year for the settlement of the supplementary budget contributions, and then said:

I look into the future with grave anxiety. Under the Dawes agreement our payments out of the budget and for the service of railway bonds and for the service of industrial debentures will increase next year a further 432,000,000 marks, and in 1929 and onward by a still further 290,000,000 marks. At the present moment, in spite of the best will, I see no possibility of providing these sums, to which there will be added, beginning in 1929, supplemental payments on the basis of the index of prosperity. \* \* \* Germany will continue to do everything in her power in order loyally to fulfill the obligations she has assumed, but to this end she must be furnished with the necessary prerequisites. \* \* \* For us the pre-requisites for the execution of the Dawes agreement is the strengthening of our economic life.

In the same speech the Minister went on to propose that during the financial year 1927-28 further expenditures should be incurred by raising official salaries "to the extent of what is financially possible"; and he referred also to the importance of indemnifying those who had lost their private property abroad in the war.

Following the Finance Minister's budget speech, the tendency of the Government's policy seems to have been in the direction of increased expenditures and enlarged commitments.

In spite of the necessity for economy urged by the Minister, the authorizations of expenditures carried in the 1927-28 budget were increased by 600,000,000 reichmarks before its final enactment on April 14, 1927. The only important reduction was one of about 45,000,000 in the appropriation for canal and other new constructions.

Taking the so-called ordinary and extraordinary budgets together, the total expenditures authorized amounted to 9,130,000,000 reichmarks, as compared with estimated expenditures of 8,543,000,000 in 1926-27, and actual expenditures of 7,444,000,000 in 1925-26—an increase of nearly 1,700,000 reichmarks in the two years. Of this increase about 540,000,000 reichmarks were for reparation payments under the Experts' Plan, with 67,000,000 additional as a reserve fund for the controlled revenues.

Both the 1926-27 and 1927-28 budgets showed an excess of current expenditures over current revenues, amounting to over 850,000,000 reichmarks in each year. To cover the 1927-28 deficit, the budget authorized loans of 466,000,000 and appropriated

390,000,000 from surplus and reserve funds. It also left undisturbed outstanding authorizations to borrow to the amount of 571,000,000 reichmarks to cover outstanding extraordinary expenditures for 1926-27.

In the midst of budget discussions on March 4, 1927, the Finance Minister of the Reich appeared before the Taxation committee of the Reichstag to urge the passage of a draft law postponing for a further two years the definitive settlement of the financial relations between the Reich and the States and communes, and providing in the meantime for increased guaranties by the Reich to the States and communes.

On March 17, 1927, I addressed a letter to the Finance Minister of the Reich, pointing out a number of considerations suggested by the Government's proposals and emphasizing their importance in connection with the fulfillment of the international obligations of Germany under the Experts' Plan, not merely as regards the immediate present, but more especially as regards the future.

On April 9, 1927, the law was passed, substantially in accordance with the Finance Minister's recommendations, with results for the public finances that I have already summarized in my report of June 10, 1927.

The Government of the Reich in the meantime had made another important concession to the States and communes by agreeing to assume, as from April 1, 1927, practically the entire responsibility for advancing, when necessary, the supplementary funds required for purposes of unemployment relief beyond those furnished by employers and employees, though up to that time the States and communes had been obliged to furnish five-ninths of these supplements.

The present financial settlement between the Reich and the States and communes cannot be considered a provident arrangement for the Reich; and it is open, as pointed out in my last report, to fundamental objections of principle. These criticisms are fully confirmed by recent events. The States and communes are now drawing larger payments from the Reich than ever before, and will get the principal benefits from any increased revenues that the Reich may collect from the income, corporation and turnover taxes in excess of the amount required to fulfill the guaranty already given.

At the same time, the responsibility for taxation and public expenditure seems to become more and more confused. Notwith-

standing their increased transfers from the Reich, the States and communes are pressing new demands for still larger payments to meet their constantly increasing expenditures, and the Reich itself has added to the confusion by bringing forward new proposals for expenditures which still further burden the budgets of the States and communes.

After the adoption of the 1927-28 budget the question of increasing the salaries of officials became active, and when the Reichstag adjourned in July it was understood that increases of about 10 per cent were under consideration.

But on September 11, 1927, before a meeting of Government officials at Magdeburg, the Minister of Finance announced that he had suggested and the Cabinet had approved "a considerable increase in the rate at first contemplated." The rates of increase, he said, would vary from 18 to 25 per cent, and the total cost to the Reich would be 325,000,000 annually, of which 155,000,000 would be for salaries and 170,000,000 for pensions and similar allowances.

It is generally assumed that the States and communes, the postal service and the railway will all make much the same increases. The total cost is variously estimated at from 1,200,000,000 to 1,500,000,000 reichsmarks annually. To provide for the additional expenses which the action of the Reich throws upon them, the States are already insisting that increased transfers of revenue from the Reich will be necessary.

As for the Reich itself, it appears from the discussion before the Reichrat on October 13, 1927, that in the opinion of the Finance Ministry the Reich will be able to meet the costs of the salary increases in its own services during the coming year only if its hopes for an increase in tax receipts are realized.

The salary proposals of the Government are noteworthy, not merely because of the large expense which they entail, but even more because they have been made on the most sweeping basis, and in the way most likely to bring serious consequences for the general economy of the country. They are apparently intended to apply quite as much to pensioners and retired officials as to officials on the active list, while even for the active officials they appear to contemplate a general increase in salaries, without any effective attempt at administrative reform.

It is not for me to express an opinion on the merits of the salary proposals, but it would seem as if the German Government

could have served its own interests better by using such substantial increases as an instrument for securing the reform in administration of which so many announcements have been made in the past two or three years.

It may not even now be too late to make the salary increases serve this purpose. But, as matters stand at present, they seem likely to hinder rather than to help the cause of administrative reform, and to saddle new and lasting burdens on the already heavily-burdened budgets of the Reich and the other public authorities.

In addition to these general increases in pensions and in the salaries of officials, the Government of the Reich is advancing two other measures which seem likely to involve large new expenditures, one, the proposal to compensate German nationals for loss or damage to private property during the war, and the other, a general school law for the Reich.

Neither of these measures has as yet been enacted into law. The first of them, the draft law for indemnifying German nationals for property lost abroad, apparently contemplates expenditures of about 1,000,000,000 reichsmarks, but the draft law has not yet been presented to the Reichstag, and it is not clear what means of financing are to be adopted or how far the budget is to be burdened with the proposed payments.

In this connection I have already suggested in my letter of August 29, 1927, to the Finance Minister of the Reich, some of the considerations that would be raised from the standpoint of the Experts' Plan by an external offering of preference shares of the German Railway Company; the same considerations of course would apply a fortiori to any external loan of the Reich that might be proposed for this purpose.

As for the new school law, no information is available regarding the probable costs, and apparently little consideration has been given as yet to its financial consequences. But it is noteworthy that serious misgivings are being expressed in many quarters in Germany as to the cost of the new law, and that the States and communes have already given warnings that they will want more money for the purpose of the Reich.

On October 14, 1927, the Reichsrat rejected the draft law for a variety of reasons, after first approving an amendment that would require the Reich to bear all the cost. Since

then the Government has submitted the draft law to the Reichstag in its original form, with a statement from the Minister of the Interior to the effect that it is immaterial whether the Reich or the States have to bear the cost, because in any event the burden will fall on the German economy.

The Government appears to have refrained, however, from making any estimate of the cost of the new law, on the ground that this cannot be done until its provisions are finally determined and the distribution of the cost becomes somewhat clearer.

I do not mention this series of new expenditures and commitments for the purpose of passing judgment on any of them individually. That, indeed, does not fall within the functions of the Agent General for Reparation Payments. The German Government, under the terms of the plan, is left free to prepare and administer its own budget, and it acts throughout on its own responsibility. This very freedom, however, implies a corresponding responsibility for the natural and probable consequences of its own actions.

These, it seems to me, can be summarized briefly, as follows:

1. The Reich, by failing to exercise proper restraint in its expenditures, is endangering the stability of its budget, the establishment and maintenance of which was the cornerstone of the Experts' Plan for the reconstruction of Germany. The situation at the moment is somewhat relieved by increasing revenues and declining unemployment. But any reaction in business would be likely to reduce the revenues of the Reich and increase its liabilities for unemployment relief.

In these circumstances, and with increasing reparation payments to face, this does not seem to be the time to burden the budget with new permanent expenditures.

2. With its own expenditures constantly rising, the Reich naturally finds it difficult to induce the States and communes to bring their budgets into proper order, particularly at a time when the measures which the Reich itself has initiated may add very greatly to their expenditures and throw many of their budgets still further out of balance.

The States are already demanding the reopening of the financial settlement for the purpose of securing still larger transfers of revenue from the Reich. And the expected reduction of State and communal real estate taxes which it was announced in April would be one of the conditions of the financial settlement now appears more and more unlikely of realization, while, in some cases at least, increased local taxation may be necessary.

3. The result is a general lack of effective control over public spending and public borrowing. In consequence, unsound public finance is increasingly prevalent in Germany, and the money which is so badly needed for the development of German agriculture and industry is being absorbed, through taxes and public loans, in a scale of public expenditure which seems to be incurred without regard for the loss of liquid capital which Germany has suffered and the urgent need of recreating this capital through economy and careful spending.

4. Still more broadly, in their effects on economic life, the measures taken by the Reich and other public authorities are tending strongly toward increased costs of production, increased prices, and increased cost of living.

The result is to negative, in large measure, the benefits that might be expected to accrue from the process of rationalization which German business and industry have succeeded in carrying out since the stabilization of the currency.

The tendency toward higher prices already exists, partly as a result of the high customs duties on imports of many staple products; and it would be greatly stimulated if, as now seems probable, the Government's salary proposals should lead, on the one hand, to demands for similar increases in general business and industry, and, on the other, to increased railroad tariffs, and the like. Manifestly, all these developments tend to raise the costs of production and thus to diminish the capacity of the German economy to compete for export.

As the experience of recent months has abundantly shown, they operate also on the other side of the German balance of payments by greatly stimulating German imports from other countries. Rising internal prices almost always have this effect, and under present conditions the tendency is enhanced by the additional purchasing power which is being placed in the hands of the public by the increasing expenditures of the Reich and the States and communes.

The consequences of Reich financial policy, which have been summarized above, must be considered also in connection with the financial policy of the States and communes, and with the currency and credit policy of the Reichsbank. There is naturally a close relationship between them, and an intimate connection between the results attributable to them.

## II. FINANCES OF THE STATES AND COMMUNES

There is little or no current information as to the financial condition of the States and communes, but their demands for addi-

tional grants from the Reich and their frequent borrowings at home and abroad indicate that as a whole they are living beyond their means.

The domestic long-term loans of the States, provinces and communes, and of the various public undertakings in which they are interested, have amounted to about 1,000 million reichsmarks since the beginning of 1926, when the domestic market first became available for long-term borrowing. This sum is more than twice the amount of long-term domestic loans placed in the same period by German industry and trade. These various public loans, taken together with the Reich internal loan of 1927, were mainly responsible for overloading the domestic market and bringing about the state of exhaustion which still obtains.

Foreign issues of the States and communes, and their associated public undertakings, have amounted since the beginning of 1925 to the equivalent of about 1,600 million reichsmarks, approximately the same as the foreign loans of German business and industry. Until recently, at least, additional loans appear to have been under negotiation between the States and communes and foreign bankers, up to a total of perhaps a further 1,000 millions.

These foreign borrowings have made heavy drafts on the foreign credit of Germany, and those of the States particularly have tended to raise difficult questions under the Treaty of Versailles and the related provisions of the Experts' Plan, as I have already pointed out in my letter of September 20, 1926, to the Finance Minister of the Reich, with respect to the Prussian external loan of 1926, and my further letter of November 12, 1926, as Chairman of the Trustees of the German External Loan, with respect to both the Prussian and the Hamburg loans.

The foregoing figures for the domestic and foreign loans of the States and communes, amounting altogether to about 2,600 millions, leave out of account entirely their short-term or floating debt. It is impossible from the available figures to make a close estimate of the volume of this debt, but from such casual evidence as has been developed it seems already to be very large. In part it represents loans directly obtained from foreign bankers, in part loans obtained from German bankers, but from foreign funds borrowed by them, and in part ordinary domestic banking transactions.

The question underlying State and communal borrowing is not whether individual loans should be placed in the domestic market or in the foreign market, or at short or long term, but whether they should be placed at all. To divert the borrowing of the States and communes from one market to the other or to refuse it in one form and permit it in another does not go to the root of the difficulty.

Overborrowing at home or abroad proceeds from the same source, namely, rising public expenditures, and it is by reducing expenditures to the minimum that relief is to be found. On the other hand, balanced budgets and economical administration will give the best assurance that when credit is needed for essential public purposes it will be forthcoming.

It is recognized, of course, that the Reich does not control the States and communes in these matters. But when the States and communes go into foreign markets to finance their budgetary expenditures and internal improvements, they raise fundamental questions of foreign policy which have the most direct interest for the Reich. And under the Constitution itself the Reich has a unique opportunity and even responsibility for leadership, not merely because of its large transfers of revenue to the States and communes, but also because of its powers to prescribe the fundamental principles and main outlines of their laws in many matters of taxation and public finance.

The force of these considerations has been recognized to some extent in the efforts that have been made for the past two years and more to supervise the foreign borrowings of the States and communes through an advisory organization established for this special purpose. These efforts, for whatever reason, have not been successful, and the results appear in the swollen figures for State and communal borrowings that have already been given.

A new and truly effective supervision, based primarily on the principle of controlling public expenditures, is urgently needed at this time, both in the interests of German credit and to safeguard Germany's economic recovery against the dangers of overstimulation and subsequent reaction as a result of overspending and overborrowing by the public authorities.

The German Government's announcement of October 7, 1927, is greatly to be welcomed,

not only because it indicates that a revised procedure for supervising the foreign borrowings of the States and communes is under consideration, but also because it points out the sound basis for financial reform by stating that "in view of the entire present situation in Germany any expenditure that is not urgent or economic, whether made out of foreign loans or from other sources, must be avoided."

It is still not clear what practical measures will be taken to apply this fundamental test to the spending policies of the public authorities, but it is of the utmost importance that the Reich should exert a firm leadership in this direction and that its leadership should have the sincere and comprehending support of the States.

### III. CREDIT AND CURRENCY POLICY

The present calendar year has also been one of expansion in the circulation of the currency and in the use of short-term credit, particularly that of the Reichsbank. Any discussion of credit and currency must necessarily center upon the policy of the Reichsbank, which is charged under the bank law with the duty of regulating the circulation of money and with providing for the utilization of available capital.

But, however explicit the law may be, the financial operations of the Reich, the States and the communes have themselves assumed the proportions of a separate credit policy, frequently exercised in opposition to the credit policy of the Reichsbank. In effect, there have been two credit policies, both operating at the same time, and one often neutralizing the other.

The net result of these different policies, though opposed to each other in origin and purpose, has been in the direction of expansion, as is likely to be the case when the public authorities are on the side of expansion and spending.

The Reichsbank, for its part, reduced its discount rate on January 11, 1927, from 6 to 5 per cent, shortly before the offering of the 5 per cent internal loan of the Reich. The purpose, it was stated at the time, was to recognize the easier money conditions then prevailing in the German market, and at the same time to diminish the inflow of foreign funds.

The results of this policy were discussed at length in my report of June 10, 1927. For

a short period, it will be recalled, the policy achieved its purpose. But by the middle of March foreign funds began again to flow into Germany in large volume, not as long-term loans but in the form of short-term credits, frequently for purely speculative purposes, and liable to be withdrawn on short notice. These funds, in turn, provided an additional basis for expansion, and a source of danger for the future.

At the same time, the Reichsbank's discount rate became the lowest representative money rate in Germany, and in the first five months of the year—that is to say, up to May 31, 1927—its gold and *devisen* declined by about 1,000 million reichsmarks, and its holdings of domestic bills rose by about the same amount. In their broader consequences, the forces of expansion thus released gave a further impetus to an already highly speculative stock market, and a further stimulation to an already rising activity of business and a rapidly expanding volume of imports.

During this period certain measures were attempted, notably in the direction of reducing the volume of stock market credit, but the Reichsbank left its discount rate at 5 per cent until June 10, 1927. It then raised its rate to 6 per cent, but by this time it had lost control of the market, and the increase soon proved to be insufficient. The new rate brought no reduction in the volume of Reichsbank credit, and succeeded only during a short period at mid-summer in retarding its month-to-month increase.

The expansion which reasserted itself in September brought the volume of Reichsbank credit and the total German circulation to the highest points since stabilization. The 7 per cent rate fixed on October 4, 1927, recognized this situation and was itself the consequence of events which dated back to the spring.

The financial authorities of the Reich, the States and the communes, by working at cross-purposes with the Reichsbank, have made the whole situation more difficult to manage and have contributed to the expansion.

The part played by rising budgetary expenditures and borrowing by public authorities, involving heavy drafts on credit, both foreign and domestic, has already been discussed. The Reich internal loan of last February, furthermore, was of peculiar impor-

tance, not only because it put an end for the time being to the domestic market for new issues, but also because its terms and market price furnished an additional obstacle to a timely revision of the Reichsbank's discount rate.

The various steps which have been taken to manage the loan in the market since its issues have been expensive and, on the whole, ineffective.

Another disturbing influence which must be mentioned is the management of the public funds and the public banks, which has been discussed at length in each one of my published reports. It is unnecessary now to go into detail, but it is clear enough on the facts that the administration of the public funds and the public banks has tended very strongly to diminish the authority of the Reichsbank and to deprive it of resources which it needed in the general interest of the stability of the German currency and exchange.

It has tended, no less directly, to deprive the regular German banking system of its normal resources and to divert great quantities of liquid funds into channels which ran counter to sound credit policy.

The credit policy of the bank of issue and the public finances cannot for long be operated successfully on divergent lines; and there would seem to be every reason, in the general interest, for formulating and putting into effect a definite and comprehensive plan that will assure a properly coordinated policy. The need for the adoption of such a policy, based upon principles of ordered economic growth, and avoiding undue use of credit, is particularly clear under present conditions, in order that the prevailing expansion may not be carried to the point of danger.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

I have attempted to bring together in the foregoing pages the accumulating evidences of overspending and overborrowing on the part of the German public authorities, and some of the indications of artificial stimulation and overexpansion that are already manifesting themselves.

These tendencies, if allowed to continue unchecked, are almost certain, on the one hand, to lead to severe economic reaction and depression, and are likely, on the other, to encourage the impression that Germany is not acting with due regard to her reparation obligations.

Internally, it is evident that an economic crisis would have the most discouraging consequences for the German people, and that it would mean a serious setback to the reconstruction of German economic life. It is now nearly four years since the first stabilization of the currency and over three years since the adoption of the Experts' Plan. During this period Germany has made remarkable progress. She has re-established her credit at home and abroad, her industries have been reorganized and her productive capacity largely restored, her supplies of raw materials and to some extent her working capital have been replenished, and the general standard of living has greatly improved.

This has been achieved primarily through the industry and energy of the German people, but the people of other countries have also cooperated by making their savings available in liberal measure for the rebuilding of the German economy. It would be deplorable if what has been accomplished should now be imperiled by short-sighted and unsound internal policies.

From the standpoint of the Experts' Plan it is only natural, as I have said, for the creditors of Germany to feel that reasonable prudence in the management of the public finances is a necessary element of good-will, and it would not be surprising if outside observers should draw the conclusion that the financial policies followed in the past year have not been in the interest of Germany's reparation obligations under the plan.

The payment of the stipulated annuities to the Agent General for Reparation Payments at the Reichsbank constitutes, it is true, "the definitive act of the German Government in meeting its financial obligations under the plan"; and the payment of these sums is amply secured by the assigned revenues and other specific securities. But the responsibilities of the German Government do not end with the internal payments.

The Experts' Plan, though it put the transfer of reparation payments in the hands of the Transfer Committee, recognized clearly that the problem of transfer would depend in large measure upon conditions outside the control of the committee. It placed a very definite responsibility upon the German Government by providing that "The German Government and the bank shall undertake to facilitate in every reasonable way within



their power the work of the committee in making transfers of funds including such steps as will aid in the control of foreign exchange."

The experts also emphasized in the strongest possible language the dependence of the stability of the German exchange upon Germany's balance of payments, and, in the long run, upon the course of German imports and exports. To the extent that German exports are hindered by obstacles interposed from without, other countries must bear the responsibility; but upon the German Government itself must rest the responsibility for actions of its own which tend artificially, by overstimulating imports and hindering exports, to restrict the possibilities of transfer.

All these considerations I am endeavoring to point out in good season, in the hope that their importance will commend them to the attention of the German Government, and that in the interest of the German economy itself, as well as of the discharge of Germany's international obligations, the German Government will take prompt and effective measures to meet the situation. Fortunately, as stated at the outset, the situation has not yet become critical, and the German Government still has it within its power, if it will act in time, to check the dangers which now threaten and to bring the German economy back again to a sound condition.

S. PARKER GILBERT,  
*Agent General for  
Reparation Payments.*

## News in Brief

THE MAISON FRANCO-JAPONAISE WAS FOUNDED in Tokyo through the efforts of Ambassador Claudel, before leaving his post in Japan for Washington. The object of the establishment is to further cultural understanding between France and Japan, and eminent scholars have since gone to Japan, with the support of their government, to study the Orient. Among them is the noted French student of Buddhism, Prof. Sylvain Levi. With the aid of Japanese experts he is compiling a dictionary of Buddhism which will

be of great service to students of the Orient, since it will be written in both French and English. The dictionary will probably be two years longer in preparation.

A MONUMENT AT SHIMODA, JAPAN, has lately been unveiled to Townsend Harris, the first Ambassador from the United States to Japan. The tone of the ceremonies was extremely friendly to the United States and the opening of the Orient to the West.

BELGIUM'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON is Albert Edouard Eugene Lamoral, Prince de Ligne. He succeeds Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, who was dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington and is now Ambassador at London.

TROTSKY AND ZINOVIEV HAVE BEEN DEFINITELY EXPELLED from the Communist Party in Russia. The Soviet leader, General-Secretary Stalin, in the *Pravda* for November 15, defended the action on the ground that unless the Soviet power remains a rigid militant unit, the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

RUSSIA ACHIEVED A FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE during the nine-month period ending June 30, 1927, according to the Division of Regional Information of the Department of Commerce. The value of exports for this period was 72,327,000 rubles more than that of imports. For the corresponding period of 1925-26 there was an unfavorable balance of 85,693,000 rubles. More than 87 per cent of exports are over European boundaries.

GERMANY PAID THE UNITED STATES during the year ending June 30, 1927, \$8,919,849.17 under the Dawes Plan. This reduces the claim of the United States against Germany for the cost of the army of occupation to \$224,221,398.25, according to the annual report of Maj.-Gen. Kenzie W. Walker, made public November 15.

THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAS SELECTED EIGHT TEACHERS whom it will send to the United States to study American methods of instruction, especially in our universities. After three years' investigation the teachers are to return and report to Chile.

BRAZILIAN DAY, commemorating the establishment of the South American Republic in 1889, was celebrated November 15 in New

York City with an inauguration luncheon of the American Brazilian Association, an organization founded by Sebastino Sampalo, Consul General of Brazil in New York, to help relations between his country and this.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has appointed the American delegation to the Pan American Conference to be held at Havana, Cuba, on January 16, 1928. The list of the delegates follows:

Charles Evans Hughes, chairman, New York; Henry P. Fletcher, American Ambassador to Italy, Pennsylvania; Oscar Underwood, Alabama; Dwight W. Morrow, American Ambassador to Mexico, New Jersey; Morgan J. O'Brien, New York; James Brown Scott, Washington, D. C.; Ray Lyman Wilbur, president, Stanford University, California; Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Washington. When a new ambassador is appointed for Cuba he will be added to the delegation.

A FESTIVAL OF NATIONS was held in Boston lately, under the auspices of the League of Neighbors, of which Charles F. Weller is international executive. National anthems, folk songs, folk dances, other music, tableaux, and exhibits of art and industrial work of people of other lands were conducted by groups who have come to America from those countries. The avowed purpose of the organization sponsoring the pageant is "the realization of peace and brotherhood, through understanding and neighborliness, between people of all races, nationalities, classes, and creeds."

AN ARBITRATION AGREEMENT was recently signed by Latvia and Soviet Russia, which provides that all commercial and civil disputes between the two countries may be settled by a court of arbitration, the members of which are appointed by both sides. The purpose is to accelerate the settlement of disputes and take them out of the lengthy procedure of ordinary civil courts.

A MEMORIAL, SIGNED BY ABOUT 700 CHURCHMEN from all over the country, was presented to President Coolidge November 2. The memorial supports the proposition of M. Briand of France, that France and the United States enter into a treaty to ban war between them. It is requested that the President make a

prompt and favorable reply to M. Briand, and that the United States offer to enter into similar agreements with other nations.

THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION of the Disarmament Conference opened its fourth session in Geneva November 30. The United States is represented on the commission.

THE DANIEL GUGGENHEIM FUND for the Promotion of Aeronautics has retained Colonel Lindbergh in a consulting capacity. He will be a member and trustee of the fund, but will be free to enter into any activities which will, in his judgment, promote the cause of aviation.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL UNION, an organization fathered by France, met in convention in Paris October 29. It is planning to create there the greatest chemical library in existence.

THE ENDING OF OPIUM USE IN CHINA is the object of a program announced by the authorities at Nanking. The scheme is to place such a high tax on the drug that the use of it will be stamped out. Government control of all opium is a part of the plan to be put in force January 1, 1928. Supporters of the idea hope to eliminate opium smoking by 1931.

IT IS ANNOUNCED THAT A MILLION DOLLARS has been given as a nucleus of a fund for a world-peace educational campaign, in which motion pictures will have a prominent part. One of the ideas is to produce a film in color, with the vitaphone, which will depict the horrors of the next war. A hint that national defense is to be one of the morals of the film accompanies the announcement.

A MEETING IN SUPPORT OF VISCOUNT CECIL'S DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN was held in London October 24. Mr. Lloyd George, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and Alfred Duff Cooper addressed a crowded non-party gathering, and also an overflow meeting in another hall. More than 1,000 were turned away.

M. DOVGALEVSKY, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, has been recalled from Tokyo and appointed to the Paris Embassy, replacing Ambassador Rakovsky, who was removed from the French capital at the request of the French Government.

## BOOK REVIEWS

FROM VERSAILLES TO LOCARNO. By *Harold S. Quigley*. Pp. 167 and index. University of Minnesota. Minnesota, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

Unlike most hand-books on the League of Nations, this study by Professor Quigley begins with the significance of the Locarno pacts of 1924. These are compared with the more sweeping Geneva Protocol, and related to the later admission of Germany to the League. This section of the book covers 20 pages, a swift résumé of European international politics as they have gradually and finally wound up the war. Then come brief sketches of the League itself, the Labor Office, and the World Court. These two sections are about half of the book. The latter half is utilized for a bibliography, the Covenant of the League, the Locarno pacts, and documents such as the protocol of the World Court and the adherence to it of the United States. The whole comprises a compact and fairly non-partisan view of European international organizations.

Incidentally the subtitle seems rather misleading. It reads: "A sketch of the recent development of international organization." One looks, therefore, for such other topics as The Hague conferences and the Pan American Union, at least. The book actually touches only the League and allied movements.

### NEW CHILDREN'S BOOKS

As usual, the Christmas juvenile book lists are copious and varied. There seems to be something for every taste, and the books are, on the whole, artistically produced. Yet among them all, which shall be chosen to nourish the young person's wholesome appreciation of other lands, to predispose him to peace and fair play, which is the child's word for "justice"?

Strange to say, those books which are written purposely to convey a moral seldom rouse any enthusiasm. Children are appallingly candid. But happily their appetites are usu-

ally healthy. They crave action in their stories, for one thing, episodes that begin and end, and that are replete with details. They gravitate to other youth, and like to read about them. They feel instantly the uplifting buoyancy that flows from fine and beautiful rhythm. But always such utilitarian things as ethics and information must come by the way. If they are not unconsciously woven in the fiber of the book, they will simply be "skipped" by the normal child reader.

It often happens that the natural juvenile is not written for children at all, just as the best juveniles are of perennial interest to adults. Therefore we may look for books about other lands, written in simple, vigorous English—books about persons who act, books with lasting appeal of beauty.

We have chosen a very few, some of them classics republished, and a sample or two of recently written books.

ANIMAL STORIES THE INDIANS TOLD. By *Elizabeth Bishop Johnson*. Pp. 148 and appendix. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927.

These stories, with the animal photograph illustrations, have been gathered from many sources, including museums and historical societies. They are pleasantly told in the Indian idiom, much as they must have been given first to the white man.

The tales represent the lore of many tribes from Mexico to Alaska.

Most children enjoy animal stories and these are, besides, authentic mythology.

THE WIND THAT WOULDN'T BLOW. By *Arthur Bowie Chrisman*. Pp. 355. E. P. Dutton Co., New York, 1927.

A refreshing collection of Chinese tales, with droll illustrations in silhouette. The author gravely announces in the foreword that all the stories, old and new, "have been carefully changed to agree with the facts as they were, or really should have been"; that they are to be considered as stories "not as teaching."

The people one meets in the book are all keenly real from the princess who "kept her father excited and interested and wondering what would happen next" to the old miser who took long strides when he walked "to save boot leather."

**DON QUIXOTE.** By *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. Pp. 460. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$1.25.

This version of the Spanish classic has been abridged and edited by Susan S. Sheridan of the New Haven High School. An introduction giving pertinent facts from early Spanish history and a short critique of the book precede the story; an appendix gives chronology, lists of Spanish proverbs used in the book and other helpful matter. Since the two parts of the story originally appeared in 1605 and 1615 some editing and explanation is necessary.

It stands, however, a rollicking book, typically Spanish and one which is worth bringing into the ken of older young people. Cervantes himself said of his book, "It is thumbed and read and got by heart by people of all sorts; the children turn its leaves, the young people read it, the grown people understand it, the old people praise it."

A shrewd, human and delightful story, and the present edition is attractive.

**MOPSA THE FAIRY.** By *Jean Ingelow*. Pp. 259. Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$1.75.

First published in this country in 1869, this English fairy tale had for children fifty years ago a magic quite indescribable. For sheer poetry and delicate simplicity it has probably never been surpassed. Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland is more whimsical, George MacDonald's *At the Back of the North Wind*, more eerie; but this little fairy tale occupies a place by itself. None but a poet could have written, in just this way, the dreamy story of Jack and the little fairy Mopsa whom Jack kissed "because she looked such a little dear" and who therefore grew up to be a fairy queen.

**THE ALHAMBRA.** By *Washington Irving*. Pp. 298. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. Price, \$1.75.

Among classics about other lands this collection of stories grouped around the old Moorish palace in Granada is one of the loveliest. Irving's tales have been selected and rearranged for children's reading, by Mabel Williams. Charming illustrations in

line drawings, silhouette or colors are scattered through the volume. The result is an enthralling book for children from twelve to fifteen or older.

It is not a travel book nor even a guide to the Alhambra. It is just some of the stories that Irving gathered there. No one need "skip descriptions" because episodes and action predominate.

**PICTURESQUE PORTO RICO.** Stories and poems. By *Elizabeth Kneipple Van Deusen*. Pp. 291. Silver, Burdette & Co., 1927.

Mrs. Van Deusen is unusually well equipped for the rewriting of the myths and legends of Porto Rico. She is supervisor of English in the schools of that island. She is most sympathetic with its people and culture, and her style of expression is said, by native educators, to be quite Porto Rican in its poetic terminology. At all events the stories in this collection have a felicity all their own. They read like folk-lore, as they are, and they interpret, incidentally, the daily life on the island.

**SHEN OF THE SEA.** By *Arthur Bowie Christian*. Pp. 252. E. P. Dutton Co., New York, 1925.

The captivating tales in this book have a background of China. They are utterly delicious, both in style and matter, effervescent with fun and illustrated, with piquant silhouettes. The legends are told for little children, but the humor and the atmosphere of old China will appeal to all ages.

The book was awarded the John Newbery medal by the Children's Librarian's section of the American Library Association as the best children's book of the year 1925.

**THE ADVENTURES OF PINOCCHIO.** By *C. Colloidi*. Macmillan, New York, 1927. Price, \$1.75.

The original comes out of Italy, but the story has been pored over by children of all lands. The story of the little boy of wood who came alive, and was alternately so naughty and so good, here appears in a new dress with vivacious illustrations in color and black and white. It is a contribution from Italy to the world of childhood which should never be allowed to die.

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