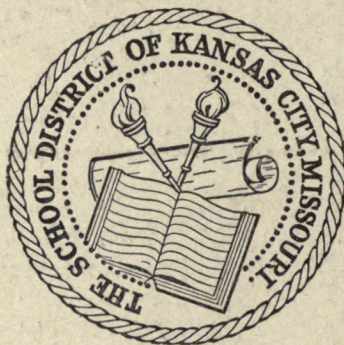


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Advocate of Peace

Vol. LXXXV

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a besitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THIS SOCIETY

THIS IS VOLUME 85, Number 1, of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR NINETY-FIVE YEARS the American Peace Society has published regularly a magazine in the interest of international peace.

THE INDEX to Volume 84 is now available and can be had upon request mailed to the Editor. No charge is made to our subscribers for this service.

"I HAVE READ with interest the *Suggestions for a Governed World*, printed in the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. Each of those suggestions is consonant with the teachings of history and the best traditions of America."—Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH, Senator from Idaho (see page 14).

CONTRIBUTORS to the work of the American Peace Society will wish to be reminded that January is the month for the renewal of their gifts. Every dollar invested in this service, up to \$15,000, is duplicated by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Elilhu Root, President. The accounts of the Society are carefully audited, every dollar thoughtfully placed. The methods of operation, open to the public, are approved

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A PARABLE FOR THE NEW YEAR

THE PERSISTING WAR

THE NEW YEAR among the nations does not open happily. We are faced with the disquieting international fact that the World War persists. French troops are concentrating to the north of Cologne near Dusseldorf. Under the supervision of Marshal Foch, General Weygand, with characteristic French precision, is moving upon that section of German territory known as the Ruhr, named from an eastern tributary of the Rhine in western Prussia. The Allied and Associated Powers are no longer allied or associated.

THE FAILURE OF THE TREATY

The reasons for this condition of affairs can be variously interpreted. It can be argued that the war is still raging because of the failure of the authors of the Treaty of Peace with Germany. That document, as is the way with international documents, begins with reassuring words. "The Allied and Associated Powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly . . . should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable Peace . . . have agreed as follows: From the coming into force of the peace treaty the state of war will terminate." But, distressing fact, there is no "firm, just, and durable peace," nearly five years after the armistice. The "state of war" has not terminated. The treaty has failed.

THE SPECIFIC CAUSE

It may be argued that the specific cause of the failure to terminate the war is found in article 233 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany. Reasons for this asseveration may be briefly stated. When the Allied and Associated Powers assembled at Paris, January 18, 1919, the duty facing them was to terminate the war. When they handed the treaty to the German representatives on May 7, 1919, and all signed the document at Versailles on June 28, of that year, all conditions to be imposed by the victors should have been clearly set forth. The most important of all the conditions should have

been the amount of reparations Germany would be required to pay. Peculiarly enough, this amount was not specified. Instead the amount of the damage for which compensation "is to be made by Germany" was left to the determination of an Inter-Allied Commission known as the Reparation Commission, under the terms of article 233 of the treaty. Next to the double-headed blunder of trying to establish an organization for the achievement of world peace and to end the war, in one and the same instrument, this failure of the makers of the treaty to fix the amount of Germany's indebtedness to the Allies was the most serious of the many mistakes of the Paris conferees. In a sense this is a specific cause of the continuance of the war.

EFFECT IN GERMANY

In the absence of precise claims, the economic situation in Germany has gone from bad to worse. When under the terms of the treaty the Reparation Commission had concluded as to the amount of damage and notified the German Government of its findings, nearly two years after the signing at Versailles, German economic disintegration had proceeded far. This was due to a variety of causes. Friends of Germany had made inroads upon opinion, especially in Britain. Writers among the former enemies of Germany had already begun to point out the inability of Germany to pay. This naturally strengthened Germany's disposition to avoid payment. Amid the uncertainty of it all, German financiers began transferring their money to foreign investments. German gold disappeared rapidly. The German mark fell steadily in value. The terms established by the Reparation Commission were said to be impossible of fulfillment. Revisions were found necessary. French claims were materially reduced. Moratoriums for Germany were demanded. At least one moratorium was granted. By the time new terms were fixed, Germany's ability and disposition to pay had dwindled still more.

BREAK BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

The effects of the failure in Paris to establish the amount of reparations became increasingly awkward. The German will to meet the demands, especially French demands, dwindling well-nigh to nothing, French insistence naturally increased. In the meantime unemployment in England had led to a British desire for a renewed trade with Germany. Sympathy for Germany, perhaps for that reason, took rather widespread root in Britain. This made it increasingly difficult for the English and French statesmen to come to any meeting of minds. Conscious of their losses, of their rectitude, of the justice of their claims, of their power, the French no longer claim; they demand. England and France

are, in consequence, no longer together in their German policy. They may become enemies, threatening war. That is a pathetic prospect growing out of the bungling in Paris. While France goes about the business of collecting by force what it has been agreed belongs to her, the unity of faith and purpose upon which the world banked so hopefully a few months ago, has largely disappeared. There is now principally division and ill will. Worse, war and the activities of war persist.

THE DEEPENING GLOOM

Of course, the inevitable result has been a deepening of the European gloom. It now looks like a diminution, for a while, of French prestige, and that in America. Public opinion is swinging toward the view that French hatred and greed are going too far. If Germany has been in willful default in the matter of coal deliveries during the year past, we shall hear increasingly that Germany has suffered strikes and railroad derangements, with the result that it has been impossible to fulfill the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Even if Germany has willfully defaulted, it will probably be urged that France has blundered in seizing territory that does not belong to her under the treaty; this in spite of the fact that no one can question that the French Government is strictly within the letter of the law. A more serious possibility of this French policy lies in the fact that this occupation of the Ruhr may not satisfy the demands of the French budget. The occupation, therefore, may lead to further acts of reprisal. While efforts at a peaceable settlement of European difficulties are seriously impeded, it will be difficult to distinguish between opposition to French policy on the one hand and sympathy for Germany on the other.

While it is difficult to believe that the American people and government can ever become enemies of France, yet a widespread American opinion at the moment is that France is committing a serious act of folly. An editorial in the *Washington Post*, of January 10, concludes with this sentence: "But the die is cast, destiny weaves the fatal web, and the beginning of another era of blood is inaugurated eagerly and almost gayly by the French people." The American press is strangely silent about any German responsibility for the conditions in Europe. If at last the friends of France turn against her, they will find it difficult to escape aiding and comforting Germany. Aid and comfort to Germany can easily mean, and very soon, that in the realm of ideas—and little else counts—Germany at the last is the victor in the war.

ONE SUGGESTED WAY OUT

Out of all this European darkness is there any ray of light? Again, it may be argued, that it is becoming

increasingly clear that the Treaty of Versailles must be revised. No healing processes can begin until that is undertaken. Our American observer, it is reported, addressing the Reparation Commission, has just condemned the treaty as mischievous. It is further reported that he suggested the necessity for a wholesale revision of that instrument. That may be said to be the imperative need.

If we grant that we can get nowhere by condemning France, it can be pointed out that piece-meal conferences have proved abortive. It may be said that there is but one course for the nations of the world; they must start about a business of a vaster importance. The world need must be visualized as a whole. All of the nations must act. The nature of that act is perfectly clear. All of the powers must start about the business of organizing a world conference for the adjustment of their major interests. It must be of the nature of another peace conference, to rectify at least some of the mistakes of the Paris conference; but especially to achieve what the Paris conference tragically failed to accomplish, namely, a friendly and neighborly intercourse between the erstwhile enemies of 1914-1919.

The argument might continue substantially as follows: Such a world conference is inevitable. Mr. Hughes' suggestion of a commission of experts, perfectly logical, was too cautious. Mr. Borah's proposal for an economic conference is too limited. The gravity of the world situation demands a larger gesture. Since a world conference is imperative, its call should go forth at once. That is the international strategy for the new year. It would probably not be wise to mention in the call for such a conference any proposal to revise the Treaty of Versailles, for it is not necessary to alienate in advance the beneficiaries of that treaty. Courtesy and enlightened self-interest can, however, bring about the necessary changes in the world's outstanding cause of our international debacle, namely, the Treaty of Versailles. But these motives at the basis of accommodation can operate only through the instrument of a world conference.

FOUR EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION

Certainly nothing is to be gained at this moment by dogmatizing on what the United States Government should or should not do. The State Department will act in the light of the information which it has. We have no doubt that the State Department will act with wisdom. The war persists. The Treaty of Versailles is not altogether satisfactory. French and English relations, strained as they may be, are not so disheartening as prior to the recent English elections. An international conference will yet be called. We may express an opinion that the United States is at the moment in

no position to act in the European situation. We believe that the treaties growing out of the Washington Conference will be ratified by France and Italy; but they are not yet ratified. We are withdrawing our troops from the Rhine, apparently to avoid entanglements in the present situation. The reparations are not fixed; but if Mr. Hughes' mild suggestion at New Haven that an international commission be appointed to determine the amount of reparations was not found acceptable, it is difficult to visualize any act or proposal on our part that will be acceptable. American effort to untangle the European skein, we suspect, must wait.

We hold to the opinion that war is more imminent in Eastern Europe than in the West. The menace of war emanates unmistakably from Lausanne. The Turkish nationalists are playing their ancient game of waiting and of pitting European States against each other. Kemal is making a show of extending the power of the Turkish arms in Constantinople, indeed in eastern Thrace. Greece is concentrating her forces in the direction of the river Maritza. Britain is increasing her artillery and aircraft units in Constantinople. Discussions over the freedom of the Straits have practically reached a deadlock. Time is playing into the hands of the Kemalists. One encouraging factor in the situation at Lausanne, however, is that French and British interests in mandates, in oil, in the pacification of the Moslems, in capitulations, and in the freedom of the Dardanelles are holding France and Britain together. But there are armies ready to fight in Greece, Asia Minor, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia. Fighting may be expected in that section of the world at any time.

Another opinion which we firmly hold is that the France we supported in the war has changed in no important respect. The French invasion of the Ruhr will alienate opinion in America in no fundamental sense. The French movement to the north should surprise no one in America. France has said that without guarantees she would do this thing. That was the voice of the French people, and the French people are not bluffers. They are astonishingly sincere, amazingly unpretending and incapable of Pickwickian or stridulous brag or buncombe. It is natural for the Frenchman to do things in order, with a sense of proportion and with clearness and precision. The French social structure is as solid as ever. The brightness and the vivacity of the French social nature have survived the sorrows of the war. There has been no diminution of the French worship of *la Famille*, of *le Foyer*, of *la Patrie*. Factional interests there are in France. They do not talk overmuch about their flag; but when united action is demanded factional interests are forgotten, and all groups unite without question in a *union sacrée*. America will not become an enemy of the people that drafted the Declaration of the

Rights of Man. We shall not forget in this country the history of the emancipation of Greece at Navarino, of Belgium before the gates of Antwerp, of Italy at Villafranca. The spirit of France that furnished us in the dark days of our Revolution with money and war material, soldiers, ships, morale, of France, our first and our only ally, has not changed. It has been said of the French Government—"plus ça change plus c'est la même chose"—the more it changes the more it is the same thing. This is true of the French people. As one writer says of the French Government: "It is rooted in right and faces the stars; often an opportunist on the surface, it is ever a knight-errant in its soul, and ultimately proves itself worthy of *la France éternelle*." The writer of these lines is a teacher of Political Science in an American university. France has not changed. The spirit that rose above five years of the shocks of war, began at once the tilling of the devastated fields and the reconstruction of the destroyed industrial towns, remains an outstanding fact in our human world. America will continue to respect that spirit.

But the spirit of Germany has changed. Kindness, industry, thrift, order, these qualities in the German spirit continue. Crafts and the arts survive. The theaters throughout Germany offer a higher class of music than those of England. Weimar is still on the banks of the Ilm. German men and women, boys and maidens from all over Germany, wander now as of old to the shrine where side by side lie the remains of Goethe and Schiller. In spite of the losses of war, romanticism, liberalism, and nationalism survive in the hearts of the German people. But the pride that was Germany seems to have disappeared. A misguided leadership made of the German nation a prodigal son outside the family of civilized nations. Germany took a journey into a far country and wasted its substance with riotous living. Having spent all, there has arisen a mighty famine in that country. Germany is in want; not so much of food as of friendship. But the government of that land fails to win either confidence or support. It is written of that other prodigal son that "when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish here with hunger? I will arise and go to my father, and will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight." That was the temper of soul that not only made a reconciliation possible, but his return a joy. It was then—it could not have been otherwise—that his father saw him while he was yet afar off "and was moved with compassion." It was then, but not until then, that the best robe and the ring and the shoes and the fatted calf were brought forth. Here is a picture of law operating on its highest levels. It is of the very substance of all

law, including international law. It is pertinent just now for the German Government.

But before the blush of the new year has disappeared, with the memory of Christmas still lingering, let us accept the truth and confess that the pertinence of the parable is limited to no one people.

CERTAIN BASES FOR A NEW YEAR HOPE

FOR THE READER of our current newspaper headlines, there seems to be little hope for any peace between the nations. But if one permits oneself to dip deeper into the news, to turn over the page, one will find sprinkled here and there facts of a more encouraging nature.

It is true that production and manufacture of commodities in 1922 were about 50 per cent greater than in 1921 throughout the United States. Our textile mills were about 20 per cent more active than in 1921. The iron and steel industry increased its output from 60 to 70 per cent over 1921, non-ferrous metals from 50 to 95 per cent, petroleum 15 per cent, coke 40 per cent, paper 20 to 30 per cent, rubber 40 per cent, automobiles 50 per cent, building construction 50 per cent, lumber 35 per cent, brick 50 per cent, cement 15 per cent, leather 20 per cent, sugar 45 per cent, and meats about 5 per cent. Our agricultural receipts registered a general advance over that of 1921. The only declines of outstanding importance were 7 per cent in bituminous coal and 47 per cent in anthracite.

The labor situation has improved from a large number of out-of-works at the end of 1921 to a point where unemployment has almost been eliminated. In place of a surplus of idle freight cars there is now a considerable shortage. Prices to the farmer increased about 17 per cent during the year, wholesale prices advanced 10 per cent, and retail food prices declined 5 per cent. This condition gives the farmer a greater purchasing power and narrows the margin between wholesaler and retailer. Sales of mail-order houses increased 6 per cent, and chain stores showed a gain of 13 per cent. These conditions reflected themselves in the stock exchanges. The final prices of securities were well above those registered at the opening of 1922, and the stock-market in December gave promise of continued good business during the early part of 1923. In the United States prosperity is once again a condition to be reckoned with.

There are hopeful news trickling in also from abroad. For example, the Japanese retrocession in the Far East is found to be an encouragement not only to us, but to the people of Japan. It is pointed out with no uncertain emphasis that the next step in Japan's development of her policy in the Far East, she having withdrawn

from Shantung, is to evacuate northern Saghalien. One of the most hopeful facts of modern international relations is the evacuation not only of Shantung but of Siberia, with the highly popular approval of the Japanese people. Japan has discovered that her imperialistic adventures have been costly not only in terms of money, but in terms of international esteem. She is bending every effort to win back the confidence of the world. This effort is meeting with no little success.

Everything is not black in Europe. The Czechoslovak republic—made up of what were Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Russia—is quietly pursuing a constructive governmental policy under the guidance of President Masaryk. Perhaps the most important evidence of the wisdom of the makers of this new republic lies in the effort they are putting into education. For its thirteen and one-half million inhabitants, three million of whom are Germans, one million Magyars, four hundred thousand Ruthenians, one hundred fifty thousand Poles, and eight million Czechoslovaks, there are 1,296 kindergartens, with approximately 27,000 boys and 30,000 girls of three to five years of age; 13,417 elementary schools, with approximately one million boys and one million girls of six to fourteen years of age; 1,411 urban higher grade elementary schools, with approximately 130,000 boys and 125,000 girls of eleven to fourteen years of age. There are also 300 secondary schools and 68 training colleges for teachers, with over 97,000 students and student teachers; 220 commercial schools, with nearly 31,000 students; 193 agricultural schools, with nearly 10,000 students, and over 200 other professional schools, with nearly 150,000 students. The republic has, in all, three Czechoslovak universities—one with nearly 9,000 students, one with nearly a thousand students, and one with nearly 300 students. There is a German university, with nearly 3,000 students. There are other higher technical schools for agriculture, veterinary, and mining instruction.

The conditions in Austria are improving. True, the unemployment, particularly in Vienna, has increased. Wages have declined. But it is also true that the cost of living in Austria decreased about 3 per cent during the month of December. Markets, particularly in Jugoslavia, have been extended by relaxation of import prohibitions and currency regulations. The crown, unit of exchange in Austria, is nearer stabilization, with the result that savings deposits have increased rapidly. The ministries are now required to submit monthly budgets. The number of officials at the end of December had been reduced to 25,000. But still more important, the new national bank was established on January 1. The guarantee of an international loan for 650,000,000 gold crowns has been ratified by Great Britain,

Italy, Czechoslovakia, and France. We understand that each of the guaranteeing powers will deposit securities to the extent of the guarantee in order to facilitate the loan. The League of Nations is working upon its program calculated to secure budget equilibrium in Austria by the end of 1924.

There are other hopeful things in Europe. Britain is planning to remit her interest in the Boxer indemnity still due from China. Her interest in the indemnity averages a sum of about \$2,000,000 annually during the next twenty-three years. British statesmen believe that it would be good business, to say nothing of morals, to remit a large part of this sum, following the example of the United States.

Hungary is feeling easier because the inter-allied territorial commission set up under the Treaty of Trianon has redrawn Hungary's boundaries, with the result that she has recovered 35,000 acres. This ought to help her to solve the problem of her refugees.

The "Russian Socialists Federated Soviet Republic" has been changed to the "Allied Soviet Republic." The Far Eastern Republic, of which Chita has been the capital, has ceased to exist, having joined the Russian Soviet of Moscow. Since Japan will have now to negotiate with Moscow, frictions in Siberia ought to be less. Lenin has said that Russia has abolished the revolutionary system, rejected communism, and readmitted capitalism. Russia's gesture in behalf of a conference for the reduction of arms may be interpreted as an evidence, also, of a return to reason in that vast but stricken land.

Whatever the outcome may be in Ireland, the seven hundred years of war between England and that island seem to have come to an end.

The return to the cabinet system of government in Britain is surely an indication of a more wholesome statesmanship in Downing Street.

If Mussolini is pleading for an equality of rights in Italy, he is also preaching the doctrine—encouraging indeed—of the equality of duties.

Turkey, having separated church from state, insists that she is setting up a real democracy.

Whatever may be the outcome at Lausanne, America has stood for the principle of the open door, open economic agreements, and the freedom of the seas.

All is not black despair, the shadow of a starless night, thrown over the world in which we move. Nineteen hundred twenty-two registered advances toward more peaceful relations between nations. There was the Washington Conference. There were the conferences of Cannes, Genoa, and The Hague—failures, but not without their value. Lausanne cannot wholly fail. The League of Nations contributed its share to the general will to rise out of the ills of war. The British Empire

is becoming a fairer thing under its better name, the British Commonwealth of Nations. Advances have been made in our Western Hemisphere, in the Caribbean, in Central and South America. Our investors have aided railway developments in Chile and Bolivia, and other enterprises in less developed lands of our continent. Business and friendship have increased in our Western World.

INTERNATIONAL SUBCONSCIOUSNESS

Three Classes

IF ONLY some super-psychologist with the power to disentangle the subconsciousness of the race should go about the business, he would be in position to report a most interesting complex. We venture the guess that the contents of the complex would fall rather naturally into three classes: lamenters, high-hoppers, and doers.

These departments of the international subconsciousness are probably not entirely separate. The lamenters often feed at the expense of the high-hoppers, and vice versa. The doers listen, sometimes respectfully, to both the lamenters and the high-hoppers. The fences dividing these sections from each other are picket fences. But why follow the metaphor too far? The point is clear.

Our Lamenters

The lamenters make us very sad. In our subconscious world of war and peace, for example, they lead us to see through nothing but military spectacles. Looking through these lenses, we see nothing but armies and navies. These armies and navies are very horrible. If they be "large," they are only a source of danger. If they be Prussian, they are more dangerous. If they express the political philosophy that force is the only efficient agent for the protection of the state, they are more dangerous still. Militarism is the monster, and armies and navies are its tools. The lamenters cause us to believe that there are as many wars brewing in the future as there have been in the past; that greed and secret diplomacy are as rampant as ever; that suspicions, hatreds, and fears are blighting the hopes of the plain people everywhere; that the very foundations of our social organization are rocking. Finance and industry in Europe are growing worse. Capitalistic imperialism has the world by the throat. The American Government is pursuing a policy of isolation, while the rest of the world goes to the devil. In pride of wealth and material power, our country has lost its own soul. So run the jeremiads of men dominated by the lamenters.

The lamenters cause officials to present us with the terms of a demand that we "prepare for the next war." It is stated on high authority that seventeen nations

are even now engaged in preparing for the next war, including our own. The lamenters lead men to capitalize their philosophy.

Our High-Hoppers

The high-hoppers are of another ilk. Where they dominate, they lead persons to think they know that wars are never justified and that they never pay, for it is peace that is righteousness, righteousness peace. Thus there are men ranging everywhere from insisting upon total disarmament and the overthrow of the social order to an international league of nations backed by an international police. The high-hoppers of our international subconsciousness often lead nations to walk on stilts.

Our Doers

But the doers, as we have said, are not wholly unaffected by the lamenters and the high-hoppers. Related to things as they are, however, they make it possible for the little people, in the subconsciousness of the world, to rise to the top and to enable practical men to find opportunity to express themselves in action. It is well that there are men who can do and achieve, while the others adumbrate.

Our Mixtures

The high-hoppers get mixed up sometimes with the lamenters, often with astonishing results. Some Christian clergymen tell us that war is a total loss to the vanquished and to the victors; others that we should go to war against the Turks at once. A former justice of the United States Supreme Court, charged both with high-hoppers and lamenters, concludes, surprisingly enough, that the refusal on the part of the United States to join the League of Nations is a definite notice to the rest of the world that we of the United States prefer to settle differences with them "in the old savage way of war rather than by resort to this new agency of peace." Here the lamenters and high-hoppers of the judge's subconsciousness got him quite confused.

As to Choice

As between the lamenters and the high-hoppers, there is little choice. They are equally incapable of helping us to see the facts or of thinking straight. Partaking more of emotion than of reason, they do no little harm; but upon the whole and in the long run they probably render a service to the men who think and do. The foreign offices of the world, made up of the men selected and therefore responsible for results, hearing the flood of lamentations pouring in unto them, need the hal-lujahs of the pious and the hurrahs of the men and women cocksure of their ready-made programs for the salvation of the world.

EX-JUSTICE CLARKE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THERE IS A MOVEMENT to bring about the resubmission of the Covenant of the League of Nations to the Senate and to the President for reconsideration. Hon. John H. Clarke, former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, is now at the head of a "non-partisan committee" working to that end. Mr. Clarke, speaking at a dinner in the Hotel Biltmore, January 10, warned those present that the alternative to the League is war, a frightful and deadly world conflict. The former Justice finds that there is a serious doubt about the purpose for which the free nations of the world fought and won the World War. He sees that there are men who profess to find satisfaction in the fact that our government is taking the part of the priest and the Levite, passing by on the other side, while Europe sinks in political and business chaos. There is no doubt in his mind that we of the United States have for two years pursued the policy of isolation, of holding aloof while our former allies and friends have been sinking deeper and deeper into poverty and despair. He finds that there is a possibility that in pride of wealth and material power our country is losing, if, indeed, it has not already lost, its own soul. He believes that "if we remain out of it, the next war will come as the last one did, without our having any opportunity to prevent it and with only the privilege of fighting our way out of it. . . . Unless international relations shall be placed under some other and better control than they have been in the past, clearly another world war is inevitable. . . . There is no other alternative. . . . I wonder how fully the American people realize that this refusal of ours to join the League is notice, definite notice, to fifty-two other civilized nations that as a nation we prefer to settle differences with them in the old savage way of war rather than by resort to this new agency of peace, and that they, many of them our late allies and friends, must all look upon us as a potential enemy against which they must combine and arm themselves on land and sea and in the air in preparation for another world war?"

Surely these statements are in no sense argument. They are assertions. They are assertions merely.

Our own view is, furthermore, that in these respects the distinguished jurist is mistaken. The policy of the American Government has never been a policy of "isolation, of holding aloof." The treaties growing out of the Washington Conference, while not yet ratified by France and Italy, have brought about a tangible peace in the Pacific. The League of Nations does not seem to be able to establish any abiding peace in Europe. Indeed, when concrete and serious situations involving peace

and war present themselves, the League of Nations is not consulted. Witness Lausanne. It does not serve the cause of international peace to misrepresent the United States. President Butler calls attention, elsewhere in these columns, to what the United States has stood for internationally. This government has always interested itself in foreign affairs. It has stood for the freedom of the seas, engaged in diplomatic ceremonies, obtained recognition and rendered assistance abroad. It has stood for the principle of international conference since its efforts in behalf of a neutral confederacy in 1780 in the interest of commerce. Its work in behalf of an international prize court, of The Hague conferences, is history. Arbitration of international disputes has been more than a theory with us; we have worked it out with patient attention to detail in 1818, in 1822, in the case of the Alabama claims, of the fishery disputes, and in many other instances. Our successful mediation in the Russo-Japanese War eighteen years ago was only one illustration of America's active interest in international affairs. We became rather interested in Europe in 1917 and proceeded to take a no insignificant part. Since November 11, 1918, especially since Charles Evans Hughes became Secretary of State, our government has, we believe, done everything in its power to aid European States and to ease the suffering of European peoples. These critics who accuse America of pursuing the ways of an ostrich are either uninformed or blinded by their emotions; probably both.

To state that there are but two ways facing the United States, one leading to membership in the League of Nations, the other to war, is simply another argument by assertion. It does not convince.

The League of Nations has not changed. It is what it was when it was elaborately placed before the American people by President Wilson and when it was fully and ably discussed in the United States Senate. No fundamental principle in it has been altered. Why must the United States reverse themselves and enter it?

Objections to any league to enforce peace have been fully set forth in the columns of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, particularly in an editorial, March, 1920. Whatever friends of it may say to Americans, leaders in the League purpose to make of it a superstate. Lord Robert Cecil said, in the presence of the writer, in the month of July last that the League of Nations must be all-powerful or nothing; that it must be given an international police for the enforcement of its decrees. Such a league is a superstate. Another one of its leaders, Mr. Fisher, of England, said, in the presence of the writer, at the headquarters of the League in Geneva, "the League of Nations is not a superstate yet." That word "yet" sounded significant. Since the League has

not changed, and since its purposes are clearly stated to be those of a superstate, the arguments against the League that were thought to be valid in 1919-1920 are, from the point of view of American principles, as valid as ever.

When Mr. Clarke says that America's refusal to join the League is a notice to the fifty-two other civilized nations that as a nation we prefer to settle differences with them by war, we believe Mr. Clarke to be mistaken. The reason for this opinion may be briefly stated. When Lord Castlereagh, of Great Britain, was presented with a proposal under the protocol of Troppau to set up a league to control international and external strifes of nations, and replied that Great Britain could never agree to a principle "which she would not in any circumstances allow to be applied in her own case," he expressed an important principle at the heart of any peace between nations. The United States has the right to join a League of Nations, to pass over the control of its foreign relations to a group of foreigners; but to do so would require fundamental changes in our Constitution and a radical reversion of a century of policies. The United States has the right to abandon its armies and navies, and to grant to a group of outside parties the power to coerce States by the means of an international army; but this would mean, of course, that this international group could, with the advice and consent and with the financial assistance of our government, given in advance, wage war upon the United States. We do not believe that the American people are ready for such a program. To advocate it is to bay at the moon. To accomplish it would mean the overthrow of most of the fundamental things at the heart of America. When the distinguished jurist informs us that we must enter the League of Nations or go to war, we believe that he is mistaken. Lord Castlereagh's principle of 1820 is quite applicable to these United States of 1923. The United States will not and should not join any league for the purpose of employing against other States a principle which it would not permit to be employed against the United States.

We think Mr. Clarke is mistaken in other respects. He says: "The statesmen of all nations, the men who speak the last word for or against war, are a unit in declaring confidence that this universal boycott will prove a powerful agency in preventing further wars." This statement seems to be erroneous in two respects. While we are not acquainted with as many statesmen as the learned jurist, there are, we believe, enough statesmen who are opposed to the principle of international boycott to prove that "the men who speak the last word for or against war" are not "a unit." The second objection to the statement is that any universal boycott, such as he contemplates, could not prevent war; it

would itself be war, and war in its most hideous and destructive form, for it would be a war of starvation waged directly against non-combatants, including women and children.

We believe that Mr. Clarke has begun his campaign by committing another familiar but serious mistake. If the United States is to take part in the League of Nations, it must be accomplished with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. Mr. Clarke goes out of his way, as it seems to us, to prejudice his case by referring to the Senate as "critical," "hostile," and "incapable."

He is in error, we believe, when he says: "The plain truth is that this League of Peace became so promptly immersed in party politics and was so shamefully misunderstood and misrepresented in the seething discontent incident to the aftermath of the war that it has never had a fair hearing either in the Senate or by our country." Surely it can't be said that the treaty was "misrepresented" by President Wilson and his followers. They were all listened to by many thousands and represented widely in the press. No public question was ever more fully and widely discussed. No matter has been before the United States Senate within the last two decades that was more carefully considered than was the League of Nations. It is the only treaty of peace ever discussed in open sessions of the Senate. And it was discussed ably. In his "The Leadership of Congress," Mr. George Rothwell Brown says: "The Senate of the people which had debated and determined the question of the League of Nations had been as brilliant as any Senate in the annals of America. It was a time when the whole intellectual level of the country was on a very high plane, and when the United States itself was inspired by the great outpouring of national expression which made the very laborer in the street an orator and a statesman. The debates in the Senate in this period will bear comparison with those of the days of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. One finds nothing in the great discussions over slavery and secession exceeding in power and majesty the debates of the Senate at the close of the war."

While we subscribe to this interpretation, we do not press the point. The thought here is that the non-partisan friends of the League of Nations in America gain nothing by their indiscriminate and partisan criticisms of the United States Senate.

We think that Mr. Clarke does not serve his cause by recommending to the American people the methods of bluff illustrated by his friendly reference to the threat in the case of the boundary dispute between Jugoslavia and Albania. International peace cannot rest on insincerity.

It is an extravagance to say that there is no other agency in the world that could have pressed upon the attention of the nations the necessity for an International Court of Justice. Indeed, that whole conception arose and was in the process of realization before the League of Nations was thought of. It is a fact that the people who drew up the League of Nations inserted a clause relating to the International Court of Justice, but only as a second thought. Mr. Lord Robert Cecil said to the writer in Paris, while the League of Nations was being formed, "The world is not yet ready for an International Court of Justice."

We doubt the accuracy of the speaker's statement that "ex-Senator Root" and "every democratic lawyer and judge of reputation in the country—outside, of course, the United States Senate—agrees that by joining the League we would not surrender in the least our national liberty, independence, or sovereignty." Even so, the matter is for the people, not the lawyers, to decide.

Of course, it was a slip for the speaker to refer to Jugoslavia as one of the "new republics." But there is a very fundamental defect, we believe, in Mr. Clarke's basic conception of international peace. It is illustrated by his statement: "It is believed that if America had been standing with Britain in the League of Nations and at the Dardanelles the Turk would never have raised his murderous hand again." Granting that that would have been the fact, and that by such means Turkey had been kept in subjection by force of arms, how long could such a peace be expected to endure? Peace between States conserved by threat of arms is not peace. It is war.

We are of the opinion that it is a mistake to say that the United States must either join the League of Nations or go to war. In our judgment, there are other possible courses to pursue. Some of the ways are indicated in some detail on the inside of the front cover of this magazine. One reading those suggestions will recall that America is not a believer in an international policy of isolation, "a holding aloof." If one goes back of those suggestions one will find that we have co-operated with nations throughout our history. We are co-operating with nations now. We shall co-operate with nations throughout the future. We do believe with Mr. Wilson that "the world must be made safe for democracy." That sentence cannot be laughed out of our lexicon of treasures. The United States can be depended upon to do their part toward the realization of that consummation devoutly to be wished. America knows that peace between States cannot be permanently or hopefully maintained by threats either of international force or of an international boycott—the most loathsome type of international force. America has a vision of the peaceable settlements of international dis-

putes, plans indeed. They come under neither of the alternatives suggested by Mr. Clarke.

One wonders why a man, priding himself as a non-partisan, should ignore what the American Government is trying now to do to promote the cause of international peace. Our State Department has spared no pains to let it be known that our government is leaving no stone unturned to help Europe. The economic conditions of Europe, the distress in Europe, are all well known in Washington. Men responsible in the premises have told us that they realize that European problems are world problems, but that since they cannot be solved without the consent of European governments, the key to the settlement is in the hands of Europeans, not Americans. There ought to be a way for statesmen to agree, for example, upon what Germany can pay. Fifty-two nations in the League have not been thought able to answer that question. Certainly America cannot answer it, especially if she is not asked. Mr. Hughes, who is better informed of the facts than any other American at the moment, finds the European dilemma to be an economic one. He suggested as a way out the call of a financial commission to ascertain the facts and to determine, from an unbiased point of view, what Germany can pay. If that mild suggestion was not acceptable, what reason is there for believing that any other effort on our part would be acceptable at this time? But the point here is that Mr. Hughes evidently believes that there are ways other than by joining the League of Nations or by going to war, ways calculated to bring about a peace between the distracted States of Europe.

It is no pleasure to criticize adversely the work of other men honestly and earnestly laboring to promote the cause of international peace. Mr. Clarke's motives are of the best. It is proper for him to advertise the good things already accomplished by the League of Nations and to promote its interests. America will welcome any achievements of the League of Nations. It is co-operating with the organization now; it will extend that co-operation as opportunity may arise. Before America could join such an organization, however, it would be necessary for it to modify itself in very fundamental respects. America believes in international peace, but it must be a peace, not of arms, but of justice backed by the mutual consent of all nations. The United States can accept no other course. Nothing can be expected to blind America to this important principle so far as to lead her to forget it. Mr. Clarke does well to qualify his program for our entrance into the League of Nations with the words, "*on terms consonant with the dignity and honor, the moral responsibility and power of our Republic.*" (The italics are ours.)

In the meantime let us be comforted. America has not forgotten the purpose for which she went forth to

war. She is no priest or Levite, passing by on the other side. America has not lost her soul. America is not threatened by war because she is outside the League. We do not prefer to settle disputes by war. America is not faced with the alternative—League or war.

THE INTERNATIONAL ARMY in Memel, under the League of Nations, is not having a peaceful time. According to the news dispatches, Lithuanian forces have stormed and captured the town. Under the terms of Article 99 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, Germany renounced in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories included between the Baltic, the northeastern frontier of East Prussia as defined in the treaty, and the former frontier between Germany and Russia.

Germany undertook to accept the settlement made by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories, particularly as it concerns the nationality of inhabitants. The control of the section, city, and adjoining country, was left to the League of Nations. Allied forces, under the League of Nations, were quartered in the city, the city remaining under the control of the Allies, represented by the French Commissioner. An interesting aspect, however, of the problem is that the former German Government was maintained. The city of Memel is mostly German, but the suburbs are largely Lithuanian. The Lithuanian suburbanites have been greatly displeased with the city's administration, "which was proving intolerable." The Lithuanian rebels have demanded the withdrawal of the League troops from Memel. In case of refusal to withdraw, war is threatened.

According to a dispatch to the *New York Times*, under date of January 15, the demand reads: "The Government of the Memel territory has been transferred to the supreme committee for the salvation of Lithuania Minor. The new administration and police are functioning efficiently and order is being maintained effectively throughout the Memel territory. The volunteer troops are not fighting the Allies, but they revolted against the unbearable directorate. It is requested that allied troops be withdrawn, so that there may not be cause for warlike moves. Guarantees and assurances of protection are given to all residents and government employees. Should the allied forces not be withdrawn, then the responsibility for probable bloodshed shall not rest with the people of Memel."

Surely that is not a proper way to address an international army functioning under the League of Nations. One can but wonder what would become of a larger international army, such as proposed by Lord Robert Cecil and other followers of the League of Nations, should it

go at the job to maintain peace, say, in the case of a controversy between Great Britain and France, between the United States and Japan, or between any other of the large powers. Of course, the fact is that any plan to promote peace between nations by the means of an international army is contrary to the teachings of history, of morals, and of common sense.

THE CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY are briefly referred to elsewhere in these columns. It is necessary to qualify those statements by the fact that the resentments in Hungary against the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon are very bitter. The Hungarians feel that they have been roughly treated. With the limited resources in Hungary, it is difficult to believe that there is any serious threat against Rumania. That there is a strong nationalist movement in Hungary we can readily understand. But it is unbelievable that the Hungarians generally can find any hope in a resurrection of Hungary's 20,000,000 population, in the return of 3,500,000 Magyars from Transylvania, or of the 1,500,000 Slovaks, or of the 1,000,000 Ruthenians, Saxons, and Germans. The Irredentists may demand these things, but it is difficult to see how they can command them. Hungary is beset on the north by Czechoslovakia, on the east by Rumania, on the south by Jugoslavia, all of which are in the "Little Entente." If Hungary moves against one she can be attacked by the other two. On the European chessboard Hungary is checkmated. Force cannot be counted on to win the game for Hungary.

IF GERMANY DOES NOT PAY for French reparations there is one other nation that must; that nation is France. French people find it difficult to see why they, "victors" of the war, should become the victims. French action in the Ruhr is based upon this attitude of mind. The immediate objective seems to be that the French shall control enough of the German coal supply to collect the German Government tax, which we understand to be 40 per cent.

A special cable to the *New York Times* states the French position as follows: "If the Germans continue buying coal from the Ruhr they can continue to get it at the same prices as formerly, the Allies taking over the 40 per cent tax heretofore collected by Berlin. As much as necessary of this money will be used to pay for coal for the Allies and the rest will be held in trust. If it become necessary to control deliveries of other Ruhr exports the Allies will do nothing to hinder delivery, for that would be against their own interest."

The French press is wondering again what would have happened had the war been fought on German soil.

Confronted by the protest from the German Reichstag, French writers point out that the protest was carried by only 283 votes, over 200 members of the German parliament not voting. From the French papers, it is evident that France has not forgotten how Germany collected from the Rhineland in 1866 and from France in 1871.

Of course, the future now depends upon the way France handles her advantage. If, as in the case of her occupation of the Saare, she obtains control of the newly occupied areas by notifying the Germans that they can have no coal if they don't sell their stock, the French people may turn against their own government. It is possible that France may overplay her hand. At the moment French public opinion seems to be that the Germans must pay. Perhaps that can be accomplished; but the peace of Europe, the economic advantages of France, the future of Germany, can be conserved and promoted only as good-will is re-established across the Rhine. If the latest attempt of France to get results can advance the achievement of a rapprochement, then France will be vindicated. If not, her performance will be condemned.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION at Washington expresses its foreign policy at times quite concretely. The United States Government is not selling arms or munitions of war to any nations or to individuals, and does not propose to do so. When approached by one of the European nations, asking if it might purchase arms and ammunition, and for terms, the American Government said no. We were told at the White House when it was proposed that our government should sell \$500,000 worth of rifles, the President "did not consider the proposal serious enough to call it to the attention of the War Department."

Of course, public opinion of America will agree with Mr. Harding that to sell arms to nations or to individuals would be to encourage conflict. We congratulate the President upon his determination that there shall be no sale of discarded government arms or munitions to any nation or individual. If our government were to sell such arms or munitions to a belligerent nation it would be an act of war. We understand, however, that the offer referred to was from an European State not now at war.

Unfortunately, in our judgment, individual manufacturers are permitted to sell arms and munitions to any nation or individual. The important truth, however, assumed by the administration is that "the President holds that to sell arms to nations or individuals would be to encourage conflict." That suggests a variety of reflections.

"EDUCATION FOR WORLD PEACE" is a slogan worth broadcasting. The importance of the thought it carries is not new. It has found expression in the increasing number of courses in international law among our universities. The Institute of Politics, meeting each summer at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, is another evidence. Now the dean of the summer school at the University of California announces that that will be the theme for educators from various parts of the world who will meet in Berkeley, California, for two weeks preceding the National Education Association Convention in the neighboring city of Oakland, July next. It is announced that the objects of this conference are as follows:

To promote friendship, justice, and good-will among the nations of the earth.

To bring about a world-wide tolerance of the rights and privileges of all nations regardless of race or creed.

To develop an appreciation of the value of the inherited gifts of nationality through centuries of development and progress.

To secure more accurate and satisfying information and more adequate statements in the text-books used in the schools of the various countries.

To foster a national comradeship and a confidence which will produce a more sympathetic appreciation among nations.

To inculcate into the minds and hearts of the rising generation those spiritual values necessary to carry forward the principles emphasized in the Conference on Limitation of Armaments.

In all the schools to emphasize the unity of mankind, the evils of war, and the necessity of universal peace.

A far-reaching system of exchange teachers and students between nations is another idea to be discussed at the conference.

ECHOES of despair reverberate, we fear, increasingly. There is a curiously recurrent note of disillusionment from some of the present-day writings, particularly in Great Britain. The following sonnet by Mr. Theodore Maynard, published recently in the *New Witness*, is a poignantly sad echo of this note:—

Happy the English dead who died in vain
 And cannot know how vainly they have died!
 Their ghosts may linger in the shadowy lane,
 Or wander through the moonlit countryside;
 But not a man who chanced to see them move
 Would ever dare to speak to them and say,
 "The land you made more lovely by your love
 Is passing with its ancient pomps away."

These wore, as kings don ermine for their clothing,
 Long-suffering, pain, obedience, fortitude;
 Horror and inextinguishable loathing
 Were part of all their daily drink and food.
 These have endured and died for England proudly;
 Let no one tell the bitter truth too loudly!

CAN WE HELP EUROPE?

By WILLIAM E. BORAH

This expression of views by the distinguished Senator from Idaho was written prior to the movement of the French upon the Ruhr.—THE EDITOR.

THE PEOPLE of the United States are concerned for the welfare of Europe. No one doubts the need in Europe. Thoughtful persons everywhere are looking for some method by which the ills besetting that stricken section of the world may be lessened. The difficulty is to know what can be achieved.

I have read with interest the "Suggestion for a Governed World," printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Each of those suggestions is consonant with the teachings of history and the best traditions of America. As a possible step toward the realization of something definite, I have suggested the propriety of convening an economic conference of the interested powers, with the hope that out of such a conference some of the main problems disturbing the world may be put in the way of solution.

No one can be blind or indifferent to the situation in Europe. No one can disregard it either from a humanitarian or economic or business viewpoint. The situation is serious enough. Everybody knows that.

It does no good now to say that all this was easily foreseen and many times foretold. The policies which have obtained in Europe since the armistice could produce no other result than the present condition of turmoil and misery. It was inevitable. But the situation is here and every one, of course, thinks about what can be done.

The first thing, it would seem, is for Europe—that is, the three or four leading powers of Europe—to change the policies now obtaining. Every day there is a perfect chorus of voices declaring "the United States must help Europe." Is it not well at the same time to understand distinctly that the United States cannot possibly be of any service to Europe until Europe changes her program? A little item in yesterday's dispatch reveals the key to the international policies of Europe. The dispatch reads: "Great Britain and Turkey have reached an agreement outside the peace conference regarding Mosul, whereby Turkey is to have sovereignty over the region and England the oil concessions."

WHAT WE ASK OF EUROPE

If Europe wants help that will help the people of Europe, the suffering masses, and not feed her imperialistic and militaristic, exploiting policies, then a program along that line should accompany the appeal.

The opposition to a conference seems to be along the same lines as opposition to the disarmament conference when it was first proposed. There was great timidity and much opposition at first, but more mature reflection led to very general support. I trust such will be true in this instance.

There are many precedents for this kind of conference. We have as a government participated officially in such conferences, and with European nations more than once. We have never hesitated to confer with reference to economic, financial, or commercial matters.

Such conferences have never been regarded by the most zealous advocates of our traditional policies as in contravention of them. No public man was at any time in our history a more pronounced believer in our traditional policies than Colonel Roosevelt. He specifically indorsed this kind of conference and regarded such conferences as a means of preserving the policies of Washington and Monroe. There are plenty of precedents.

DANGER IN REPARATIONS

For more than two years there has been a deadlock on the question of reparations. It has become so serious as to threaten complete estrangement between leading nations which were together in the war. It has brought Europe to the very verge of economic chaos. It has even in the minds of men in high official position in different countries made another conflict imminent. Naval and military men are now advocating greater navies and larger armies because of serious and threatening conditions abroad.

Every Foreign Office in the world, including our own, is now studying the reparations question and considering how it may be adjusted. There is no use to talk, therefore, about not considering or about not dealing with it. The only legitimate question for debate is, How can you deal with it most effectively?

The problem is here. If it is not adjusted it will mean greater suffering in Europe and vast loss to our producers, and it may mean another war. If the worst should come, we might be going to Europe on another mission than that of conferring. I repeat, the only question is, How can we help—what is the best method? Upon that I have an open mind.

Europe owes us \$11,000,000,000. Some people seem to be exercised over the cancellation of this debt. I am far more exercised over Europe's inability to pay. I haven't any fear about the open cancellation of this debt. But no child now living will see its payment if the question of reparations is permitted to go from bad to worse until another war takes place.

WHY WE ARE INTERESTED

We are interested in the reparations questions, therefore, because we are interested in the payment of what Europe owes us. We are also interested in it because we want European markets opened to our farm products. Millions are starving and dying in Europe for the products which are rotting upon our farms. Shall we say that these matters do not concern us? Nothing concerns us more.

But, after all, it serves to arouse and direct public opinion, and, after all, nothing is more wholesome and essential in dealing with these problems than well-informed public opinion. If the disarmament proposition had been taken up through correspondence as through diplomatic channels, how far would you have gotten? Now we have reached a point where we are to lose all advantages gained at that conference unless a solution of the reparations problem is found. We are directly, immediately, vitally concerned. It involves millions to our people, and it may involve another conflict. I am not overfond of conferences, but there are times when they are helpful. This seems to be one of those times.

OUR RELATIONS TO THE OLD WORLD

By SIMEON D. FESS

(Since Representative Fess will begin a six-years' term as member of the United States Senate in March, his views on our foreign relations are specially interesting.—EDITOR.)

EACH YEAR has a paramount issue. Just now it is our duty to Europe. Europe's problem and the remedy are the chief topics of conversation among the public men and press of the world.

So far as it is affected by national, racial, or religious rivalries our country's attitude against participation is well known. That attitude will not be modified and little effort will be put forward to change it.

In the degree that the problem is economic it is held by many that our own welfare is involved. That phase of the problem involves trade—exports and imports—tariff legislation, European debts to the United States, reparations, general European rehabilitation, and immigration. All of these problems are viewed by this country in the light of what is best for the people of the United States. Our trade is still spasmodic, but is steadily growing toward what will be normal for the country. Exports are now more than double what they were before the war. Our tariff has been revised and our revenues from customs duties under present indications will increase fully one-third over what they were before the war.

Europe's chief concern today is fiscal.

The Washington Conference set at rest the naval rivalry which removes many serious economic and political problems. It also adjusted the Far East problems and set up the machinery to insure against complications in that section.

In addition we set Europe the example of sane recovery by immediately dismantling the war machine and reduced our armies to a pre-war basis, the only solid foundation for economic recovery.

The acute situation of the Near East problem led to the Lausanne conference, to which we were invited. Our nation, vitally interested in peaceful adjustment and yet determined not to become umpire of the world's age-old controversies, made known its willingness to be helpful where it could properly do so, agreed to advise with the delegates; the wisdom of this decision is demonstrated by results thus far achieved. The influence of this country in reaching definite decisions is widely known, and is suggestive of the proper channel of our influence on world matters. We will enter where vital American interests are to be discussed and final decisions to be reached. We will not refuse urgent invitations to attend as observers where European interests are discussed, if our presence can be made helpful to the nations involved. We only decline where our presence may not be of value to the world but might be of jeopardy to the best interests of our people.

The most important phase of the European problem is economic. Important because its solution is not a matter of good wishes or even diplomacy. The inevitable results of economic law point the way of national destiny. The rise and fall of nations can be traced by these signposts throughout history.

It is interesting to trace the course of nations on the

sea to the present time. In 1492 the Portuguese were the world's greatest seafaring people, and that nation led the world in discovery and colonization. In due time she gave way to Spain. In turn Holland took an important position, and then France became the world's greatest overseas nation. In 1688 the duel between France and England began, which continued until 1815, a period of 127 years, during which 64 years were spent in actual warfare in at least seven great wars between the two countries. England took the sea and has held it. Now, for over 100 years England has been growing to her present dimensions upon the sea.

The British merchant marine doubles the next largest. Her coaling stations are conveniently located throughout the civilized sea. Her flag of commerce is admitted in almost every port of the world. Her control over cables gives her control of ocean communication. Her navigation laws and marine-insurance system are designed to give her superior position as a carrier. All this, up to the arms conference meeting, is backed by a navy double the size of the next largest navy. For the past century this great sea power gradually sought and secured the complete domination of the overseas commerce, while other nations, including our own, permitted the trade to seek the British flag. Other countries devoted themselves to activities domestic rather than overseas. Today Britain stands economically in sharp contrast with all others—France, for example.

Eighty per cent of the activity of the French people is agricultural. France has become a people of domestic rather than overseas national interest. Her chief concern is absorbed with her home people engaged in work that does not look across the seas. She is not greatly dependent upon either selling to or buying from her neighbors. The prosperity or adversity of her neighbors is not so poignant to her own welfare as in the case of Britain.

"This latter country is 80 per cent overseas trade. Not over one-fifth of her activity is domestic. Her concern is foreign markets in which to sell her products of industry and from which to buy her needs which she cannot produce. Germany during the war often boasted of her ability to starve Britain in three months if she could employ the submarine unhindered. This is but an observation of the dependence of the United Kingdom upon the outside world.

The period of the war saw an almost complete overturn of industry, and when it closed markets did not revive. The Central Powers prior to the war active in industry, whose markets were largely supplied by British trade, at least trade carried in British bottoms, have not revived since the war. No country feels this failure of buying power more than Britain. Because of it, Britain's overseas commerce does not return to normal, and as a result her unemployed in 1923 reach at least one and a half millions, who must be partially supported by government doles. No nation can be prosperous on such a basis. England's remedy is a revival of markets; hence her concern in the revival of German industry and Russian prosperity. This concern has led her to take steps both for relief of Germany from the impending danger of collapse from too heavy indemnity and the recognition of the present régime in

Russia. Her request for a reduction of the burden of Germany is not an excuse for Germany's guilt nor a lack of appreciation of France's just claims. It is not a desire to relieve Germany for her own sake nor to deprive France of needed reparation, but rather a selfish demand to assure relief to British commerce and the employment of her unemployed. The economic necessity of Britain calls for a rejuvenation of the industrial world, including the Central Powers and Russia. Hence Lloyd-George's insistence of an agreement to revise the reparations; hence the first economic conference at Cannes. Britain's willingness to recognize the Russian régime is not a commendation of the soviet system of government nor an excuse of the crimes committed under its administration, but rather a possible condition of revival of Russian trade.

Germany's fiscal situation baffles the world. Her fatal policy of financing her needs by aid of the printing press has driven from her borders all her gold. Her payments are made in gold marks, which continue to decline until our dollar, which would originally buy 4 marks, will now buy over 8,000. German workmen, who receive from 8,000 to 10,000 marks per month, can realize not over 50 cents to \$1.50 per month. At such values a pound of meat would cost 400 marks and coffee at least 600 marks. A suit of clothes will cost close to 50,000 marks. This derangement is rapidly insuring total destruction of business. It will in time not only drain the nation of its wealth, but it will destroy its labor as it has already driven out its capital.

Germany seems to face not only an inability to meet the reparations requirements but is rapidly reaching a position of inability to sustain herself in the needs of her own consumption. England believes that in case Germany is not given an opportunity to revive, her collapse is inevitable, in which case no indemnity will be forthcoming to any nation and there will be set loose a spirit of Bolshevism that may overrun all of western Europe with the fate of Russia; hence Britain's concern about an unwise policy looking to preventing Germany's industrial revival.

France, on the other hand, sees only the work of devastation, of war's hideous destruction, of the terrorism of German militarism, and demands that Germany be made to make good what the treaty of Versailles specifically gives her the power to collect, by aid of her army if necessary. France, acting upon the good faith of Germany to pay, confident of her ability to pay, proceeded to repair her ruins by advancing the costs of reparation, depending upon using the indemnity to reimburse the treasury, has seen her public debt increase from \$33,000,000,000 in 1919 to more than her total wealth in 1922. She cannot contemplate the alternative of German failure to pay. France sees financial bankruptcy in case of German default, and, worse than financial collapse, she fears inevitable revolution in case she agrees to the default when the treaty gives her the authority to collect it by military force. Such is the case when stated by France.

"England, on the other hand, fears business and industrial prostration not only for herself but for Germany, and in that case all of Europe, in the event that the claims against Germany are pushed to the point

of collapse, which may not be improbable. This would mean that no nation would receive any indemnity. Plainly stated, France sees financial bankruptcy and national revolution should she forfeit her indemnity rights secured to her by the treaty of Versailles. England fears general wreck of all Europe if ability to pay is not regarded. The abstract rights in the case are not in dispute. The controversy turns not on the law, but, rather, the facts in the case. What is best to be done is the issue that Europe must decide.

Quite naturally Europe seeks American assistance. Our financial ability makes this assistance an inviting topic for Europe. The important question with us is, What can we effectively and safely do? It has been suggested in some quarters that we should take steps to supply Europe with the needed funds by further loans. This is impossible. Europe already owes this country \$12,000,000,000, on which all the nations except Britain are pleading their inability even to pay the interest. And Britain fears her ability to continue payments.

Here is an interest-bearing debt which Europe owes and upon which she is not paying interest, and because of which our own Government is paying an annual interest charge of nearly one-half billion dollars, while the actual debtor protests her inability to pay, and at the same time even asks us to cancel the principal. Many Americans are asking, Was it not enough for us to supply her the armies with which to win the war? Are we to be asked to pay for it in addition? Nations which gathered up the spoils of war from all corners of the earth, after having borrowed billions from this Government under the solemn obligation to repay it, now not only ask us to cancel it but her press shamefully allude to us as Shylock, because this Government, which sought no spoils, no territory, no indemnity, but intends that the money collected from the American taxpayers to be loaned to Europe, under the most solemn promise to repay it, must be paid. In the face of such a situation the talk of further European loans is nonsense. This proposed remedy must therefore be dismissed at once. A nation that asked nothing from Europe and is to receive even less than it asked will listen to no such proposals.

The suggestion of exempting American capital from taxation as an inducement to enter European investments for the rebuilding of industry is properly a European rather than an American problem. This Government cannot exempt American capital that goes to Europe to rehabilitate those countries, because such policy is not workable, since capital cannot be segregated so as to confine its investment in Europe to such industries as do not come into competition with our own industries here. If this could be done the suggestion might be favorably considered. We would not protect American industry from European competition and then persuade American capital by tax exemption to enter Europe to compete with us.

The hopeless fiscal situation in Germany demands drastic remedies. Her debased mark drives from the borders of the nation all specie, not to return until a better system is adopted. The suggestion of an international bank with power of currency issue is good if

the governments can agree on a basis of operation. Capital will avoid European channels until a sound basis of investment is reached.

What must be done in Europe, as I see it, is a reorganization so as again to capitalize the energy of the people—make capital investment safe to employ the labor of the nations in productive industry. Europe has her basic elements of production, her resources, her labor, and her management. What she needs is capital which has been excluded by the pressure of war. Germany's obligations to pay and her attempt to pay in marks run off by the printing press which has driven all the gold from her limits has permanently blocked all return of the precious metals to her borders. So long as this situation obtains her one great need, that of capital will not flow to that country and her industries will inevitably become prostrate.

"The countries of Europe must take steps to adjust their claims upon terms mutually helpful, and such as can be met by sound business methods, when capital, both European and American, will at once respond to the demands of European industry. Capital seeks profitable investment as readily as it avoids channels of too great risks.

The question immediately arises whether this adjustment between Europe's leading powers should not be undertaken by and under the direct leadership of the United States. We think not. The adjustment must be made. There is no relief without it. It is best that it be made by mutual agreement of the powers in dispute rather than pressure from America. If Europe's needs are not sufficient to compel it, surely our recommendations will not be willingly accepted if at all. No further comment need be made than that daily heard in European circles.

It has been suggested in many and important circles that an economic conference be called by this country for the purpose of reaching European adjustments. The history of the various conferences at Cannes, Genoa, and The Hague is fresh in mind. The sharp issues between the nations which prevented decision in either conference is still the sharp issue. If these nations can not agree on matters so vital to their well-being, what can be accomplished in a conference called by this nation? What can be done by an economic conference called by us that could not be done by one called by them? Thus far every economic conference has failed of agreement on several points of dispute. Reparations were the most acute point of difference.

The proper attitude toward Russia was another point of difference. The manifestation of seriousness growing out of these disputes gave small promise of adjustment, and would not invite this country to enter the controversy which, while economic in character, was always treated as political. Another issue discussed by the conferences was the cancellation of the interallied debt. It was not agreed upon as was announced because the United States was not represented, and no one to speak for her on the cancellation of the debt Europe owes her. If, in the light of this situation, we lead in calling an economic conference, we can not plead ignorance of the purpose of Europe. Are we prepared to meet Europe's proposal to cancel the debt? Cancellat-

tion of the interallied debt is the one proposal of easy agreement if our consent can be secured, since the European creditor countries are also debtors, while we owe no nation. It will be the one specific item Europe will expect us to agree to if we sponsor such a conference. This nation should not even consider such a proposal. If we lead in a revision of the reparation question, France will remind us that she is ready to excuse a portion of what Germany owes her, the moment we are ready to excuse France for what she owes us. This is logical, and Europe will embrace the opportunity to request it, as all Americans must see before it is done. If we umpire the dispute and fix upon the figure, of course it will be expected in Europe that we will see that it is made good. No thoughtful American can overlook the inevitable result to us of our intrusion on the European economic situation. The world will know that we would not call a fourth economic conference after the failure of three preceding ones unless we were ready to consider the proposals discussed in former conferences but not agreed upon, because they involved American relations which cannot be adjusted in her absence, viz, cancellation of her foreign loans. Many of the advocates of American intrusion are committed to the cancellation of these loans. Some of them openly, others covertly, but with an "open mind" which can have but one meaning. Men cannot wade into the pool and still keep their feet dry.

The international banking group absorbed in international obligations are and have been from the beginning attempting European commitments for the United States. No proposition has been too international to invite any objection from this group of our people. I fear that these people are sowing to the wind, and the harvest is in the future.

The altruistic element, who are not concerned with taxes principally because they do not feel their burdens, see no reason why this country cannot become Europe's perpetual Santa Claus. The professional propagandist, never at ease unless he is "progressing," and who thrives in new ventures, is eloquent over our duty to the Old World, not only to win the war but to pay for it as well. The latest phase of propaganda is cultivating the farmer's support for cancellation. He is assured that it will enable Europe to buy his surplus product, and thus increase the price of his crops, which will more than make up for the amount of the European loans.

Then comes the selfish economist, the theorist, who pleads for the sake of America to step in and take direction of the Old World's troubles in order to save our country from Bolshevism. These are some of the voices Americans are compelled to hear coming out of Europe and reëchoed here among our own people.

The real question is whether we are ready to reverse our decision of two years ago to leave to Europe the settlement of her political disputes, not of our making nor of our concern, save the peace of the world where it can be secured. The immediate question, however, is whether we are ready to consider the cancellation of the debt. If not, we then have no choice of decision on the proposed intrusion. If we are ready to cancel it, then there still arises the all-important question, How

do we propose to handle the collateral problems of European quarrels growing out of age-old differences, economic as well as political and racial, never more apparent than today?

The trend in Europe is not toward unity of decision. France and Britain are trending in opposite directions. The real difference is economic, while the failure to reach agreement is political. Thus an economic verdict is delayed if not defeated from political fear. Britain contends the policy of France leads to industrial collapse and universal dislocation, while France contends the British policy leads to French bankruptcy and inevitable revolution. The immediate problem is reparations. It is European, and must be adjusted by the parties of immediate interest. The United States cannot safely or effectually umpire the dispute.

Europe's remedy is found in a mutual agreement of what can be done. When this point is reached, made definite, and certain, the first step to stability is assured. That opens the way for the flow of capital into Europe as a most profitable field of investment. This would enable the industries to revive in due time and would put all Europe to work again. In case the present political effort at Paris fails, as it now appears it has, steps may be taken by the United States to ascertain whether the countries in interest will consider the proposal to make a survey of the ability of Germany to pay, said survey to be made by an international commission of business men to be selected by leading nations, including the United States. The purpose would be to employ the most capable body to represent upon Germany's productive ability which would serve as a basis for fixing the amount of reparations. Of course, such report could not be binding upon any country, but serve only as a guide in attempting to arrive at a decision of the nations justified by the facts. Here would appear to be an open field for the United States in case the countries would welcome it. Otherwise this country will be closed out from offering any remedy for the Old World's woes, too much due to the Old World rivalries, never more acute nor prominent than at the present time. The United States could render Europe no greater service, in my judgment, than to notify those countries once for all that so long as they refuse or delay to put their houses in order no assistance from us can be expected. This seemed an open way up to the recent break at Paris.

The premiers' conference has bowed the United States out of Europe. France rather abruptly has closed the door in our face. She makes it known that she wants no advice, but guaranties and money and the *sine qua non*. To our announcement of our willingness to assist in a survey to establish Germany's ability to pay, she answers that she has the facts and intends to use her treaty rights to enforce her claims. Warnings against the certain prevention of economic stability of Europe to follow a policy of military occupation of Germany do not convince political France that concessions should be made. The outside world fears the consequences of the collapse of Germany, while France appears to fear the revival of Germany. Views so divergent have broken up the entente of Europe. The United States, sensing the points of divergence,

suggested a possible adjustment. This suggestion has been spurned by public opinion in France. If this attitude is the course of the French government, we will have our course made clear, and our next step should be to bring our troops home.

TOWARD HIGHER GROUND*

By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

TO COME to know the United States and its people in every part is a glorious experience. It lifts one above the limits of personal and local interest and of provincial concern to an understanding of the whole country. . . . If one mingles freely with the people and gains sufficiently their confidence to get beneath the merely superficial formulas of chance conversation, he finds them as individuals almost uniformly intelligent, alert, right-minded, and truly patriotic. God and Nature seem to have provided here the raw material for not alone the most powerful but the greatest nation that human history yet records. . . .

It is time that we as a people moved toward higher ground in respect of our international relations. It is dinned in our ears from the Congress, from the newspaper press, and from the platform, that our traditional policy is one of international isolation and aloofness, and that our interest as a people lies in persistently and consistently following such a course. It is difficult to know how this statement can continue to be repeated and can continue to find believers in view of the historical record which lies open to all those who read. The sage advice given us by Washington in his Farewell Address has been strangely perverted from its true meaning. He advised, and gave sound reasons for the advice, that in extending our commercial relations we should have as little political connection as possible with foreign nations. He pointed out, and subsequent history has justified him in so doing, that Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. He asserted our true policy to be to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. He counselled against permanent inveterate antipathies as well as against passionate attachments for foreign nations—a part of his Farewell Address which is never quoted and rarely followed by those among us who most often refer to it. What Washington had in mind were political alliances leading to military engagements, and entanglements with almost certain ill effect upon American institutions. All this is, however, very remote from a policy of isolation.

America was not isolated and aloof from the rest of the world when, in 1776, Thomas Jefferson wrote into the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence that a decent respect was owed to the opinions of mankind; nor when, in 1778, the Continental Congress ratified a treaty of alliance with France to which the signature of Benjamin Franklin was attached; nor when, in 1794, the Jay Treaty with Great Britain was concluded and shortly thereafter ratified; nor when, in

* From a recent address before the Institute of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University.

1801, Thomas Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, enjoined equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or profession, religious or political; nor when, in 1803-1804, American naval forces under Preble and Decatur were taking an active part in the suppression of the Barbary pirates; nor when, in 1818, immense enthusiasm was aroused by the dramatic eloquence of Henry Clay on the floor of the House of Representatives in behalf of the eighteen millions of South Americans who were struggling to break their chains and be free; nor when, in 1823, James Monroe, in his seventh annual message to the Congress, laid down certain principles to govern the relations between the United States and European nations in matters affecting the American continents; nor when, in 1824, Daniel Webster electrified the House of Representatives and the country by his moving appeal on behalf of the people of Greece; nor when, in 1854, Commodore Perry negotiated the treaty which opened the Empire of Japan to the influences of western civilization; nor when, in 1861, President Lincoln surrendered the Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, in response to the protest by the British Government against their being taken from a British ship on the high seas; nor when, in 1881, Secretary Blaine issued his call for the first American International Conference which set the example and paved the way for so much that has come after; nor when, in 1898, the treaty of peace with Spain brought to the United States sovereign power over the island of Porto Rico, the island of Guam, and the vast archipelago known as the Philippine Islands; nor when, in 1899, Secretary Hay wrote his instructions to the members of the commission appointed to represent the President of the United States at the first Hague Conference, and when that commission, headed by Andrew D. White, submitted its report; nor when, in the same year, Secretary Hay secured the adoption of the Open Door policy for China; nor when, a year later, American soldiers and marines participated with the armed forces of other nations in suppressing the Boxer movement in China; nor when, in 1905, Russia and Japan, after accepting American mediation, suspended hostilities in the war which they were waging in Asia, and later signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a treaty of peace bringing to an end a war in which the American people had no direct interest whatsoever; nor when, in 1907, Secretary Root wrote his instructions to the members of the commission appointed to represent the President of the United States at the second Hague Conference, and when that commission, headed by Joseph H. Choate, submitted its report; nor when, after August 4, 1914, following the violation of the pledged neutrality of Belgium and the shocking atrocities committed by the invading armies in Belgium and in France, a thrill of indignation and horror ran over our people from the Atlantic to the Pacific, mounting month by month as evil deed succeeded evil deed, until finally on April 6, 1917, the end was reached and the government caught up with the people's outraged sense of liberty, of decency, and of justice; nor when, on July 10, 1921, President Harding invited a group of powerful nations to send representatives to Washington to confer as to how the economic burdens of the several peoples might be lightened, as to how the size and cost of arma-

ments might be reduced, and as to how America might aid in helping on the rule of right in the public affairs of men; nor when, a few months later, American representatives signed and the American Senate ratified formal treaties obligating the United States to advance these causes in co-operation with a notable group of other nations.

He who says and he who teaches that America is isolated and aloof from the rest of the world, that American interests may be advanced by a policy of selfishness and self-satisfaction, is not only un-American but anti-American. He is not only turning his back upon American ideals and American history, but he is doing such damage as he can to America's material interests. He is treating as non-existent our effective co-operation for many years in a score of international undertakings for the promotion of the common welfare. He is assisting to increase and to prolong the difficulties and distress of the farmer, of the hand worker, of the manufacturer, of the railroad manager, of the banker, of every citizen and of every institution which shares and claims the name American.

This is neither the time nor the place to reopen a partisan discussion that is now closed, or to waste effort in examining what might have been done. It is sufficient to say that had the Senate of the United States ratified the Treaty of Versailles with the reservations proposed by the Committee on Foreign Relations, the cause of peace, order, and economic progress might have been considerably advanced. While this is not certain, it does seem highly probable. On the other hand, time has served to bring into relief the weaknesses and errors of the Treaty of Versailles and to raise serious doubts as to the adequacy and competence of the League of Nations as now constituted. The conviction grows in many lands that there must be in fact if not in form a reconsideration of some of the settlements made in the Treaty of Versailles, if Europe and the world are to regain their economic and political feet. For example, the cutting off of East Prussia, which contains the ancient capital of Koenigsberg, from the rest of that State, cannot be permanently maintained. The enforced separation of German Austria from the neighboring Germanic communities is neither good sense nor good policy. It is more likely to keep alive that discontent which eventually leads to war, than otherwise. Lord Bryce pointed out that the inclusion of certain Tyrolese communities in the Kingdom of Italy was an anachronism and a certain source of future trouble. Those who think that permanent peace and limitation of armament can be brought about in Europe before France is given trustworthy assurance that she will not again be subject to invasion and attack from a reinvigorated Germany, are strangely unmindful of the history and the psychology of the European peoples. While these and other similar matters are primarily of European concern, yet we have learned by experience that their repercussion affects the American people in many ways.

The apparent inadequacy of the existing League of Nations is due not to any lack of excellence in the thought which underlies it, but rather to the fact that as now organized it does not correspond to the real conditions which exist in the world. As a matter of fact,

while in a very general way the world has a common set of social, economic, and moral interests, yet these present themselves under different guises in different areas or regions, and any attempt forcibly to reduce them to a single direct control seems certain to fail. What in these premises may be the duty and the opportunity of the people of the United States?

First of all, a way should be found without delay to give adhesion and support to the International Court of Justice which the League of Nations has called into existence. To take the position that we will have nothing to do with this court because we did not share officially in framing the statutes upon which it rests and by authority of which it operates, or because we did not take part in the selection of its judges, is more worthy of a petulant child playing in the nursery than of a serious-minded people bent upon advancing the rule of law among nations as well as among individuals. If ever there was an American-made institution, it is this same International Court of Justice. For years, we, both officially and unofficially, have been urging its establishment. Party platforms have in one form or another endorsed it. We have pointed to our own United States Supreme Court as an example of what an International Court of Justice might perhaps become. To withhold support from a newly established institution of this kind, called into existence in response to our own pleadings, organized on the lines which we ourselves have proposed, and distinguished by the presence on its bench of the first American authority on international law, would justly throw grave doubt upon our national sincerity and national good faith.

Second, the fact should be faced that the American people do not wish their government to become a member of the League of Nations as now organized, but that they do wish their government quickly to find ways and means to advance the great causes which the League was established to promote and which the American people themselves have eagerly supported in many ways for a full generation. How to do this is a matter not of theory, but of practical statesmanship. As to this, I venture to renew a proposal which I first made nearly four years ago. This proposal is that, first, agreement should be had upon the principles of international law and international administration which are hereafter to prevail in the world; and, second, agreement upon a method for their administration and enforcement that will not displace the Monroe Doctrine.

If the generally recognized rules of international law and the votes of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 be taken as a starting point, it should not be difficult to draft a code of international law and conduct upon which the whole civilized world would agree. In undertaking the enforcement and administration of these laws and rules, however, grave objection will be found to any plan that will either in theory or in practice compel America to accept responsibility for matters of international administration in Europe, in Asia, or in Africa, or that will invite nations on any of those continents to participate directly in the settlement of matters affecting the two American continents alone. It would appear that it might be practicable, given a single code of principles of international law and inter-

national conduct, to divide the world into three administrative areas: first, Europe, Africa, and those parts of Asia immediately adjoining Europe and Africa, or which have for a long time past been directly dependent upon Europe; second, the American continents; and, third, the Orient, including Japan, China, and Siam. Should three such administrative areas be created, all owing allegiance to a common code of law and principle, then the world would have in effect a Monroe Doctrine for each area, and the original Monroe Doctrine would be preserved unharmed and unamended. In great and unusual emergencies, the forces of law and order in one of these areas might be called upon to go to the assistance of the forces of law and order in another area, but in the ordinary life of nations this would not happen, and we should certainly hope that the occasions for any such intervention and assistance would be increasingly infrequent. In working out such a plan as is here suggested, the American people would be following the counsel of President McKinley, made in his last public utterance on September 5, 1901, and of President Roosevelt, made in his address at Christiania, Norway, on May 5, 1910. It is only human that sharp political antagonisms should drive men and parties to extreme positions, but it is unreasonable and unpatriotic for them to continue to hold such extreme positions when the heat of controversy has passed and the highest public interests are involved. The spectacle of the civilized world giving adherence to one code of international law and conduct, and of each region with a set of primary interests enforcing and administering those principles and rules in its own way, would be heartening indeed to the tens of millions who are now discouraged and distressed at the dark outlook that appears to confront them.

It may fairly be asked, What under such a plan would become of the existing League of Nations? It is clear that it could not continue to exist in its present form. It might, however, furnish the nucleus both for a world-wide conference to agree upon and to formulate the rules of international law and conduct, and for a permanent consultative and administrative body representing the first of the three proposed administrative areas or regions—that is, Europe, Africa, and those parts of Asia contiguous to Europe and to Africa or which have been for a long period directly dependent upon Europe. Upon the basis of such a code as is contemplated, Japan and China should be able to become responsible to the world for the third of these areas, without either exceptional friction or the danger of either taking unfair advantage of the other.

Just now, many among us are in a distinctly negative frame of mind. These persons object to any policy that may be suggested, and would make impossible any forward step that may be proposed. Unless the American people are gravely misunderstood, however, they will not indefinitely consent to be prevented from entering upon those policies which have long been a traditional part of their national thinking and their national ambition, and which are just now more needed than ever, not only to bring peace and order and satisfaction to the world, but to protect and develop the political and economic interests, as well as the moral ideals, of the American people themselves.

WORLD ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR 1923

By SECRETARY OF COMMERCE HERBERT HOOVER

THE following summary of the world's economic situation and prospects is based upon the special investigation of the department's representatives in each foreign country:

In the large view, the world has made distinct economic progress during the past year and the conditions are very favorable to continued progress during 1923. There are in exception three or four States in Europe which give continued anxiety, but these exceptions should not obscure the profound forces of progress elsewhere over the whole world. In the main, even in these areas of uncertainty the difficulties are to a large degree fiscal and political rather than commercial and industrial.

During the year the world generally has gained in social stability. Bolshevism has greatly diminished and even in Russia has been replaced by a mixture of socialism and individualism; at least, active war has ceased for the first time since 1914; famine and distress have diminished to much less numbers this winter than at any time since the Great War began; production has increased greatly during the past year; unemployment is less in world totals than at any time since the armistice; international commerce is increasing; the world is now pretty generally purchasing its commodities by the normal exchange of services and goods—a fact which in itself marks an enormous step in recovery from the strained movements of credit and gold which followed the war.

In our country unemployment has ceased to be a problem and we are indeed upon an economic level of comparatively great comfort in every direction, except for the lag of recovery in some branches of agriculture. Even in this field there has been a distinct improvement in prices in the past twelve months, and its troubles are mostly due to overproduction in some lines. Our manufacturing industries are engaged well up to the available labor; industrial production has enormously increased over last year; real wages and savings are at a high level. Our transportation and housing show great gains in construction, though we are yet behind in these equipments. Both our exports and our imports are again increasing after the great depression and are today far above pre-war levels.

Outside of Europe, the whole world has shaken itself free from the great after-war slump. The economic wounds of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Australia from the war were more the sympathetic reaction from slump in the combatant States than direct injury. Their production and commerce has recovered to levels above pre-war. The enforced isolation of many areas in Latin America and Asia during the war has strengthened their economic fiber by increased variety of production and has contributed vitally to their effective recovery.

In Europe, England, together with the old neutral nations, is making steady progress in production and diminishing unemployment. Their trade and commerce are improving; their governmental finances are growing

stronger; their currencies that are not already on a gold basis are steadily approaching par, and their exchanges are more stable. The combatant States on the continent are slower in recovery. Even these nations, including Russia, have shown progress all along the line in commercial, industrial, and agricultural fields, although the harvests suffered in some spots. Some of these nations, such as Italy, Belgium, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, show increasing political and social stability and improvement in their governmental finances. In Germany and some minor States in southeastern Europe governmental finance and political difficulties threaten to overwhelm the commercial and industrial recuperation already made.

The continued maintenance of armies on a greater than pre-war basis in the old Allied States maintains political uncertainty, lowers productivity, and retards the balancing of budgets, with consequent cessation of direct or indirect inflation. Disarmament and the constructive settlement of German reparations and the economic relations of States in southeastern Europe are the outstanding problems of Europe, and their adjustment to some degree will affect the progress of the rest of the world. The more general realization during the past year of the growing menace of these situations and the fundamentals that underlie their solution is in itself some step toward progress. Their solution would mark the end of the most acutely destructive forces in the economic life of the world which still survive the war.

Economic forecast cannot amount to more than a review of tendencies and a hazard in the future. The odds are favorable for 1923; the world begins the year with greater economic strength than a year ago; production and trade are upon a larger and more substantial basis, with the single exception of the sore spot in central Europe. The healing force of business and commerce has gained substantial ascendancy over destructive political and social forces. There is ample reason why there should be continued progress during the next twelve months.

Since we received the above article, the following statement on the outlook for the foreign trade of the United States has been issued by Mr. Hoover's department.—THE EDITOR.

Certain outstanding tendencies are clearly indicated in the figures thus far available on the foreign trade of the United States for 1922: (1) There is a strong movement toward a more normal balance of trade. (2) Our exports have recently been increasing very decidedly. (3) Asia is taking a more prominent place in the whole picture, especially as a market for our exports and also as an increasingly important contributor to our imports. (4) Our purchases abroad seem to be more and more predominantly raw materials and basic commodities for further use in manufacture. On the basis of statistics now available it seems probable that our favorable trade balance for the year will amount only to about \$750,000,000, as compared with nearly \$2,000,000,000 in 1921. It is clearly evident that we have reached the end of our favorable-trade-balance period and that in the immediate future, barring unforeseen developments, our trade balance will be more in harmony with our international economic position.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE*

By MANLEY O. HUDSON

A WORLD TRIBUNAL for the adjudication of international disputes is at last a reality! On January 30, 1922, the eleven judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice are scheduled to meet at The Hague, and their assembling will crown the success of a whole generation of determined effort. The ideal of such a tribunal has been stirring in the minds and hearts of men for centuries. A Frenchman, Pierre Dubois, suggested it in 1305.¹ Another Frenchman, Emeric Crucé, in *Le Nouveau Cyneé*, published in 1623, gave it definition and direction; and through a long succession of schemes for world organization the aspiration gathered strength and support, until in the nineteenth century it became the definite goal of statesmen and found place in the policies of their governments.

STATUS OF OTHER COURT PROJECTS

The conspicuous successes in international arbitration in the latter half of the nineteenth century,² more particularly the Geneva arbitration of 1872, made it possible for The Hague Conference of 1899 to establish the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Since its organization, in 1900, this court has proved a useful panel from which judges "of known competence in international law" could be selected by disputant States desiring to submit their differences to arbitration. When the second Hague Conference met, in 1907, four tribunals had been formed from the panel and their experience was capitalized for modifying and strengthening the convention establishing the court. But opinion had moved on in the interim between the two conferences, and delegates to the second conference gave their chief interest to the proposals for establishing a Court of Arbitral Justice, to exist alongside the Permanent Court of Arbitration, as a tribunal for adjudication by permanent judges as differentiated from arbitration by judges selected *ad hoc*. The American delegates took a leading rôle in the efforts to establish the Court of Arbitral Justice, and it was only the inability of the delegates at the second Hague Conference to agree upon a scheme for selecting the judges which caused the failure. The conference did recommend a plan for such a court,³ but later efforts to have the plan

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¹ Dr. Vesnitch states that Article 23 of The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes follows the plan of Dubois almost textually. Vesnitch, *Deux Precursours Français du Pacifisme* (1911), p. 29. See also Vesnitch, "Cardinal Alberoni: An Italian Precursor of Pacifism and International Arbitration," 7 *Am. Jour. Int. L.*, 51.

² Of one hundred and thirty-six arbitrations during the nineteenth century, as listed by Professor John Bassett Moore in 14 *Harv. L. Rev.*, 182-183, only nineteen occurred before 1850.

³ The plan was promulgated as an annex to the first *voeu* of the 1907 conference, the text of which is given in Scott, *Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, p. 31.

adopted proved likewise fruitless.⁴ Nor was The Hague Convention of 1907 for establishing an International Prize Court ever ratified by the signatory States, though resort to a system of rotation enabled an agreement to be reached on the method of selecting the judges of such a court.

When the five Central American republics met at a peace conference in Washington, in 1907, they succeeded in setting up the Central American Court of Justice, which functioned very successfully during the ten years of its existence and adjudicated no less than nine cases.⁵ But the work of this court may be regarded as an experiment in federalism, in view of the history of the efforts to unite the Central American peoples into a single State.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW COURT

The outbreak of war in 1914 served to increase in some quarters the appreciation of the need for an international court which would exercise more authority than the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The appreciation grew, also, with the progress of the war,⁶ and when the Paris Peace Conference assembled in January, 1919, it was generally taken for granted that some attempt would be made to establish such a world court. But when the consideration of definite proposals for a league of nations was begun, the Italian delegates were the only ones to present any precise plans for an international court, and their suggestions followed very closely The Hague conventions.⁷ All drafts of the covenant discussed in the commission on the League of Nations contained a general provision recognizing the necessity for an international court, but leaving its precise nature to future determination.⁸ The first published draft seemed to envisage the international court as an arbitration tribunal.⁹ But Article 14 of the final covenant directed the Council of the League of Nations to formulate plans for a court which would be "compe-

⁴ On October 18, 1909, Secretary Knox proposed that the International Prize Court should also be utilized as the Court of Arbitral Justice. 4 *Am. Jour. Int. L.*, Supp., p. 192. See also Scott, *An International Court of Justice* (1916).

⁵ A list of the matters which came before this court is contained in "The New Pan-Americanism," World Peace Foundation (pamphlet series), Vol. VII, p. xiii.

⁶ See, for instance, Reports of the New York State Bar Association, 1915, p. 76; 1917, p. 104; 1918, p. 90.

⁷ The Italian suggestion is reprinted in a volume of Documents Presented to the Committee of Jurists at The Hague in 1920, p. 55. This is one of three volumes dealing with the Permanent Court of International Justice, published by the League of Nations Secretariat in 1921.

⁸ President Wilson's earlier drafts provided for arbitration, but did not expressly refer to an international court. See Senate Hearings on the Treaty of Peace with Germany, 66 Cong., 1 Sess., Document 106, pp. 256, 1167, 1172, 1216, and 1222. But the draft which he submitted to the League of Nations Commission on February 3, 1919, referred to it expressly. *Ibid.*, p. 1228.

⁹ Article 14 of the draft published by the Preliminary Peace Conference on February 14, 1919, reads: "The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article." Preliminary Peace Conference, Protocol No. 3, Annex A.

tent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it," and which might "give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly" of the League of Nations.

Soon after the Treaty of Versailles came into force, the Council of the League of Nations invited a Committee of Jurists to draw up plans for such a court.¹⁰ When this committee met at The Hague,¹¹ numerous suggestions were laid before it, some of which represented the results of the work begun by neutral European governments before the end of the war.¹² After five weeks of deliberation,¹³ a draft scheme was prepared and presented to the Council as the result of the committee's labors. It was studied by the Council at two different sessions,¹⁴ and several modifications were introduced into a revised draft which the Council submitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations. In the Assembly the Council's draft was referred to a committee on which all the members of the League—forty-two at that time—were represented. This committee entrusted a subcommittee of jurists¹⁵ with the preliminary study of the scheme, and after prolonged discussions a number of amendments were agreed upon in both the subcommittee and the committee.¹⁶ Thus amended, the plenary Assembly finally adopted the scheme with but one additional amendment.¹⁷

¹⁰The Treaty of Versailles came into force as between certain of the signatories on January 10, 1920. The Council's first session in Paris, January 16, 1920, was largely formal. At the second session in London, February 13, 1920, a brilliant report on the court was presented by M. Leon Bourgeois, who had been chairman of the third commission in The Hague Conference of 1899 and of the first commission in The Hague Conference of 1907. See League of Nations Off. Jour., March, 1920, pp. 33-37.

¹¹The Council's invitation was accepted by the following jurists: Adatel, Japan; Altamira, Spain; Descamps, Belgium; Fernandes, Brazil; Hagerup, Norway; de Lapradelle, France; Loder, Netherlands; Phillimore, Great Britain; Ricci-Busatti, Italy; Root, United States. Dr. James Brown Scott assisted at the meetings of the committee as legal adviser to Mr. Root.

¹²The draft scheme framed by a conference of the representatives of Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland was a notable contribution to the work of the Committee of Jurists. See Documents Presented to the Committee of Jurists, p. 301.

¹³The committee held thirty-five meetings, June 16-July 24, 1920. The *procès-verbaux* have now been published by the League of Nations Secretariat. The draft scheme of the Committee of Jurists was published in 14 Am. Jour. of Int. L., Supp., p. 371.

¹⁴At the eighth session at San Sebastian, August 5, 1920, and at the tenth session at Brussels, October 27, 1920. See League of Nations Off. Jour., September, 1920, p. 318; *Ibid.*, November-December, 1920, p. 12.

¹⁵The subcommittee consisted of Adatel, Japan; Doherty, Canada; Fernandes, Brazil; Fromageot, France; Hagerup, Norway; Hurst, British Empire; Huber, Switzerland; Loder, Netherlands; Politis, Greece; Ricci-Busatti, Italy.

¹⁶The *procès-verbaux* of the ten meetings of the committee, November 17-December 16, 1920, are published in Records of the First Assembly, Meetings of Committees, I, pp. 275-329. The *procès-verbaux* of the eleven meetings of the subcommittee, November 24-December 10, 1920, are published in *Ibid.*, pp. 333-403.

¹⁷For tracing the origin of the provisions of the final statute and for comparing the drafts of the Committee of Jurists, the Council, and the Assembly, see the Documents Published by the League of Nations Secretariat, Vol. 11, pp. 54-60, 214-221.

As it was unanimously approved by a resolution of the Assembly on December 13, 1920, the statute of the court was "adjoined" to the protocol of December 16, 1920,¹⁸ which was opened to be signed by the members of the League of Nations and the other States named in the annex to the covenant. The Assembly's resolution provided that "as soon as this protocol has been ratified by the majority of the members of the League, the statute of the court shall come into force." When the second Assembly convened on September 5, 1921, the protocol had been signed by representatives of forty-two members of the League, and ratified by twenty-nine of them,¹⁹ so that the existence of the court was no longer conditioned by anything except the election of the judges.

SELECTION OF THE JUDGES

The statute of the new court provides for a membership of eleven judges and four deputy judges, elected "regardless of their nationality," possessing the "qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices," or being "jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law." The difficulty of determining how they should be elected, which wrecked the attempts to establish the Court of Arbitral Justice at the second Hague Conference, was met by an ingenious suggestion made by Mr. Root to the Committee of Jurists at The Hague.²⁰ Inspired by the success of the framers of the Constitution of the United States in dealing with the principle of equality of States, Mr. Root suggested that the Assembly and Council of the League might collaborate in the election of judges, who would thus become the choice of both large and small States. In accepting the suggestion,²¹ the committee proposed that the new court should be linked with the Permanent Court of Arbitration by giving to the national groups in the latter the function of nominating the persons from among whom the judges should be chosen by the Assembly and Council acting independently. The world had made some progress since 1907 and the existence of the two political bodies of the League of Nations thus made it possible to advance the organization of judicial machinery.

¹⁸The text of the Assembly resolution is given in Records of the First Assembly, Plenary Meetings, p. 500; and the text of the protocol in *Ibid.*, p. 468.

¹⁹The following had ratified: Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Haiti, Holland, India, Italy, Japan, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela. This information is taken from the League of Nations Off. Jour., October, 1921, p. 809. The ratifications of China, Cuba, and Portugal were later announced to the second Assembly. Jour. of the Second Assembly, pp. 93, 278, 303.

²⁰See the *procès-verbaux* of the Committee of Jurists, p. 109.

²¹A member of the League may participate in the election of judges, though it has not signed or ratified the protocol establishing the court.

The new States which have been set up since 1907—Czechoslovakia and Poland—and which are not represented on the Permanent Court of Arbitration, will participate in the nomination of judges through "national groups appointed for this purpose . . . under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration."

But it still remained to be seen whether the elaborate scheme adopted for electing the judges would work in practice. The list of nominees as presented to the second Assembly included the names of eighty-nine persons, of whom four formally declined to be considered as candidates for election. On September 14, 1921, the Assembly and Council proceeded to the election with representatives of forty-two members of the League participating. The Assembly's list of eleven judges was completed in five ballots, and comparison with the Council's first list revealed that the two lists had nine names in common. A sixth ballot in the Assembly and a comparison of second lists resulted in the choice of two more judges. After three more ballots in the Assembly and a comparison of third lists, three of the deputy judges were chosen. The Assembly and Council then entrusted the selection of a fourth deputy judge to a joint conference committee as provided by the court statute (Art. 12), whose choice was at once accepted by both bodies.²² So that the first election, completed within three days, resulted in the selection of the following judges to serve for a term of nine years:²³ Altamira (Spain), Anzilotti (Italy), Barboza (Brazil), de Bustamante (Cuba), Finlay (Great Britain), Huber (Switzerland), Loder (Netherlands), Moore (United States), Nyholm (Denmark), Oda (Japan), Weiss (France). The deputy judges selected are: Beichmann (Norway), Negulesco (Roumania), Wang Chung-Hui (China), Yovanovitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene State). All the persons elected accepted immediately, so that the constitution of the court will be completed at its first meeting.

RELATION OF THE NEW COURT TO THE HAGUE TRIBUNALS

Like the Court of Arbitral Justice proposed at The Hague in 1907, the new court is not intended to replace the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The statute provides (Art. 1) that it "shall be in addition to the Court of Arbitration organized by the conventions of The Hague of 1899 and 1907, and to the special Tribunals of Arbitration to which States are always at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement." No attempt has been made to circumscribe the usefulness of the work of The Hague conferences. The Permanent Court of Arbitration may still have some functions to perform, even though the new court begins its work immediately. The national groups composing the former will serve as nominators of the judges of the new court.²⁴ All of the States which ratified The Hague conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes have not become members of the League of Nations and do not participate therefore in the election of the judges of the new court. Some of them, moreover, have not been invited to sign the protocol estab-

lishing the statute of the new court;²⁵ and of those to which the protocol is open for signature, eight have not signed.²⁶ It is quite possible that such States will resort to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, rather than seek access to the new court. And even the States which have ratified the protocol may in some instances desire to choose their own arbitrators from The Hague panel, rather than employ the new court with its fixed personnel; so that the continuation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration was not seriously questioned at any stage in the establishment of the new court. As no conflict between the two is likely to arise, a great serviceability may still lie before the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The differences are very marked between the old Hague Court of Arbitration and the new Court of Justice. Being only a panel, of course, the members of the former never met as a body; the judges of the latter will come together at least once a year. The fact that governments may count upon a session of the new court in June of every year, and upon the constant presence of the court's president at The Hague, may have a great deal to do with their willingness to make use of it. Both the old and the new bodies are called "permanent." The Court of Arbitration is "permanent" in the sense that a panel is always in existence, from which arbitrators may at any time be chosen; the Court of Justice is "permanent" in the sense that eleven definite judges are always ready to sit, without any necessity of their being specially selected after a dispute arises. The difference means more than the saving of time—it may just tip the scales in favor of a willingness to appeal to orderly processes in preference to force. There is great advantage, also, in giving to picked individuals the opportunity and encouragement to grow in judicial experience and capacity. In the seventeen cases before tribunals formed from the Permanent Court of Arbitration²⁷ there has been a decided tendency for the same persons to be chosen as arbitrators. For the seventeen arbitrations (three of which may be counted as a single arbitration) only twenty-four persons were employed, out of a total panel of (about) one hundred and thirty-five; two arbitrators acted five times, one acted four times, and three acted three times.²⁸ In the new court, the eleven judges or some of the four deputies will be sitting in every case. The possibility of building up a continuous and harmonious system of international law, therefore, seems

²² Thus the Dominican Republic, Germany, Hungary as a part of Austria-Hungary, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey, which were parties to The Hague Convention, are not members of the League and are not named in the annex to the covenant. Montenegro was also a party to The Hague Convention, but her independent existence now seems to have come to an end.

²³ Six members of the League had not signed the protocol on September 5, 1921—Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru. Other States, signatories to The Hague Convention and invited to sign the protocol, which have not signed, are Ecuador and the United States of America.

²⁴ As listed in the Rapport du Conseil Administratif de la Cour Permanente d'Arbitrage, 1920, p. 37.

²⁵ See Documents Presented to the Committee of Jurists at The Hague, p. 35.

²² This account of the election is based upon the Jour. of the Second Assembly, pp. 84-107.

²³ This list is taken from the League of Nations Off. Jour., October, 1921, Supp., p. 41.

²⁴ But this in itself would hardly be a sufficient reason for continuing the Permanent Court of Arbitration, since the statutes of the new court provides that States not represented on it may appoint national groups with the same qualifications to serve as nominators.

more promising through the new court than through the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The essential advantages of "permanence" have at last been achieved.

ARBITRATION AND ADJUDICATION

The new tribunal differs from the old panel, also, in that it professes to be a Court of Justice and not merely a Court of Arbitration. The distinction between the process of arbitration and that of adjudication has been greatly stressed during the period of propaganda for a new court. It proceeds on the notion that arbitration involves compromise, which seems to mean in some minds adding up the claims on both sides of a dispute and dividing the sum by two; while judicial settlement involves merely the application of definite and certain principles without any accommodation between the parties. The prevalent conceptions of arbitration may be the result, to some extent, of the meaning of the term in private law;²⁹ but the criticism of some of the awards of tribunals formed from the Permanent Court of Arbitration has also contributed to forming them. A remark of Dr. Lammasch that the North Atlantic fisheries award "contained elements of a compromise" has been widely quoted, though it was later explained that it was not meant that the award itself was a compromise.³⁰ The refusal of the arbitrators in the *Pious Fund Case* to recognize a doctrine of prescription in international law has been severely criticized as an instance where compromise prevailed.³¹ The award in the *Savarkar Case* has been similarly attacked.³² But such criticism of the awards of The Hague tribunals is no more severe than the common criticism of domestic courts.³³ Decisions of the latter are frequently denounced as compromises. If compromise involves the splitting of differences, or the bargaining with extraneous matters, it is of course objectionable. In truth, neither international law nor municipal law is a "brooding omnipresence in the sky." Both have to be made. Neither is found full-blown. The process in both cases is one of balancing competing interests—more patently so when States are contending parties, as a result of the present condition of international law. Perhaps a sounder distinction could be drawn between arbitration or judicial settlement on the one hand and diplomatic negotiation on the other. There is no inherent quality of lawlessness in arbitration.³⁴ And whether an international tribunal be called a court of arbitration or a court of justice it will probably travel along very much

the same roads to reach its conclusions. Its task does not differ greatly from that of the United States Supreme Court in interpreting the Constitution.³⁵

The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes declared the object of international arbitration to be the settlement of disputes between States "by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law."³⁶ The statute of the new court is more explicit. It provides (Art. 38) that the court shall apply

"1. International conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States;

"2. International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

"3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

"4. . . . judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law."

This greater explicitness is to be welcomed, though it seems doubtful whether it will make the work of the new court essentially different from that of The Hague tribunals. Some of the latter professed to follow "the principles of international law,"³⁷ and "the principles of international law and the maxims of justice."³⁸ But if the provision in The Hague Convention that disputes are to be settled "on the basis of respect for law" does not differ substantially from the direction to the new court to apply "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations," the statute of the latter clearly distinguishes between decisions based on strictly legal grounds and decisions of a generally equitable nature. It provides (Art. 38), that the directions to the court as quoted "shall not prejudice the power of the court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*,"³⁹ if the parties agree thereto.⁴⁰ This relaxation must mean that with the consent of the parties the court may consciously legis-

²⁹ As described in Mr. Felix Frankfurter's article on "The Constitutional Opinions of Justice Holmes," 29 Harv. L. Rev., 683.

³⁰ Article 15 of the 1899 Convention; Article 37 of the 1907 Convention. Dr. Wehberg's conclusion "that the words of The Hague Convention which speak of a decision 'on the basis of respect for law' must be regarded as a delusion," seems very extreme. See Wehberg, *The Problem of an International Court of Justice*, 1918, p. 39.

³¹ The *Pious Fund Case*, Wilson's Hague Arbitration Cases, p. 9.

³² The Preferential Claims Case (Venezuela), Wilson's Hague Arbitration Cases, p. 36.

³³ "The Roman conception involved in *aequum et bonum* or *aequitas* is identical with what we mean by 'reasonable,' or very nearly so." Pollock, *Expansion of the Common Law*, p. 111. Cf. Voight, *Jus Naturale Aequum et Bonum Und Jus Gentium der Römer* (1856); Ralston, *International Arbitral Law and Procedure* (1910), § 128.

³⁴ This part of Article 38 was framed by the subcommittee of the third committee of the first Assembly, December 7, 1920. M. Politis (Greece) had proposed that the court should apply "the general principles of law and with the consent of the parties, the general principles of justice recognized by civilized nations." The *procès-verbal* states that "after some discussion, M. Fromageot (France) proposed to meet M. Politis' point by adding the provision in question." See Records of the First Assembly, Meetings of Committees, I, p. 403.

²⁹ Cf. Cohen, *Commercial Arbitration and the Law* (1918), pp. 10 *et seq.*

³⁰ 6 Am. Jour. of Int. L., 178.

³¹ Wehberg, *Problem of an International Court of Justice*, 1918, p. 30.

³² By Dr. van Hamel in 13 *Revue de Droit International* (2d ser.), 370, 376.

³³ Mr. William Cullen Dennis, in an able article on "Compromise—the Great Defect of Arbitration," 11 *Columbia L. Rev.*, 493, 501, found six of The Hague awards to be judicial decisions as against three "affected by the spirit of compromise." Mr. Jackson H. Ralston found that members of arbitral tribunals "have always treated international law as a rule of guidance." Ralston, *International Arbitral Law and Procedure*, 1910, § 127.

³⁴ This is apparent in Justice Higgins' articles, "A New Province for Law and Order," 29 *Harv. L. Rev.*, 13; 32 *Ibid.*, 189; 34 *Ibid.*, 105.

late *ad hoc* to settle a particular case, may apply its general notions of equality and justice. It furnishes some basis for saying that the new court has been invested with extra-judicial functions.⁴¹

WHAT LAW WILL THE NEW COURT APPLY?

The body of conventional law which may be applied by the new court has grown very rapidly since the end of the war. The peace treaties and their numerous supplementary agreements are in themselves very extensive. The creation of the new States and other changes wrought by the war have necessitated the revision of many of the pre-war treaties of a general nature, and with the establishment of the League of Nations and the annual meetings of the Assembly it seems probable that more effort will be given to keeping the general treaties up to date. The output of the International Labor Conference and other technical organizations of the League promises to be very large.

The end of the war has been followed also by a revival of interest in the codification of international law. The preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations envisages "the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments," and it has increased the desire that these understandings be more clearly formulated. The Committee of Jurists which drafted the court statute expressed a *vœu* that a new interstate conference should be called, to carry on the work of The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907, in formulating and re-establishing and clarifying international law.⁴² But the suggestion met considerable opposition. Lord Robert Cecil declared that we have not "arrived at sufficient calmness of the public mind to undertake that [codification] without very serious results to the future of international law," and this view prevailed in the first Assembly of the League of Nations.⁴³

Since the judges of the new court are to write reasoned opinions, the decisions themselves should furnish in time a body of international law which the court may apply. Perhaps this will prove to be the greatest advantage of having a permanent international judiciary, instead of arbitrators chosen *ad hoc*. The same persons sitting as judges in a number of cases must of necessity rely to some extent on their opinions as expressed in previous decisions. They will doubtless do so, even though they may deny that the court's decisions are of the Anglo-American principle of *res judicata*. It seems to forbid the court's adoption of the alleged practice of the English House of Lords, that previous formally binding as precedents.⁴⁴ The framers of the

statute were careful to provide (Art. 59) that "the decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case."⁴⁵ This seems to involve more than a statement decisions will not be overruled.⁴⁶ But it would not seem to preclude the court's following the Anglo-American doctrine of *stare decisis*⁴⁷ and giving to it decisions the force as precedents which will weave them into a body of case law. The object of the framers of this clause was to obviate the necessity of a third State's intervening whenever its interests might be involved in a case.⁴⁸ *Res judicata* takes care of such cases; and the statute itself provides (Arts. 62-63) for the intervention of a State which "has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected" by a decision, or which is a party to a convention which is being construed by the court. But whatever the effect of the statute with reference to *stare decisis* as a legal doctrine, the psychological fact of *stare decisis*—the tendency of the same men's minds to follow the same paths to the same conclusions—should insure that the court will make a great contribution to the international law of the future.

Another factor in determining whether the court's decisions will gradually build up a new body of international law may be the nationality of its judges. In the tribunals formed from the Permanent Court of Arbitration, nationals of disputant States were named as arbitrators in eleven out of seventeen cases—ten out of twenty-nine arbitrators were such nationals. As the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes provides (Art. 45) that only one of the two arbitrators named by a disputant State may be a national, it is practically impossible for more than two of the five members of a tribunal to be nationals of the parties. In the new court (Art. 31), "judges of the nationality of each contesting party shall retain their right to sit in the case before the court," and a litigant State whose nationality is not possessed by any of the judges may choose a special judge to sit on its case. This provision undoubtedly detracts from the formally impartial character of the court. But as its decisions may be rendered by a majority vote and as not more than two judges of thirteen (possibly nine) will usually be nationals of contesting States,⁴⁹ it seems improbable that the court's decisions will lose any impartiality for this reason. Moreover, the judges are elected in such a way as to be quite independent of their own governments. There is some advantage, too, in having on the court nationals from States whose systems of law may be unfamiliar to some of the judges, especially when

⁴¹ This view is strengthened also by the peculiar wording of Articles 12, 13, and 15 of the Covenant, which though they distinguish between arbitration and inquiry by the Council or Assembly of the League, fail to distinguish between arbitration before special tribunals and adjudication before the Permanent Court of International Justice. The second Assembly has promulgated amendments which if ratified will clarify these articles of the Covenant. See League of Nations Off. Jour., October, 1921, Spec. Supp., No. 6, pp. 13-14.

⁴² *Procès-verbaux* of the Committee of Jurists, p. 747.

⁴³ Records of First Assembly, Plenary Meetings, p. 745.

⁴⁴ Though the French Code forbids judges "to decide a case by holding that it was governed by a previous decision," many jurists now admit that the provision has failed of effect. Pound, *Spirit of the Common Law* (1921), p. 180.

⁴⁵ This provision originated in the Council, though it had been implicit in the original draft of the Committee of Jurists. See Documents, II, p. 50.

⁴⁶ *London Street Tramways Co. v. London County Council* [1898], A. C., 375.

⁴⁷ On *stare decisis* in international arbitration, see Ralston, *International Arbitral Law and Procedure* (1910), pp. iii, 74.

⁴⁸ See Documents, II, p. 50.

⁴⁹ If more than two States are parties, and if all have nationals among the judges, the proportion may be larger. Article 31 of the statute is not clear on this point.

such States are parties before the court.⁵⁰ At any rate, the new court is an improvement on The Hague tribunals which were likely to be more largely composed of nationals, and its decisions ought to contribute more effectively to the development of international law.

THE JURISDICTION OF THE NEW COURT

The Permanent Court of International Justice is to be quite strictly an interstate tribunal. It will be open only to States and to other political units, such as the British dominions, which have achieved membership in the League of Nations. No suits by individuals will be entertained;⁵¹ recent efforts to make it possible for individual representatives of racial, religious, or linguistic minorities to hale an oppressing government before the court have failed. Nor will the court necessarily be open to all States. A State not a member of the League of Nations and not named in the annex to the Covenant—*e. g.*, the Dominican Republic, Germany, Hungary, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey—can have access to the court as plaintiff only on the conditions which may be laid down by the Council of the League; but these conditions are not to be such as would "place the parties in a position of inequality before the court (Art. 35). The limitation does not preclude the court's being, in reality as well as in name, a world tribunal.

More difficulty was encountered by the framers of the statute in determining the conditions on which the court might exercise jurisdiction over defendant States. In the popular consideration of the plans in America, the question of so-called "compulsory jurisdiction" has been much discussed.⁵² In the original draft, the Committee of Jurists suggested that the court should have jurisdiction, as between members of the League of Nations, of all "cases of a legal nature, concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature and extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation; (e) the interpretation of a sentence passed by the court." And the committee proposed that it should be left to the court itself to decide whether a certain case fell within these categories. Such a large competence would have constituted a very wide departure from The Hague system, or even from the Court of Arbitral Justice proposed in 1907. Opposition to the proposals developed in many quarters, and the Council of the League seized upon the phraseology of Article 14 of the Covenant as necessitating their rejection.⁵³ The Assembly decided that the basis of the

court's jurisdiction should be an agreement between the parties submitting the dispute,⁵⁴ but it included in the final statute (Art. 36) provision for an optional clause in the protocol by signing which States may declare that they "recognize as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement," the jurisdiction of the court as outlined by the Committee of Jurists. This declaration may be made "unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity," or "for a certain time," and it need not be made at the time of signing the protocol. Such a declaration has been made by eighteen States, apparently "on condition of reciprocity" in each case.⁵⁵

The court may also have "compulsory jurisdiction" conferred upon it by treaty, or it may be utilized under existing treaties providing for compulsory arbitration, such as the Danish-Italian treaty of 1905.⁵⁶ In a number of the recent treaties, provision has been made for the obligatory reference of disputes to the court. Thus the peace treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria confer on the new court jurisdiction with reference to the ports, waterways, and railways clauses and the enforcement of international labor conventions, and the peace treaties with Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria give it jurisdiction with reference to the protection of racial, religious, and linguistic minorities.⁵⁷ This jurisdiction is obligatory as to all the signatories of the peace treaties. The special treaties for the protection of minorities, concluded by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers with Czechoslovakia, Greece, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, and Roumania, and by the Principal Allied Powers with Armenia, give the court obligatory jurisdiction,⁵⁸ also, and may become the basis on

⁵⁴ Professor de Lapradelle's report for the Committee of Jurists states: "There is an immutable law, in the evolution of legal institutions, which shows that an optional jurisdiction has always sooner or later been followed by a definite compulsory jurisdiction." *Procès-verbaux* of the Committee of Jurists, p. 694.

⁵⁵ League of Nations, Monthly Summary, November, 1921, p. 159. The texts of some of the declarations are published in a memorandum by the Secretary-General. League of Nations Off. Jour., October, 1921, pp. 808-809.

⁵⁶ 99 British and Foreign State Papers, 1035.

⁵⁷ Treaty of Versailles, Arts. 336, 337, 386, 415-420, 423; Treaty of St. Germain, Arts. 69, 297, 298, 327, 360-365, 368; Treaty of Trianon, Arts. 60, 281, 282, 310, 343-348, 351; Treaty of Neuilly, Arts. 57, 225, 226, 277-282. Corresponding articles are included in the unratified Treaty of Sevres, Arts. 346, 402-407, 416. Some of the articles dealing with ports, waterways, and railways refer to a "tribunal instituted by the League of Nations" which might not be the Permanent Court of International Justice. But the court statute provides (Art. 37) that "when a treaty or convention in force provides for the reference of a matter to a tribunal to be instituted by the League of Nations, the court will be such tribunal."

⁵⁸ The Polish Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919, which is the model on which the others were drafted, provides (Art. 12): "Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Polish Government and any one of the principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant."

⁵⁰ The electors are directed by the statute (Art. 9) to bear in mind that the whole body of judges "should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world."

⁵¹ The experience which led to the eleventh amendment to the Constitution of the United States may be thought to furnish some justification for this limitation.

⁵² See Annals, Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science, for July, 1921, pp. 98-137.

⁵³ Article 14 of the Covenant provides that "the court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it." The Council also relied on the doubtful use of the word "arbitration" in Articles 12, 13, and 15. See Documents, II, p. 47.

which it will build extensively. The Convention on Liquors in Africa (Art. 8), the Convention Revising the Berlin Act (Art. 12), and the Arms Traffic Convention of St. Germain (Art. 34), all dated September 10, 1919, refer to tribunals of arbitration which may be the Permanent Court of International Justice. The statute annexed to the Convention on Freedom of Transit (Art. 13) and the statute annexed to the Convention on Navigable Waterways (Art. 22), both of which were promulgated by the Barcelona Conference on Communications and Transit, confer obligatory jurisdiction on the court. Altogether, the field in which the court may function without the special *ad hoc* consent of the defendant may be very large.

WHAT WILL THE NEW COURT HAVE TO DO?

Speculation as to the amount of business which will come before the court during its earlier years is, however, a very different matter. When the Central American Court of Justice was inaugurated, the United States Commissioner stated that "an entire absence of business for the court would be the highest justification for its creation."⁵⁹ In the present state of the world, perhaps few persons would take the same view of this new court. Yet it may be months, or even years, before any contested cases are brought before it. When the United States Supreme Court first met in February, 1790, it had no business to transact except the reading of the five justices' commissions and the promulgation of four simple rules of procedure; it met again in August, 1790, and again in February, 1791, without business of any kind. In August, 1791, and February, 1792, three motions were heard and one was granted. Not until August, 1792, did it have a contested case; and the first important case, *Chisholm v. Georgia*, did not arise until February, 1793.⁶⁰ So, also, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, organized in 1900, was not utilized until the *Pious Fund Case* between the United States and Mexico was referred to it in 1902. Similarly, the new Permanent Court of International Justice may not be presented with a crowded docket for some time to come.

But it may at any time be called upon to give an advisory opinion to the Assembly or Council of the League. So many questions are arising before these bodies that some such activity for the court seems quite probable. If the court had been in existence, it would undoubtedly have been used in the dispute between Finland and Sweden concerning the Aaland Islands. Finland maintained that the dispute arose out of a matter which by international law was solely within her domestic jurisdiction. The Council found it necessary to set up a special commission of jurists to deal with the question, declaring that it "would have been placed . . . before the Permanent Court of International Justice for its advisory opinion, had that body already been established."⁶¹ In June, 1921, when the Council was asked to pass upon the competence of the courts

of the Free City of Danzig in the case of *Puffel v. Deutsche Bauren Bank*,⁶² the assistance of the court might have been sought, also. And the second Assembly might have asked for the opinion of the court on the question of the Assembly's competence to revise the Peace Treaty of 1904 between Bolivia and Chile, instead of referring the question to a special jurists' committee.⁶³ These three cases indicate a possible usefulness for the court in the task of completing the organization of the League, as well as in the functioning of its political bodies.

Though numerous legal questions are continually arising in connection with the execution of the treaties of peace, the signatories have shown a disposition to effect practical arrangements which obviate the necessity for court interpretation and adjudication. But it will doubtless become more difficult to effect such arrangements as the control of the Allied Powers diminishes, and as time goes on, the aid of the court may be sought in the construction of the voluminous treaties. In its first meetings, the agenda of the court may be confined, however, to the election of a president and a registrar; to the preparation of a list determining the order in which the deputy judges will be called upon; to the appointment of special "chambers" or divisions for summary procedure, for labor questions, and for questions relating to transit and communications; and to the promulgation of rules of procedure.

PROCEDURE IN THE NEW COURT

When a case comes before the court, at least nine judges must sit, and there will usually be eleven or more. The French and English languages will be used, and the court may at the request of the parties authorize the use of some other language.⁶⁴ The procedure, so far as it is prescribed by the statute, follows in broad outline the procedure before The Hague tribunals. It will consist of written "cases, and counter-cases, and if necessary replies;"⁶⁵ and an oral hearing of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel, and advocates.⁶⁶ Service of notice on individuals in any country may be effected through the government of that country. The hearing will be opened to the public unless the court decides or the parties demand that it be private. In line with current conceptions of court procedure in England and America,⁶⁷ it is left to the court itself to promulgate its rules of pleading, practice, and evidence. It is a great advantage that these rules may be laid down and known in advance; the *ad hoc* procedure before The

⁵⁹ League of Nations Off. Jour., September, 1921, p. 669.

⁶⁰ Jour. of the Second Assembly, September 27, 1921, p. 218.

⁶¹ On the use of languages in The Hague tribunals, see Dennis, "The Orinoco Steamship Company Case," 5 Am. Jour. of Int. L., 35, 59. Cf. also Raiston, International Arbitral Law and Procedure, § 280.

The French and English texts of the court protocol are both authentic; this provision in the protocol presumably applies also to the French and English texts of the statute.

⁶⁵ On the meaning of similar provisions in The Hague Convention, see Dennis, "The Necessity for an International Code of Arbitral Procedure," 7 Am. Jour. of Int. L., 285, 290; Raiston, International Arbitral Law and Procedure, § 273.

⁶⁶ The provision for hearing witnesses was not explicit in The Hague Convention.

⁶⁷ See Hudson, "The Proposed Control of Procedure by Rules of Court in Missouri," 13 Law Series, Missouri Bull., 5.

⁵⁹ William I. Buchanan in United States Foreign Relations (1908), p. 247.

⁶⁰ The record of the early terms of the United States Supreme Court is in 2 Dall. (U. S.), 399 ff.

⁶¹ League of Nations Off. Jour., July-August, 1920, p. 249.

Hague tribunals had to be established either in the *compromis* or after the reference of the case, with the frequent result pointed out by Mr. Dennis that "when the parties actually face one another across the counsel-table at The Hague, everything is chaotic so far as procedure is concerned."⁶⁸ The court has power to order a discovery. It may avail itself of the assistance of experts. It may conduct an inquiry through agents of its own selection; when it is considering questions concerning labor or transit and communications, "assessors" will sit with the judges, but without power to vote. The decisions of the court will be taken by a majority of the judges sitting, and a judge who dissents from a judgment in whole or in part may deliver a separate opinion. Pending a final decision, the court may indicate "provisional measures which ought to be taken to reserve"⁶⁹ the respective rights of either party," though this would seem to stop short of power to issue an *interim* injunction.⁷⁰ The provision for default judgments against States which fail to appear or defend, will hardly be invoked except in the instances of obligatory jurisdiction.

The statute fails to make any provision for the enforcement of either *interim* or final judgments, and the only "sanctions" behind the court are those contained in the covenant;⁷¹ and if any State should fail to abide by a decision, it will be for the Council of the League to "propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto." Like the Supreme Court of the United States, the Permanent Court of International Justice may depend for its authority in the last analysis upon the political bodies with which it is affiliated.

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE ACCORDING TO LAW

The task of creating machinery for dealing with disputes with which the world has been so occupied now for a generation seems to have been performed, for the

⁶⁸ Dennis, "The Necessity for an International Code of Arbitral Procedure," 7 Am. Jour. of Int. L., 285, 292.

⁶⁹ This word was "preserve" in the original draft of the Committee of Jurists—see the *Procès-verbaux*, p. 681; and in the subcommittee's report to the third committee of the first Assembly—see Records of the First Assembly, Meetings of Committees, I, p. 545. Nor was a change in wording discussed when the article was adopted by the third committee. *Ibid.*, p. 307. So that the change in the third committee's report to the first Assembly may have originated in a typographical slip. *Ibid.*, p. 576. This conclusion is fortified by the fact that the word was "preserve" in the Bryan treaties, from which the provision is taken. See the treaty between the United States and Sweden of October 13, 1914, 38 Stat. at L., 1872; Records of the First Assembly, Meetings of Committees, I, p. 368; *Procès-verbaux* of the Committee of Jurists, p. 735. The French text of the statute reads: "*mesures conservatoires du droit de chacun doivent être prises à titre provisoire.*"

⁷⁰ Interlocutory decrees were issued by the Central American Court of Justice. See 2 Am. Jour. of Int. L., 838.

⁷¹ It has been generally admitted that a decision of the court is an "award" which the members of the League agree in Article 13 of the Covenant to "carry out in full good faith." See Records of the Assembly, Plenary Meetings, p. 491. The minority treaties expressly provide that the decisions of the court "shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant." See Treaty of St. Germain, Art. 69. The second Assembly has promulgated an amendment to the covenant which if adopted will leave no doubt on this point. See League of Nations Off. Jour., October, 1921, Supp., p. 13.

time being. The existing machinery now seems fairly adequate. For disputes of a juridical nature, we have, in addition to the special arbitral tribunals which States may set up as occasion arises, the Permanent Court of Arbitration with its achievement of successful functioning in seventeen instances, and the Permanent Court of International Justice with its permanent, professional judges, paid adequate salaries,⁷² ready to devote "their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility."⁷³ For disputes of a political nature, fifty-one peoples have agreed to have resort to the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations before going to war.⁷⁴ Machinery itself is important. If there is such a thing in political science as a useful invention—the establishment of the United States Supreme Court and the rôle played by Lord Durham's report in the development of the British Empire encourage the belief that political science is not unlike physical science in this respect—the builders of the new court would seem to have made a valuable contribution to the integration of international society.

But machinery and the intelligent use of it will not insure the world against departures from justice according to law. The will for peaceful adjustment is needed, and its creation depends upon the deeper mainsprings of national life.

⁷² Salaries and other court expenses are to be borne by the League of Nations. Costs of litigation are to be borne by the parties.

⁷³ See Secretary Root's Instructions to the American Delegates to The Hague Conference of 1907, 2 Scott, Hague Conferences, p. 191.

⁷⁴ The Treaty of Washington of December 13, 1921, contains an additional provision for conferences to consider disputes as to the Pacific insular possessions of the signatories.

Professor Hudson, discussing the method by which the United States might share in the court at The Hague, under the title "The United States and the New International Court," in *Foreign Affairs* for December, 1922, concludes:

"It may be concluded, therefore, that the necessity for having a voice in the election of the judges need not preclude immediate action by the United States if we desire to share in maintaining the Permanent Court of International Justice. The conditions set by Secretary Hughes would seem to be fully met if an American representative should sign the court protocol, with a clear indication that the United States signs, not as a member of the League, but as a State mentioned in the annex to the Covenant; and if the President should ratify the protocol, with the advice and consent of the Senate, with reservations (1) that the United States shall enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by any other signatory State and shall be admitted to participate in the voting in the Assembly and the Council when those bodies act, not under any provisions of the Covenant, but as the electoral bodies named in Article 4 of the statute of the court; and (2) that the United States does not by this act become in any way a party to, or bound by, Article 14 or any other article of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"Such a ratification would give the United States a full voice in the election of judges it would avoid any commitments to the League, and it would greatly enhance the prestige and moral power of the court for the future."

THE PARIS PARLEY OF PREMIERS

Developments in the reparations situation, which have been exceedingly rapid since the coming into power of the new British Government, have finally resulted in a complete clarification of the respective attitudes of the French and British governments in the matter, and, following the failure to reconcile these attitudes, in the withdrawal of the British Government from active participation in any action taken by the French Government at the present.

In a sense this situation is somewhat more acute than was expected, at any rate by the British. After preliminary conversations had been carried on between Lord Derby, the British Ambassador to France, and MM. Poincaré and Millerand, a meeting of Premiers was called in Paris on January 2. Prior to the meeting British opinion, according to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (December 2), tended to a hopeful view of the question. It was considered in England that the debates in the French Chamber showed conclusively that French opinion was urgently in favor of a preservation of the Entente and against drastic action on the part of France, should such action tend to alienate her Allies, notably England and America. British prophets, therefore, predicted a compromise.

Mr. Bonar Law's speech at the meeting, however, was firm and definite in tone and content. After pointing out the folly of imagining that England had no interest in the collection of reparations, and was in any way desirous of restoring the trade of her former competitor, he made it clear that Britain took the view that the essential thing, if reparations were desired, was the restoration of French credit. This could only be done by presenting a final scheme in which reasonable demands were made.

THE BRITISH SCHEME

The details of this scheme, as reported by the Associated Press, were as follows:

The British plan as presented by Mr. Bonar Law to the conference of premiers would provide that the existing series of class A, B, and C bonds be canceled, Germany to issue to the Reparations Commission two series of new bonds. The first series would amount to 50,000,000,000 gold marks, "to be issued forthwith, repayable at par on December 31, 1954, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, payable half yearly; the interest to be suspended in its entirety for the first four years and to increase to the extent of 1 per cent per annum for the next four years until January 1, 1931.

"The second series of bonds, to amount to 17,310,000,000 gold marks, is the amount of the preferred interest on the bonds of the first series compounded at 5 per cent to April 1, 1933, or such lesser amount, if any, as the arbitral tribunal provided for may determine."

The plan provides various contingencies as, for instance, a sliding scale at which the bonds may be redeemed, beginning at 50 on December 31, 1923, and rising thereafter to 68 on December 31, 1926, then increasing by one-half per cent semi-annually to par. Thus Germany would be given inducement to take up the bonds before maturity.

The proposal would be offered to Germany upon the condition that she stabilize the mark in accordance "with the recommendation contained in the majority report of the foreign experts consulted by the German Government in November last and restore budget equilibrium within limits of time to be prescribed (say six months for stabilization and two years for budget reform)."

Germany would be required to accept financial supervision under a "foreign finance council" sitting in Berlin, this body to consist of members appointed by Great Britain, France,

Belgium, Italy, and two other members of American and neutral European nationality respectively.

The German Finance Minister would be chairman of the council, without the right of vote except in the case of a tie, and would be required by law to act upon the council's advice in "all matters affecting, first, currency legislation; second, the budget, fiscal legislation, and public expenditures; third, the general treasury administration, and, fourth, financial prohibitions and the control of foreign remittances."

"If Germany fails to satisfy the supervising authority," the allied powers "may unanimously decide upon such measures as may be necessary," including "forcible seizure of the German revenues and assets and military occupation of German territories outside the existing zone of occupation."

All other proposals for the taking of pledges and "the application of sanctions, otherwise than as provided for above," are to be abandoned by the Allies upon Germany's acceptance of the plan.

THE INTER-ALLIED DEBTS

The plan also dealt with the question of the inter-allied debts, which were discussed as follows:

"The deposits of gold which are now held by Great Britain as security for loans made to France and Italy for the purpose of carrying on the war are to be applied forthwith to the repayment of these loans," reads the plan; "the French share of the German bonds applicable to repayment of the Belgian war debts to be transferred to Great Britain and accepted by her as satisfaction of an equal amount of the French debt to Great Britain."

Bonds of the first series to the value of 1,500,000,000 gold marks are to be transferred by Italy to Great Britain and accepted in payment of an equal amount of the Italian debt to Great Britain; the balance of the French and Italian war debts to Great Britain to be written off, and all counter-claims by France and Italy to be abandoned. The Italian debt to France would also be written off.

Great Britain and France would transfer to the Reparations Commission, acting as trustee, the net war debts owing them by Serbia, Rumania, Greece, and Portugal. It is provided that "the debtors transfer their interest in the second series (contingent) bonds to a pool for distribution to those powers which are indebted to the United States in proportion to the respective American debts."

These debts are defined as "in respect of war advances, as on the first of April, 1922," "the powers, other than Great Britain, France, and Italy, which are indebted to America, have the option of coming into the above arrangement and having their debts to the European Allies written off, or of discharging their European inter-allied debts and retaining their Spa agreement percentage of the second series of bonds."

The British plan was completely rejected by the French in the ensuing sessions; whereupon the former decided to leave the conference and, in all friendliness, withdraw from any further participation in the proceedings.

There seems to be but little doubt, according to reports from Paris, that the question of the French gold reserve in Britain and the French debt to Great Britain added difficulties to the consideration of the British plan. Briefly put, the gold security held by Britain is being claimed by France. This was held as security for British advances to France and actually sent to the United States during the war to pay for munitions. Britain undertook to retain it as long as the French debt to England remains unpaid. The question at issue in this connection as between Britain and France is that the latter wishes to have her debt to Britain canceled and the gold security restored. Britain, of course, hardly sees the matter in quite that light.

Under these circumstances there appears to have been nothing left for the two countries to do except agree to differ.

THE FRENCH IN THE RUHR

On January 6, following the break-up of the Conference of Premiers, a special meeting of the Reparations Commission was held, at the request of France, to consider the question of Germany's default on coal deliveries. By three votes to one, on January 9, the Commission recorded the wilful default of Germany in the matter of coal deliveries. The British representative on the Commission did not vote.

A certain sensation, however, was created by a speech on the part of Mr. Roland Boyden, the American observer on the Commission. Mr. Boyden has no vote and no official standing, but, as representing American opinion unofficially, his words bear their own weight.

Like Sir John Bradbury, the British delegate, and others, Mr. Boyden admitted that, from the technical juridical point of view, Germany was in default. But for the shortage Mr. Boyden appears to lay the blame less on Germany than on the Commission and the Treaty of Versailles itself, as placing an impossible burden on Germany's shoulders. He indicated that, in his opinion, the effort Germany had made to supply the coal orders and the extent to which she had succeeded were too great to deserve the application of such penalties as were indicated. Further, the failure was in itself but a small one in the immense question of reparations, and to his mind it seemed a wrong proceeding to consider this question in detail and not as part of an immense whole.

The British delegate followed with a speech much to the same effect, but the French being determined upon the procedure they wished to follow, all protests were overruled.

The treaty provision invoked by the French in support of their proposed action is paragraph 18, of Annex 2, of Part 8, as follows:

Measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, and in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

The occupation of Essen and control of the coal output and revenue of the Ruhr were decided upon by the French as penalties for default on the part of Germany, and by January 12 two-thirds of the coal region, including Essen, Muehlheim, and Oberhausen, were already occupied by the French troops under General Degoutte, and a state of siege throughout the Ruhr declared.

GERMANY'S PROTESTS

This drastic step was preceded by a formal protest by the President of the German Republic in the form of a manifesto, as follows:

The policy of force which has violated treaties and trampled the rights of humanity now threatens the key district of the German economic world. The execution of the peace treaty thus becomes an absolute impossibility, and at the same time the living conditions of the suffering German nation are disorganized.

Germany was ready to fulfill all the obligations within her power. She has now been attacked without being given a hearing. We lay this act of force before the forum of Europe and the entire world.

Formal protest was also sent to other powers by Germany, of which the text, received in Washington on January 12, is as follows:

The French Ambassador and immediately afterwards the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin have this afternoon informed the German Minister for Foreign Affairs in writing and orally that France and Belgium, because of the defaults declared by the Reparations Commission as committed by Germany in execution of the deliveries of wood and coal, have decided immediately to send into the Ruhr control missions, composed of engineers and accompanied by the troops necessary to control the management of the coal syndicate, to guarantee the strict execution of the program of the reparations. The control missions will be placed under General Degoutte, who will have full dictatorial powers. Any local disturbances will be punished with the most severe coercive measures and penalties.

The German Minister for Foreign Affairs has lodged a protest with the two foreign representatives against the action contemplated because this action represents a breach of the treaties and of international law.

Owing to the declarations made by France and Belgium there is no longer any doubt that tomorrow at the latest a Franco-Belgian army will occupy Essen and parts of the Ruhr territory. This happens four years after the signing of the peace treaty and is directed against a defenseless and peaceful nation.

The reason given for the procedure is that Germany is in default in her deliveries of wood and coal in 1922. The default in the case of coal represents a deficit amounting to less than 4 per cent of the deliveries of coal to the Entente Powers since the signing of the armistice. Of the deliveries of wood to France for 1922 only 20,000 cubic meters sawn wood and 135,000 telegraph poles are missing. France and Belgium justify their action by asserting that Germany is in voluntary default and that this voluntary default justified one-sided coercive measures directed against Germany on the part of these two powers.

The existence of such a default on the part of Germany is not only denied by Germany alone, but entirely apart from that the Franco-Belgian action represents a breach of the Treaty of Versailles in a threefold manner:

1. Germany's defaults in her deliveries of wood and coal would, according to the note of the Reparations Commission of March 21, 1922, always only justify demands for subsequent payments.

2. The Treaty of Versailles does not admit any territorial sanctions.

3. The measures allowed by the Treaty of Versailles against Germany can only be applied by the allied powers as a whole and not by single powers of their own accord.

The German Government herewith enters a protest against oppression applied towards Germany in contradiction with the treaty and international law. The German Government does not intend to meet violence with violence nor to reply to the breach of the treaty with a withdrawal from the treaty. However, as long as the state of affairs contrary to the treaty exists, Germany is not in a position to make actual reparations to those powers who have brought about this state of affairs.

Sufficient time has not elapsed in which the effect of France's step upon the German nation as a whole may be gauged. The indications so far point to a policy of passive resistance, which may or may not stiffen as time goes on. The most active demonstrations against the French policy were held in Munich, which is a Nationalist center swayed by much anti-foreign feeling.

Meantime, following the seizure of what she considers to be adequate guarantees, France has displayed a tendency to greater leniency in regard to the indemnity payment of 50,000,000 gold marks due on the 15th.

The German population of the Ruhr, as well as the government officials, are offering passive resistance to the French. All deliveries have been ordered suspended, and strikes have occurred in many of the mines. The French have been compelled to take over the mines, the banks, and the taxes.

AMERICAN TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM THE RHINE

One of the direct results of the reparations crisis has been the withdrawal of the American troops from the Rhine. These troops, numbering a little over a thousand, had been stationed at Coblenz since the end of the war as a part of the Allied Army of Occupation. The announcement concerning the withdrawal of the troops was made by Secretary Hughes on January 10, in the following words:

We have concluded that the time has come to complete the withdrawal of the Army of Occupation, and the President has given instructions to the Secretary of War to act immediately.

The American troops on the Rhine consisted mainly of the Eighth Infantry, less the Second Battalion. In addition there were also stationed at Coblenz a Quartermaster Corps Detachment, Motor Repair Section No. 100, a Hospital Corps Detachment, a Finance and Ordnance Detachment, Company A of the Sixteenth Engineer Battalion, and Service Company No. 20 of the Signal Corps. Following the President's order a transport was immediately dispatched to Europe to bring back these troops.

The action of the Administration was preceded by rather heated debates in the Senate on the question of the withdrawal of the troops. The debate was occasioned by the following resolution, introduced on January 5 by Senator Reed, of Missouri:

Resolved, That the President is hereby respectfully requested to at once cause the return to the United States of all troops now stationed in Germany.

In discussing the resolution, Senator Reed dwelt particularly on the point that the presence of American troops on the Rhine served no direct interests of the United States. He said:

There can be, therefore, no good reason for retaining American troops in Germany, wheresoever they happen to be stationed at this moment, so far as their service to American interests is concerned; and, if that were not true, if we did have a material interest there to guard or material right to enforce, it would be the height of folly to withdraw all of our troops except 1,000 men or less, for such a body of men, if there for the purpose of the enforcement of any of our rights, would merely be an irritant because it could not constitute an effective force. The troops, therefore, must have been kept in Germany for some other reason, and that other reason must be service for some other country instead of service in the interest of the United States.

WHY THE TROOPS WERE KEPT AT COBLENZ

Speaking in support of Senator Reed's resolution, Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, took up the question of the original reason for the dispatching of American troops to Coblenz. He said:

The Senator from Missouri asks why the troops are kept there. It seems to me we can also properly go back and ask the question, Why were they put there in the first place? They were put there, as a paragraph in the Treaty of Versailles very well indicates, for a certain purpose. Article 428 of that treaty reads as follows:

"As a guaranty for the execution of the present treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for a period of 15 years from the coming into force of the present treaty."

The article next following indicates when and how the

troops shall be withdrawn. If the treaty is carried out, they shall first be withdrawn from the Cologne bridgehead at the expiration of 5 years, and later, at the expiration of 10 years, withdrawn from Coblenz.

Senator Lodge objected to this statement, pointing out that the American troops were stationed on the Rhine in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and have remained there for that reason, the United States not having ratified the Treaty of Versailles. Senator Hitchcock's reply to this was that the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles to which he had referred have been incorporated in the separate treaty of peace signed with Germany by the United States, upon the ratification of which the armistice automatically ceased. He supported the Reed resolution, though for a different reason, which he stated as follows:

It seems to me that the time has come when American sentiment will naturally crystallize in favor of removing our troops. Great Britain and France have apparently come to the parting of the ways, and instead of seeing an international treatment of Germany under the terms of this treaty we are in danger of beholding an aggressive military treatment of Germany by one of the parties to the war, namely, France. Under those circumstances it does not seem to me either desirable or safe for the United States to become involved as a party to the proceedings by leaving its troops there any longer, and I cordially support the movement inaugurated by the Senator from Missouri looking to some action by the Senate to indicate to the President that sentiment here favors their removal.

The Administration, however, made it clear at the time of the debate that it was not going to have its hand forced by the Senate resolution. Its spokesmen have emphasized the fact that the action was taken quite independently, and it became known after the announcement made by Secretary Hughes that the government had informed France of its intention to withdraw the American troops from Coblenz in the event of a French occupation of the Ruhr.

PROGRESS AT LAUSANNE

After disposing of the preliminary questions involved in the exchange of view on the general propositions before the Lausanne Conference, reported in our last number, the conferees got down to the consideration of specific problems. By the time of this writing tentative agreement was reported on three of these problems.

In the matter of the Straits, Turkey has receded somewhat from her original position of complete defiance, and Ismet Pasha announced his government's acceptance of the allied propositions concerning free passage of the Straits. In reply to that Lord Curzon stated that the powers are willing to make concessions regarding the supervision of demilitarized zones, which were expected to be the subject of considerable contention between the two sides. Certain important details, however, still remain to be settled.

The Turks insist on the right to maintain a garrison at Gallipoli, and Ismet has named 5,000 men as the strength of this garrison. The Allies object to this on the ground that this would be counter to the whole idea of demilitarization, and also because the Turks would in any event be allowed to maintain a sufficient force of the gendarmerie in the demilitarized zone. The Turks object to the allied proposal for the keeping of stationary vessels at Constantinople, and Lord Curzon has pointed out that these vessels need not

be warships. The Turkish objection to the allied surveillance of the demilitarized zone is a much more serious matter, though there is hope that a compromise may be reached on this point also.

AGREEMENT ON MINORITIES

Complete agreement was reached on January 10 with regard to the patriarchate. The subcommission, dealing with the subject, held twenty unsuccessful sessions before it was finally agreed that a new patriarch, shorn of civil powers, may be installed at Constantinople as the religious head of the Greek Church.

Similarly, on the question of minorities an agreement has been reached by the subcommission dealing with the question. Both sides are reported as having made considerable concessions. The protection of the minorities will be left to the League of Nations, which will not, however, be permitted to have resident commissioners, but will have to act upon the receipt of definite complaints. The question of an Armenian Home has been dropped, as well as the one relating to the Bulgarians who wish to return to eastern Thrace. On the other hand, the Turks have undertaken to extend complete amnesty to all Moslems and non-Moslems who helped the Allies in the war or have been accused of committing political crimes since 1914, with the exception of 150 persons, whom the Turks reserve the right to banish. The Turks have also promised to pass a law exempting Christians from military service on payment of an extra tax.

The outstanding questions still remaining before the conference now are concerned with the disposition of Mosul and the matter of capitulations.

The spirit of the conference is frequently punctuated by personal encounters between Lord Curzon and Ismet Pasha. The following incident, reported by the Associated Press correspondent, illustrates this:

After declaring that the Turks had done nothing but make concessions, Ismet Pasha said: "We are only asking for the minimum in everything." Then he laughed heartily.

Lord Curzon remarked: "Now that Ismet Pasha has had his joke, I think it is time he made his concession." But Ismet Pasha replied: "Excuse me; we are very poor at Angora."

THE BORAH AMENDMENT

On December 22 last, being the occasion of the Senate debate on the naval appropriation bill, Senator Borah gave notice of the following amendment:

That the President is authorized and requested to invite such governments as he may deem necessary or expedient to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of considering the economic problems now obtaining throughout the world, with a view of arriving at such understandings or arrangements as may seem essential to the restoration of trade and to the establishment of sound financial and business conditions; and also to consider the subject of further limitation of armaments with a view of reaching an understanding or agreement upon said matter, both by land and by sea, and particularly relative to limiting the construction of all types and sizes of subsurface and surface craft of 10,000 tons standard displacement, or less, and aircraft.

The fervid discussion throughout the country roused by this amendment, and more especially by the first part, which deals with the question of economic adjustment, is sufficient testimony of the people's instinctive realization of its im-

portance. The clause touching upon further limitation of armament cannot be said to have met with the same responsive interest, owing to causes very frankly expressed in the President's letter of December 27 to Senator Lodge, and also in the course of the debate, by various Senators, namely, that certain powers have not yet seen fit to ratify the disarmament treaties already made as a consequence of last year's conference, and that there is no reason to believe that the opposition offered to further disarmament, and particularly to limitation of subsurface craft, by various countries, especially France, last year, has in any sense abated since then.

Interest is thus focussed upon the question of economic negotiations; and in this connection the reactions of various sections of the Senate, as purporting to represent bodies of public opinion, have their own importance.

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH

Mr. Borah may be said to have opened heavy fire with a speech, drawing attention to the attitude of various members of the administration upon the question of armaments at the present time. In this connection the Senator from Idaho said:

There is a very pronounced propaganda in this country in favor of an increased or enlarged navy. There is also a very remarkable propaganda in favor of an increased or enlarged army. The reasons which are assigned for this are because not only of the building abroad in naval affairs, but because of the economic conditions and the distress and discontent which prevail throughout the world. We are told almost daily by the admirals of the navy, or those who are high in authority in the army, that we may expect almost any day a condition of affairs abroad which will necessitate our having a vast army and a very much larger navy.

Having thus established the connection between economic stability and peace, Mr. Borah reinforced his argument by quotations from General Pershing's speeches, more especially comparing the speech of December 20, 1920, in which the General advocated limitation of armaments, and that of December 12 last, in which General Pershing strongly advised a program of preparedness to defend the national life of the United States, giving as his reasons the disturbing questions and problems of an economic, financial, or business nature of the old world, and believing, apparently, that unless these can be adjusted or settled there is no possible way for the United States to remain out of another conflict, perhaps equal to that out of which she emerged four years ago.

The heavy burden of taxation placed upon the people of this country, both as a result of the late war and by reason of the naval and military program now in force or contemplated, was next dealt with at some length. In the opinion of Mr. Borah, taxation has reached a point where it becomes a definitely crippling element in the national economic life. In this connection, he observed, there are definite signs and tokens of an inability on the part of the agricultural elements of the country to keep pace with taxation.

With considerable effectiveness Mr. Borah pointed out the condition of the railways under the burden, and went on to say:

Of course, if we were the only nation embarrassed by heavy taxation or suffering from economic conditions such as confront us, we might very well conclude that it would be only a question of time when we should escape from them. But we are surrounded by nations who are infinitely worse off. The conditions in Europe and elsewhere, other

than possibly one nation in the Orient, are very much worse than are the conditions in the United States, and that helps to accentuate the economic conditions which torment our own people.

It is of some importance, in studying Mr. Borah's speech, to note that he feels strongly that, to use his own words:

If I had to choose security for my country between a discontented, tax-ridden people and a large standing army upon the one hand, and a nation of happy homes and prosperous people and no army—not a gun, not a soldier—I would choose the latter. In the former instance there may come a time when the soldier will fraternize with the discontented citizen, and your security crumbles in a single hour. In the latter instance the citizen is a soldier every hour of his life when his country is assailed. The people best prepared to meet the demands of the future, whether of war or of peace, are the people economically sound and strong. Modern warfare is not a test of armies or navies, but a test of peoples.

After some further discussion of this attitude, Mr. Borah concluded his first remarks with the pregnant sentence:

Later in the debate I shall seek to show that this whole economic condition is associated directly or indirectly with the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty; that until that problem is adjusted upon a basis of reason and sound economic principles, they cannot get better, and may become very much worse.

SENATOR LODGE'S REPLY

A high light is thrown upon the importance of this concluding paragraph of Mr. Borah's speech, which presumably illustrates the thought he had in mind as to the subjects for discussion by an economic conference, when Mr. Lodge's reply is taken into consideration. The chief objection to the amendment, on the part of the Senator from Massachusetts, appeared to be its impracticability. In his view, it was too broadly drawn, and he proceeded to enumerate the subjects that might come up for discussion and which, in his view, should be either excluded by the United States or else be discussed in the light of a pre-announced attitude thereto. According to Mr. Lodge, the questions of debts and that of immigration should be entirely excluded. The United States should then carefully consider her attitude toward reparations and the revision of the Versailles Treaty, credits or loans to foreign countries, and the position of the United States toward such countries as the Austrian States of the former Empire, Russia, the Balkans, etc., and enter the conference with, as it were, a definitely outlined platform. To use the Senator's own words:

I am not arguing the merits of those varying propositions. I am merely suggesting that before we pass resolutions or adopt amendments favoring an economic conference we should know how far we are going and what we propose to do.

Mr. Lodge's personal position on the suggestion may be termed conservative. He expressed it as follows:

My own belief is, as a general proposition, that the United States can be of greater service to humanity and to its fellow nations in Europe and elsewhere by holding itself free from obligations which bind it to action which it might not be willing to take when the hour for action came.

Some discussion was aroused by Mr. Lodge's point as to limitation of the program of such a conference, and in this connection Senator John Sharpe Williams made the following remark:

If we enter into a conference with other nations with fixed ideas, from which we must not vary, that is not a conference at all; it is a meeting called by us, with a chairman,

secretary, and treasurer appointed beforehand and a plan outlined. Of course, if we enter into a conference with other nations, we must confer with them, as well as they with us, and we must reach some conclusion that was not the fixed purpose of every nation. And it must be the finally compromised opinion of all.

Mr. Borah then took the floor again, and pointed out that, in his opinion, whether technically, morally, legally, or accidentally, the United States is drifting further and further into Europe.

In support of his contention, he instanced the fact of the existence of American observers—whether official or unofficial being a question of but minor importance, in Mr. Borah's estimation—of the American army of occupation in Germany, etc. After discussing at some length the conditions in Europe, Mr. Borah declared that since offering his amendment he had had a vast number of telegrams from farm organizations of the United States, which he described in the following terms:

The members of those organizations are perfectly well aware of the situation. They know the condition which confronts us. They are not satisfied, and will not be satisfied, with having us pass a farm credit bill, which will only postpone the day of wrath, in case this situation is not adjusted. They realize fully that they must have their foreign market.

Quotations were then made by the Senator from Idaho from certain of these communications, one of which read as follows:

The Ford County Farm Bureau members assembled in annual meeting believe that everything necessary should be done to restore the farmer's market. For our surplus production this market is overseas. We realize that the question of German reparations . . . is inextricably interwoven.

Mr. Lenroot, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, spoke concerning the amendment somewhat along the lines laid out by Mr. Lodge, namely, concerning the false impression likely to be created by so broad an invitation, which might create a belief that the United States was ready to consider debt cancellation, which, in the opinion of Mr. Lenroot, is not, and is never likely to be, the case.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

The final withdrawal of the amendment, however, was caused by the President's letter, alluded to above, in which Mr. Harding pointed out the undesirability, in his opinion, of calling an economic conference, because of the false impression it might convey to European peoples, and suggesting that practical assistance in facilitating the task of the government in dealing with the European situation lies in the direction of freeing the hands of the World War Debt Funding Commission, etc. The question of reparations is underlined as follows:

It is quite generally accepted that the adjustment of the question of reparations must underlie any economic rehabilitation of Europe, and reparations cannot be settled without the consent of the governments concerned. The United States cannot assume to say to one nation what it shall pay in reparations, nor to another what it shall accept. In discussions with foreign governments the previous administration and the present administration have insisted that the question of European debts to the United States is distinct and apart from the question of reparations, but European nations hold a contrary view, and it is wholly inconsistent to invite a conference for the consideration of questions in dealing with which the government is denied all authority by act of Congress.

The actual withdrawal of the amendment may be considered as of minor importance on this occasion, for, in the opinion of many, the real service accomplished by Mr. Borah is to be found in his signalization, to the President as well as to the whole country, of the fact that the farmers of the West have come to display an interest in the international situation, and to a realization of its eventual effect upon their own economic status.

EUROPE'S AGRICULTURE IN 1922

The crop situation in Europe, exclusive of Russia, during the past year showed a number of very interesting changes by comparison with the year 1921, as well as with the pre-war conditions. The total grain crop has decreased markedly, while the root and forage crops are reported as the best in years. The following table, compiled from the reports received by the Department of Commerce, shows these variations:

	Amounts produced (in millions)		
	Pre-war average	1921	1922
Wheat (bushels).....	1,279	1,222	1,009
Rye (bushels).....	800	759	700
Barley (bushels).....	603	570	579
Oats (bushels).....	1,728	1,500	1,500
Corn (bushels).....	538	404	326
Total	4,948	4,455	4,114

The wheat crop, which was excellent in 1921, almost approximating the pre-war average, fell off very considerably in 1922. All the other cereal crops showed a considerable diminution in 1921 as compared with the pre-war average. Of these other cereals, barley showed a slight increase in 1922 by comparison with 1921; oats gave the same yield during the two years, while rye and corn showed a further decrease in 1922 as compared with 1921. Taken in their totals, the cereal crops for 1921 were 10 per cent smaller than before the war, while the same crops for 1922 showed a decrease of 7.7 per cent by comparison with the 1921 figure. Thus Europe's total cereal crops for 1922 were only 83 per cent of the pre-war total.

This decrease in the cereal crops was due primarily to the failure of the wheat crop, for which the weather was principally responsible. But these same weather conditions, especially the wet summer and autumn, favored a very large yield of potatoes and sugar beets, which compares very well not only with 1921, when these crops were cut by drought, but also with the pre-war averages, as may be seen from the following table:

	Amounts produced (in millions)		
	Pre-war average	1921	1922
Potatoes (metric tons).....	102	82	125
Sugar beets (metric tons).....	38	27	32

Not only potatoes, but also turnips, cabbage, and other vegetables have shown a large increase over 1921, so that the total food production of 1922 may be considered as nearly equal that of 1921, the difference, of course, being in the fact that the 1922 production contains a larger proportion of foods which have a relatively low nutritive value. The increase of sugar beets is especially noticeable in Germany, which, it is believed, is in a position to export small

quantities of raw sugar—for the first time since the outbreak of the war.

CONDITIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

The conditions in Russia indicate an improvement over the disastrously low level of production in 1921, but still can not be considered favorable. The yield of all the food crops in Russia was in 1921 about 40 per cent of the pre-war average; the yield in 1922 was about 50 per cent of the amount produced before the war. This amount is not sufficient to supply the needs of home consumption, and there is still famine in Russia, in spite of the fact that the Soviet government, for fiscal and political reasons, is exporting small amounts of grain through the northern ports.

Of all the European countries, Poland is reported as having made the best showing agriculturally; she may now be considered self-sustaining, as far as her food-supply is concerned. Practically all the other countries have to depend upon importation for a part of their supply. From August 1 to the end of December, 1922, Europe imported 180,000,000 bushels of North American wheat, or over twelve million bushels more than during the same period in 1921. The principal European importers of this wheat were as follows:

	Bushels
United Kingdom	56,000,000
Italy	41,000,000
France	22,000,000
Netherlands	14,000,000
Germany	11,000,000

There has been also a considerable increase in the amounts of corn exported to Europe from the United States. During the last cereal year (ending in October), more American corn was exported to Europe than in any twelve months since 1906. France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain took five times as much American corn as the pre-war annual average for these countries.

Perhaps the worst food situation in Europe, outside of Russia, is now found in Greece, which has lost important grain-producing areas and has been faced with a sudden increase of population due to the stream of refugees from the war areas. On the other hand, a marked improvement is reported from Spain, where the farmers have had a good year, as a result of which the importation of foodstuffs has decreased.

As a general rule, all through Europe, the farmers are comparatively well off. This is especially true of those who had invested their war profits in improvements and real estate. In Central Europe, the rapid fall in the value of money has been a real boon to farmers, who now find themselves able to pay off mortgages and other incumbrances on their property at what amounts to mere fractions of the real debts.

BRITISH AGRICULTURE AND THE UNITED STATES

British agricultural prosperity often is regarded as of little direct interest to the United States, because that country produces such a small part of its food supplies that the volume of imports from year to year is but slightly affected by variations in domestic crop yields. The facts in the matter, however, do not seem to justify this view. In a recent report to the Department of Commerce, Commercial Attaché Tower said:

This line of reasoning, although natural enough, is not entirely logical. British farmers are now producing close to one-fourth the food supply of the country, or enough for at least ten million persons, and the more optimistic maintain that, if properly encouraged, British farmers could produce much more than half of the food requirements of the country. It is evident, therefore, that there are latent possibilities of rather far-reaching direct influence on foodstuffs trade if British farming is sharply curtailed, expanded, or altered, according to the future turn of events.

The present inability of the farmers to cover costs, even though farm wages have been cut to the vanishing point, has turned their attack to the burden of taxes, the disparity between prices realized by the producer and those paid by the consumer, and the freedom from customs duties of imports of food products. The farmers have reached the stage where they may very probably refuse to go on paying wages and covering losses out of capital, and will return crop lands to grass. Following this would come rural depopulation and an increase of unemployment, endangering the general economic welfare of the country. Wheat in 1914 showed the farmer a profit of about 10s. per quarter of 8 bushels; by 1920 it had sunk to 5s., while for the two crop years of 1921 and 1922 there was a loss ranging up to as much as 30s. per quarter.

It is expected that a committee will be named by the government to inquire into the methods and cost of selling and distributing farm products, and to consider whether or by what means the disparity between farm price and retail price may be diminished.

All this is, of course, of direct interest to the United States, in view of the fact that the British Isles are one of the principal markets for American wheat and other farm products.

WAR VETERANS PLEAD FOR PERMANENT PEACE

On January 12 a delegation, consisting of Mr. H. Nelson Jackson, vice-president of the Inter-Allied Veterans' Federation, and Mr. R. E. Condon, member of the National Executive Committee of the American Legion, called at the White House and presented to the President a statement in the interest of world peace. The statement contained a digest of the declaration, drawn up by the Council of the Inter-Allied Veterans' Federation, representing the veterans of the World War in the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, and endorsed by the American Legion at its last national convention. This digest reads as follows:

With an earnest desire to promote peace, tranquillity, and good-will among nations, secure the institutions of organized society, preserve the sacred principles of liberty and democracy and transmit their blessings to posterity, and establish safeguards to prevent the recurrence of war, we, the undersigned, representing the ex-service men of the signatory countries, agree to submit and endeavor to secure the adoption of our societies represented and through them urge upon our respective governments the following declaration of principles:

1. That all international agreements among governments affecting the entire people shall be open and above board, with full publicity.
2. That treaties make the law between the nations. They must be executed in good faith.
3. To oppose territorial aggrandizement.

4. To vigorously suppress within our own boundaries all persons and propaganda seeking to overthrow by force government existing by will of the people.

5. That the financial policies of the allied governments must have as their aim the stability of exchange and the resumption of international commerce, and we recommend the suspension of trade relations with countries maintaining armies organized for aggressive purposes.

6. In view of the distorted political reports tending to unbalance the public mind, we recommend that there shall be established by the F. I. D. A. C. a news disseminating bureau, with representatives in every member country; that this agency shall receive the official sanction of the governments of the respective countries; that it shall collect and issue news designed to offset destructive and inflammatory propaganda, particularly the propaganda put out by the proponents of Bolshevism, with the intent to change other forms of government, this without in any way censoring or restricting the freedom of the press.

7. That an international court be established to outlaw war.

8. To proceed as rapidly as conditions permit, and when the decrees of such court become operative (except for machinery necessary to maintain them and the minimum police forces) to entirely disarm and disband our land, sea, and air forces and destroy the implements of warfare.

THE POLICIES OF THE VETERANS

The statement presented to the President enumerates as follows the policies which the war veteran in each country represented in the Inter-Allied Federation are pledged to carry out:

1. The Allied Veterans are still the defenders of civilization and free peoples' rights. After having been faithful soldiers they now want and strive to be their country's and the world's faithful citizens.
2. The respect of the Constitution of their own countries is the basis of the Inter-Allied Veterans' Federation.
3. The veterans are determined that no work in the name of peace shall be neglected. They presented their help to their countries and to the right-thinking world in the time of war, and they now present themselves to their countries and to the same world for the furthering of peace. This is a privilege and obligation, but they have in mind also that if another war should occur soon they will be called on to furnish the man power.
4. In the aftermath of the war the allied governments have on several occasions had what at least appeared to be serious differences, and the peoples of the world have been fearful that there was a friction which might result in dangerous consequences. During these periods the allied veterans remained inseparable and sought to understand one another more than ever before. This they did do!
5. The peace that we want will not be a peace consented to at any price, but must be founded on justice toward the victims, individually and collectively.
6. In our associations with the chiefs of our allied veterans' organizations, we have come to respect and understand their unselfishness and worthiness of principle. We have no suspicions against them, as we know you have none against the eminent men the allied governments sent to represent their nations at inter-allied and international conferences.
7. We have to place before you today, Mr. President, one request in the name of the Inter-Allied Veterans. We most respectfully ask your profound consideration of this subject, because after such we believe you will accept the principle and place it in effect at all the inter-allied and international conferences on peace, political and economic, and on armaments. We ask that at all future conferences there be a true representative of war—a representative of suffering; one who can advise the eminent statesmen and experts on the really vital equation of the horrors of war. We modestly advance this suggestion, Mr. President, that it is needless to point out that there are men in our groups who are pre-eminently fitted for the peace councils of the world.

8. Our allied comrades have already approached the chiefs of State of their respective nations and received a most favorable consideration of the subject. We ask you, in the name of the Inter-Allied Veterans, that at any future conferences which have to do with peace of the world that the American Legion, through their national commander, be accorded the opportunity to nominate to you the name of a man who would represent those millions of persons who were afforded the greatest privilege which ever can be bestowed upon citizenship—that of wearing the uniform of their country in the time of war.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

NON-CO-OPERATION, the method by means of which Mahatma Gandhi, the famous Hindu leader, sought to accomplish a revolution in India, has been pronounced a failure by many of the strongest adherents of the movement. *World Peace*, a weekly published in Calcutta, summarizes the various aspects of this failure in the following words:

They (the leaders of the movement) asked the people to give up all connection with the government. The people have not, except a microscopic few.

They asked the people completely to boycott British clothes. The country has not.

They asked the people to boycott the councils. The people have not.

They asked the country to boycott British courts; but they are just the same as before; courts have not been boycotted.

They asked lawyers to give up practice. Even this educated and cultured section of the community has not responded.

They invited the student community to give up government schools and colleges. That they have not done.

An attempt at withholding taxes was made, but it ended in abject failure.

Disobedience of law, the leaders themselves have not had the courage to advise the country.

The movement has thus achieved no practical results, though the Calcutta weekly believes, in spite of that, "a larger vision has been opened before the public, a broader outlook has been given," along moral lines, by "taking the politics of India, and of the world, to a high moral level." Curiously enough, it ascribes the failure of the immediate objectives of the movement to the moral and spiritual limitations of the leaders themselves.

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN MEXICO seem to be developing along general business lines rather than engaging in laundry business, as they do in the United States. There are now over a hundred Chinese bakeries in Mexico City alone, and some of them are reported to be the best in the city. Recently these Chinese bakers began negotiating for the erection of a flour milling plant to serve their stores and bakeries exclusively. One of the largest Chinese stores in Mexico City employs twenty-five grocery clerks. The grocery business has for many years been controlled by Spaniards, who are beginning to be apprehensive of the inroads which have been made on their trade by the Orientals. The Chinese merchants have not the prejudice against purchasing American goods characteristic of many Spanish dealers, and in their bakeries American flour is used solely.

GERMANY IS RAPIDLY RECOVERING her position as a maritime power. Before the war her mercantile marine was the second largest in the world, with a gross registered tonnage of 5,500,000 in 1914. But because of losses amounting to 2,700,000 tons as the result of war-time operations and of about 2,900,000 tons as the result of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany's tonnage immediately after the war registered the small total of 400,000. Of this total the greater part was composed of old vessels, due for scrapping, and of small coastal vessels plying local North Sea and Baltic ports. There was not one ship expressly designed for oversea traffic, while a report just published leads to the belief that on September 30, 1922, the German merchant marine amounted to a total of 2,013,500 gross tons. The additions for September alone (included in these figures) cover 6 vessels launched, aggregating 33,700 tons, and 11 vessels completed that aggregate 60,700 tons.

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA is now exporting such large quantities of rice to Japan that the fact is beginning to draw attention there. The first shipment of California new crop rice arrived in Yokohama several weeks ago, and the quality of the rice has been found very excellent in drying and uniformity of grain. The rice now being cut in California is expected to reach a total harvest of between 3,700,000 to 3,800,000 bags and is already on the market. The foreign rice in the possession of the Japanese Government in the Tokyo and Yokohama warehouses is being shipped to China, and it is expected that about 300,000 bags will be disposed of in this manner.

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ACCUSED of spending money lavishly for armies and navies, while asserting that they cannot pay their debts and that they cannot carry on their peace-time pursuits, have now replied to these charges in no uncertain terms. In the first place, say they, they have made tremendous reductions, and in the second their respective peculiar conditions will not permit them to go further until the dangers are minimized and security assured. The following table shows the changes in armament strength made by the principal nations:

	Pre-war	End of war	Today
Great Britain	170,000	3,470,000	168,000
United States	121,800	3,703,000	137,800
France	884,000	4,200,000	690,000
Italy	369,000	3,150,000	250,000
Belgium	42,000	200,000	120,000
Russia	1,290,000	.....	921,000
Turkey	230,000	900,000	120,000
Greece	60,000	200,000	105,000
Poland .....	.....	.....	255,000
Germany	806,000	4,780,000	99,000
Japan	240,000	302,000	277,000

The Japanese army is to be reduced yet further to 250,000.

According to the above figures, therefore, every country except the United States, Belgium, Greece, and Japan has reduced her army to something below pre-war strength. At the same time an Associated Press dispatch, says the *Christian Science Monitor*, contains a statement to the effect that Greece is seeking

loans to enable it to re-equip its army and make up the munitions losses which it suffered during the retreat from Asia Minor. The *Christian Science Monitor* feels that the world must be taught to realize that peace, and not war, is what will bring salvation to nations; and that money should only be loaned to European nations on condition that it be not spent on further preparations for combat.

THE UNSETTLED CONDITION OF EGYPT has been the cause of a series of murders of white people, which culminated, on December 27 last, in the death of Professor W. Newby Robson, of the Royal School of Law, Cairo. The professor, who was assassinated on the public road in a Cairo suburb, is the fourteenth British victim of a gang operating since December, 1921, without, so far, any convictions having been made by the Egyptian Government.

Indignation among the white residents naturally runs high. The receipt of a rather ineffectual letter of official abhorrence of the event, on the part of the Egyptian Government, has not done much to allay this feeling. Field Marshal Allenby, the British High Commissioner for Egypt, has issued a letter to the Egyptian public, the gist of which is that the murders are induced by hatred, fostered by the political campaign in the native press, which overlooks the benefits conferred by the British and wilfully misrepresents the facts, the Wafd Party and its organ the *Nationalist Press*, owing to their warped outlook refusing to admit that criticism is justified.

At an important meeting of British residents held in Cairo the following resolutions were passed:

1. Expressing abhorrence at the assassination and sympathy for the widow.
2. Requesting that the high commissioner use all measures in his power to assist the Egyptian Government to end and detect the crimes.
3. Organizing a British committee for the protection of the lives of the British especially, and providing defensive arms.
4. The public security department is inefficient and the police should be reinforced by a European element.
5. Demanding that the Egyptian Government suppress radical insubordination and political propaganda in the schools and colleges.
6. Compensation should be decided by the president of the Society of Actuaries and paid immediately by the British Treasury at the Egyptian Government's charges.

While maintaining a friendly attitude towards legitimate Egyptian aspirations, the community's meeting clearly indicates that the murders must stop. Three points of special importance were brought out, namely, the distinction between liberty and license in the native press as exploited by political intriguers; the degeneracy of discipline in the schools and colleges; and that the public must support law and order.

THE COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE began an extraordinary session on January 8 to take up the question of the status of British subjects, domiciled in the French protectorates of Tunis and Morocco. Under

the existing French law, all persons so domiciled, including the British, are liable to service in the French army. The question has been referred to the Council of the League of Nations, which, in turn, has asked the Court of International Justice to study the matter and render an opinion as to whether or not, in international law, the whole question is solely within domestic jurisdiction so far as France is concerned. Both the French and the British governments have presented official memoranda for the court's consideration and have asked for an opportunity to make oral representations. John Basset Moore was among the judges sitting in the extraordinary session.

EX-PREMIER GEORGES CLEMENCEAU'S tour of the United States yielded a surplus of \$20,000, after the defraying of all the expenses of the trip. This money came from lectures and newspaper articles by the veteran French statesman. In accordance with M. Clemenceau's wishes, the money has been added to the American Field Service Fund, organized in honor of the organization by that name which had sent young Americans to France to do ambulance work before the United States entered the war. The object of the fund is to send students to other countries, and as a result of M. Clemenceau's contribution, a number of scholarships bearing his name will be created.

THE AMERICAN METRIC ASSOCIATION, at its last annual meeting, held in connection with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, succeeded in obtaining that association's endorsement of the plan for the introduction in the United States of the metric system of weights and measurements. The following resolution was passed at the meeting:

Whereas the metric system of weights and measures has not yet been brought into general use in the United States, and

Whereas the American Association for the Advancement of Science has already passed resolutions favoring the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures in the United States; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Association for the Advancement of Science reaffirms its belief in the desirability of the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures for the United States, and recommends that the units of the system be used by scientific men in all their publications, either exclusively or else with the customary non-metric units in parenthesis.

So far more than forty countries have adopted the metric system in preference of their local systems.

TRAFFIC THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL has shown a considerable increase during the past few months, due to the general revival of international trade. It is estimated that if the present traffic continues through the next six months, the total tonnage passing through the canal during the fiscal year will be about 14,000,000 tons. The *Christian Science Monitor* gives the following analysis of this traffic:

Of the record cargo movement from the Pacific to the Atlantic in a recent month, Australasia furnished approxi-

mately 8,000 tons, the Far East 20,000 tons, while about 300,000 tons originated on the west coast of South America. When to this is added that nitrates furnished the bulk of this South American traffic, there is reason enough why the Panama Canal has become an inestimable benefit to such countries as Chile and Peru. As for what the canal has done for the west coast of the United States, the more than 550,000 tons a month shipped eastward through the isthmian waterway tell their own story.

BOOK REVIEWS

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST. By *William Stearns Davis*. Pp. 395 and index. The MacMillan Company, New York.

This account of the intricate history of Asia Minor and southeast Europe fills a distinct want. After an eclipse of many years this portion of the world is again taking a prominent place in history, and a clear comprehension of its setting and background has become a necessity for those who wish to follow the tortuous paths of international politics.

Mr. Davis has divided his book into four main divisions: the Christian Empire at Constantinople, the Rise of Islam and the Saracens, the Turkish Penetration of Europe, and the Turkish Retreat from Europe. This brings the history up to the close of the last epoch. The opening of the new has been witnessed by this generation and is for future record.

Simply as a fascinating and exciting narrative, the history of the Near East possesses more interest than most novels. A sort of romantic splendor hangs about the idea of the Byzantine and the Saracenic empires. Between them these two have inspired centuries of chivalry, heroism, and even altered the trend of cultural civilization in a manner unequalled since classical times. But, curiously enough, the profound influence exerted by them, and the repercussion of the fearful struggle between Eastern Christianity and Islamism has never been a subject for popular attention, possibly because Christianity was not the ultimate victor in the struggle. Today, however, Islam is showing signs of a new vitality, and in order to grasp the fundamental trends of a most important factor in world destinies some knowledge of its past must be attained.

The importance of this subject cannot be better illustrated than by mentioning the fact that upon the future of Constantinople and Turkey in Europe hangs the fate of nearly all the Slavic and Balkan countries.

THE CLASH. By *Storm Jameson*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. P. 296.

Storm Jameson, whose book, "The Drama in Europe," is one of the most interesting contributions of its kind to modern critical literature, may be said to belong to the group of young English writers which contains, among others, G. B. Stern, Sheila Kaye Smith, Clemence Dane, and Tennyson Jesse. All these are women notable for a fineness of perception, a delicate discrimination, and a quite ruthless honesty.

There is no group in American letters quite like them. Yet in America, as in England, young writers are measuring old standards by their own. They are testing old ideals, old precepts, old conceptions, by those that they, themselves, have wrought out of blood and fire.

This new book of Storm Jameson's, "The Clash," is more penetrating, more iconoclastic, than most American readers will readily realize.

As regards the plot nothing could be simpler. Miss Jameson takes for her heroine an English girl of good family, marries her, as so many marry, more or less accidentally, to a nice, stodgy young Englishman of her own station. When the war breaks out she is a more or less lonely, more

or less bewildered, young woman living the average life of her class and time—and realizing perhaps half consciously that her husband is not the man she loves.

The man she might have loved—that for a moment she feels she should have loved—as well as his brother, who, the reader feels, is really the man for her, go into the army. And one of them, the first one, is killed.

Come then to Europe the American Expeditionary Forces, and with them Jess Cornish, an American aviator, with whom the heroine of this story has what is euphemistically termed *chez nous*, "an affair."

This is the real theme of the story, which might be called "The Discovery of America by England."

Two things are immediately evident to the reader, one that Storm Jameson knows little or nothing of America, and the other that she has drawn her Americans from the life. As a documentary record, it will be difficult to find one more valuable, then, than this story. It is quite unbiased by any pre-conceptions gained from a six weeks' lecture tour in the United States. It is purely and simply the English view of America abroad. What she sees, Storm Jameson records; what she and her English companions think, she tells us, without passion, without scorn or any particular admiration. And though here and there an American may not like it, it must be accepted as what it purports to be—a photograph from the English point of view.

Miss Jameson says to her England the Americans are not our cousins, superficially different, but basically alike. They are not our blood kin, with our impulses and our code. Like our languages, we have a superficial resemblance, but we are fundamentally apart.

This claim has long been made by Americans, especially the American of the Middle West, whose English descent is practically obliterated; so there is no iconoclasm about that for America. But for England—it must be something of a shock.

In the "Clash" Miss Jameson has chosen a fundamental illustration of her thesis. The gauge of a race is its attitude toward women. Second to that comes the manner in which it views its own achievements.

In two settings, the relations of Jess Cornish with the English woman he loves and the Anglo-American dinner on the flying field, the whole problem is stated. And from both the American and the English points of view it is, doubtless, equally damning for the other fellow.

It is not the purpose of the book, any more than it is that of this review, to attempt any comparison as to which is the better, or even the more likeable, type. Nowhere in the course of her story does Storm Jameson attempt such a criticism. She records her facts, and her limitations are the limitations of those facts. It is not in any sense an explanation of England or an explanation of America; but, rather, a record of sensory impressions. This, in other words, is how certain Americans, certain types of America, appeared in English eyes at a given period. But the types that are thus limned are, unfortunately for those who talk of Anglo-American kinship, very general in this country, as the English types are composites of England.

Wherefore the ending is entirely logical. There is nothing for the heroine to do but to return to her English husband and appreciate him all the more, because by contrast she has learned to understand him all the more. The implication that love cannot bridge basic differences of character and outlook is unsentimental, but often bitterly true. That is an implication it were well to heed in any prospective marriage, but it applies particularly to international marriages. Marriages between Americans and English are often unsuccessful. It is not because either the Americans or the English are particularly disagreeable, but, per contra, because, in some fundamental regards they do not speak the same language, they do not think the same thoughts, their connotations in no way resemble each other. There is a vast difference of civilization, of ideal, between the two continents which must be realized.

Just what effect this realization, this defining of the United States as a separate entity, will have on world history is hard to predict. Europe at present is thinking of

America with definite bitterness, definite resentment, because Europe has been so accustomed to think of the United States as a part of European civilization. This is why Europe feels our withdrawal from active part in European affairs in a crisis to be a betrayal. Books like "The Clash" may seem to intensify, to confirm, this resentment for a time; but ultimately such clarification of outlook cannot but be beneficial. Europe does not, for instance, resent Asia's intrinsic lack of direct interest in her existence, and an appreciation of the United States as another civilization, derived from and to some extent influenced by European civilization—just as much that is now distinctively European was derived from and influenced by Asia—will make it easier for Europe generally to understand America and to retain a more dignified attitude toward her. Europe may not feel any particular desire for the kind of thing America appears to be evolving; but, at least, it will be admitted that the funeral is entirely America's.

It will be seen, therefore, that the main value of this book is for England rather than for America. America's views of Europe are of very little importance either to America or to Europe if the former does not intend to play any very direct part in European civilization. Europe's view of America will be just as unimportant once the former realizes the position outlined above. When it comes to a question of world peace as between England and America, such peace will endure between these countries just so long as they can reach adjustment on whatever economic questions arise between them. When, if ever, economic necessity forces one country to war with the other, no amount of previous friendship will do any good, especially in view of the extraordinary pitch to which the art of mob handling, or propaganda, has been brought. All the personal friendship that really existed between many English and many Germans, all the real blood kinship between these two nations, did not prevent England from joining France, her hereditary enemy, against Germany when economic necessity drove her. Those who know Germany know that her reliance upon kinship and her belief in hereditary enmity lost her the war upon the day she declared it.

There, then, is the lesson of this well written, excellently constructed novel of Miss Jameson's. It is time to bring realism to international relationships. It is time for England to give up sentimentalizing over her American "cousins," and to understand that here is a different race, upon whom she has no claim, who has no claim upon her, and with whom friendship and peace must be based upon the same gamut of fundamentals that govern friendship and peace with other countries—understanding, political expediency, economic adjustment, and horse-sense.

IMMIGRATION AND LABOR. By *Dr. I. A. Hourwich*. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

This new edition of Dr. Hourwich's authoritative work on the problem of European immigration to the United States as it affects industrial conditions here will scarcely, in its conclusions, satisfy either those who wish to preserve the present immigration laws so as to keep cheap labor out, nor those industrialists who would let the bars down to increase the supply of unskilled labor.

The author attempts to show that besides the likelihood of sending capital abroad, the restriction of immigration will cause a large-scale substitution of cheap farm labor for the foreign labor. Instead of wages going up, merely a greater area of farm land will go out of cultivation. Dr. Hourwich writes:

"As a theoretical proposition, it seems quite plausible that the exclusion of 'a sufficient number' of immigrants 'to produce a marked effect upon the supply of unskilled labor' must force employers to pay scarcity rate of wages. It is needless, however, to indulge in abstract speculation on the possible effects of a reduced supply of unskilled immigrant labor, when such a condition actually exists in the United States throughout the agricultural sections. Few immigrants seek employment on the farms. At the census of 1900 the total number of southern and eastern European

male farm laborers in the United States was only 37,401. The number of all foreign-born male farm laborers had actually decreased from 1890 to 1900. Moreover, there is a constant stream of native labor from the farms to the cities, which has led to an actual decrease of the rural population in many agricultural counties. Farmers generally complain of scarcity of farm labor during the agricultural season. Nevertheless, the wages of farm laborers are lower than the wages of unskilled laborers in mines and mills, where the proportion of recent immigrants is rapidly increasing. Scarcity of labor has not forced the farmer to pay scarcity wages, but has merely retarded the growth of farming. In many places the area under cultivation has actually decreased. On the other hand, the problem how to increase production with the same supply of labor has been solved by labor-saving machinery. The shutting out of unskilled immigrants would have similar effects in manufacturing and mining. The labor that would thus be displaced would form one substitute for immigration.

"The coal mines of Alabama and other Southern States which have failed to attract immigrants utilize the labor of farmers and their sons. The 2,300,000 tenant-farmers in particular offer great possibilities as an industrial reserve available during the winter months when the demand for labor in the coal mines is most active. The farm being their main source of subsistence, they are able and willing to offer their labor during the idle winter months more cheaply than freshly-landed immigrants. The efforts of trade union organizers among this class of English-speaking workers have met with scant success. With the farmer who works in a mine during the winter months, the dominating interest is his farm, whereas his interest in his employment is but transitory. The substitution of the cheap labor of the American farmer for the labor of the Slav or Italian immigrant would tend to weaken the unions and keep down wages.

"The discontinuance of fresh supplies of immigrant labor for the cotton mills of New England would give a new impetus to the development of child labor. The shortage of immigrant labor could also be made up for in part by the available reserve of cheap female labor. Still should all the substitutes for immigrant labor prove inadequate for the needs of the employers, it does not necessarily follow that scarcity prices would rule in the American labor market. It must be borne in mind that capital is international.

"Billions of American capital are already invested in Mexican and other foreign undertakings. At present this is but a minor item compared with the profits of American industries annually reinvested at home. If, however, a scarcity of labor were created in the United States, more American capital would seek investment abroad. Instead of investing their profits in new mines and mills in the United States, American capitalists would export their money to build up new enterprises in countries with cheap labor."

At the same time Dr. Hourwich argues that the reduction of immigration will not reduce the problem of the unemployed. He says:

"Inasmuch as unemployment is due to an absolute over-supply of labor, but results from seasonal and cyclical variations in the general demand of individual employers, it is clear that these causes could not be removed by reducing the supply of labor. If the industries of the United States can furnish steady employment all year round to 80 per cent of all wage-earners and in times of maximum activity to 95 per cent, but must have the full 100 per cent ready on call, there being no agency for dovetailing the demands of scattered individual employers, these ratios will not be affected by the scale of national production. In order to provide regular employment for the industrial reserve, all industries would have to be run on connecting lines. No plan of such a reorganization of industry has as yet been proposed that would be acceptable to all advocates of immigration restriction, let alone the proprietors of half a million independent mining, manufacturing, and mercantile establishments."

Dr. Hourwich's book was one of the first really scientific works on the problem of immigration. In its new form it still remains a highly authoritative and informative contribution to the subject.

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as those of enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THIS SOCIETY

ONE hundred years, \$1,000,000. That is the hope. Founded in 1828 from peace organizations, the first of which was started in 1815, the American Peace Society will be 100 years old in 1928. By that time the Society ought to be in its permanent home at the Capital of the Nation, assured of an income that will guarantee its beneficent influence for the generations that are to follow. During the next five years, therefore, the American Peace Society should raise a permanent foundation of at least \$1,000,000. Toward the realization of this amount there are in hand at present \$25,000.

THE financial operations of this Society are an open book. The treasurer is Dr. George W. White, President of the National Metropolitan Bank, the oldest national bank in the District of Columbia.

WE ARE told that "social work will not accomplish its really great purpose until it has mastered a way of getting the intelligent and continued support of a steadily expanding group of citizens." We are trying to "master" no such "way." Our policy is to let our message win its own "way." Hence we conduct no "drives" or "campaigns" for funds.

SENATOR BORAH'S NEW PROPOSAL

SENATOR BORAH'S resolution, submitted to the Senate February 14, is of more than passing importance; it marks a distinct step in the development of constructive international statesmanship within the Senate.

There are some superficial objections to Senator Borah and to his resolution. We do not question his ability; that is recognized and acknowledged not only by his fellow Senators, but by a rapidly growing section of world opinion. His forensic powers are unsurpassed in the Senate. His courage is unquestioned. He knows American history and studies foreign affairs. He is a statesman. But it is unfortunate, as we see it, that his intensity, perhaps his self-conscious integrity, makes it so difficult for him to develop his service in co-operation with others. It may not be a calamity, but it is most unfortunate, for example, that Senator Borah and Secretary Hughes are not working together in the development of a constructive American international policy. The blame may be as much Mr. Hughes' as Mr. Borah's. We suspect that it is at least in part Mr. Borah's.

Before commenting upon the Senator's resolution, let it be read. On page 3667 of the *Congressional Record* for Wednesday, February 14, 1923, we quote as follows:

International Law of Peace

MR. BORAH: I submit a resolution and ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The resolution (S. Res. 441) was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

Whereas war is the greatest existing menace to society, and has become so expensive and destructive that it not only causes the stupendous burdens of taxation now afflicting our people, but threatens to engulf and destroy civilization; and

Whereas civilization has been marked in its upward trend out of barbarism into its present condition by the development of law and courts to supplant methods of violence and force; and

Whereas the genius of civilization has discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, law and war, and therefore in any plan for the compulsory settlement of international controversies we must choose between war on the one hand and the process of law on the other; and

Whereas war between nations has always been and still is a lawful institution; so that any nation may, with or without cause, declare war against any other nation and be strictly within its legal rights; and

Whereas revolutionary wars, or wars of liberation, are illegal and criminal, to wit, high treason, whereas under existing international law wars of aggression between nations are perfectly lawful; and

Whereas the overwhelming moral sentiment of civilized people everywhere is against the cruel and destructive institution of war; and

Whereas all alliances, leagues, or plans which rely upon force as the ultimate power for the enforcement of peace carry the seeds either of their own destruction or of military dominance to the utter subversion of liberty and justice; and

Whereas we must recognize the fact that resolutions, or treaties, outlawing certain methods of killing will not be effective so long as war itself remains lawful, and that in international relations we must have not rules and regulations of war but organic laws against war; and

Whereas in our Constitutional Convention of 1787 it was successfully contended by Madison and Hamilton that the use of force when applied to people collectively—that is, to States or nations, was unsound in principle and would be tantamount to a declaration of war; and

Whereas we have in our Federal Supreme Court a practical and effective model for a real international court, as it has specific jurisdiction to hear and decide controversies between our sovereign States; and

Whereas our Supreme Court has exercised this jurisdiction without resort to force for 135 years, during which time scores of controversies have been judicially and peaceably settled that might otherwise have led to war between the States, and thus furnishes a practical exemplar for the compulsory and pacific settlement of international controversies; and

Whereas an international arrangement of such judicial character would not shackle the independence or impair the sovereignty of any nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies by making it a public crime under the law of nations, and that every nation should be encouraged by solemn agreement or treaty to bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers under powers similar to those conferred upon our Congress under Article I, section 8, of our Federal Constitution, which clothes the Congress with the power "to define and punish offenses against the law of nations"; and be it further

Resolved, That a code of international law of peace based upon equality and justice between nations, amplified and expanded and adapted and brought down to date, should be created and adopted;

Second. That a judicial substitute for war should be created (or if existing in part, adapted and adjusted) in the form or nature of an international court, modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign States, such court to possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all purely international controversies as defined by the code or arising under treaties, and to have the same power for the enforcement of its decrees as our Federal Supreme Court, namely, the respect of all enlightened nations for judgments resting upon open and fair investigations and impartial decisions and the compelling power of enlightened public opinion.

The Importance of It

It will be observed that there is substance in these sentences. They propose a congress and high court of nations, the one to amplify, expand, adapt, and bring down to date our code of international law based upon equality and justice between nations; the other to extend the lessons of our Federal Supreme Court into the practice of nations. Here we have not only sound American doctrine; we have clearly stated the inevitable course of all adequate effort in behalf of international peace.

We are not able to follow Senator Borah in his proposal "that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies." Suppose that war is made "a public crime under the law of nations, and that every nation should be encouraged by solemn agreement or treaty to bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers." It is difficult to see how such a program can be carried out in practice. Who, for example, were the "international war breeders" in the United States between 1914 and 1917? Were they Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Robert Bacon, the Duponts, President Wilson? Is it possible to imagine any circumstance under which these gentlemen might have been arrested, indicted and punished? Mr. Borah, it seems to us, weakens his case by inserting this plan.

The Simple Truths of Peace

But in the main the Senator from Idaho is everlastingly right. His proposal will attract attention and carry conviction among men and women. War is the greatest menace to society; civilization is the product of law and courts; the overwhelming moral sentiment of civilized people everywhere is against war; all international leagues relying upon force carry the seeds of their own destruction; there is no coercion of a State by force of arms except in terms of war; the Supreme Court of the United States in its decisions of controversies between sovereign States has shown the way, and that without shackling the independence or impairing the sovereignty of any State. Self-imposed laws, with a court to decide in case of controversy: that has been the way of justice between men and between States. Force? Yes, if needed in the execution of the law against individuals; but as against States, law can be enforced in one of two ways—by public opinion, or by war. There is no other way. The time is coming, may the God of nations speed the day, when the wonder of the world will be that peoples were so slow to grasp these simple truths.

TO REMOVE THE FINANCIAL INCENTIVE TO WAR

IT is difficult to prove that wars result directly or indirectly because of financial interests. It is true that a large percentage of armaments—navy and army equipment—are produced by private firms. Most of us will agree that there is some relation between business interests and political ideas.

The impression is rather deeply fixed that desire for trade has led certain manufacturers of war implements to foment strife. It fell to the lot of the writer to hear Mr. Wilson present the Covenant of the League of Nations at the plenary session of the Peace Conference in Paris. One thing that impressed him deeply was the unanimity, indeed enthusiasm, with which Article 8 was received by all present. This article, it will be remembered, expresses the agreement "that the manufacture by private enterprise of the munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety." The approval of this portion of the Covenant was more enthusiastic than that of any other section. In 1914 Mr. George Herbert Ferris wrote a book entitled "The War Traders," in which he says that the manufacturers of war munitions "make their fortunes by molding international relations to their will." The book is very circumstantial, and reveals a depressing array of facts tending to show "the propaganda of the war traders."

On the 20th of March, 1922, Congressman Hull, of Iowa, introduced a bill—H. R. 10967—the purpose of which is "to relieve unemployment among civilian workers of the Government, to remove the financial incentives to war," etc. This bill has recently been before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House, where it has received a rather extended hearing. The bill reads:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all vessels, machinery, equipment, and accouterments for such vessels, naval ordnance, and ordnance materials for the navy, ordnance and ordnance materials for the army and other military forces of the United States, and military equipment and supplies, including clothing, shall be constructed, reconditioned, repaired, manufactured, or produced in the Government navy yards, arsenals, or other industrial establishments owned and operated by the United States Government: *Provided,* That such Government establishments are equipped to do the work. In the event any Government establishment has performed work similar to the work required, such Government establishment shall be presumed to be equipped to do such work.

SEC. 2. That any department, independent office, or agency

acting on behalf of the United States, having under its jurisdiction any navy yard, arsenal, or other industrial establishment equipped to perform the work defined in section 1 of this act, is hereby authorized and directed to submit estimates or bids upon any commercial or other work when so directed by the head of such department or the head of any other branch or agency of the Government, and in the event that such estimate or bid is lower than the bid or bids submitted by private firms or contractors, the work shall be awarded to the Government establishment submitting such lower bid or estimate; and all heads of departments, independent offices, or agencies acting on behalf of the United States, are hereby authorized and directed to give to each and every other Government establishment an equal opportunity with private firms or contractors to estimate or bid upon the construction, reconditioning, repair, manufacture, or production of any vessels, machinery, equipment, material, or supplies required. Any estimate submitted by any Government establishment, under authority of this act, shall be regarded as a bid. Any Government establishment having performed work similar to the work mentioned and provided for in this act shall be considered as fully equipped to do the work herein mentioned and provided for.

SEC. 3. That each department, independent office, or agencies acting on behalf of the United States Government which has industrial establishments within its jurisdiction is hereby authorized and directed to retain as a revolving fund the moneys received or receivable in accordance with the estimated cost, but not expended in the performance of the work; and so long as any moneys remain in said revolving fund no department for which work is being performed shall be charged in excess of the estimated cost in cases where the actual cost exceeds the estimated cost, but any deficit incurred in the completion of work in accordance with the estimated cost shall be paid out of such fund.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War to establish in their respective departments a bureau with an adequate personnel the head of which shall be in accord with the purposes of this act, whose duty it shall be to review, revise, and control the estimates for work for the department with a view to have such work performed in the department's own industrial establishments, and to solicit work for the industrial establishments in these respective departments, from other departments, independent offices, and agencies acting on behalf of the United States.

SEC. 5. That in submitting bids or estimates such Government establishments shall not include therein as overhead or otherwise any expense, including depreciation involved in the operation of such establishments, which is due to the carrying and maintaining of all facilities and equipments in such establishments held or established principally for the purpose of providing for the production of naval and military necessities in case of a national emergency as a measure of naval or military preparedness, for the pay of naval or military personnel, or for any other cost or expenses which do not result from or are incurred by reason of such work being performed at such establishments.

SEC. 6. That all orders, agreements, or contracts for the performance of work defined in section 1 and section 2 of this act heretofore or hereafter made, authorized, or entered into by any department, independent office, or agency acting on behalf of the United States under authorization of law, with any Government owned or operated establishment shall

be considered as an obligation in the same manner as provided for similar orders placed with private firms or contractors, and appropriations for such work or material shall remain available for payment therefor as in the case of contracts or orders placed with private firms or contractors.

The probabilities are that this bill will not pass the House, if indeed it come to a vote. The rather sinister fact is that there is a pronounced opposition to the bill. The opposition comes from the manufacturers of arms. Their display of opposition is surprisingly strong.

Our opinion is that disinterested regard for the welfare of the world would lead men to favor some such bill as the Hull bill. We believe that if the peoples of the world could express themselves the private manufacture of war weapons would cease.

DISCREDITING THE PEACE MOVEMENT

WE DO not consider the real enemies of the peace movement to be the members of our army or navy, officers or privates. It is our privilege to know with some intimacy a number of our soldiers and not a few of our sailors. In Washington we naturally come in contact with many others. We have yet to meet a bloodthirsty military man. On the contrary, they are quite human beings, not wholly unlike the rest of us. They prepare themselves with more than usual conscientiousness for their work. They marry. They raise children. They prefer to see their children alive rather than dead. They are not interested in being blown up themselves. They are, we judge, a little more sensitive in matters of courage, unselfishness, generosity, and magnanimity than are some of our so-called pacifists; but most of our acquaintances among these our public servants, practically all of them, are more actively concerned to maintain peace between nations than are they of any other group. They are not all perfect men. Some of them are ignorant, conceited, cruel to their wives, dishonest, and criminal. We suspect, however, that this is no more true of them, say, than of us who are crying for peace. We frankly assert—uncanonical pacifism—that in our judgment there is no reason why members of the army and navy should not all be members of the American Peace Society. We wish they were.

The true enemies of the peace movement, paradoxical as it may seem, are found among its professed friends. Every worthy cause is embarrassed more by the uninformed enthusiasms of its supporters than by its actual opponents. Pacifists there are, for example, who visualize for themselves an imaginary Frankenstein, call it a soldier, and condemn it with violent invective. Some convince themselves that they know all Turks to be murderers and all Armenians to be long-suffering martyrs.

Some think they know France is all wrong and that Germany is all right in the struggle now going on to the east of the Rhine. Some profess to believe that the United States is pursuing a policy of criminal isolation and negligence because our Government is not straightening out the affairs of Europe by means of its "moral influence." Some believe if only we "reduce armaments to a police status" that peace will reign. The trouble is not that these people are mistaken, but that they insist upon shouting their mistaken views to the embarrassment of every intelligent effort to achieve peace between the nations. As there are shysters among lawyers, impostors among preachers, quacks among physicians, get-rich-quick promoters among financiers, so there are similarly embarrassing folk among the peace-makers. They are the real enemies of the peace movement because they discredit it among thinking and effective people.

Publicity for publicity's sake, talk for talk's sake, organization for organization's sake, raising funds that more funds may be raised, fault finding for fault finding's sake, these are activities so dissociated from the substance of law and justice that they discredit the peace movement and the men upon whom rest the responsibilities for its achievement. The acceptance of the new because it is new, quack criticisms of America, mushy advice to stricken Europe, shouting "It must not be again," "Make world peace permanent," conferences, resolutions, and the like, may end in more harm than good. The practical Burke had such things in mind when he said: "Sir, to speak the plain truth, I have in general no very exalted opinion of the virtue of paper government, nor of any politics in which the plan is to be wholly separated from the execution."

It is strange how little support our informed and responsible officials get from certain well-meaning pacifists. The peace movement can succeed only as it wins to its support men and women qualified by training and experience to fashion and direct the foreign policies of States. Noise and guesses and half-baked theories should have no place in this the world's greatest movement, greatest movement because concerned with the world's greatest need. The extravagant and erring spirit may well hie to his confine, at least until he has acquainted himself with the sanctions of international achievement, namely, the lessons of history. In the meantime, the true friend of the peace movement will pray not to embarrass it by discrediting it at the outset with emotional plans wholly separated from all possibilities of execution. While the song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed, it is not a deed unless it nerves the nation's heart. Just now the need is for wisdom.

THE CHURCHES CAN PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL PEACE

THE churches of the world can render a service to the cause of international peace. This will be accomplished not by petitioning the State Department to abandon a policy for which it does not stand; not by sending telegrams to the President and members of the Senate; not by urging the United States to join the League of Nations; not by vaporings about matters with which they are not acquainted, but by clarifying their own conceptions of what religion is, of its importance to the contentment of the human soul. The world needs a clear, comprehensible statement, something akin to the Lambeth Proposals.

One Conference

Thus the Christian world will be glad to hear of the plans for a Conference of Churches, representing seventy-eight Christian denominations in the United States, Europe, Asia, Africa, Canada, and Australia, to meet in Washington in May, 1925. If the Christian churches, confining their labors to their legitimate purposes, go about the business of restoring the attitudes of peace and tranquillity, they can render a service indeed.

The plans for the conference in 1925 have the advantage of being dissociated from politics. The Right Reverend James De Wolf Perry, Bishop of Rhode Island, according to the Associated Press, has accepted the chairmanship of the Executive Committee of the Episcopal Church Commission on the World Conference on Faith and Order. He has established headquarters in Providence, Rhode Island, Rev. Floyd W. Tompkins, Jr., of Pittsburgh, serving as secretary. The plans for the World Conference on Faith and Order originated at the Episcopal General Convention of 1910. As a result overtures were made for a conference of all Christian churches, to consider questions pertaining to faith and order with a view to ultimate unity. A preliminary conference of church representatives was held in the summer of 1920 at Geneva, Switzerland, when a continuation commission was appointed to take charge of the movement in its world-wide aspects. There are now seventy-eight commissions similar to that originally appointed by the Episcopal Church participating in the movement, representing nearly all the important Trinitarian churches throughout the world. Planned originally to restore unity among all Christian churches, it is the belief of those behind the movement that a supreme duty confronts the church today of restoring peace and order through a practical application of the doctrine of Christian brotherhood. In a brief statement, Bishop Perry says:

"For the uniting of a divided world, the leadership of a united Christian church is necessary. The World Conference on Faith and Order will bring Christendom together for the first time in many centuries to consider the differences which have stood in the way of unity; not in the spirit of controversy, but in a sympathetic desire on the part of every church concerned to understand the position of every other. The leaders in this movement are convinced that such conferences will result in a new emphasis upon the most important matters of belief, and will point the way to ultimate union."

Another Conference

In the light of this conference it is difficult to understand the announcement from the "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches" that there is to be a great conference of all Christian churches in 1925 to consider the life and work of the churches, which conference is to be held in Stockholm. We understand that in 1920, at Geneva, a group of sixty delegates from the various churches of the world organized themselves into an international committee to call this conference in Sweden. There was a meeting of the committee in Helsingborg, Sweden, last August. The American section of this committee, composed of representatives officially appointed to it by the denominations, recently met in New York. We are told that six commissions of fifty or sixty eminent churchmen of the country have been asked to begin work on reports to be presented to this other conference in 1925. These commissions are asked to consider such subjects as Christianity and the social order, economics, industry, the home, missions, evangelism, education and international relationships. Speaking of the proposed conference, one has said, "It should be to the life and work of the churches what Nicaea and Constance were to the faith."

We have not heard that the supporters of the conference in Sweden are working in co-operation with the promoters of the conference in Washington; but since both conferences are working for unity, it would seem reasonable to expect the two bodies to co-operate.

Certain Needs of the Church

Our own view is that the church is sadly in need of these conferences. Nearly every mail brings us an international pronouncement by some church organization. Some of these organizations bemoan "the failure of the United States to assert her moral influence" in the present world crisis; quite as if the mouth-filling phrase means something, and quite as if we were not doing anything in Austria, in Russia, in the Near East, and elsewhere already. Some assure us that "had America been a member of the League of Nations France could have been restrained"—surely an argument of assertion, which is no argument at all. One high churchman tells us in the same paragraph that France is a "gambler,"

and that "the expedition of France into the Ruhr and the causes which lie back of it must be viewed by every lover of peace as most deplorable," and that "it is an extremely difficult situation and one of which it is hard to form an accurate judgment. America, of all the nations of the earth, should be the last to criticize."

This same conspicuous representative of Christian churches writes the following series of what seem to us to be abstractions and rather inaccurate analyses:

"The British point of view shows thought for the welfare of all Europe, humaneness to a crushed people, a large part of whom were honestly struggling to get on to their feet, and it also shows wisdom. There could be much chance of France ultimately getting her just reparations by showing a more sympathetic attitude toward the new Germany and helping it to recover industrially and economically. Every day's cables show how the entrance into the Ruhr is solidifying all parties in Germany—royalists, republicans, and socialists. What is going to be the result? Europe is living over a powder magazine. What is the United States going to do about it? What can we do? If we were not so 'splendidly isolated' we would have a voice and an influence now when the need is so great."

The writer then goes on to laud ex-Justice Clarke's address on the League of Nations, to which address we paid our respects in the last number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Resolutions passed by federations and other church groups are called to our attention. It appears that many of these groups are urging "international co-operation upon our government." The Detroit Council of Churches believes that the League of Nations is the practical way in which to abolish war, and "that it may be made effective and vigorous by the co-operation of the United States." It is further recommended that the United States Government provide for a nation-wide referendum on the question, "Shall the United States join the League of Nations, or some similar organization, upon such reservations or amendments as the Senate of the United States may agree upon?" The Chicago church federation urges "that war must be outlawed." The trouble with all this effort is that it is uninformed and hence unrelated to fact or definite action. It is of no service to the men responsible for international performance. It only befogs the situation.

The general impression gained from the resolutions passed by the church organizations in matters of international relations is that the outstanding duty of the Christian church is to keep its nose out of politics, particularly international politics. It is evident that moral persons find no difficulty in thinking they know not only all sorts of sacred dogmas and popular superstitions, but they are quick to accept idle rumors, to promote un-

workable theories, and to advertise erroneous valuations in life and politics. It will be well for the church to remember that when in Article VI of our United States Constitution it was provided that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and when in the first amendment to that instrument it was further provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," it was assumed that we had separated the church from the state. We have thought that by this separation we had acted with wisdom. As we observe the easy credulity and dogmatism, the facile guesses of the church bodies when they talk upon international matters, we are convinced of the wisdom of that separation. Our social life has been divided into three regulative factors of human intercourse—religion, politics, and economics. The politician—we use the word in its accurate sense—is concerned, as was John Stuart Mill, "to apply principles to practical affairs." It is not the business of the church, as we see it, to develop, as did Mr. Mill, "principles of evidence" or "methods of scientific investigation." Our lawmakers are responsible for the laws and should not be interfered with by the church. Lawmaking, political achievement, are practical matters to be decided in their own way, not by resolutions, but by the application of experience to the exigencies of actual situations by men chosen for the particular job.

Our Best Informed Man

We believe that the man who is best informed on our international relations at this time is Charles Evans Hughes. He is Secretary of State. His information comes from our diplomatic and consular service, the business of which is to furnish him with information. When Mr. Hughes speaks or acts he speaks or acts out of the background of that knowledge. He is our specialist called to the bedside of our sick world. His diagnosis is more acceptable to us than the guesses of laymen, be these laymen never so devout. Our disposition is to trust Mr. Hughes. Certainly it is not necessary to hound this gentleman, barking at him for what he does or does not do in matters of international relations. It is difficult to understand why people should wish to do so, especially at this time. The United States are not at war with any people. We have established peace in the Pacific. We have just added another achievement to our credit in Central America. We are going about the extension of the principles of righteousness throughout this hemisphere by the means of a conference next month at Santiago, Chile. We are willing and anxious to help Europe when once it is clear to us that we can do something that will accomplish more good than harm.

As yet no one, not even Great Britain, knows what that may be. For men to say they know is, in our judgment, to give way to self-deception or charlatanry. We can advise Mr. Hughes. More to the point, we can trust him.

How the Church can Serve

The church can serve the cause of international peace. It can do that by preaching religion, pure and undefiled; by holding up the hands of the men we have chosen to do our work for us; by advertising the good at the heart of America. It is a high privilege of the church to illuminate the darkness of the world with the thing that is the United States of America, the happiest, most hopeful, helpful people on earth. The church can serve the cause of international peace by leading men to worship that creative force in the affairs of men which we call justice, and its handmaiden, the law; by holding before the eyes of the world the joy and beauty and strength and truth in the life and labor of Buddha, of Confucius, of Jesus the Christ.

SHOULD BE RETAINED IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

CHARLES BEECHER WARREN, of Detroit, should be retained in the diplomatic service of the United States. Having resigned as Ambassador to Japan, he has returned to this country, planning, we understand, to resume the practice of law.

Mr. Warren's services to our country have been conspicuous. He was consul for the United States before the Joint High Commission to determine the Behring Sea claims in 1896. He was consul for the United States in the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration with Great Britain before The Hague Tribunal in 1910. He was on the staff of the Judge Advocate General of the United States Army during the war and was awarded the distinguished service medal. He is a member of the executive council of the American Society of International Law. But, it appears to us, his outstanding contribution has been his services as our Ambassador to Japan. Mr. Hanihara, the newly appointed Japanese Ambassador to the United States, says that Mr. Warren "has won the hearts of our people by his generous personality and his work to bring about a more sympathetic relation between the two nations." There is every evidence that this is the fact.

The Washington Conference, it is generally granted, has eliminated all talk of war between the United States and Japan. The so-called "Pacific question" has been settled. Japan's trade with China is increasing, and her shipments of silk to the United States alone have recently exceeded that of any other similar period. Japan

has concluded, in consequence, that she can expand her commerce without the aid of her armies. She has decided to buttress her business upon good-will. Peace and business accomplish more for the weal of the people than business and war, and incidentally for business. This is the substance of the new psychology on the Pacific. This change has been produced not by the Washington Conference alone, but by the Washington Conference interpreted by the statesmanship of our Ambassador to Japan.

Something of the philosophy with which Mr. Warren has approached his diplomatic tasks is revealed in a speech before the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, February 13. He said: "Diplomacy creates the atmosphere which makes our international commerce possible. Commerce will not flow through a vacuum. The way must be made by the magnet of international good-will and understanding. . . . Admiration for our forefathers, for the traditions of our country, is indeed commendable, but we must be reasonable and have some regard for the feelings and sensitiveness of other nations where their reasonable rights are the subject of discussion. When these questions are up for negotiation we must be moderate. We don't want to be guided by people who want to ride into high places on the race prejudices of nations. When these questions are under discussion, let those people who have studied them have something to say. Don't let our national public opinion be inflamed by national prejudices." Thus in theory and in practice our recent Ambassador to Japan has demonstrated to us the rich values of our diplomatic service; but, no less important just now, he has convinced us that he should be retained if possible in some government department devoted to international affairs.

WORLD OF BROTHERHOOD IN THE MAKING

INTERNATIONAL peace is usually thought of as a political job, a matter of control by governments. In the last analysis, however, it is an expression of the individual human spirit. Peace between nations is the concern of every human being; responsibility for its achievement and maintenance belongs to us all. No individual is free from this responsibility. Each for all and all for each, of such is peace between peoples. Brotherhood is no mere abstraction; it is an entity. It sits with us in places high or low. It thrives as we make it thrive.

All of the old line peace societies are not dead. One survives in the little town of Andover, New Hampshire. It is not a large group; but its consecration, intelligence, and service are genuine. Believing that the young people are the hope of the world, realizing that world

brotherhood is more than a pious aspiration, these practical folk began in 1915 their labors in behalf of international correspondence as a means of promoting international good-will. During the war the correspondence was carried on chiefly with the young people of Argentina, Japan, and with French refugees. Since the war, the letters have been exchanged between students of twelve countries, including Mexico and Germany. Individuals or schools in twenty-four States, scattered from Massachusetts to Oregon and extending as far south as Kentucky and Tennessee, have co-operated in this movement. During the past year the Sunday School papers of one of the large church denominations have had a department devoted to international correspondence. Reports show that a large number of enthusiastic young people have rallied to this call. Pastors and churches have appealed to their Sunday Schools to join in the enterprise, one minister reporting that he never knew a group of young people to respond "so beautifully to a great idea." He sent a list of names for correspondence. Here is brotherhood in the making.

The work is not confined to this country. A teacher in one of the schools in Japan has proposed to supplement the correspondence plan with school exhibits. He has forwarded cards drawn and painted by his pupils, each card with its special message. Addresses from French publicists have been furnished to teachers of different schools. A correspondent in Merida, Yucatan, has written of an international effort to promote friendly relations, which they have started there. Young people from German schools are revealing in their correspondence the fine things in the German spirit, through one of the German teachers who has been most active in forwarding the correspondence business. This German teacher sent an appeal to help keep open the *Marienhaus* in Mittel-Schreiberhau, a refuge for teachers in extreme need. The little New Hampshire group sent this appeal to various people in different States, knowing of the correspondence movement, with the result that a substantial sum was received, enabling our friends to forward a worthy message to a number of poor teachers in Germany at Christmas time. They are in touch with the German Youth Movement and are furnishing periodicals to the reading room for students in the center of Berlin.

The vitality of this work, like the essence of every successful social enterprise, consists in the devotion of a few; in this instance, primarily in the consecration and unselfish labor of one woman. We happen to know that she does her own house work, cares for a blind brother who is an invalid, and keeps this whole enterprise moving without the assistance of any secretary. All bills to date are paid, and there are at the moment \$2 in the treasury. The American Peace Society will

see that the treasury has a few more dollars. There are many people in the United States, did they know of this service, who would wish to contribute still other dollars. We of this Society will be pleased to forward to this energetic worker any sums which our readers may wish to invest, so that she can "engage an assistant occasionally." A world of brotherhood cannot evolve itself.

OF COURSE

IN THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE for October, 1922, we referred to the case between the United States and Norway, just decided by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, as "Closed." Our position was that no technical matter should cloud the validity of the award of the court. The following joint resolution was reported in the United States Senate, February 12, without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, of course. The self-explanatory resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the appropriation of \$50,000,000 for the payment of claims by the United States Shipping Board, contained in the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the Executive and for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, and for other purposes," approved June 12, 1922, is made available to the extent required to enable the Secretary of State to satisfy the award rendered against the United States on October 13, 1922, by the arbitral tribunal established under the special agreement concluded June 30, 1921, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Norway. And the Secretary of State is authorized to withhold from the total amount awarded the sum of \$22,800, with interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum from October 13, 1922, to the date of payment of the award, and to pay the claim of Page Bros., American citizens, in accordance with the decision of the arbitral tribunal.

CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES seems to be the favorite indoor sport of a rather loud-speaking portion of our population. A periodical is now before us, purporting to be "a monthly digest of news of social significance," the whole of which is devoted to caustic criticisms of this country. It points out that "America is not so American as once she was." Because a detective may now find his way into an American home it is no longer true, runs the "news," that in this country a man's house is his castle. A long string of political, economic, and international grievances is set forth without one ray of hope. Take the international indictments. One accuses us of violating treaties, without any attempt to state the view of the United States in the premises. We are told that we seized Dutch and Nor-

wegian ships over the protests of their owners, without being told that this was a war emergency, about which there were two sides; or that we have submitted the case to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, with the result that we are to pay in full under the terms of the decision. We are belabored for acquiescing in the transfer of Shantung from China to Japan, in spite of the fact that primarily upon our initiative Shantung has been returned to China. We are given to understand that we have no right to plead for racial minorities in the Near East because lynchings take place within our own country. We are told that we have "demanded oil concession at Mosul," which of course is not the fact. It is pointed out that "we have steadily maintained the Monroe Doctrine, but have conquered territory near our Asiatic rival," though it is difficult to conceive of any relation between the Monroe Doctrine and our services to the Philippines. We are accused of dominating the free republics of Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, and Costa Rica, when, as a matter of fact, these countries themselves know and advertise the fact that we have befriended and aided them. We suppose that this kind of billingsgate is a relief to certain types of human kind; but we cannot understand the mental makeup of a mind that can print and distribute broadcast, with the aid of the United States mails, at a rate of postage which means a net loss to the government, these inaccurate, misleading, and libelous views, and at the same time charge that we no longer in America enjoy the privilege of free speech.

THE HONORABLE BALTASAR BRUM, President of Uruguay, proposes, it is reported, to submit at the Pan American Conference at Santiago next month plans for an American League of Nations. It will undoubtedly meet with opposition. It will be feared, for example, that the Monroe Doctrine would under such an agency be lost in the shuffle; and the Monroe Doctrine is still a very sacred thing in the minds of the majority.

Our own view is that an American League of Nations ought to be developed; that it can be developed, and with no violence to the Monroe Doctrine. We are quite mindful, too, of the Pan American Union and of its services to the cause of peace in this hemisphere. Because of its history it will be retained and made use of increasingly. But conferences, such, for instance, as the one about to be held in Chile, can easily be extended. For example, it may easily be provided that they meet at stated intervals. Such periodic conferences, made up of representatives of the various States, would require the application of no new principle to become a legislative league, returning the laws which it may pass to the

various States for ratification, with the mutual agreement that such laws upon ratification shall become laws for the nations that ratify. That's what happened at The Hague in 1899 and in 1907. It is what happens at every successful international conference.

It ought not be difficult to set up an International Court of Justice, with obligatory jurisdiction to function in disputes arising between American States. Such an organization, with quasi-legislative powers and with its Court of Justice, could be made to serve the cause of international peace throughout our western world and with the approval of the United States Senate, for such an organization would do no violence to the principle that government rests upon the consent of the governed, nor to that other purpose of our democracy so dear to the heart of all Americans, "a government of laws and not men." Such an organization, there can be no objection to calling it the American League of Nations, could but help in the creation of that "international mind" and the enlightenment of that public opinion "which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable."

THE FIRST Pan Pacific Commercial Conference held at Honolulu during the last days of October and early November, 1922, recommended the calling of a Pan Pacific Conservation Conference to be held in Honolulu in the summer of 1924. As a result of the conference steps are being taken to ascertain the advisability of a permanent Pan Pacific Chamber of Commerce in co-operation with all the boards of trade and chambers of commerce in Pacific lands. It is proposed to make use of educational films of Pacific peoples and industries. Efforts are being made to co-ordinate the work of universities in Pacific lands offering commercial instruction, and to set up and to maintain Pan Pacific commercial museums. Thus it will be seen that we have here an effort in behalf of international right behavior which has no relation to politics.

Among other things in which the Pan Pacific Union is interesting itself is the adoption of a uniform decimal currency for the Pacific countries, the extension of facilities for transportation and communication, a more adequate and accurate news service, the protection and extension of commercial fisheries, and the scientific study of the biology, physics, and chemistry of the Pacific Ocean. Another practical effort to achieve more

rational business relations is illustrated by the industrial Hawaii Valley conservancy project for the conservation and development of the enormous food supply of China.

The Pan Pacific Union does not propose to allow these desirable aspirations to die. Since various races have been merged into one people in Hawaii, the question is asked, Why should not the people along the whole Pacific be as one? The traditions of these countries have been those of peace. As a matter of better business, these practical folk of the Pan American Union are bending every effort to preserve the tradition, to conserve the resources, physical and moral, to the upbuilding of a better civilization on the borders of our greatest ocean. If not political, this all sounds practical and worth while.

THE ALPHEUS HENRY SNOW Prize for Scholarship and Character is to be awarded "to that member of the Senior Class in Yale College, who, through the combination of intellectual achievement, fine character, and personality, shall be adjudged by the Faculty to have done the most for Yale by inspiring in his classmates an admiration and love for the best traditions of that high scholarship to the service of which our universities are dedicated." The prize was made possible because of the gift of a fund of \$10,000 from the widow of Mr. Snow. This announcement will be of interest to the readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, who for a number of years profited by the writings of this distinguished scholar, graduate of Yale in the class of 1879.

"GREEK ATROCITIES IN ASIA MINOR" is the title of two brochures issued from the printing house Husn-i-Tabiat, opposite the Sublime Porte of Constantinople. They are quite in line with the pamphlets and books of a similar nature offered for our "education" during the World War. We are told that Turkish towns and villages over an area of 200 square miles were destroyed in Anatolia by the Greek armies during their retreat, "according to the report of the International Red Cross and the International Children's Relief." It is said that 180,000 persons, mostly women and children, are homeless in that land, lacking proper food and supplies, digging the ground for herbs with which to sustain life, innocent victims of Greek destruction and Greek atrocities. The burden of the pamphlets is "that ferocity is the outstanding feature of Greek policy toward Turkey." It is said that "the atrocities, perpetrated by the Greeks since they landed at Smyrna, exceed all similar crimes recorded up to now in the annals of history." Without any military necessity they burned

a great number of villages, polluted sacred institutions and objects of worship, violated girls under eight and women of seventy years of age. The tenth Greek division is designated by the Greeks as the "division of vengeance and devastation." Their photographs taken on the spot, their official reports, testimonies of Greek prisoners of war, evidence collected by the American Near East Relief Committee, and the depositions of peasants are all laid before us.

It is a sickening mess, probably true. But more mentally nauseating than any of these atrocities—be they committed by Greek or Turk—is the inability of the human mind to grasp the truth that of such is the very nature of war. These loathsome details spread before us are relatively insignificant. The atrocity of atrocities is war.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

By SENATOR GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER

An Address Delivered by Senator George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania, before the New York State Bar Association, Friday, January 19, 1923, at New York City.

IT IS not easy for a lawyer at this moment to focus attention upon anything less important than the international situation. This is my justification for making a few observations respecting some of its aspects. In so doing I am going to try to lay aside prejudices and partisanship as much as possible; for I take it that the God of the American lawyer should always be the God of things as they are.

The eyes of the world are upon the Ruhr Valley. It may be that hereafter we shall know it as the Valley of Decision. Meanwhile all except the cock-sure are in doubt whether it will prove a valley bathed in sunshine or the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

The cock-sure are of two sorts: those who affirm that the action of France is altogether justifiable, and that she will surely attain her objective, and those, on the other hand, who declare that her entry is a gross violation of law and is bound to be fruitless of anything except evil.

Between these two extremes are two other groups of opinion: These agree that France has broken no law, but they disagree respecting the wisdom of her action, though the position of those who think the entry wise is daily becoming more difficult to maintain.

Certain facts are clear.

One is that Germany made default in the discharge of an admitted obligation.

Another is that by the 248th Article of the Treaty of Versailles reparations and costs were made a first charge or lien upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States.

A third fact is that France, as a nation for whose protection this lien exists, has claimed and exercised a right of entry after default, as if a mortgagee were taking possession.

I do not find in the treaty any undertaking by France to forego the exercise of such a right. On the contrary, I find in the eighteenth paragraph of Annex II a distinct provision that in case of voluntary default by Germany such measures may be taken by the allied and associated powers as the respective governments may determine to be necessary under the circumstances.

It cannot successfully be denied that the existing default is a voluntary default. The provision just referred to clearly implies that in such case several action may be taken as well as joint; and France is made by the treaty the judge of what measures are necessary, as far as she is concerned.

It is stated in the press that Great Britain concedes the legality of the entry. As far as I can see, the concession is a proper one. If France is to be criticized, it must be on other than legal grounds.

This conclusion naturally suggests another question: Granted her right to enter, what other course was open to France?

Of course, I mean "open" in a practical sense and not merely as an academic matter. And the practical aspects of the situation in France include both psychology and politics.

We, whose sufferings were not comparable with those of other nations, naturally find it impossible to measure and allow for the intensity of feeling which animates their people. And if any have cause for intense feeling, France has more. The war entailed terrific property losses upon many nations. Mars reaped a frightful harvest of young lives among many peoples. But, after all, it was in Flanders and France that the actual devastation took place; it was there that the harvest fields were dunged with rotten death. When you calmly consider the contrast between the outward and visible conditions in Germany and France, it seems to me unintelligent to expect the French to be capable of any other mental process than the conclusion that Germany can pay, that she will pay if pressed, and that now is the time to press her.

You will understand that I am not hazarding an opinion upon the objective fact—to what extent German payment is a possibility. I am deliberately trying to don the Frenchman's mind, realizing that I must immediately doff it when I want to understand the Englishman or the German. Was it not a distinguished English judge who once remarked that the state of a man's mind is a fact to be reckoned with as much as the state of his digestion?

If the decision of France was psychologically inevitable, what was its political aspect? Assuming the conviction on the part of the French electorate that Germany could and would pay if pressed, and conceding the possession by France of the available force for bringing pressure to bear, what reason could the government assign to the people for a failure to act? I mean, of course, what reason that the electorate would accept?

Remember how the account stands. It has recently been summed up in striking fashion by that penetrating observer, Mr. Frank E. Simonds. His explanation of why the Bonar Law proposal was rejected is briefly this:

Of the total estimated reparation fund of \$33,000,000,000, it was contemplated at Versailles that France should receive 52 per cent and Great Britain 22 per cent. Bonar Law proposed the reduction of the repara-

tion fund to \$12,000,000,000, the decrease of the French percentage to about 33 per cent, and the increase of the British percentage to 50 per cent, these percentage changes being in consideration of the cancellation of the debts owed the British by the French. But on this basis France would receive out of the reparation fund only about enough to pay the debt of France to America. To repair her devastated areas, France would have to pay out \$8,000,000,000 of her own money. Since Germany, with a proportionately larger population, would escape with a payment of \$12,000,000,000, the payments by Germany and France would be substantially equal per capita, with the difference that Germany was not devastated and that France was. When it is remembered that by the war America was relieved of the German challenge to her use of the high seas, and that Great Britain broke the German sea-power, took the German merchant fleet, and annexed by mandate the best of the German colonies, it will be seen that the Bonar Law proposal left America and Great Britain victors over Germany, and Germany in the position of a victor over France.

I summarize this view for the purpose of presenting as clearly as I can the political aspect of the French situation. Looking at it as dispassionately as I can, it seems to me that acceptance of the Bonar Law proposal was both psychologically and politically impossible for a French statesman.

I am not forgetting, of course, the view freely expressed by a recent English visitor, that if America had been sitting in the conference of premiers at which the proposal was made, our disinterested advice would have led France to yield.

This is a plausible suggestion, but upon consideration it is seen to be unsound. The English assumption is that America would have advised France to assent to the reduction in the reparation fund and to a reduced participation therein. But this would not have been disinterested advice unless we were willing to cancel or abate our claim against France. For us to advise France to take from Germany just enough to pay us, and to do so on the theory that Germany could pay no more, would have made upon the French mind no impression whatsoever.

The truth is, that much nonsense is talked about conference. People seem to assume that the act of putting legs together under a table tends to make minds meet across it. Lawyers experienced in conference and negotiation know perfectly well that propinquity alone may do more harm than good. When the parties to a transaction differ widely respecting rights and liabilities, when both feel intensely and neither is in a mood to yield, conference sometimes amounts to nothing more than an opportunity to widen the breach.

The intervention of a really disinterested third party is seldom successful unless such intervention is earnestly desired by both parties, or, if volunteered, unless the third party either has the personality which makes agreement seem desirable or a force available for coercion if agreement is refused. In the present instance the United States was not invited to sit in, and under such circumstances volunteered intervention is apt to be deemed officious.

We must not delude ourselves into the belief that our group personality is at the present time held in such

esteem in Europe as to give our suggestions the weight which results from good-will. It is likewise perfectly clear that no threatened use of force would stand behind suggestions made by us in conference. On the contrary, the withdrawal of our troops from the Rhine is an emphatic declaration which, in my judgment, ought to have been made some time ago, that Europe must not count upon our guns as a factor in the solution of this problem.

Back of all this, however, is the fact referred to a few minutes ago, namely, that America is not really disinterested. The debts due us by foreign nations are only some of the things which give us a definite and appreciable interest in the situation. I think it may be laid down as an unvarying rule, that under such circumstances no invitation to conference should be given unless the convener is prepared to make liberal concessions in the interest of settlement. A powerful presentation of the futility of conference under existing limitations was made by the senior Senator from California when the Borah amendment was pending in the Senate. It was the frank and definite proposal of the United States to lead the way in reducing naval armaments that produced so memorable a result at the Washington Conference.

At this point the advocate of conference may properly raise the question whether the United States should indicate a willingness to cancel or abate the debts due us by all foreign governments or at any rate by France; also, whether the United States should indicate a willingness to join Great Britain in a guaranty to protect France against future German aggression. From a political point of view, a prompt and unhesitating negative answer must be returned to these questions. It seems to me to be entirely clear that up to the present time the overwhelming majority of the American people has been and is now definitely opposed either to cancellation of debts or to international guaranties. As to the debt problem, the outcome of the visit of the British Debt Commission will be awaited with interest. Everybody ought to be hopeful that a satisfactory way of dealing with the situation can yet be found. It seems to me, however, that with the debt question and the guaranty question necessarily reserved for consideration, it would have been a combination of impertinence and futility for America to have issued a call for conference. We went as far in that direction as it was possible to go when the Secretary of State made his entirely informal, but highly important, suggestion respecting the possibility of an international commission of experts who could approach the formulation of a plan of settlement unembarrassed by political considerations. In view of the state of the French mind, however, it was a foregone conclusion that no immediate cognizance of the suggestion could be taken by Monsieur Poincaré.

I am discussing what course was open to France other than entry. I have attempted to eliminate as possibilities either acceptance of the Bonar Law proposal or adjustment through a conference called by America. It remains to consider what function, if any, the League of Nations had to perform in the premises. Turning to the Covenant of the League, we find several applicable provisions.

The dispute between France and Germany is a dispute between a member State and a State not a mem-

ber. Under Article 17, it is the duty of the League to invite Germany to accept the obligations of membership. If this duty were performed and if Germany accepted, the situation would then be covered by Article 13. A reasonable interpretation of this article makes such a fact as the fact of Germany's ability or inability to pay an issue which the parties recognize as suitable for arbitration. This issue they would accordingly be bound to submit. When the award of the chosen tribunal was made, it would become the duty of both parties to carry it into effect. If, for example, the decision was against France and France were to refuse acceptance, it would thereupon become the duty of the Council to propose the steps necessary to bring France to terms.

If Germany declined to accept the obligations of membership and were to resort to war against France, her action would be, under Article 16, an act of war against every member of the League, and every such member would thereupon be bound to sever all diplomatic, financial, and other relations with Germany, and the Council would recommend the appropriate military, naval, and air measures to protect the League covenants.

It thus appears that the Covenant of the League of Nations is so drawn as to be precisely applicable to the complication which has arisen. Yet the League has not performed its covenanted duty, and it appears to be tacitly conceded by everybody that the organization is a negligible factor in such a situation. This is all the more significant when it is recalled that over fifty nations are members, and that if the theory underlying the League were really workable, their united strength and wealth would constitute an overwhelming pressure upon France and Germany.

In the presence of such a situation, anybody who contends that had the United States entered the League of Nations the League would now be dealing effectively with the Ruhr situation must realize the output of American men and American money which would have been necessary to convert League impotence into League efficiency.

Because I have spoken of the inadequacy of the League to deal with great emergencies, I do not wish to be understood as lacking appreciation of what it has actually accomplished. A study of its transactions brings out the extremely interesting fact that it is really not functioning as a League of Nations at all. It is, in practical effect, a group of able and public-spirited citizens taking thought for world peace and acting as a council of conciliation and an international commission on social welfare.

As a conference to devise peace measures, it set up the International Court of Justice, which has already rendered three advisory opinions. In a like capacity it has made suggestions looking to the protection of minorities in eleven States and also suggestions for world-wide disarmament.

As a council of conciliation and not at all as an agency for applying united force, the Council of the League did good work in settling the Upper Silesian dispute and in averting war between Albania and Serbia.

As a welfare and educational commission, it has recommended measures against epidemic and for the coordination of intellectual effort, and has made some

progress in promoting agreements for the suppression of the white slave and opium traffic.

I think it is Professor Maitland who observes that no man can specify the point at which the British East India Company ceased to be a trading corporation and became the Empire of India. In the case of the League of Nations, we are witnessing a similar evolution, but in an opposite direction. That which was conceived as a combination of States to keep peace by force has in fact become an international group of citizens who abjure force and successfully resort to the conference method.

In proportion as the League becomes more useful and effective, the fact will be increasingly clear that its real strength does not lie in governmental action, but in the capacity of the League to affect the thinking and sentiment of the people of the member States. Development along these lines seems to be wholly desirable.

If any one contends that with the United States in the League there would have been a serious attempt to enforce the League covenants as written, he is necessarily conceding that to our refusal to join is due the conversion of the organization from the pursuit of coercion to the attainment of conciliation. Until, therefore, the constitution of the League is so changed as to reflect its changed nature, it seems to me purely academic even to discuss the possibility of our entering it. I hold that it would be a lamentable thing if the United States were to do anything whatever to check the wholesome evolution of the League which is now in progress. Such a check would surely be administered if a seeming accession of available force were to revive the hope entertained in some quarters that the League covenants may yet be taken seriously.

After all, it is only through conference, at the right time and in the right place, that real progress can be made.

Even specific treaties of arbitration between parts of nations are of doubtful value in really great emergencies. We have such treaties with thirty nations, but if you will read them critically you will find a joker in each of them through which a way of escape could be found from their obligation. The International Court of Justice will function best when by conference an atmosphere has been generated congenial to submission of disputes to its adjudication.

If France's experiment in the Ruhr fails, it may well be found that a conference will become possible which before was hopeless. There might then be in France both psychological and political changes which would give to her statesmen a latitude they do not now enjoy. But our own uncompromising attitude respecting debts and protective guarantees would even then preclude us from volunteering as the convener. We could participate only if invited.

A year ago there were four world areas in which trouble was simmering or boiling over: the Far East, eastern Europe, the Near East, and western Europe.

Through the Washington Conference, called at the right time and at the right place, war clouds in the region of the Pacific have been dispelled.

The Genoa Conference, less wisely planned, has demonstrated that direct approach to the Russian situation in eastern Europe is still premature.

At the Lausanne Conference appreciable progress has been made in making the best out of a bad situation in the Near East.

In the remaining trouble area, western Europe, the proposal of Great Britain has failed to solve the problem, the League of Nations cannot function there, the United States cannot call a conference, and not until the French mind or ours is affected by logic of events will there be any step that we can hopefully take.

Under such circumstances, impulsive criticism of France, England, the United States, Germany, or any other nation can do no possible good and may work irreparable damage. Urgent appeals to the United States to act are evidence of superficial thinking rather than of sagacity. Not until the fog lifts can we shape our course. When this becomes possible, we shall weigh anchor and with ready mind wait for that signal which America always welcomes—"Full steam ahead!"

PROGRESS THROUGH DIFFICULTIES*

By VICE-PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

OUR STUPENDOUS development is one of the best illustrations of the success in practice of the theory of our institutions. They all rest on a very high estimation of the powers of mankind. It is believed that they have the ability for self-support and that, therefore, their natural state is that of independence. It is believed that they have the capacity for self-control and that, therefore, they are entitled to complete jurisdiction over their government. The principle is that in all things they are the best able to own, control, and manage their own affairs. The marvelous extension of insurance bears most impressive testimony of the striking success of this system in the economic life of the nation. The great achievements in this field have been made by the people themselves. The assumption of the necessary costs and burdens have all been voluntary. By the free action of the individual, he makes a contribution to society, over the extent of which he himself has sole determination. He receives from society a corresponding support to be applied wheresoever he shall direct. Here is no interposition of a superior force, no mandate of the law, no weak dependence upon government, but the self-directed and vigorous action of the individual himself working out his own destiny. What no government was ever able to do for its subjects, the people have done for themselves. The strength of this whole movement, the virility of this entire principle, is revealed in the fact that it is not imposed upon the people, but results entirely from their own deep and abiding convictions. Such a foundation never fails.

There are several conclusions which arise from these facts and their attendant principles. One of the first is the ever-present necessity for peace and an ordered government in accordance with standing law. It is only in a society which possesses stability that there can be economic progress. Probably no one has cared to undertake to sell insurance in Russia for the past few years. In

* From an address in New York City, Wednesday, February 7, 1923, at a dinner of the Prudential Insurance Company.

spite of appearances, our country made no profit out of the war, while only loss is apparent in the recent strike in the coal fields and in the railroad shops, and in industrial strife generally. Perhaps out of the loss and inconvenience that has accrued, experience may teach a lesson of the futility of it all, which may be of benefit in the future. Always it has been peace, obedience to law, and industrial harmony which have been the contributing factors to that American business success which is reflected in the general prosperity of the people.

Your own experience must be a striking confirmation of this fact. Wherever you and your associates go, the economic burden which the war imposed upon the people at large is perfectly apparent. Although the cost of living, which rose from a scale of 100 to 216, has been receding, it still reaches nearly 170. For almost all the prime necessities—shelter, clothing, food, and fuel—the consumer pays a greatly increased price. A very large contributing element to this situation is the increased cost of government. Into the great conflict our country put nearly sixty billions of dollars; about \$25,000,000,000 came from loans, and about \$32,000,000,000 came from taxation, an amount so stupendous as to put a violent strain on our whole economic fabric. In spite of reductions and economies which are exceedingly gratifying, the appropriations, outside of the Post-Office Department, which is self-supporting, for the present year were \$3,187,000,000, and the same budget for next year is \$3,078,000,000. This great sum would more than equal the entire income of 1½ million heads of families, earning \$2,000 each year, representing on the average 7½ million persons.

The principal end of government is to provide freedom, order, security, and justice. To take care of the war debt requires about \$1,350,000,000. The expenses of the Veterans' Bureau aggregate nearly \$450,000,000, pensions about \$250,000,000, the army about \$280,000,000, and the navy about \$294,000,000. All of this together makes the cost of national security for a single year \$2,624,000,000, out of a budget of \$3,078,000,000. Out of the 7½ million persons that we might consider as solely engaged in meeting the cost of government, 6½ million of them are required to meet the bill for national defense. We shall always need an army and navy, but even in the case of our own peaceful nation, if we could be relieved of the waste of war, what a tremendous amount of energy would be transferred into the production of those necessities, conveniences, and even luxuries, which minister to human welfare.

When we turn to the industrial field, where is apparent a very serious situation having a widespread effect and causing a great loss. A careful estimation in 1920 placed the membership of trade unions at close to five million. Undoubtedly it has since grown less. What dues are paid is unknown, but it is apparent that the aggregate would be large. The number of industrial conflicts important enough to be reported to the Department of Labor for 1921 was almost 2,300. The Anthracite Bureau estimates the losses accruing to operators and miners in their field from the strike of last year at \$250,000,000. In the bituminous field there is no estimate, but it is apparent that it must have been very large, for that field has much the larger production. The conflict in

transportation is said to have cost the railroads from \$150,000,000 to \$221,000,000, with an attendant loss of wages to their employees of \$177,000,000. These total \$648,000,000. The indirect loss occasioned by conflict in the coal mines and on the railroads to the outside public was an amount which can never be known. When there is added to these the losses which accrued from the thousands of other conflicts, it becomes apparent what a perfectly stupendous burden they all place on the consuming public. Directly and indirectly it may reach \$2,000,000,000 in the course of a year. No one knows and no one can tell. On the same basis of income and people as already estimated, this would represent the entire income of one million more heads of families earning \$2,000 each year, representing on the average five million more persons.

But the loss is not confined in such conflicts to a mere expenditure of treasure. They bring much suffering and privation. Interference with employment, with transportation, or with the production of such necessities as coal, causes suffering from lack of light, heat, and power, and privations both to those who produce and those who consume when perishable commodities spoil. Where the conflict becomes acute, loss of life ensues. The destruction of life at Herrin, Illinois, which horrified the whole nation, has been charged to those who were hostile to the employers, while mob law at Harrison, Arkansas, has been charged to those who were hostile to the employees. Whoever was responsible, both these occurrences indicate a trampling on the law and a breaking down of the safeguards of civilization.

The economic effect of all this conflict is perfectly apparent. In the case of war and government it can be exactly measured. In the case of industry it can only be estimated. If the two combined have equaled \$4,500,000,000 in a single year, when the entire income of the nation is estimated at about \$60,000,000,000, it makes a very heavy burden. No doubt there are two and one-quarter million heads of families who do not earn more than \$2,000 each year, though the average for all the people is much in excess of this amount. But if out of a population of something over one hundred million, something like eleven million men, women, and children might be represented in the amount of effort that goes into these conflicts, the seriousness of the situation becomes perfectly apparent. While nine of the people are working and producing, one of them has to stand guard to prevent from being destroyed, not only that which is being destroyed, not only that which is being produced, but the life and liberty, and the very national existence, of the others.

This is an illustration of what a contribution would be made to human happiness, if it were possible to secure peace, obedience to law, and industrial harmony. Whatever affects the government, whatever affects transportation, or any of the great enterprises, with the present organization of society and distribution of wealth, affects the people as a whole. Not only that, but the burden is always most grievous to the weak. The results of those conflicts are all-inclusive, reaching into every home in the land.

It is impossible to provide an immediate remedy for these conditions. The problem is to avoid producing

more conflicts and to eliminate the causes of conflicts. Those responsible for the control of great business enterprises should, themselves, insist that industry be clean. Those responsible for leadership in the trade unions should, themselves, insist that employment be clean. The management of business ought to be insistent on the administration of justice at Harrison, Arkansas, and the management of trade unions ought to be insistent on the administration of justice at Herrin, Illinois. When carloads of people were left stranded in the unbearable heat of a western desert last August, representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods are reported to have co-operated in bringing those who were responsible for such action to trial and punishment. This was a most wholesome example, the highest possible demonstration of good faith and praiseworthy patriotism.

The people feel these great burdens keenly. Oftentimes they are unconscious of their cause. They grope about for remedies. They become inclined to listen to those who assert that the trouble lies in our form of government and in our standards of society. Bound and fettered by these conditions, they lose faith in freedom. It becomes easy to conclude that in changing the government and remodeling society a way to escape is to be found. Yet when we examine our laws and customs they appear to be sound and just. It is neither government nor society that creates conflicts, but those who defy their rules. It is desirable to think of some of these things before we conclude that American institutions are a failure and commit ourselves to their overthrow. It is not a change of treaties or constitutions or laws, but a change of heart in which will be found the ultimate remedy. In the liquidation of hate and uncharitableness and in a resort to compassion and goodwill there lies the only hope. All about are the marvelous resources of the present, the great opportunities created by science and wealth. They are all open to humanity, provided there be the character and the spirit to receive them. They all wait not on an enactment of law, but on an attitude of mind.

It is not new to assert that unless those who are in positions of control, either in management or employment, exert themselves to create better conditions there will be action on the part of the public through the instrumentality of government. There is a demand, which is growing more insistent, for a reduction in the cost of the necessities of life. Shelter, fuel, and transportation are only to be had at a very high cost. The freight bill of the entire nation for last year was just over \$4,000,000,000. The coal bill was not much less. What was required to repair the waste of war and industrial conflicts ranks along with these two items. Peace, harmony, and obedience could have made a very large reduction in their amount, for the war is in every freight and coal bill. Such a state cannot but produce a violent demand for some kind of government action.

The danger under such circumstances is that either the attempted remedy will be ineffective or it will make conditions worse. The alternative to private ownership and control is public ownership and control. Broadly extended, this is communism. It is not, however, the elimination of self-interest which is desired, but the

creation of an enlightened and humanized self-interest, the realization that true self-interest does not lie in the course of conflict, but of co-operation. The government and its agents are not in the possession of any resources, ability, wisdom, or altruism, except that which they secure from private life. In the last analysis, the government cannot tell the people what to do; the people must of necessity think for themselves and act for themselves if there is to be maintained a state of responsible freedom. It needs no argument to demonstrate that where the people are the government they do not get rid of their burdens by attempting to unload them on the government.

In spite of all these difficulties our country is not failing to make progress. Already it has paid off more than one-seventh of its public debt. It has been removing both the causes and the disposition for war. Important agreements have been made for the limitation of armaments and for mutual consultation and notification in case of disagreement or impending peril. The number of industrial conflicts for the first nine months last tabulated run at the rate of less than one-half of those of the previous year. Exports which averaged about \$300,000,000 per month for the last fiscal year now average well toward \$400,000,000 per month. Apparently, the great loan made to the British Government is about to be funded, an action which marks a returning economic stability. The spirit of mutual co-operation and helpfulness which prevails in the insurance world is coming more and more to prevail in the industrial world. We are not without the beginnings of this same spirit in the international world. A weak sentimentalism plays no part in it. It is based on the theory of helping those who help themselves. Not on the theory that some should bear all the burdens of the others, but on the theory that all should share each other's burdens. It is a conspicuous example of that co-operation and charity which are indispensable to the progress of mankind. There is by no means any reason to be discouraged. Rather is there every reason for faith and courage for the support of our institutions of government and society, and confidence in the increasing power of what is right.

INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRAFFIC

By F. R. ELDRIDGE

The author of this article is Chief of the Far Eastern Division in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce.—THE EDITOR.

CERTAIN outstanding facts regarding the international traffic in drugs seems to be overlooked in popular discussion of the drug evil.

In 1912 most of the nations of the world signed a convention at The Hague, whereby they undertook to pass such laws applicable to their own borders as would limit the trade in drugs to legitimate medical use. A great many of these nations have now passed such laws and have notified The Hague of their full adherence to The Hague convention. The most prominent exceptions are certain European and Asiatic countries and one or two countries of South America. The United States in the Harrison act has established strict control over

the use of drugs for medical use. The important point in the present drug situation, therefore, is the fact that practically all of the illicit use of drugs in this country is of smuggled origin.

Most of the opium used in this country originates in Asia Minor. This is also believed to be the source of much of the illicit traffic. Certain European countries are the intermediaries through which these illicit drugs reach this country. In the case of these countries the local administration of any laws to govern the drug traffic is embarrassed by lax governmental authority. Some are handicapped in administering national laws for the control of the drug traffic by their peculiar system of Government which it is proposed to remedy by constitutional amendments. The fact that most of the opium used in this country originates from Asia Minor, however, makes any attempt to regulate the international drug traffic by control of production almost impossible. In certain middle Eastern countries, where much opium is grown, it is handled as Government monopoly by the Government. Little, if any, of such drug is believed to reach the United States.

Much opium is also grown in parts of the Far East, but its growth is in some countries illegal and it is only countenanced and encouraged by local military governors as a ready source of revenue. The traffic in such opium is almost entirely confined to these countries, as there are no manufacturers of the drug and its handling in a crude state by smugglers is most difficult. Other Oriental countries are apparently taking stringent measures to enforce administration of local drug restriction laws, as evidenced by the recent outcries of certain of their drug manufacturers, particularly growers and manufacturers of coca leaves.

The above situations all have a direct bearing on the growth of the illicit drug traffic in this country, for the relatively high value of a small quantity of manufactured opium, or cocaine, makes the smuggling not only extremely difficult to detect, but extremely profitable as well. It is well to remember, therefore, that even drastic restriction of the legitimate trade in drugs—the importation under license and the manufacture in compliance with the terms of the Harrison act—is unlikely to affect the illegitimate use or the smuggling of drugs to any appreciable extent.

This illegitimate traffic can only be restricted in three ways—either by world-wide control of production of opium or coca leaves, by world-wide enforcement of strict supervision over manufacture and distribution of drugs, and by international convention or agreement regarding the seizure and confiscation of drugs found illegitimately on shipboard. The first alternative has been found to be impracticable because of the remote possibility, at present, of getting the chief producers of opium or coca leaves for world consumption to agree to any such restriction or enforce it if they did. The second alternative seems to be the logical course to pursue, therefore, and is now being discussed. When the control over manufacture is perfected throughout the world the need for international action on the regulation of common carriers of drugs in peace time can and should be made as drastic as the rules of war regarding contraband. After all the world is, or should be, on a crusade against the illegitimate drug traffic, and the right of visit and

search, of seizure, and of all other rules regarding contraband of war should apply with equal force against a weapon more deadly than cannon and with a growing list of fatalities laid at its door each year—the illegitimate drug.

IGNORANCE OF THE WORLD'S NATURAL RESOURCES AS A CAUSE FOR WARS

By Dr. W. BOWIE

Chief, Division of Geodesy, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey

SINCE the dawn of history, tribes, races, and nations have been engaged in serious struggles and frequent conflicts in their efforts to secure those things which come from the earth and that are necessary to sustain human life.

It may be said that there are three absolutely essential things for existence; they are food, shelter, and clothing. All of these are derived from the soil or sea in one form or another. It is the struggle for the raw materials which are used in producing the necessary elements which has led to so many conflicts, at times practically wrecking nations. It is probable, because natural, if no restraint, self-imposed or enforced, is exercised, that a group of people called a nation, not particularly blessed with natural resources, will make an effort to secure them from some other country more fortunately situated.

It is natural to assume that where a nation is not blessed with abundant resources of all kinds it would be content to exchange its surplus in some things with the inhabitants of another country, in the form of trade, for those articles which are necessary to the welfare of its people. That is the way that should be followed. It is the dream of all broad-minded statesmen that what their people lack will be obtained from other peoples in exchange for what their country has or can produce. But these dreams of the statesmen are often merely dreams.

Much of the struggle for natural resources has been due to an almost entire lack of knowledge of the extent of what the world has in stock. As a nation becomes greater in number it feels that its boundaries must be extended; and as its natural resources in the form of minerals, timber, and soil fertility are used up, it must get land where such things have remained undeveloped. Is not this a prime cause of the struggle of the nations to possess undeveloped areas? Each country has desired to take over such areas as seem to possess those natural resources which were most lacking in its own country.

If the struggle for natural resources is a cause of contention among nations, how can we minimize or eliminate some of the dangers that are involved in this struggle?

It would seem to be necessary, first, that the nations trust each other and feel that no one nation will strive to starve another. In other words, there should be a freedom of trade between countries which have various elements in the way of natural resources, the one having in abundance sharing with the other nations in exchange

for products which it does not have itself in sufficient quantities.

The next, or possibly even the very first, thing that should be done is to learn just what the resources of the world are. That is, their character and extent; the facts.

This generation has inherited from former generations the natural resources of the world. Are we to do like an improvident inheritor and use our country as if it were an unlimited store without taking stock of just what exists? How many inheritors have wasted their substance before actually knowing what they had inherited?

We should act as a wise inheritor and first take stock of just what we have. This stock consists essentially in the fertility of the soil, forests, minerals that may be extracted from the earth, coal, oil, water-power, land that may be irrigated, and areas which may be drained. Each one of these resources should be surveyed in the most scientific and accurate manner.

Of course there is the sea also. We should certainly know more of the food-producing capacity of the seas. Capt. R. L. Faris, in his address as retiring President of the Philosophical Society of Washington, January 14, 1922, spoke interestingly of "Some Problems of the Sea." Among other things, Captain Faris said:

The seas which man found here upon his advent on earth he seems, as a matter of course, to have long considered as a part of his natural surroundings, and generally ceased to trouble himself about them—their size, their depths, their contents, or even their effect upon his life. Yet the area of the seas is much larger than that of all land areas of the earth, and their influence upon his daily life, and even upon his very nature, is profound and persistent. The very ratio of sea to land surface is essential to the existence and development of the present humankind. . . .

A study of the life in the sea is no longer one of scientific interest only, but one of pressing economic importance, as an added source of supply of human food for the ever-growing populations of the earth.

From a biological standpoint, are there any deserts in the sea? Is it possible to cultivate the sea as we do the land, or as we do our oyster resources, or our streams and lakes by stocking with fish?

To utilize our land areas economically, topographic, mineral, forest, and other special surveys are essential. Just so, it is important to have a scientific survey of our ocean areas to enable us to take stock of its natural resources, and, having this, thereby to be in a position intelligently to develop and to utilize its resources in an economical and efficient manner.

Aside from being the highway of the commerce of the world, do we also need to use the food resources of the sea for the maintenance of the human race? Or, in other words, must we depend upon the sea to provide a portion of the food necessary for the existence of the coming populations? Does the human body now require for its best development any essential elements of food that can be supplied by the sea only?

If these questions are answered in the affirmative, then, among others, the sea food problem requires our most intelligent attention, especially as the people are even now taking thought of their food supply, which the tillable land areas of the earth are daily growing less and less able to

meet, as evidenced by the rising basic costs of food. Sea foods have been looked upon as desirable, but not absolutely essential, parts of human diet. They may soon become necessary to supplement an inadequate food supply from the lands. . . .

It was the belief of Sir John Murray that the sea is capable of a productivity equal to that of the land. It is generally estimated that less than five per cent of man's food now comes from the sea. If so, then the sea has unrealized possibilities of utilization that are vast from the economic standpoint, and a comprehensive study of these possibilities should not be overlooked or neglected, especially by maritime nations.

As the land areas are made subservient to the practical needs of man just so must the sea be made more useful in supplying the needs of the human race, both physical and cultural. But the utilization of the resources of the ocean must and will follow its scientific investigation and study. Let us find out what is in the sea, and then learn how to apply it to our needs. . . .

I think that there can be no doubt that the lack of accurate knowledge of the form of the ocean basins has already retarded industrial progress, commercial development, and scientific and cultural advancement of the world. . . .

Only about one-seventh of the land area of the world is in anywise adequately mapped, and the form of the sea bottom is proportionately not so well known as the topography of the land. The surface of the sea holds less of interest to mankind than the surface of the land; however, to the man of science, the bottom of the oceans, if it could be exposed to view, would no doubt reveal equally as much of scientific and popular interest as the land surfaces. . . .

From physiographic and biologic standpoints the borderland of sea and shore, the so-called continental shelf, holds a closer claim upon our attention than any other part of the sea. This is the most populous part of the ocean as regards the different forms of sea life; and here also the physical forces of the sea are most manifest and effective in producing the physiographic transformation that the face of the earth is experiencing without cessation. . . .

Let us do what we can to popularize this subject; to show its scientific and cultural as well as its economic aspects. Let us interest the public in the value of knowing and cultivating these great ocean fields, to learn more of Nature, as well as to make the lives of coming generations more certain and secure.

Science, applied to our national resources, has made the great industrial development of America, but with this development the needs of the rapidly growing nation have correspondingly increased, so that today we are forced to take thought of the remaining natural resources of the land. A study of the sea will widen the field of our natural resources as well as extend the limits of human knowledge and culture.

The first step in the surveys, which would give us an accurate knowledge of the resources of the earth, should be an accurate topographic map showing the geographic positions of every topographic feature and the configuration of the ground, above and below the oceans, by means of contours.

With such a map each one of the surveys for a particular natural resource could be made with accuracy and effectiveness. Not only this, but if such surveys are made we can tell from the location and figuration of

the ground, as indicated by the map, whether such resources are actually available or not. Many of us are familiar with cases where good engineering propositions have failed because of the difficult natural conditions that are involved in the projects. Had these been known before the work was undertaken much money and effort might have been saved.

No doubt, one hundred years from now there will be two or three times as many human beings on the earth as we have today. These people must be fed, and we must look to our soil fertility and water capacities to produce the food that is absolutely essential for their existence. We must produce the forests, for example, for it is from them that we get materials to make our shelters and for use in many of the industries dealing with production, manufacturing, and transportation. The coal and oil supplies of the world cannot last forever. It takes millions of years for the production of these very essential articles in our civilization. If we think in terms of centuries, we can readily see that coal and oil are both being used up, for there is only a certain amount in the world. In 100 or 1,000 years there may not be a particle produced to replace what is used. On the other hand, we have such resources as forests which can be not only maintained in the amount of their production, but can be, by a wise development, utilized and conserved within a single human life. We have water flowing down the rivers and streams which can be utilized without in any way interfering with the amount that can be available in the future. We are coming to realize the wisdom of the policy of harnessing our rivers and streams and making them do the work for which we are now using coal and oil.

The good will between nations is frequently improved by easy means of communication from one to another. Therefore, highways, railroads, and waterways should be extended over a continent in such a way as to make easy transportation. The topographic map will be of an inestimable value in showing the best routes for highways and railroads.

In conclusion it may be said that if a complete knowledge of the world's resources is available and made public so that every one can see for himself just what the world has, we shall then be in a position to adopt some means for the utilization, development, and conservation of these resources, not only for ourselves, but for generations to come. It ought to be inconceivable for human beings to be guided by fear of starvation in the future when, as a matter of fact, there may be ample resources to provide for the human races for all times to come; but let us first find out just what we have in stock and then we may not be so anxious to kill each other in our efforts to control resources in order that we may live.

The first thing is to make an accurate topographic map of the whole world, even though it may take several generations, and to follow this with accurate surveys of our resources and to publish these in map or book form so that the information may be available for all.

What the earth and the sea have to offer in the way of food, shelter, and clothing ought to be known, for without this information we can only, especially in our international relations, see through a glass, darkly.

REFLECTIONS ON MY VISIT TO JAPAN

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

DURING my visit to Japan in October and November, several matters of historic or world interest took place. Conspicuous among these was the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Siberia; the feeding by the Japanese, at Gensan, in Korea, of a host of "white Russian" refugees from Vladivostok; the abandonment of Tsing-tao and the rest of Shantung; the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Hankow and elsewhere in China; the scrapping of ships, with the release of some 30,000 men from the navy. Finally, on the initiative of the Women's Peace Society of Japan, all reference to military glory was eliminated from the histories and readers used in the lower schools.

The general motives for these acts are found in the popular recognition of the cost, certainty of failure, and danger involved in militarism and imperial ambitions.

Some sixty years ago Japan suddenly emerged from the feudal system, under which the real governor of the nation was the Shogun, or head of the army. By way of compromise, the constitution then adopted provided that each cabinet should contain a general and an admiral, and military action was distinctly outside the control of civil authority. It was the military group which overrode civil rule in Korea, inciting a bitter and futile revolt. It was the military members in Count Okuma's ministry who "put over" the "twenty-one demands" on China, some of these demands freely denounced in Japan as "infamous," but which apparently the Prime Minister was too proud to disown, though contrary to his own avowed and actual policy. It was the military element in 1914 who tried to force Japan into siding with Germany, a purpose thwarted by resolute firmness of Count Okuma, who would not consider for a moment breaking the treaty with Great Britain, and for which act of obstinacy Okuma and Japan were loudly damned by the German ambassador.

The essential reasons for withdrawal of troops from Siberia and China are found in the following:

1. The enormous expense involved in imperialistic ventures. The land is poor and overtaxed and the cost of living is three or four times what it used to be. The money wasted at Vladivostok and Tsing-tao is badly needed for internal improvements, especially the desire to give Tokyo and Osaka what those huge cities have never had—sewers, paved streets, subways, sidewalks, and adequate markets. The mayor of Tokyo, Baron Goto, said, while I was in that city, that his efforts to modernize Tokyo, for which he has brought Prof. Charles A. Beard, of New York, as city planner, would be successful if he had the \$300,000,000 wasted at Vladivostok.

2. The capitalists in general are in favor of retrenchment. Imperialism and war mean waste of property, and bankers do not favor waste.

3. The intellectuals, for the most part, are and have been consistently opposed to these ventures. These men, educated in the admirable Japanese imperial universities or else in America or England, have the ideas current in the world of science. One of the strongest influences for conciliation and peace is found in the Japanese men and women, some two thousand in num-

ber, trained in universities of America and Britain. In Tokyo alone are sixty graduates of Stanford—professors, engineers, and business men—equally loyal to their nation and their *alma mater*.

4. Public opinion of England and America (but of no other countries) has great weight in Japan, in so far as it is understood and discriminated from yellow journalism and the ranting of "professional rough-necks." The Japanese have come to believe that their sober friends in foreign countries regret these adventures, into both of which they were led at the request of their allies. They were asked to replace the Germans in China and to safeguard the Czechoslovaks retreating through Siberia. But they held on too long after the fall of the curtain.

5. The military men themselves are now coming to believe that they "backed the wrong horse," and that Germany, after all, was not the model of a successful nation. Most of these men are sincere patriots, seeking only the welfare of Japan as they understood it. But the people no longer trust their judgment. The changed condition has been frankly met by the present Prime Minister, Admiral Kato, the head of the navy, who sees that as "a great naval power" Japan was putting a heavy mortgage on its future. A few army men bluster and still hold out for "perfect defense," as in all other countries which have been militarized, but they get little encouragement from the intelligent public.

6. The Japanese scholars and ethical teachers believe with Lincoln, that "no people are good enough to rule another by force."

7. The Japanese Government has given its pledge to withdraw, and, though administrations change, pledges are not broken. I do not remember a case in which a government in Japan has not kept its word. I have never heard of a single case of violation of the Root-Takahira Convention, named by Will Irwin "The Gentlemen's Agreement."

To Japan the Washington Conference, whether ratified in Europe or not, came like a welcome shower to a desert land. It pricked the rising bubble of suspicion, fear, and hate, bringing about confidence in the goodwill of America and opening the way to the reduction of waste and the abatement of taxation.

The backbone of Japanese militarism lay in fear of the American navy, just as our own "Japanese menace" exists primarily to carry elections and to bring our navy to California.

The California alien land acts have gravely hurt the feelings of a proud, sensitive, and warm-hearted people, not so much through their intention and purpose as through the raw and inconsiderate method, involving, as Roosevelt once insisted, "the maximum of irritation with the minimum of efficiency."

The Japanese authorities do not want and never have wanted their laborers to go to America or anywhere else where they are not welcomed. They have granted no passports to any since 1908, except picture brides (as granted in the "Gentlemen's Agreement"). They have granted none to go to Mexico since about 1910, when Count Hayashi adopted that policy, unasked, in order to allay criticism. On the annexation of Hawaii many thousands of Japanese came over, but the Foreign Office has no control over these or any others outside their own country. Some come in still in irregular fashion, but

the Japanese Government will do anything it can to prevent this, and the number cannot be great.

The rights of their nationals as members of "a most favored nation" were limited through the operation of a statute passed fifty years ago by compromise between the friends of the Negro and the enemies of the Chinese.

Japan, among Asiatic nations, stands in a class by herself, as the only one possessing an actual constitutional government and with a coherent scheme of compulsory education, ending in six great state universities, with about 20,000 students, ranking with the best in Europe. They are prepared to grant by treaty any reasonable request of the United States, but they have a moral (and I trust legal) right to be consulted when the interests of their own people are concerned.

When the proper occasion arises and our minds and hands in America are not occupied with the wreck of the continent of Europe, the Japanese Government will ask for certain things:

1. A joint high commission, which shall make all relevant facts accurately and authoritatively known to the people at large in both nations.

2. A treaty of similar content to replace the Root-Takahira Convention, which, having no legal value, is subject to attack and misrepresentation.

3. They will liberalize their expatriation laws, which are now much the same as those of the continent of Europe, which hold on to expatriates in the interest of conscription. They are not much interested in questions of foreign citizenship, but, with political troubles of their own, each administration hopes to avoid foreign complications.

The question of the constitutionality of one or both land acts should be settled.

Has a State the right to interfere with the nation's international relations?

Has a State the right to divide aliens "of the most favored nation" into two classes on any pretext whatever?

Has a State, "through initiative and referendum," largely a haphazard form of legislation, a right to throw international responsibilities on the Federal Government?

If these questions are answered affirmatively, two duties are plain—the abolition or limitation of the "referendum" and the repeal or amendment of the citizenship act, grossly misused by the statutes of California. We are far too lax in our naturalization of foreigners; but it is a central principle of America that "men are men," and all persons legally here as actual and permanent residents should have it within their power to become citizens. This is for our protection as well as theirs, else an *imperium in imperio* is likely to grow up—communities under control of some foreign consul. It was to prevent this that children of all races born in this country are allowed citizenship. The referendum method of dealing with foreign nations is plainly suicidal. It ought to be unconstitutional to allow international interests to be dealt with in slapdash fashion, leaving the Federal Government to defend, explain, or apologize.

Japan is to be our next neighbor on this coast for a thousand years. Her people are eager and active, and it is vastly to our interest, moral and commercial alike, that she should be consulted courteously when any mat-

ter concerning her affairs, large or small, is at stake. In general, her government will agree to anything we may reasonably ask; but such matters should not come as a surprise.

The question of racial equality has been made a demand of Japan. I believe that it will not be repeated. To invite Japan to international conferences is all the "equality" either President or Congress can grant. Each citizen has the right to think of foreign peoples as his education or his ignorance permits. Furthermore, the very demand presupposes previous inequality or inferiority. No one friend or enemy regards the Japanese as an inferior race—only different—and among educated people on both sides, this difference seems very small—politically and socially negligible.

STANFORD, UNIVERSITY, CALIF., *January 18, 1923.*

A FRENCH CRITICISM OF M. POINCARÉ

By A. J.

The following article was written by a very well informed French woman in reply to our request for her opinion on the current situation in France. It left Paris two weeks before the French occupation of the Ruhr and sheds a most interesting light on the frame of mind in certain French quarters prior to that momentous event.—THE EDITOR.

PARIS, NEW YEAR'S DAY.

YOU ASK me for my idea of the situation in France. Alas, my opinion is a trifling thing, the more so as I belong to a minority and disagree with my compatriots on most points, above all with those in my set. It is sad, but most French people are Poincaréists and support the policy followed by our Premier. It is true that he speaks loudly and forcefully and threatens much, but, by reason of the facts, he does not put his threats into execution. Thus he risks the alienation of our one-time Allies' sympathies; he exasperates the hatred of Germany, and we get nothing further out of it.

His politics are so clumsy that we are taken for that which we are not. Germany meets our legitimate claims with signal and manifest bad faith and passive resistance. But we are so clumsy that it is we, ourselves, who appear in bad faith as against Germany, and seem to wish not to receive payment, but to ruin our old enemies and annex the left bank of the Rhine. Nothing of the sort has come into our heads, except, perhaps, in the case of certain superpatriots and nationalists at all costs, some Leon Daudet or other rowdy of his type. On the morrow of the war, while our wounds were yet bleeding, it seemed impossible to put Germans into the devastated regions to rebuild the ruins. It was a question of sentiment. But commercialism, which never loses sight of its interest, exploited this idea: to bring foreign labor into France was to deprive the French workmen of their work, provoke unemployment, and shut an outlet to commerce and industry. These, paralyzed during the war, must be protected against German "dumping." Let us raise tariff barriers, and in their shelter we can dispose of French products advantageously. This raised the cost of living, but the trades people don't care. Besides, all the nationalists of all countries have succeeded in raising tariffs; we are not the only ones.

Germany, unable to trade with any one, saw her cur-

rency depreciate, and thus finds herself unable to meet at one and the same moment her obligations toward her own people, to whom she owes daily more formidable sums, and toward the foreigner, of which France is one. Further, this situation, all the horror of which she attributes to us, increases her hatred of us, which our clumsiness, our pinpricks, often useless, keep alive, and which German nationalists exploit against us. It has come to the point where the last of all wars is likely to be followed, very soon, by another, not less than the last.

Is it not absolutely a despairing thought to think that the war has taught humanity nothing, that that frightful carnage has been in vain, and that the net result has been to awaken the nationalist spirit in all peoples without exception? National egotism! There is the enemy! How far we are from that phrase, which is more than ever in season, "Love one another"! And to think that the mass of the people only ask to live in peace, to lead a quiet little life, and in each country a handful of financiers and ambitious politicians, insatiable, excite the bellicose instincts of the populace and throw them one against another. A few inflammatory speeches, a bugle, a drum, playing a military march in the streets, and the people rush, crying "To Berlin!" or "To Paris!" Can nothing, then, be done to open the people's eyes to their real interests, which are to live in good understanding with their neighbors?

What will happen tomorrow? What irreparable words will Poincaré say tomorrow? In what mad adventure will he precipitate us? Will he carry out his threats or will he proffer new ones? And to think that the Germans are as badly governed as we are.

We alienate all our friends, the United States leading. Very soon the world will forget that Germany unloosed the cataclysm of which all Europe has been the victim, that France was heroic in those tragic hours, and will only see our political faults for which the French people are not responsible, which are the deeds of a political clique blinded by nationalism. And our friends abandon us. Our Oriental policy contributes to alienate American sympathy from us. The French are Turcophile. Why? I don't know. We know the Turks through the romances of Loti and Claude Farrere; we are victims of an Oriental mirage. And then, too, we like them as compared with Constantine.

We cannot forget the massacre of our sailors, and we lose sight of the fact that the Turks were allied to the Germans, that they cost us the bloody Saloniki campaign, and that, owing to them, the war lasted two years longer. We forget the Turkish atrocities in Asia Minor, the Armenian massacres, their industrial and commercial incapacity, their inaptitude for civilization, and we only think of their religious fanaticism to make them our allies and not our enemies. As if fanaticism makes any distinction among Christians!

When I say "us," I mean the majority of French, for you may see by the preceding lines that I am not blind to their faults. The reasoned policy of France bade us support the Greeks, who, in the end, had been our allies. Without going to war with Turkey it would have sufficed for France to unite her voice to that of England to keep them in control. Instead of that, we have ruffled England, and we have encouraged the successive pretensions of the Angora Government. Many faults have been

committed in the Orient. England has excited inordinate ambitions in Greece, who undertook a task which was far too heavy for their weak shoulders. We lent our weight to the Turks, and we have only gained trouble therefrom. But there are the oil wells of Mosul. . . . Need I tell you that there are always financiers behind the scenes?

AN AMERICAN SOCIETY OF SALESMEN OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

By CLARKE F. HUNN

IN AN article in the July, 1922, *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, Mr. George Maurice Morris did us the service of stepping, for a moment, away from the traditional dignity of membership in this century-old organization and, mentally cocking his hat on one side, he assumed the plebian frame of mind of the "man in the street" and this excellent citizen's attitude towards our Society. He has told us his reaction: "Well, here I am, one of the folk your international work is supposed to bless—how are you going to get me interested in it? I've heard that sort of stuff—high-brow stuff—before. What do 'standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in law' mean to me?" This, Mr. Morris reminded us, is one of our "prospects." He and millions varying not greatly from him are our "market." Are we taking the best means to "sell" to this "market," and, if not, what are we going to do about it?

The writer did us the further service of making us realize that we cannot afford to be offended with this idea that we are salesmen of our particular brand of peace, which we term Peace through Justice, A Governed World, A Government of Laws between the Nations, and so on. It will not do to draw away and have no traffic with a world so crass as to speak of selling peace. The dusty shelves of history are crammed with the tales of great minds not yet quite great enough to share their talents with lesser men, producers who could not bring themselves to enter the marts of trade and sell their produce. The producer who is big enough to be the salesman of his own wares has something of the humility of those who "shall inherit the earth," and the assertion can be ventured that no movement so far-reaching nor so deeply founded as the American Peace Society can afford to be without this spirit of meekness.

Of course, we have been selling our wares all along, in a limited sense, otherwise we would have had no *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The difficulty has been that our market has been limited. We have been selling our peace idea to those to whom it proved readily attractive. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* circulates among people already "sold." The same people are invited to our annual meetings. These are the people we naturally pick out to discuss our subject with. All that is as it should be. But it cannot stop there, if the American Peace Society is to be an active agent for, not a millennial, but a very present, world peace through justice. We must individually do more than pay our membership fees and support in various ways our periodical. Mr. Morris has expressed the necessity exactly in calling our membership "salesmen of the American Peace

Society." Our obligation is not merely to acquiesce and to support, but to sell.

The membership of the American Peace Society is microscopic in comparison to the population of the world, not because the world is hostile to this Society's idea, nor because it is prejudiced in favor of any other plan, but because it is congenitally afraid of having to think. As a matter of fact, the world longs for peace. It dreams of it, prays for it, and works for it as it is given the light to perceive profitable means of obtaining peace. Nor does the world actually dislike constructive thinking. It is intensely proud of every bit that it achieves. But it dreads the possibility of having to think, as a person may dread the cold sea-water and yet delight in the surf once the plunge has been made. The membership of the American Peace Society is not identical with the population of the world, for one reason, because, as we have talked it and written it, "Peace through Justice" has sounded like "Peace through Having to Think" to the many millions who may be dimly aware of our constructive activities. For this very reason ephemeral peace plans have made deep inroads upon the public consciousness where ours has remained unknown. A "League of Peace through Not Having to Think" is assured of instant popularity at any time. This, to the writer's mind, is the competition that must be met. And such competition is not rightly to be engaged in successfully by attempting to "popularize" our platform. Jazzing Handel and Haydn does not bring classical music into successful competition with modern dance music. This is the sort of salesmanship that endeavors to foist a product "just as good" upon the public. This is not at all competition, but rather, if we may coin a word, "surreptition."

The solution is to present our platform so simply and lucidly that even people afraid of having to think will gradually find it appealing to their suppressed desire to think constructively. By fair words and friendly reassurance, once you have enticed your timorous bather into the cold water of clear thinking, he will frolic with the hardest logician undismayed.

Let's first be fair to ourselves and face the fact that we are aspiring to the highest type of salesmanship. And why not? The product we sell deserves our best. The highest type of salesmanship is that which knows its product thoroughly, considers its prospect charitably and yet shrewdly, and convinces utterly because of the intelligence with which its presentation of the product is exactly fitted to the mental attitude of the prospect. When this type of salesmanship sells automobiles or steel rails or carpet tacks or kodaks, its field of operations is necessarily limited. There are quantities of persons in the world who never have wanted and never will want these products. But when this type of salesmanship sells peace, it is doubtful whether even the savages of darkest Africa or the cannibals of the Pacific islands are to be excluded from the market available. Its prospect is any one it meets, anywhere, everywhere. In this respect there is no limit.

The super-salesman's two servants are tact and intensive study. I veritably believe that with intensive study alone he can accomplish practically as much as with them both. If he will take the trouble, for instance, to know his product so well that its superiority

and desirability can be briefly and convincingly explained to a ten-year-old child, he can safely approach any more subtle mentality.

I aim to write constructive criticism, and I confess that I am considering, at this moment, the greatest donation that I have ever made to the American Peace Society, or probably could ever make. I am considering the possibility of sitting down and studying intensively its program, reducing it to basic, primary terms, translating its somewhat ponderous paragraphs into what has been called "you-and-me" phraseology, putting it all into the idiom of that fellow man who mentally cocks his hat on one side and says—perhaps more wistfully than we would ever have believed: "Well, here I am. What do 'standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in law' mean to me?"

Suppose you or I were to consider seriously making the gift to the American Peace Society of a super-salesman's knowledge of its peace program, its workableness, its adaptability, its logic, its superiority to other peace programs, its vital necessity, its assurances of success, its meaning to the individual in his hearth-and-office, every-day little world, its value to the nation first supporting it, and so on and so on; we would find ourselves facing this somewhat dismaying fact: To sell to people afraid of having to think, you yourself must not be afraid of having to think.

But I suppose that if a bare two hundred of us made it our business to know the program of the American Peace Society in this way the old American Peace Society would leap into a prominence in our several communities that it has not attained since its foundation. How could it help it? Two hundred of us so familiar with those "Suggestions for a Governed World" that their provisions were constantly in our thoughts as the ready and reasonable and obvious expression of our deepest convictions—so familiar with them that we could explain them comprehensively and yet within the comprehension of a ten-year-old child—we could not keep quiet about the American Peace Society! We could not help but talk it day and night, talk it intelligibly, and to persons of every grade of intelligence with whom we came into contact. And the public would respond with the interest and support it gives freely to every cause that will invite rather than besiege its attention, every cause the presentation of which is the result of hard thinking and a genuine effort to meet the public on the common ground of a recognition of its will for good. As for us, we should have well deserved the title of "Super-salesmen of Peace through Justice."

It is appropriate to call the attention of our prospective salesmen, so thoughtfully referred to by Mr. Hunn, to the specific thing this Society has for sale. It is set forth in the second paragraph of its constitution. The language reads: "The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world."—
EDITOR.

SESQUI-CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, 1926, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Official Announcement

By THE ASSOCIATION

THESE plans for the Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition in 1926 are presented by the directors of the association in full appreciation of the opportunity that confronts the city of Philadelphia and the desire of the citizens for a fitting commemoration of the wonderful achievements of mankind under the spirit of liberty proclaimed in this city by the Declaration of Independence. Both the opportunity and the responsibility are great.

Philadelphia, the Mother City of the Republic, once more meeting her responsibilities, invites the nation and the world to join in a great demonstration of progress and amity by which the peace and prosperity of all peoples will be advanced and insured.

The plans have had exhaustive consideration by our own committees, by able and reliable architects and engineers, by those who have had wide experience in a practical way in various expositions and by business and professional men and citizens generally. Such modifications and additions as may seem advisable as the undertaking progresses will be made.

The plans call for a modern exhibition of inspiring grandeur cast upon new and practical lines and fully capable of being translated into reality. In their preparation careful consideration has been given to insuring for Philadelphia, as the city in which the exhibition is held, many permanent buildings and municipal improvements and enduring betterments of the park that the contributions of city, State, and Federal governments will in fact be an investment with manifold direct returns, that as the financing is worked out it will put no special tax burdens on the people nor load the city with debt for which nothing of material value remains.

This exhibition can be developed at a cost to the association of \$15,000,000, and this advance will be repaid by the visiting throngs in addition to the world-wide prestige and invaluable publicity accruing to Philadelphia.

PLAN OF THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION

The Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition shall be a world festival of peace and progress under the auspices of the President and Congress of the United States, the governor and legislature of Pennsylvania, the mayor and council of the city of Philadelphia.

Its purpose shall be threefold: To mark the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence; to portray the progress of the world particularly in the 50 years since the Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876; to create a closer understanding and foster the good-will of the peoples of the world.

TIME AND PLACE

The exhibition will open in Philadelphia at 12.00 o'clock noon, Friday, April 30, 1926, and close Saturday, November 13, 1926.

The grounds will commence on the Parkway at a point east of the Art Museum and extend into Fairmount Park, occupying an area ample for all requirements for an attendance of more than a million a day for the proper perspective of grounds and buildings, yet using such locations only as will in no wise mar the present beautiful landscape of the park or interfere with the traffic through it to and from the city.

A single concourse will be provided to accommodate hundreds of thousands of persons gathered to listen to the President, or other distinguished speaker, or to witness ceremonials, pageants, or electrical or fireworks displays.

Between the buildings will be gardens, lagoons, paths and roadways, and suitable facilities for easily moving about.

While there will be an approach to the grounds from Logan Square, in the very heart of the city, as many entrances as necessary will be provided for the throngs coming from all directions. Adjacent parking space will be reserved for the thousands of motor cars bringing visitors from near and far and a large tract, fully equipped for their needs, will be maintained for tenting automobiles. Aerodromes will be provided at proper points, special railroad stations will be constructed convenient to entrances, the river will be used for water transportation, and easy movement will be afforded by an inner trolley or motor bus system with extensions to the motor parking and camping places, and by numberless wheel-chairs under conduct of the Boy Scouts of America, serving also as drilled informative guides.

KEYNOTE OF THE EXHIBITION

The dominant aim of the Sesqui-Centennial will be to interpret the spirit of the twentieth century and to reflect it in beauty and happiness. New methods and original features will be developed, departing entirely from previous expositions, except for their practical lessons. It will be an exhibition of quality rather than of quantity, depending upon ideas and ideals rather than upon amount of money spent, either by the association or by the participating States and nations. It will be to all who see it an inspirational and educational stimulus that will endure throughout their lives.

PERMANENT BUILDINGS

The distinguishing feature of the exhibition will be its legacy of permanent structures.

The United States Government will be asked to construct on the Parkway a permanent building for its exhibit and for Federal uses afterward.

The commonwealth of Pennsylvania will be asked likewise to construct a permanent building to house later the State's activities in Philadelphia.

The free library, now in process of erection, will be used for a wonderful display of the growth of the nation's educational and literary forces as a prelude to installation of its collections.

The new Victory Hall will be completed in time for the exhibition, with its various auditoriums in which will be given great musical and choral festivals by the best choruses and orchestras of all nations; organ concerts on the largest organ in the world, to be presented

and erected in the largest auditorium; a grand opera season by the world's most famous opera companies; drama by the most distinguished actors; great Sesqui-Centennial and foreign balls and festal banquets in its spacious dining-hall to seat many thousands of people.

The contribution of the women of Philadelphia will be a splendid permanent and thoroughly equipped hospital, to be used during the exhibition and to be equipped after its close as the most complete maternity and general hospital in the world.

THE FINE ARTS

The beautiful new Art Museum, already rising majestically at the head of the Parkway, will provide an unsurpassed fire-proof art gallery in which it is proposed to hold, with the co-operation of other nations, the most magnificent loan art exhibit ever gathered together, bringing to the United States for the benefit of the millions who cannot visit foreign capitals the choicest art treasures from each.

While foreign nations are invited to make exhibits illustrating their progress in industrial fields, they will be asked particularly to evidence their good-will by offerings of their most precious and far-famed art treasures to be added to loans of those already in galleries in this country. For example: "Mona Lisa," "The Venus de Milo," and "The Winged Victory," from France; "The Sistine Madonna," the most beloved picture in the world, from Germany; Ruben's "Descent from the Cross," and the priceless Gobelin tapestries from Belgium.

The finest examples of the paintings of the Turner, Reynolds, and Gainsborough schools from Great Britain, as also the original "Magna Charta," to be shown with the original Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg speech in Lincoln's writing, and the Constitution of the United States, these will be sought.

Thus, too, will all the nations of the earth be asked to offer their most cherished possessions hitherto undreamed of in a single assembly of art.

CHARACTERISTIC DISPLAYS BY FOREIGN NATIONS

From every nation will also be solicited distinctive exhibits in other lines which tourists cross oceans and continents to see.

Thus, all the countries of the earth would join in unexampled testimonials of cordiality toward the people of the United States.

For example, from France, a wonderful Palace of Fashion, housing an unexcelled display of most beautiful silks, gowns, millinery, etc.; from Belgium, a House of Lace, filled with the most superb lace and the lacemakers at work; from The Netherlands, a Dutch farm, serving as an outdoor restaurant along the Schuylkill, where thousands could eat at small cost; showing the Dutch cows, the country's cheeses, chocolates, etc., and the people in costume. And thus would be presented to each nation a distinct and characteristic idea.

To secure participation along lines of such suggestions, commissions will be sent to reinforce the invitations of the President to foreign nations and likewise to induce the co-operation of the States of our own Union.

EXHIBITION BUILDINGS

Among the great exhibits buildings in which the foreign nations will be asked to display evidences of their progress during the past fifty years, along with American exhibitors, there will be: A vast Automobile Hall, designed to portray the progress of the automotive industry and to present the greatest collection of the most highly perfected motor vehicles from every part of the world; a great Aeroplane Building with an aerodrome for exhibition purposes, demonstrating world achievement in the navigation of the air; an Electrical Palace, filled with the amazing wonders of electricity—supplementing the brilliant illumination of buildings and grounds and the practical uses of telephone, wireless, and radio throughout; Halls of Commerce and Industry, in which the progress of the past fifty years will be dramatized by contrast—as, for example, the original Corliss engine in direct contrast with the modern turbine; the locomotive of 1876 and the electrically-driven machine of 1926, the hand-plow of 1876 and the tractor of 1926—carrying out this method of visualization of contrast all through the exhibits; a Palace of the Press that will similarly pictorialize the growth of the modern newspaper and periodical and constitute a news center for visiting representatives of the press of the world and the issuance of a daily paper for the exhibition; adequate provision and necessary buildings and land for showing the marvelous progress in agriculture, which is the backbone of the nation, in mining, in fisheries, in transportation and shipping, continuing so far as possible the same method of contrasting the conditions of 1876 and 1926; and to make these exhibits the most important and impressive ever presented, the co-operation of the United States Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Mines of the Department of the Interior, and the Bureau of Fisheries of the Department of Commerce will be enlisted.

PARTICIPATION OF THE STATES

Each of the commonwealths of the United States will be asked to co-operate in working out the most suitable plan for participation, whether by erecting separate State buildings, or group buildings, or a single Hall of States.

CONGRESSES AND CONVENTIONS

In connection with the exhibition there will be numerous congresses in succession in which leaders of world thought will discuss the vital subjects in every important field of intellectual activity and moral development and all the patriotic societies, the American Legion, great business associations, associations engaged in humanitarian work, fraternities and national and international organizations will be invited to hold their conventions in 1926 in or near Philadelphia.

THE PLEASURE PART

The dominant note of the exhibition will be one of happiness, pleasure, and education for the vast crowds of visitors.

Instead of the customary horticultural building, an open-door garden will be presented throughout the grounds by a wonderful display of millions of the choic-

est succession of spring blooms of the narcissus, the daffodil, the tulip, and the hyacinth, contributed by the Netherlands, followed in turn by the blooms of other nations, so arranged that from the moment the visitors enter the gates they will come into the most wonderful scene of floral beauty, continued through the park, punctuated here by bowers of roses from Oregon, there by gardens of rhododendrons of England, again by beds of the fleur-de-lis of France, further by an avenue of flowering cherry from Japan and so on until the whole in its successive stages shall constitute the most gorgeous garden of the world.

The motion picture will be here upon a scale never before attempted, and also the actual filming of scenarios, in which the most noted motion-picture stars appear.

With Philadelphia's hallowed historic buildings in the background, each day's presentation of a great motion picture will be prefaced by a film portraying the Signing of the Declaration of Independence and the great events of the Republic that will stamp the lessons of American history indelibly upon the minds of millions of people.

Bearing in mind the best of the "midways" of previous world's fairs, the Sesqui-Centennial pleasure street or section will eclipse all both in originality of amusement features and in high standard of attractive merit.

ATHLETICS

Athletics and aquatics will be prominent features by a constant presentation of contests corresponding to the Henley Regatta on the Schuylkill, the Olympian Games, world championship series in baseball, football, tennis, polo, and competitive automobile and aeroplane tournaments.

SUMMARY

The exhibition as a whole will signalize a distinct advance in the evolution of expositions by setting a new and higher standard in its every feature and activity.

THE RUHR STRUGGLE

On January 11, following the break-up of the Paris Conference and the subsequent voting as to Germany's default, from which the British representative, it will be remembered, refrained, the French forces occupied Essen. The preliminary advance was accomplished by French and Belgian engineers, with military forces as a bodyguard; but during the course of the following week this latter became an actual army of occupation, and the advance into the Ruhr was extended to a few miles beyond Dortmund. The occupation was then stated by the French and Belgians to be completed, and it was announced that further sanctions would be economic. At the same time another announcement stated that the timber forests on the left bank of the Rhine would be taken over and exploited as a sanction for the deficiency in timber deliveries.

GERMAN, FRENCH, AND BRITISH ATTITUDE

Very little incident accompanied the advance, the official attitude of Germany being fully outlined in a formal note to France and Belgium, which runs as follows:

The German Government protests solemnly and before the whole world against this act of violence which is being perpetrated against an unarmed people. They cannot protect themselves against this act of violence, but they do not intend to yield to this breach of the peace, or as has been insinuated to them to co-operate in the execution of French intentions. They reject the imputation.

Continuing, the note contends that the Treaty of Versailles has been violated on three counts, namely, as follows:

1. Defaults by Germany with regard to wood and coal deliveries would only permit, according to the note of the Reparation Commission of the 21st of March, 1922, of a demand for payments in cash.

2. The Treaty of Versailles permits no territorial sanctions whatever.

3. According to the treaty, reprisals against Germany are only permissible if imposed by the Allied Powers in unison and not by a single Power on its individual initiative.

With the infringement of the treaty as its text, the German note concludes with a statement to the effect that as long as this condition lasts, Germany is not in a position to make deliveries of any kind whatsoever to those Powers who have brought about the present state of affairs.

The French attitude on the matter has been most clearly defined by the ex-Minister of the devastated regions, M. Loucheur, in an interview published in the *Manchester Guardian*, January 19. In the opinion of M. Loucheur, every one is agreed that Germany has evaded her obligations by refusing to tax her wealth, and, having given countless proofs of bad faith, the French feel that it is time to resort to other methods than those which, up till now, have failed. M. Loucheur then uses the following words:

Germany has vast resources, and rather than submit to further fraud and so precipitate our ruin, for our country is in a precarious way, we are prepared to seize and hold them as guarantees, with the object of extracting reparations. It may be that this attempt will fail. No one can read the future; but the attempt is worth making.

Speaking at a local Conservative Association meeting in Canterbury, England, on the Saturday following the French advance into the Ruhr, Mr. Ronald McNeill, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, expressed the British reaction to the situation as follows:

It has been a great disappointment that so early in the life of the new government we have felt compelled to dissent from proposals by our French allies as to the best means of making Germany fulfil her obligations. As to the end in view, there is no disagreement whatsoever. We are both resolved that Germany shall pay to the utmost limit of her capacity at the earliest possible moment. Our French friends believe they can make Germany pay at once by seizing control of her principal industries.

We are convinced, on the contrary, that such an action will produce almost nothing in the shape of immediate payment, and will delay the prospect of getting money out of Germany, and possibly may destroy it altogether. This opinion is based on the advice of all the ablest financial experts who have made a most searching examination of the conditions in Germany. We say that before we can get anything substantial out of Germany, German credit must be restored, for even if we could lay hands on the immediately realizable wealth of Germany, it would go a very short way toward satisfying the legitimate claim of the Allies. Our friendly dispute with France is not, as some people seem to think, that they want to take what they call pledges from Germany, and that we objected to taking pledges. We do not object to taking pledges if we can take them without further destruction of German credit. It is, in fact, the old story of the goose with the golden egg once more. We believe the French are going to starve it or even to cut its

throat. We want to feed it enough to make it lay. We have no love for the bird, but we want its eggs.

The German inhabitants of the Ruhr have adopted a policy of passive resistance to the French attempts to work the mines. In spite of increasing applications of force, the end of the first fortnight of the occupation found the French obliged to admit that only 28,000 tons of coal had reached their destination on the road to Lorraine. Normally, under the reparation deliveries, France would have received 800,000 tons of coal.

THE FIRST RESULTS OF THE OCCUPATION

Refusal to deliver coal on the part of the operators was met by arrest and court-martial by the French. In this manner six mine directors—Herren Thyssen, Kesten, Wuestenhoerer, Tengelmann, Spindler, and Oloff—were arrested during the second week of the occupation and fined sums varying from 5,100 to 224,300 francs. Upon the seizure of the forests, customs, and coal tax by the occupying owners, the Reichsbank closed, in order to prevent payment of the workmen in marks, whereupon the French occupied the bank's premises and seized the cash deposits. Various short protest strikes being threatened and some actually taking place, the French War Office dispatched 3,750 railway troops into the Ruhr to run the railways in the event of a general strike.

The expulsion of numerous high Prussian officials, such as Herr von Lanzener, chief revenue controller in the Cologne area, the Deputy Governor at Wiesbaden, and many others which occurred during the second week, is considered in many quarters as a part of a French plan for the establishment of political separation as between the Rhineland and Prussia.

At the end of the first fortnight of the occupation, however, a modification of the French tactics in the Ruhr was observable. So far, the German policy of passive resistance had met with a great deal of success. The attempted seizure of the coal mines and factories by the French had been defeated. Troops were therefore moved toward the circumference of the occupied area, with the object of setting up a customs cordon round it, the original plan being to collect customs duties within the area.

The completion of this movement brought with it, in the course of the next ten or twelve days, a complete stoppage of shipments from the Ruhr to Germany. This measure, according to the Associated Press dispatches, had for its primary object the bringing of pressure on the leaders of German industry. The economic results of this blockade, as far as Germany is concerned, are further stated to contain serious potentialities. At the time it was put into force, Germany had coal reserves covering five or six weeks.

The situation may be summed up in the following manner: The French and Belgians have completed the occupation of the Ruhr, extended their advance to the upper valley, and established a blockade between the Ruhr and Germany. American troops have been withdrawn from the Rhine. Great Britain has adopted a nugatory attitude for the present. Italy is weakening in her support of the French action. The German Government is advocating a policy of passive resistance, which is largely being followed by the German people, who, on the other hand, are anticipating great economic suffering as a result of the present situation.

THE RUHR QUESTION IN THE SENATE

On January 27 Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, made a plea to the Senate for consideration of the deplorable developments of the European situation, coupled with some suggestions as to the direction in which the United States might actively use its influence to the general advantage. After quoting paragraph 18, annex 11, part 7 of the Versailles Treaty, dealing with the measures which may be taken by the Allies in case of voluntary default by Germany, Senator Owen drew attention to the circumstances surrounding the rebuke of Rumania by the Allies at the time of the former's invasion of Hungary for the purpose of collecting reparations, and drew a parallel between that action and the action of France toward Germany at the present moment.

Criticising the action of France in invading the Ruhr, Senator Owen used the following words:

When the German people were being led by the military dynasty of the Hohenzollern leadership against France, the great body of American opinion was keenly sympathetic with France. Then France was being invaded without moral right by military force and brute power. Then there was a contest between monarchy and democracy, between military autocracy and representative government.

Now France is invading Germany with military force, with her former allies standing aghast at the procedure. Now it is no longer a contest between German monarchy and French democracy. It becomes a contest between French leadership and German leadership, severally representing the French and German people, who are assumed to have a truly representative government, and a question arises as to the legal rights of the French leaders to invade Germany and of their moral right to do so.

In the opinion of Senator Owen, the German people have been more sinned against (by their leaders and rulers) than sinning, and in view of what has developed since the Treaty of Versailles was originally drawn up, it would appear that the burden of reparations is excessive and should be scaled down to a more reasonable figure.

The invasion of Germany by France is, he stated during the course of his speech, a sowing of dragon's teeth, a building up of hatred between Germany and France and their respective sympathizers, and in view of these circumstances he placed before the Senate the following suggestions:

If France and Belgium should show a disposition to permit the intermediation of friendly nations on these questions and to invite such mediation before it is too late, there would be an outburst of approval in America of such an attitude.

I believe we should, before it is too late, join the other great nations in some plan for guaranteeing France from invasion, under the principles of the League of Nations, but only on condition that France herself does not invade other countries. I think the German people should have the same guaranty from the world of freedom from invasion, and that the world should use economic pressure on the German people to enforce reparations to the extent a world tribunal shall ascertain such reparations are due and payable.

In reply to Mr. Owen, Mr. Reed, the junior Senator from Pennsylvania, expressed it as his opinion that American policy should be to mind its own business. In his view, Germany deserved all she was getting, and it was a case of the bully whining when he was beaten. Upon the conclusion of Senator Reed's speech, Senator Oddie rose to remind the Senate of the events transpiring after the great fire of San Francisco, when, he stated, the men in Germany who are now among those trying to discount the amount of repara-

tions due to France were directors of the great insurance companies which welched in paying the just claims they owed to the people of San Francisco. Mr. Oddie felt that that repudiation was an unfriendly and dishonest economic invasion of the United States by Germany which should not be forgotten by our people, who should not today turn a deaf ear to those who are trying to collect their debts from Germany.

Answering Mr. Reed, Senator Owen stated emphatically that, in his opinion, peace on earth was America's business, and continued in the following words:

Nothing which I have said showed any lack of sympathy for the French people. I have the greatest sympathy for the French people. I wish I could believe that the French people have a greater measure of democratic self-government. In my judgment, they are being largely governed now by an organized commercial, military, and political force which is leading them and the world into injury and harm.

From their recent gestures I cannot help believing that the military leadership of France is dictating the economic policy of France. However, whether that is true or not, it is my judgment that it is an injury to the people of the United States that the controversy between French leadership and German leadership should remain unsettled and that war should grow out of it.

The debate then closed.

THE BRITISH DEBT CONFERENCE

After a stay of some three weeks in this country, the British Debt Mission, headed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, returned to England for the purpose of laying before the British Cabinet the following suggestions as to the funding of the war debt:

The British agree to pay off the debt to the United States, now totaling \$4,746,862,560, inside of sixty-two years.

The rate of interest for the first ten years is 3 per cent.

The rate of interest for the remaining fifty-two years is 3½ per cent.

Between the time the debt was contracted in 1917 and the date of final settlement of the funding terms the British will be charged only 4¼ per cent interest instead of 5 per cent, specified in the demand notes held by the government.

The amount of money paid every year to be approximately the same and to be roughly about 4 per cent of the total debt.

As the amount of the debt decreases every year the same sum of money pays off every year an increasing sum of the principal. This annual amount is roughly \$188,000,000.

Treasury officials say that Great Britain will have paid more than ten billion dollars at the end of sixty-two years, if the foregoing rates prevail. At the same time, the right reserved by Great Britain to retire such portions of the debt at certain times as her financial position may permit may reduce the amount.

Returning to England, Mr. Baldwin remarked, in an interview with the press, that the root of the difficulty in coming to an agreement with America on the debt question was that the debt could only be funded on such terms as could be got through Congress and the Senate. In his opinion, America had put forward the only proposals which were thought to have a chance of acceptance by the Senate, and unless an arrangement were arrived at whereby the agreement between the American Debt Funding Commission and the British Government were approved and ratified by Congress before March 4, the matter would be deferred until the end of the year. Under the circumstances, he advised

Great Britain to accept the terms, which represented a great advance in American opinion.

In due course, therefore, the British Cabinet signified its acceptance of the suggestions, amid general approval on the part of the English people. On February 7, President Harding appeared before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives and laid before them the report of the American Debt Funding Commission, citing the outstanding features of the tentative agreement between the American Commission and the British Government for funding the nation's war loans. He made, however, no specific recommendation as to what form the approval should take, whether by resolution for amendment to the present law.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

After characterising the settlement with Great Britain as "the first clearing of the war-clouded skies in a debt-burdened world," the President pointed out that failure to reach an agreement with Great Britain would spread political and economic discouragement throughout the world and general repudiation. The text of his address is as follows:

TO THE CONGRESS:

You have been asked to assemble in joint session in order that I may submit to you the report of the World War Foreign Debt Commission, covering its accepted proposal for the funding of the debt due to the United States from the Government of Great Britain. This report, concluded on February 3, 1923, reads as follows:

"THE PRESIDENT:

"The World War Foreign Debt Commission created under the act of Congress approved February 9, 1922, having received the mission appointed by the British Government to consider the funding of the demand obligations of that government held by the United States, report as follows:

"The British Government designated as its representatives the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Montagu Norman, the Governor of the Bank of England, who have conferred with the commission in Washington and presented facts relating to the position of the British Government. The commission has also met frequently in separate sessions and has given the fullest consideration to the problems involved in the funding of the British debt to the United States.

"It became manifest at the outset that it would not be possible to effect an agreement for funding within the limits of the act approved February 9, 1922, and the commission has, therefore, considered the practicability of a settlement on some other basis, and though it has not been able, in the absence of authority under the law, to conclude negotiations, it unanimously recommends for submission to Congress a settlement with the British Government as follows:

"Principal of notes to be refunded, \$4,074,818,358.44.

"Interest accrued and unpaid up to December 15, 1922, at the rate of 4¼ per cent, \$629,106.99.

"Deduct payments made October 16, 1922, and November 15, 1922, with interest thereon to December 15, 1922, \$100,526,379.69.

"Total, \$4,604,128,085.74. To be paid in cash, \$4,128,085.74.

"Total principal of indebtedness as of December 15, 1922, for which British Government bonds are to be issued to the United States Government at par, \$4,600,000,000.

"The principal of the bonds shall be paid in annual installments on a fixed schedule, subject to the right of the British Government to make these payments in three-year periods. The amount of the first year's installment will be \$23,000,000, and these annual installments will increase with due regularity during the life of the bonds until, in the sixty-second year, the amount of the installment will be \$175,000,000, the aggregate installments being equal to the total principal of the debt.

"The British Government shall have the right to pay off

additional amounts of the principal of the bonds on any interest day upon 90 days' previous notice.

"Interest is to be payable upon the unpaid balances at the following rates, on December 15 and June 15 of each year: Three per cent semi-annually, June 15, 1923, to December 15, 1932, inclusive; 3½ per cent semi-annually, June 15, 1923, until final payment.

"For the first five years one-half the interest may be deferred and added to the principal, bonds to be issued therefor similar to those of the original issue.

"Any payment of interest or of principal may be made in any United States Government bonds issued since April 6, 1917, such bonds to be taken at par and accrued interest.

"The commission believes that a settlement of the British debt to the United States on this basis is fair and just to both governments, and that its prompt adoption will make a most important contribution to international stability. The extension of payment, both of the principal and interest, over a long period, will make for stability in exchange and promotion of commerce between the two countries. The payment of principal has been established on a basis of positive installments of increasing volume, firmly establishing the principle of repayment of the entire capital sum. The payment of interest has been established at the approximately normal rates payable by strong governments over long terms of years.

"It has not been the thought of the commission that it would be just to demand over a long period the high rate of interest naturally maintained during the war and reconstruction, and that such an attempt would defeat our efforts at settlement. Beyond this the commission has felt that the present difficulties of unemployment and high taxation in the United Kingdom should be met with suitable consideration during the early years, and, therefore, the commission considers it equitable and desirable that payments during the next few years should be made on such basis and with such flexibility as will encourage economic recuperation not only in the countries immediately concerned, but throughout the world.

"This settlement between the British Government and the United States has the utmost significance. It is a business settlement, fully preserving the integrity of the obligations, and it represents the first great step in the readjustment of the inter-governmental obligations growing out of the war.

"Respectfully submitted:

"A. W. MELLON, *Chairman.*

"CHARLES E. HUGHES.

"HERBERT HOOVER.

"REED SMOOT.

"THEO. E. BURTON."

In its comments upon the arrangements negotiated, the commission itself has said essentially everything necessary to commend the agreement to your sanction. Note that the commission urges that the settlement is on a basis which "is fair and just to both governments," and "will make a most important contribution to international stability." More important still is the closing observation that "It is a business settlement, fully preserving the integrity of the obligations, and it represents the first great step in the readjustment of the inter-governmental obligations growing out of the war." In these observations I most heartily approve.

The call of the world today is for integrity of agreements, the sanctity of covenants, the validity of contracts. Here is the first clearing of the war-clouded skies in a debt-burdened world, and the sincere commitment of one great nation to validate its financial pledges and discharge its obligations in the highest sense of financial honor.

There is no purpose to report that your commission has driven a hard bargain with Great Britain, or to do a less seemly thing in proclaiming a rare generosity in settlement. Amid widespread clamor for the cancellation of World War debts, as a fancied but fallacious contribution toward peace—a clamor not limited to the lands of debtor nations, but insistent among many of our own people—the British commission came to make acknowledgment of the debt, to put fresh stamp of approval upon its validity and agree upon terms for its repayment.

It was manifest from the beginning that Great Britain could not undertake any program of payment which would conform to the limitations of time and interest rates which the commission had been authorized to grant. But here was a great nation acknowledging its obligations and seeking terms in which it might repay.

So your commission proceeded to negotiate in a business way for a fair and just settlement. Such a settlement had to take into consideration the approximately normal interest rates payable as the commission suggests, "by strong governments over a long term of years," with a temporary interest rate and suitable options adjusted to the tremendous problems of readjustment and recuperation. Your commission went so far as it believed the American sense of fair play would justify.

Even then the British debt commission did not feel justified by its instructions in accepting the proposal. Only after submission to the British Cabinet was the proposal of your commission accepted, and I bring it to you, with the earnest recommendation that it be given, so far as legislative procedure will admit, a cordial and prompt approval.

A transaction of such vast importance naturally has attracted widespread attention and much of commendation. It is a very gratifying thing to note the press and public have uttered substantially unanimous approval. It means vastly more than the mere funding and the ultimate discharge of the largest international loan ever contracted.

It is a recommitment of the English-speaking world to the validity of contract; it is in effect a plight against war and war expenditures and a rigid adherence to that production and retrenchment which enhances stability precisely as it discharges obligations.

It cannot be unseemly to say it, and it is too important to be omitted, the failure of the British undertaking would have spread political and economic discouragement throughout the world and general repudiation would have likely followed in its wake. But here is kept faith—willingly kept, let it be recorded—and a covenant of peace no less effective than it would be if joint British and American opposition to war were expressly agreed upon.

It is a covenant of peace and recuperation, of respect and co-operation. It is a new element of financial and economic stabilization, when the world is sadly needing a reminder of the ways of peace. It is an example of encouragement and inspiration, when the world is staggering in discouragement and bowed with the sorrows of wars that were and fears of wars which humanity is praying may be avoided.

Ordinarily I should be reluctant to add this question to a congressional program which is already crowded, in view of the short period remaining of your session. But it is of such outstanding importance to us and to the world that I should be remiss if I did not invite your sanction even amid crowded calendars and pending problems of great importance. And I hope you will be glad to approve.

If the debtor nation could decide to assume the great obligation, in two cabinet sessions, in the face of enormous financial and economic difficulties, surely the deciding authority of the creditor nation will be ready to approve in a spirit appropriate to the great transaction and with a promptness which will convey befitting appreciation.

I am not unmindful of the disposition to pledge the application of anticipated payments in giving sanction to the settlement. It is not necessary to remind the Congress that the use of moneys secured in the repayment of war loans has been pledged by the very grant of authority to make the loans.

The repeal of that commitment is always within the authority of the Congress if such a repeal is deemed wise, but it will best comport with the importance of such an international transaction to give a frank, exclusive, and direct decision, uninvolved by any disposition of the moneys which the funding program ultimately will bring to the Federal Treasury.

Immediately after the President's address, Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah, introduced a bill to amend the debt law to provide for acceptance of the British settlement and for

settlement with other debtor nations on similar terms. The bill was referred to the Finance Committee.

DISCUSSION IN THE HOUSE

In the course of a discussion of the Debt Funding Bill, which took place in the House of Representatives on February 9, Mr. Theodore E. Burton defended the arrangements made in warm terms, both from the point of view of America's advantage and the advantage of Great Britain. In this connection the following remarks were made:

I might say briefly here that so great a transfer of capital as would be involved in the payment of these debts, or even in the payment of the debt of Great Britain inside of twenty-five years, would be disastrous to our own people as well as to the people of Great Britain and Ireland. Under the last administration the payment of interest was suspended when Mr. Carter Glass, then Secretary of the Treasury, on the 18th of December, 1919, sent a letter to the Committee on Ways and Means, in which he said:

"The collection in dollars of the interest under the present circumstances would be no less disastrous to American interests than to the interests of our debtors."

And so payment of interest was suspended. You cannot destroy a delicate financial balance between countries by an overwhelming wrench such as this would create without disaster.

Mr. Burton then instanced the effect upon Germany of the payment of the French indemnity after 1870-71, which resulted in inflation, high prices, and an artificial prosperity which was followed by a wave of depression in Germany.

In the course of a detailed defense of the bill, Mr. Burton drew attention to the tremendous efforts being made by the British people to pay their debts and maintain their credit, and pointed out that the settlement was not based alone upon any consideration of leniency, but upon the probable ability of the debtor to meet the demand.

Speaking in support of Mr. Burton, Representative Frear (Wisconsin) applauded the offer made by Great Britain in the matter of her debt, and as an illustration of the economic difficulties under which the European country is laboring, made the following statement:

The estimates of able economists show an average per capita debt in this country today of \$160; that is, after we deduct this British debt, which we can fairly do when the debt obligations are received. That means an \$800 national debt average for a family of five in the United States. In Great Britain today, without any substantial prospect of getting back any, or practically any, of the debts due her from other countries, her debt per capita is \$800, or as much as our average family of five; and a family of five in England is obligated in the average to an amount of \$4,000. Can we, as intelligent legislators, fail to recognize the condition that confronts Great Britain today or the great effort she has made to meet her war-time obligations?

After considerable discussion, with dissenting addresses from a minority, led by Messrs. Collier and Oldfield, and joined by Mr. Blanton (Texas), who alluded to the fact that Great Britain "is the mistress of the seas, who boasts that the sun ever shines upon her dominions, and whose titled nobility live in luxury and extravagance, while she complains that she is forced to tax their royal estates," the bill passed the House.

After a prolonged discussion, and with certain amendments, the bill passed the Senate February 16, the vote being seventy to thirteen. At this writing the bill is in the hands of the conferees of the Senate and of the House.

THE FAILURE AT LAUSANNE

The Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs came to a sudden close on February 5, after lasting for nearly three months. The question of peace in the Near East again hangs in the balance.

The most striking thing about the break-up of the Lausanne Conference is the fact that the end came after agreement had, apparently, been reached on almost all the important and really controversial questions. Even the question with regard to the Mosul territory, which had been the subject of so much discussion, was provisionally disposed of by an agreement to refer the dispute to the League of Nations a year after the signing of the treaty of peace between Turkey and the Allies. The final rupture of the negotiations came over the matter of capitulations and the economic clauses to be inserted in the treaty. On the first of these questions Lord Curzon proposed modifications in the original Allied position, which would insure Turkey a much greater degree of sovereignty than before, while on the latter, also, important concessions were made by the Allies. For example, the Allies were willing to concede the Turkish demand for the cancellation of the reparations claim against Turkey, finally fixed at 12,000,000 Turkish pounds, a figure already greatly reduced from the original claim. The Turks, however, after weeks of discussion, finally made a categorical demand for a complete leaving out of the treaty of all the economic clauses, as a result of which the conference came to an end.

Both the British and the French delegates expressed themselves as very much disappointed by the attitude taken by the Turks. Lord Curzon characterized the latter's action in breaking up the conference as "an exhibition of levity," while M. Bompard, head of the French delegation, described it as "a crime." An eleventh-hour attempt to repair the break was made by Ambassadors Child and Grew, the American observers at the conference, but their efforts proved to be entirely fruitless.

THE MOSUL QUESTION

The most heated and widespread discussion in connection with the whole Lausanne Conference has centered about the question of Mosul, a territory mandated to Great Britain under the terms of the treaty of peace and demanded back by the Turkish delegation at Lausanne. Lord Curzon, on behalf of the British delegation, presented to the conference the British case with regard to Mosul in a long speech, the following extracts from which sum up Great Britain's whole position on this important question:

I welcome the opportunity of making a public statement on this question. There have been so much perversion, exaggeration, and misrepresentation about Mosul that it is desirable that the facts should be known. The British Government are under a threefold pledge—first, to the Arab nation, to whom we promised that they should not be returned to Turkish rule; secondly, to the Arab King, who has been elected by the whole country, including Mosul, and with whom we have entered into obligations; and, thirdly, to the League of Nations, without whose consent we cannot abandon our mandate over a large portion of the mandated territory.

A point which remains undetermined is the northern frontier of Iraq, which has not yet been fixed by any legal instrument of the Allied Powers. As regards the military occupation of the Mosul vilayet, I should like to inform the world that for the most part it is in the hands of the people of the country themselves. It is not garrisoned by British

troops, but by native forces and native levies. The country of Kurdistan, about which so much has been heard, is held by Kurdish and Assyrian levies. There are no regular British troops there. In the rest of the vilayet of Mosul security is maintained by Arab troops commanded by Arab officers and paid for by King Faisal. There is only a very small number of British troops north of Bagdad. Thus the military protection of the country is mainly in the hands of the people themselves.

It is quite impossible for my country, consistently with a due sense of honor, to run away from pledges it has given, to break its word before the world, to cut out the vilayet of Mosul from the mandated territory, and to give it back to the Turkish delegation.

At this moment the populations of the Mosul vilayet are as follows: Arabs, 186,000; Kurds, 455,000; Turks, 66,000; Christians, 62,000. The Arabs are about one quarter of the whole. In the town of Mosul, which has a population of from eighty to ninety thousand, between fifty and sixty thousand are Arabs. The whole of the country north of Mosul on the right bank of the Tigris to the northern boundary of the vilayet is inhabited by the Arabs. The whole of the country south of Mosul on the right bank of the river is inhabited by Arabs. Most of the country south of Mosul on the left bank of the river up to the Erbil-Kirkuk-Kifri road is inhabited by Arabs. On what conceivable ground ought these Arabs to be handed back to Turkey?

Mosul city is an Arab town built by Arabs. The Turkish population are only one-twelfth of the entire population of the vilayet. They are not Osmanli Turks at all. They are descendants of the Turanian invasion from Central Asia which came to this country long before either the Suljuk or Ottoman invasions took place. They speak a Turkish dialect of their own. The whole of this people, except in the Kirkuk area, voted for inclusion in the Kingdom of Iraq and for the Emir Faisal as its king.

The whole of our information shows that the Kurds, with their own independent history, customs, manners, and character, ought to be an autonomous race. One of the objects and, indeed, one of the partial results of our administration has been the setting up of a system of local autonomy, with local administration and local schools, where an attempt is made to teach the written Kurdish language. Why should these people in this condition be taken and handed over to Angora? Why should there be a plebiscite of this people? Angora asks for a plebiscite. The Kurds have never asked for it, poor fellows. They do not know what it means. The Arabs and the local Turks never asked for it. The only people who have asked for it are the Turks of Angora. Further, the whole of the economic connections of this Kurdish country are with Bagdad and not with the north.

As to the Christians, Ismet Pasha has referred to the question of those communities of Assyrian and Nestorian Christians on the frontiers of Mosul, over 60,000 in number. Do they want to be handed over to Angora? Not a day passes that I do not get letters from them appealing to be saved from that fate.

Let us suppose I yielded to Ismet Pasha and said he could have back the Mosul vilayet. It is a rich country. Mosul would be an excellent place for an army corps to be stationed, and no doubt would make a first-class military station. The southern frontier is only 60 miles from Bagdad. Is it not obvious that a Turkish army placed at Mosul would have Bagdad at its mercy and could cut off its wheat supply almost at a moment's notice? It could practically reduce Bagdad by starvation. Moreover, it would be able to cut the line which runs to Kannikin, one of the main trade routes of the Eastern world. Thus it could make an Arab kingdom well-nigh impossible. I would not care to be on the throne of Bagdad if I had a Turkish army within 60 miles of me.

THE MOSUL OIL

It is generally asserted that Great Britain's principal interest as regards Mosul is bound up with the fact that the territory in question is supposed to contain large resources of mineral oil. Taking up the question of the Mosul oil, Lord Curzon made the following statement:

The question of the oil of the Mosul vilayet has nothing to do with my argument. I have presented the British case on its own merits and quite independently of any natural resources that may be in the country. I do not know how much oil there may be in the neighborhood of Mosul or whether it can be worked at a profit or whether it may turn out, after all, to be a fraud.

During the time I have been connected with the foreign affairs of my country I have never spoken to or interviewed an oil magnate. I have never spoken or negotiated with a single concessionaire, or would-be concessionaire, for Mosul oil or any other oil. I do not think that every one in this room can say the same.

It is notorious that since we have been here at Lausanne representatives of the Turkish delegation were sent to London to offer oil concessions in the Mosul area—which are not theirs to dispose of—"to British concessionaires." That was done without reference to me and without my knowledge. I believe that these gentlemen, when they arrived in London, said they had come over in order to inspect the institutions and collections of that great capital. I don't think they saw many of them. They came back very quickly when they found there was no actual business to be done behind my back, and their visit to British institutions was therefore postponed. I hope next time they come to London they will give me the pleasure of calling on them, and I will have the greatest satisfaction in taking them personally to the British Museum.

Meanwhile, what are the facts of the case? Just before the war a concession was given for the oil fields of the Mosul and Bagdad vilayets by the Turkish Government to a British limited liability company, the Turkish Petroleum Company. The Germans had an interest in the company, and when they were defeated in the war their interest passed to the British. The British Government, after a full examination, was convinced, and would remain convinced, of the validity of this concession. They felt, and would feel, bound to uphold it, but both the British Government and the company itself recognized that oil is a commodity in which the world was interested and as to which it is a great mistake to claim or to exercise a monopoly. Accordingly, the company, with the full knowledge and support of the British Government, took steps, and negotiations have ever since been proceeding, to associate the interests of other countries and other parties on this concession, so that all those that are equally interested may have a share. If the exploitation is successful Iraq will be the main gainer and the world will gain also, and I have no doubt that Anatolia will profit in turn.

That is the substance of the oil affair, which I have explained to the Commission in order that they may know the exact amount of influence—and it is all—which has been exercised in respect of oil on the attitude which I have ventured to take up on the question of Mosul.

ALLIED WARSHIPS ORDERED OUT OF SMYRNA

Immediately following the break-up of the Lausanne Conference, the Turkish military authorities ordered the Allied warships stationed in the harbor of Smyrna to leave, threatening to open fire upon them from the shore batteries in case of their non-compliance with the order. The Allies refused to accept this situation, and the Turkish command receded from the position it had taken.

In the meantime efforts are being made by Kemal Pasha and his followers to create a feeling in Turkey that the rupture of negotiations at Lausanne was due to the Allies. A mass meeting was held at Smyrna, at which the declaration of war against Great Britain was demanded. At another meeting, also held at Smyrna, Kemal Pasha himself denounced the attitude of the Allies. In the course of his speech, the head of the Angora Government said:

The project of the Allies is unacceptable for a nation which wants complete independence, because we possess both the title to independence and the power to attain it. If

we must expire as a nation in the course of 40 years, we had better die now with an open heart and conscience. History will then remember us with honor and esteem.

THE RESULTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE

The Conference on Central American Affairs, which was called on December 4, 1922, at the invitation of the United States of America, held its final closing session on February 7.

As will be recalled, the Government of the United States invited the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica to send plenipotentiaries to Washington to discuss:

1. Negotiations of a treaty or treaties to make effective those provisions of the treaties signed at Washington on December 20, 1907, which experience has shown to be effective in maintaining friendly relations and co-operation among the Central American States.

2. Measures whereby, in view of the achievements accomplished with regard to the limitation of armaments by the powers participating in the conference at Washington in 1921, the Central American States may carry on this endeavor and set an example to the world, and above all to the powers of this hemisphere, by adopting effective measures for the limitation of armaments in Central America.

3. The working out of a plan for setting up tribunals of inquiry whenever any disputes or questions regarding the proposed treaty or treaties, which cannot be settled by diplomatic means, shall unfortunately arise between any two or more of the countries.

4. Any other questions which the countries represented at the conference unanxiously desire to consider.

The first open session of the conference was held in the Hall of the Americas at the Pan American Union on December 4, the Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Hughes, being elected chairman of the conference.

At the invitation of the five Central American republics, the President of the United States appointed as delegates to the conference the Secretary of State, Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, and the American Commissioner to Santo Domingo, Hon. Sumner Welles.

It was decided at the first plenary session to carry on the work of the conference in the meetings of the committee of the whole and such subcommittees which it might see fit to appoint.

The committee of the whole held eleven meetings. Between its sessions almost daily meetings of the subcommittees took place. As a result of the deliberations of the conference at these various meetings, at which there was present one or both of the American delegates, one treaty, eleven conventions, and three protocols were approved and, finally, signed at the closing session.

TEXT OF TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS

The instruments signed at the last plenary session were as follows:

1. *General Treaty of Peace and Amity.*

This treaty contains those provisions of the Treaty of Peace and Amity of 1907 which have been found to be of practical value in furthering the maintenance of friendly relations between the Central American States. It contains, likewise, certain additional provisions which the conference believes will be of value in the promotion of those aims. The following are among its chief features: The recogni-

tion by the Central American republics that their first duty is the maintenance of peace; the declaration of the five republics that the violent or illegal alteration of the constitutional organization in any one of them is a menace to the peace of all and the assumption by each republic of the obligation not to recognize in another a government resulting from a *coup d'état* or a revolution against a recognized government or from the election to power of a person disqualified by the constitution from being elected; the obligation, in case of civil war, not to intervene in favor of or against the government of another republic; the obligation to seek constitutional reforms which would make impossible the re-election of the President or Vice-President; the obligation on the part of each government not to intervene in the internal political affairs of any other republic and not to permit within its territory the organization of revolutionary movements against the recognized government of any other Central American republic, and, finally, the obligation not to enter into secret treaties.

2. A Convention for the Establishment of an International Central American Tribunal.

This convention replaces the convention of 1907, establishing the Central American Court of Justice. It provides for the establishment of an international tribunal, to which shall be submitted all controversies arising between the Central American republics which it has not been found possible to settle through diplomatic channels or by other pacific means, provided that such controversies do not affect the sovereign and independent existence of the nations concerned.

3. A Protocol Affecting the Convention Relative to the Establishment of an International Central American Tribunal between the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

This protocol contains a declaration by the signatory powers regarding the application of paragraph 2 of Article 63 of Annex A of the Convention Providing for the Establishment of an International Central American Tribunal.

4. A Convention for the Limitation of Armaments.

In this convention the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica agree to limit the number of enlisted men in their standing armies and national guard in accordance with the following schedule:

Guatemala	5,200
El Salvador	4,200
Honduras	2,500
Nicaragua	2,500
Costa Rica	2,000

This limitation is to continue in force for five years.

The convention further provides that the contracting parties bind themselves to establish a national guard organized in accordance with the most efficient modern method, and for this purpose will consider the employment of foreign officers as instructors.

The contracting parties further agree not to export or permit the exportation of arms or munitions or any other kind of military stores from one Central American republic to another; to limit the number of air craft which can be used in time of war to 10, and agree to acquire no warships. Finally, the contracting governments agree to agree that they will furnish one another, semi-annually during the life of the convention, full reports on the measures adopted by each government for the execution of this convention.

5. A Convention for the Establishment of Permanent Central American Commissions.

This convention provides that two permanent national commissions, one a commission on finance and one a commission on means of communications, will be established in each republic for the purpose of preparing practical plans for economic reform and for the construction of public works. All the national commissions will hold a general reunion each year and the recommendations adopted at these general meetings will be carried into effect so far as

may be possible by the governments concerned. The commissions on finance will deal with questions concerning the revision of customs tariffs, the adoption and carrying through of banking reforms, the revision of the fiscal systems, and the study of efficient systems of control of expenditures and public accounting. The commissions on communications will be concerned with the question of railroad communication between the capitals of the republics, the construction of automobile roads to connect the capitals and important centers of production throughout Central America, and the study of the legislation required to authorize the construction of the railroad or roads connecting one republic with the others.

6. An Extradition Convention.

Since experience has shown that the extradition convention as concluded by the Central American republics in 1907 has been of great practical value, few changes have been made herein. With a few minor amendments, the present convention contains virtually the same provisions as the convention of 1907.

7. A Convention Relative to the Preparation of Projects of Electoral Legislation.

This convention provides that a commission shall be appointed by each Central American government to meet with the commissions appointed by the other contracting governments and prepare the project of an electoral law, guaranteeing, so far as possible, the free exercise of popular suffrage. This project of law is to be adapted to the constitutional and special requirements of each government and, with the modifications required, is then to be submitted by the governments concerned to their respective legislatures for approval.

8. A Convention for the Unification of Protective Laws for Workmen and Laborers.

This convention constitutes an agreement between the five republics to pass legislation which will embody the following provisions, among others:

The prohibition of the enforcement on judicial order of the performance of labor contracts by physical compulsion; the prohibition of the employment in any kind of labor, during school hours, of children under fifteen years of age who have not completed their common-school education or the employment in factories or industrial establishments of children under twelve years of age; the securing to workmen and laborers of one day of rest each week; the establishment of compulsory workingmen's insurance, and the establishment of government employment agencies for the relief of the unemployed.

9. A Convention for the Establishment of Stations for Agricultural Experiments and Animal Industries.

This convention has for its object the establishment in each republic of a practical experimental station wherein the attempt will be made to arrive at more efficient methods for the cultivation of the natural products of each republic. Information regarding the work carried on in each station so established will be communicated to one another by the signatory powers.

10. A Convention for the Reciprocal Exchange of Central American Students.

By the terms of this convention each government agrees to place at the disposal of each of the other Central American governments six scholarships in its official institutions of learning, preference being given to those in which agriculture, mining, and arts and trades are taught. Each government agrees to make use of these scholarships and to pay the expenses of the students whom it may designate to fill them.

11. A Convention on the Practice of the Liberal Professions.

This convention provides for the reciprocal recognition of professional degrees acquired by Central American citizens in any one of the contracting republics.

12. *A Convention for the Establishment of Free Trade.*

This convention establishes by its terms, with certain restrictions, free trade between the signatory powers in the articles produced or manufactured within such republics.

Article IV of this convention provides that should the Republic of Costa Rica later decide to become a party to the present convention it will be so considered upon notification by the Government of Costa Rica of its adherence to the convention to the foreign offices of the contracting powers.

13. *A Convention for the Establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry.*

This convention is, in general, a unification of the conventions which the Government of the United States concluded with the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica in 1913 and 1914, establishing international commissions of inquiry. The purpose of this convention is to make it possible, whenever two or more of the contracting parties have failed to adjust by pacific means a controversy originating in some difference of opinion regarding questions of fact relative to failure to comply with the provisions of any of the treaties or conventions existing between them and when the controversy affects neither their sovereign and independent existence nor their honor nor their vital interests, for the parties involved in the dispute to submit such controversy to a commission of inquiry, with the object of facilitating settlement of the dispute by means of an impartial inquiry into the facts. The reports of the commissions of inquiry, however, will not have the value or force of judicial decisions or arbitral awards.

The commissions are given the power to fix the status in which the parties to the controversy must remain pending the rendering of the report of the commission. This report must be published within three months from the date of the inauguration of the commission.

14. *A Protocol Concluded between the United States of America and the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.*

In this protocol the Government of the United States declares its full sympathy with the purposes of the convention entered into between the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica for the establishment of an international Central American tribunal, and states its willingness to designate fifteen of its citizens to be available for service on the tribunals which may be created in accordance with the terms of this protocol.

SECRETARY HUGHES' ADDRESS

At the conclusion of the closing session of the conference, Hon. Charles E. Hughes delivered the following address, which sums up the achievements and the importance of the meeting of Central American republics:

It is with the deepest gratification that I have been permitted to share with you the privilege of witnessing the happy results of this important conference and of listening to these expressions of mutual interest and good-will which have been spoken with such sincerity and eloquence. The success of your deliberations has even exceeded expectation, and once more have been demonstrated the possibilities of friendly co-operation.

These results have been achieved because of the distinguished abilities, wide experience, and distinction of the representatives which the respective governments of Central America have accredited to this conference; because of the earnestness of your desire to reach common accord; because of the deep-seated conviction of the fundamental community of interest of your peoples has triumphed over divisive influences, and because divergence of views on particular points have yielded to the interchanges of reason.

You have furnished an agreeable and helpful example of the advantages of conference, provided always that it is dominated by a firm determination to find the solutions of amity and is animated by the belief that these will better serve the aims of security and progress than any possible strife.

Your first concern has been to establish as securely as possible the foundations of stability. This object you are endeavoring to attain by your general treaty of peace and amity, your convention for the establishment of an international Central American tribunal, the convention for an international commission of inquiry, and the convention for the limitation of armament. The disposition to effect—the method and the assurance of peaceful settlements are here. Where on this broad earth can be found five peoples, five republics, who have more in common; who have more at stake in friendly intercourse; who have less reason for encouraging antagonisms and the conflict of arms? In truth, you have no serious questions which should vex your peaceful relations. Of the boundary disputes you have now arranged to submit the last to friendly arbitration. You have development, progress, and the utmost prosperity within your grasp. In those conventions you have recognized the fact that there is no ground for apprehension in the existence of any controversies which defy reasonable adjustment, and that it is only an unwarranted interference with each other's concerns which would destroy your peace and wreck your hopes of progress. You have taken here wise precautions against destructive and pernicious influences, and it is because these conventions represent the friendly disposition of your governments that you look forward with confidence to the future of Central American relations.

But you have gone beyond these gratifying assurances of amity and you have sought to build upon this foundation a better civic structure. You have signed agreements which have regard to the specific interests of agriculture and industry; to the exchange of information; to the exigencies of trade and commercial intercourse; to improvement in electoral systems. You have considered a variety of subjects, and wherever you have been able to find a common interest you have safeguarded it, always aiming with sagacity and with a controlling humanitarian interest at a betterment of the conditions which underlie human life and endeavor.

At the beginning of this conference I stated the relation which the United States sustains to your republics, and our earnest desire to promote the general interests of peace in this hemisphere and to aid you in finding a solution of your own problems to your own proper advantage. We shall rejoice in the vigor of your national life; in the development of your republics for the benefit of your own peoples, and in the opportunities of friendly and reciprocally beneficial intercourse between neighbors who not only have the advantages of propinquity, but of mutual respect and esteem. We desire your peace, your tranquillity, the contentment, just pride, and patriotic satisfactions which will come to each of your republics from unimpaired integrity.

We congratulate you upon the success of your efforts. We are grateful that you have found in Washington an atmosphere favorable to your accord, and you may be assured that the hospitality of this Capital and the friendly assistance of my Government are always at your command.

ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT IN SOUTH AMERICA

Judging by the reports of various American Government representatives in South America, the economic conditions in the principal countries of that continent showed considerable improvement during the month of December, 1922, which continued during the first month of the present year.

Practical assurance of a large harvest of wheat and linseed in ARGENTINA has reacted favorably on business conditions there. Marketing of crops is proceeding rapidly. Stocks of both import and export merchandise are lower than last year. Congress is debating plans for consolidation of the floating debt and the 1923 deficit by two local loans aggregating 700,000,000 pesos and an external loan of 150,000,000 pesos. Immigration, especially Spanish, Italian, and German, is increasing.

Investment of foreign capital, especially in mortgage bonds, is increasing. Reaction from the European situation is felt in restricted export movement and the diverting of import orders to the United States.

The meat problem continues to be serious. The latest move of the government in behalf of the industry is a bill now before the national congress to control the packing-houses. Further loss has been suffered by the cattlemen by reason of lack of rain, but except for corn agricultural conditions are favorable.

Stocks are generally lower than at the same period last year, and prices of raw products are higher. The surplus of corn for export, not including the new crop, is 236,000 tons. Exports since the first of the year with comparisons for the same period of last year were: Wheat, 203,000 tons and 150,000 tons; corn, 258,000 tons and 101,000 tons; linseed, 132,000 tons and 48,000 tons; flour, 3,000 tons and 2,000 tons; sheepskins, 5,000 bales and 6,000 bales. Wool exports since October 1, the beginning of the crop year, have been 115,000 bales, of which the United States has taken 29 per cent. Exports for last year were 162,000 bales.

In BRAZIL exchange difficulties continue to hamper import trade, being reflected also in the dullness of the export trade, but domestic business is brisk. Many of the Sao Paulo firms normally selling imported goods are now handling national products. Condition of the coffee, cacao, cotton, and tobacco crops is good. Government revenues are increasing slightly, but the 1923 deficit will be large, in spite of continued governmental economies. An increase in import duties is possible. It is interesting that nearly half of Brazil's crop of coffee now goes to the United States. During the first six months of 1922 Brazil shipped 791,534,172 pounds of coffee, worth \$87,089,747, of which 42 per cent went to the United States, the remainder going principally to France, Holland, Great Britain, and Italy.

The unsettled exchange situation is still the decisive factor governing the import market and importers are buying only absolute necessities. The gold quota of import duties has been increased to 60 per cent, effective on April 1. European competition, particularly British, is very keen in hardware and electrical goods. Domestic factories continue busy and are doing a profitable business.

The Armour packing plant is running again after a shut down of some months and began slaughtering on January 1. There is a steadily increasing interest in the raising of cotton and the condition of the crop is excellent. The rice, cacao, coffee, sugar, and tobacco crops are in fine condition in nearly all districts.

In CHILE the October and November reaction seems to have run its course, and business has begun to pick up again. Nitrate sales are increasing, copper exports are fairly good, and domestic trade is flourishing.

Of the 212,000 metric tons of nitrates exported during December, 94,000 were destined for the United States. Fifty-three plants were in operation and their combined production during the month is estimated at 130,000 metric tons. Stocks of nitrate on the coast at the beginning of January are figured at 238,000 metric tons, which is a reduction of 400,000 since July. Stocks still in Europe and in Egypt are being figured at 26,000 metric tons, or less than a month's normal supply. Nitrate sold and awaiting shipment equals 75,000 metric tons.

Total copper shipments during 1922 amounted to 120,000

metric tons, including 107,000 metric tons of copper bars. The 1921 exports of copper were 123,000 metric tons. Although less copper was exported in 1922, the outlook was brighter at the close of that year than it was in 1921. This is explained by the fact that the depression of 1921 continued well into the following year and the bulk of the copper exported in 1922 was shipped during the past six months.

Reports indicate that the railways in the central section of Chile are in a better condition than they were at the close of 1921, and the many labor troubles that have played such an important part in the life of the country during the past few years have been settled for the time at least. Shipping rates are rising and prospects indicate that they will continue upward.

Considerable improvement is noticeable in PERU because of a £1,250,000 loan obtained in London recently. The proceeds of the loan will be used to pay up back salaries of government employees and reduce the floating debt. A bill authorizing a loan of \$25,000,000 for sanitation purposes has been approved by the Chamber of Deputies. Imports of United States goods at Callao have increased 33½ per cent and imports of German and British goods have fallen off.

Important concessions are being negotiated by foreign capitalists.

The concession granted to Robert Dunsmuir, Canadian promoter, has been definitely approved by both houses of the Peruvian Congress. The terms finally allowed, however, are less liberal to the concessionaire than those in the executive grant, which will render more difficult the financing of this great undertaking, which covers railroads, colonization, and many kinds of enterprises. The law as finally approved authorizes the Executive to offer the same terms to other interests should Dunsmuir withdraw, which is reported as probable. In this event it is probable that the concession would be open to the highest bidder. Certain British interests are said to be following the matter closely.

Another important concession which has just been granted is one to the Hualaga Company. This is a broadening of the concession heretofore granted to an American for the building of a railroad, which was known as the Yurimahuaz-Moyabamba Railroad concession. The new grant includes 5 million hectares of land in the Moyabamba region, and provides for railroad construction, colonization, and petroleum development. It is understood that the Huallaga Company is financed by New York capital.

Dr. Cumberland, the American financial adviser to the Peruvian Government, has been appointed manager of the new Banco de Reserva de Peru.

In BOLIVIA, January, 1923, stands out as the peak month, commercially speaking, since the beginning of dull period of 1920. Continuous rise in the price of tin is reported with consequent general improvement over the country. Exports were the first to feel the effect of the better price, and, although official figures for December are not yet obtainable, it is known that a notable increase in shipments has occurred. The average price of tin for 1922 was £158, as compared with £185, which is the price now prevailing. The opening of many tin mines is anticipated as a result of the continued high prices.

Improvement is not confined to Bolivia's principal product, but includes others of her minerals. A general betterment in copper-mining is noticeable, and increased silver production is expected.

Considerable work has been done by an American oil company under its concessions, and the location of about 4,000,000 hectares of petroleum has now been concluded. The Baekus petroleum concession has recently been transferred to a large British oil company. With one exception, all of the important manufacturing plants are reported prosperous.

Railway construction work on the Atocha Villazon Railway is progressing satisfactorily. At the present time rails are being laid on two sections of the road. This line will connect La Paz with Buenos Aires and will form the last link in a new transcontinental route. The government is building the railroad from La Paz to the Yungas region and it is progressing slowly. Certain European capitalists are said to be interested in the proposed Cochabamba-Santa Cruz line. After considerable deliberation the government has decided to build the railroad from Potosi to Sucre under its own management.

PEACE PROGRESS IN JAPAN

Recently a National Peace Conference of Japan was created to co-ordinate the activities of eight existing peace and kindred organizations. These eight organizations are as follows: the Japan Peace Society, the League of Nations Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Women's Peace Society, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Association for the Reduction of Armaments, and the Japan Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

At a joint meeting of the representatives of these eight organizations, held at the office of the International Service Bureau, the following decisions were made and the general secretary was instructed to inform interested individuals and organizations in Japan and abroad:

Resolved, That, in view of the duplication of efforts by similar organizations and committees and in order to promote the highest efficiency in all united work, in promotion of the truest understanding among nations and international justice, and so forth, the said eight organizations be united in one national council.

I. That the name of the new formed council be: The National Peace Council of Japan.

II. That the council have for its object the carrying on of the following activities:

1. Corresponding with individuals, Leagues of Nations associations, peace societies, and the other international organizations.
2. Co-operation with them in advancing the general movement for further disarmament.
3. Translation and publication of literature that will further the object of the council.

III. That the International Service Bureau be the center of the National Council, and that Mr. Dalkichiro Tagawa, one of the directors of the said bureau, be appointed chairman of the executive committee, and Mr. Isamu Kawakami, general secretary of the bureau, be executive secretary of the council.

The council expects, as an important part of its work, to distribute to influential citizens in Japan and to the Japanese press summaries of international publications from foreign countries, especially material on the progress of disarmament throughout the world.

THE EFFECTS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

In a recent pamphlet on "International Morality and Japanese Nationalism," Mr. Isamu Kawakami makes the

observation that, generally speaking, there are two views in Japan on the significance of the Washington Conference. He describes these two views as follows:

The first is the idea that the Washington Conference was simply a sort of business-like transaction, limiting various navies according to a certain agreement. It is blind to the spiritual meaning of the Washington Conference. But there are other people to whom the Washington Conference is first of all a spiritual movement. Which of these two views has now the ascendancy is for the future historian to decide. But, if we judge from the past, we may suppose that these will act and react upon each other until they result in a single attitude and principle in accord with the thought of the age.

Mr. Kawakami considers that this accord will be along the lines of an urgent need for Japan "to keep abreast of the other nations and not be isolated or despised." A long process of education, however, has to be gone through before this principle can be intelligently applied. And it should be remembered, too, that "the imperialistic and militaristic tendencies which found their way into Japanese education are an influence too strong to be counteracted by one Washington Conference with new ideas of peace and international justice."

The work of education in Japan, according to Mr. Kawakami, proceeds at present in such a way as to afford hope. He says:

Since 1915 the National Government of Japan has given 10,000,000 yen annually to aid the educational system throughout the country, the rest of the funds for schools being raised locally. The expense of the educational system has been increasing year by year. In 1916 the total expense for education was 16,500,000 yen, teachers' salaries besides being 37,500,000 yen. The enrollment has increased 200,000 a year, and the expense of the educational system has increased to 180,000,000 yen in 1920, 140,000,000 yen for teachers' salaries. This is more than three times the amount in 1916. In the period between 1917 and 1920 the high price of rice made the country towns prosperous and enabled them to support their schools even after this large increase in expenditure. The fall of prices and the growing shortage of farm labor have brought about a very difficult condition. Teachers were not paid the full amount of their salary, but a certain percentage, as 70 yen on 100 yen. Therefore many heads of villages and towns petitioned the national government for a grant of at least 40,000,000 yen to aid education throughout the country. There is at present no hope of this being realized. Perhaps 20,000,000 yen will be granted, but that will not solve the problem. The only hope for more assistance to education from the national treasury is to economize in armaments. Therefore the very teachers who have been filling their pupils with imperialistic ideas are now ready to demand disarmament.

On the other hand, as far as actual army and navy appropriations are concerned, the militarists are still very much in the saddle. The naval appropriations do reflect the spirit of the Washington Conference, but the same is not true of the army, as may be seen from the following discussion of the question by Mr. Kawakami:

The total government appropriations for last year were one billion and a half yen. If the reduction is 20 per cent, next year's budget will be one billion and three hundred million yen. The total desired by the army and navy for the next year is 530,000,000 yen, more than 40 per cent of the total appropriation. No other nation since the World War appropriates 40 per cent of its national expenditure for the army and navy. Why should Japan alone spend such a large proportion of her income for the army and navy, without paying any consideration to the condition of the neighboring countries? * * * According to the desires of the Parliament, expressed last spring, the appropriation for the

army is nearly 40,000,000 yen less than for last year. However, the proposal made in the Parliament at that time did not represent the mind of the people, who desire not only a reduction in expense, but in the actual strength of the army. It is planned to reduce expenditures for the army within the next ten years by 800,000,000 yen. This calls for a reduction of the army, therefore, by 56,000 men and 10,000 horses. On the surface this seems the same as a reduction by five divisions. But the Minister of War has stated that the reduction as planned will not really reduce the strength of the army at all. This is a kind of reduction of armament, but it is entirely different in its nature from the reduction we have spoken of as in accordance with the spirit of the Washington Conference. The people demanded not an economy in expenditure, but a reduction of the present force. Major-General Kōno criticized the appropriation for the army. Of the 56,000 soldiers to be sacrificed, 34,000 had already become unnecessary because of the reconstruction of the infantry organization. This reduction, therefore, has nothing to do with disarmament. The remaining 22,000 are taken from the cavalry, artillery, or other departments of the army. As a compensation for this loss better arms are provided.

Mr. Kawakami believes, however, that in the case of the army, as has been in that of the navy, "Japan will be glad to follow, if another Washington Conference can decide upon reduction of the army."

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

At the same time, it is quite possible that Japan may find herself forced to real economies in her war expenditures by the exigencies of her economic situation, which has been steadily growing worse since the post-war boom of 1920. According to a recent report of Mr. James F. Abbott, our Commercial Attaché in Tokyo, to the U. S. Department of Commerce, the financial situation in Japan at the present time is not very encouraging. Cumulative losses weigh heavily upon the money market and seem to presage even greater financial problems than those of the past few months.

The condition of several banks continues to be disquieting. The recent tendency toward the amalgamation of small banking institutions illustrates the attempts of individual banks to avoid impending difficulties. Many banks still appear to carry uncollectible loans as assets and to pay dividends on potential earnings, thus increasing the artificial conditions which make for instability in the financial situation.

A large number of business institutions are seriously handicapped by their past losses, which have been carried forward until, in many cases, they amount to more than three-fourths of the total paid-up capitalization. Though it seems anomalous for such companies to continue in business and to pay dividends, they remain a part of the Japanese business world because, possibly, banks are unwilling to take the heavy losses involved in foreclosure. Even many well-established companies find both their profits and their credit facilities diminishing.

Production costs in Japan are still so abnormally high as seriously to threaten Japan's ability to compete successfully with European nations and with America in the war-worn foreign markets, or even in the domestic market, except where highly protective tariffs or government subsidies give an ephemeral strength to home industries. Certain goods formerly exported by Japan to China are now being manufactured in the latter country and sold in the Japanese market at a price lower than the home product.

Unrest and strikes increased during November. Unemployment continued to be in evidence. Labor unions are gaining in strength and importance. The smaller organizations are being consolidated gradually into a single large union, which doubtless will make its power felt in the future. The chief uneasiness is among agricultural workers and it is causing much concern to Japanese economists. The cost of living declined 1¾ per cent during November.

Japan's total foreign trade for November amounted to 256,200,000 yen, of which 139,700,000 yen represented exports and 116,500,000 yen imports. The total trade for the month marked the low point for the current year and declined approximately 10,900,000 yen as compared with that of October and 28,900,000 yen as compared with that of September.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL ASSOCIATION, organized recently in St. Paul, Minn., by Mr. J. W. Hamilton for the purpose of bringing about world peace through a "disarmament of minds," has issued a circular, in which it proposes a number of activities that are calculated to stimulate this purpose. One of these proposals is that on May 30 of every year an International Memorial Day be celebrated by all nations of the world by having all labors all over the world cease for five minutes beginning at 12 noon on that day. Other proposals include the issue of world peace postage stamps for national and international use; the preparation and distribution of graphic international commodity exchange maps; the creation of a special magazine devoted to the formulation of an international mind; the establishment of an international tariff commission, and a wide use of the press and the moving pictures for the development of the international mind and the world peace.

DURING THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1922, 26 steam or motor vessels of 72,623 gross tons were broken up or dismantled, according to *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*. This total, compared with two vessels of 543 gross tons broken up or dismantled during the first quarter of the year, indicates the rapidity with which work of this nature is progressing. Among the vessels broken up were the *Graf Waldersee*, 13,193 gross tons, formerly owned and operated by the North German Lloyd; the *Teutonic*, 10,602 gross tons, of the White Star Line, and the *Himalaya*, 6,929 gross tons, of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. All three of these vessels were over twenty-five years old, and their breaking up was considered more profitable than their operation at the present time.

AT THE LAST WORLD CONGRESS of the International Federation of Trade Unions, held at The Hague, the following five resolutions were adopted:

1. At the instance of the French and Belgian delegations, coercive measures against Germany were denounced, and especially the occupation of the Ruhr.
2. The trade-union resolution pledged the trade unions in all countries "to carry on the war against every cause of war by every means, direct or indirect,

inside and outside parliament." Propaganda and action must aim at removing all factors which propagate the spirit of war; must lead to real disarmament, and prevent the outbreak of war by carrying out a general international strike.

3. The political resolution demanded revision of the peace treaties, control of the armaments by the League of Nations, transformation of the League of Nations into a genuinely universal society of peoples, and the suppression of secret diplomacy.

4. The educational resolution demanded the transformation of the spirit of education, especially by a new teaching of history, and women's organizations were urged to work for anti-militarist education.

5. The pacifist resolution covered similar ground, but also proposed co-ordination of pacifist action.

The League of Nations was much discussed throughout the debates, and, while it was unsparingly denounced by the Bolsheviks, it was also declared unsatisfactory in its present form by the majority, and it was generally agreed that a real league of peoples must be developed, universal and democratic, to which all disputes and causes of war could be referred. A special commission is to be appointed to make recommendations for this development.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of the Evangelical Free Churches in Great Britain has recently inaugurated a movement in support of the world peace. The council addressed a message to King George, informing him of the organization of the movement, and received the following in reply: "The King feels it to be pre-eminently the duty of the churches at the present time to declare their faith that the only warfare worth waging is against those evils which have throughout history brought upon the nations the horrors of war."

THE FELLOWSHIP FOR A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER has announced a series of sectional conferences in various parts of the country during the next few months. The purpose of these conferences, in the language of the official announcement, is "the widening of acquaintance and the strengthening of the spiritual bond between those persons who are seeking to effect such fundamental changes in the spirit and structure of the present social order as will make it in accord with the mind of Jesus, and the mutual exchange of ideas concerning industrial and international problems by persons of varied experience—employers, workers, teachers, students, clergymen, and other professional men and women."

The following topics will be discussed at the various sessions:

Which of the current *industrial and commercial* attitudes and practices are in conflict with the spirit and teaching of Jesus? Which of these should immediately and completely be repudiated by Christian people? What are the hopeful signs of the times in industrial relations? Which of the current attitudes and practices of modern *international* relations are in conflict with the spirit and teaching of Jesus? Which of these should immediately and completely be repudiated by Christian people? What are the hopeful signs of the times in international relations?

THE TACNA-ARICA CONTROVERSY between Chile and Peru took a new turn when President Harding accepted the office of arbitrator in the dispute between the two South American republics. The invitation to Mr. Harding to serve as arbitrator was extended to him as a result of the protocols signed last summer by the delegates of Chile and Peru to the conference over the controversy held in Washington last summer. It was accepted in the following note, addressed by Secretary Hughes to the Chilean and Peruvian ambassadors at Washington:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of January 16, 1923 (January 20 in the case of Peru), in which, on behalf of your government, you apply, through me, to the President of the United States to accept the office of arbitrator for the purpose of the arbitration agreement signed at Washington on July 20 last by the plenipotentiaries of Chile and Peru, the exchange of ratifications of which took place in this city on January 15.

"It affords me much pleasure to inform you that the President, deeply appreciating the trust and confidence thus reposed in him by the governments of Chile and Peru, and highly gratified that this long-standing difference between the two governments is to be composed by the honorable means of arbitration, is most happy to accept the office of arbitrator."

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN THE VISÉ LAW are expected as a result of President Harding's action in sending to Congress, with his concurrence, a recommendation by Secretary Hughes that legislation be enacted conferring upon the executive authority to modify visé fees and requirements applicable to aliens temporarily visiting the United States. Passage of such legislation, the President said, would enable the Secretary of State to enter upon negotiations with foreign governments with a view to obtaining reciprocal modification.

DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF 1922 the idle steam tonnage of the world declined approximately three-quarters of a million gross tons, and on January 1, 1923, stood at around 9,000,000 tons, as shown by figures compiled by the Transportation Division of the Department of Commerce. During the whole of 1922 idle tonnage declined nearly 2,000,000 tons. Idle tonnage in British ports, which was 1,961,000 gross tons on January 1, 1922, and 1,667,000 tons on July 1, 1922, dropped to 1,010,000 tons on January 1, 1923. The tied-up tonnage in French ports, which increased from 1,085,000 tons to 1,200,000 tons during the first half of the year, declined to 730,000 tons at the end of 1922. Italian and Norwegian idle tonnage also declined. On the other hand, the idle fleet of the U. S. Shipping Board increased over 400,000 tons, and nearly 200,000 more tons of privately owned American vessels were out of employment on January 1, 1922, than on July 1. Japanese and Greek tonnage also had less employment at the end of the year than on July 1.

EUROPE'S COFFEE APPETITE in 1922 called for 8,743,000 bags, or approximately 1,189,048,000 pounds. During the war Amsterdam was the principal coffee market of Europe, and since the war only Havre, France, has

excelled it. According to the U. S. Consul, Frank W. Mahin, at Amsterdam, about 20 per cent of the wholesale coffee business of Europe is transacted in that city. The visible supply of coffee in the Netherlands at the end of 1922 was 404,000 bags; in all Europe, 2,254,000 bags. The stocks now in Europe are composed of about two-thirds of Brazilian coffee, the balance coming from the West and East Indies.

THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION to the Fifth Pan-American Congress, which will open at Santiago, Chile, on March 25, will be headed by Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, who is now the American Ambassador to Belgium. Besides Mr. Fletcher, the delegation will include Senator Kellogg, of Michigan; Senator Pomerene, of Ohio; ex-Senator J. W. Saulsbury, of Delaware; George E. Vincent, of the Rockefeller Foundation of New York; Frank C. Partridge, of Vermont; William E. Fowler, of Washington, and Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union. Secretary Hughes, who is expected to attend the opening session of the Congress, if official duties permit his absence from Washington at that time, will do so as a special guest of the Chilean Government.

WHAT WERE UNSIGHTLY VACANT LOTS in beautiful Vienna ten years ago are today enticing and flourishing gardens, adding to the beauty of the city and impressing its visitors. The culture of small gardens began about ten years ago, when many city workmen leased small plots of land which they used for vegetable raising, but the main object of the gardens was to give the workmen and their families a Sunday outing in the fresh air. The yield of these gardens in 1922, however, totaled 6,500 carloads of potatoes, 1,060 tons of fruit, and 240 tons of berries, besides enormous quantities of green vegetables of all kinds. The raising of chickens, rabbits, and goats on these plots has also developed into an important factor in the provisioning of this unfortunate city. In 1922, 80,000 families, consisting of 370,000 persons, were cultivating an area of 24 million square meters of ground, and, in addition, they owned 280,000 chickens, 270,000 rabbits, and 4,000 goats.

IN FULFILLMENT OF HIS ELECTION PLEDGES, the British Premier, Mr. Bonar Law, has already issued invitations to the commonwealths and dominions of the British Empire to attend an economic conference in London in the near future. According to the *London Times* (Weekly, December 14), the agenda for this conference has not yet been definitely drawn up, as certain pressing domestic affairs in Australia and other parts of the Empire must be settled before the invitation can be considered and the subjects to be discussed determined. Nevertheless, it is generally understood that questions of emigration and settlement, of territorial and commercial development, and of communications will be raised.

The idea, roughly stated, is to marshal imperial resources for the fullest possible economic development of the Empire, in order to secure mutual advantages to the dominions and the motherland. This procedure was stated by Mr. Bonar Law, in the course of his most

important pre-election speech at Leeds on November 6, to be England's chief hope for immediate economic recovery.

In a recent letter to the *London Times*, Mr. Julius Vogel outlines some of the facts which form a basis for this theory. Dividing world markets into three sections, the writer finds that in 1913, of all the exports of British produce and manufacture 37 per cent were sent to British possessions, 25 per cent to countries in Europe that have since been distressed by the war, and 38 per cent to the rest of the world. This, in the opinion of a large section of the British people, goes far to dispose of the contention that British unemployment is due to the loss of Russian and German markets.

Other figures published by Mr. Vogel show that while the British possessions included in their purchases 42 per cent of the manufactured goods exported and only 5½ per cent of raw materials, the countries in Europe now distressed bought only 20 per cent British manufactured exports and 52 per cent of raw materials.

Commenting on these statements, the London paper says:

"The trade of greatest value to any nation is complementary rather than competitive. From the point of view of employment, it is obviously desirable to stimulate exchanges with markets which purchase highly finished goods and supply in return raw material and food. That, of course, is exactly the kind of trade that is done with British markets abroad, while in the case of Germany almost the exact opposite obtains. In the year before the war the total imports from Germany into the United Kingdom were valued at over eighty millions sterling. The largest single item was sugar, which amounted to nearly eleven millions, but the bulk of the merchandise consisted of manufactured articles. In the same period exports of British produce to Germany amounted to only forty millions, half of which were in the form of raw materials and partly manufactured goods, such as yarn."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE QUEST. By *Pio Baroja*. Translated by Isaac Goldberg. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Pp. 289.

Pio Baroja is one of the most entertaining of modern Spanish novelists, and it is deplorable, under the circumstances, that his work should reach American readers handicapped by an extremely illiterate translation.

In itself translation is an art, all the more delicate because it necessitates a species of dual thinking, as well as a dual linguistic faculty. The idiom of a race is the surest index to its psychology—a fact which becomes more pronounced as racial demarcation becomes less a physical and more a cultural question. The translator's object, therefore, should be to convey an atmosphere and, so to speak, retain a thought construction, while actually changing the words for their equivalent in another language. This end has been beautifully accomplished by such people as Gilbert Cannan and Constance Garnett, to say nothing of certain translators of Tolstoy into French, but it has not, apparently, even been aimed at by Mr. Goldberg.

In a book such as "The Quest," for instance, Mr. Goldberg does not bring before American eyes a picture of Spanish low life, with all its eighteenth century picaresque qualities. There does not seem to be anywhere in the book anything peculiarly Spanish, except, perhaps, the names. On the contrary, we are presented with a rather blurred outline through which may be distinguished, as in a glass darkly, some anæmic East Side toughs, a nondescript Middle West-

ern student, and other characters, veiled in a great deal of bad grammar.

For example, on page 63 of the book under discussion, one young gentleman of humble station in life is depicted as saying to the hero, "It's my aunt Salome and my grandmother who live here. Over where we are—oh, boy—the times I've had!"

The sentence is descriptive, but it is descriptive of America, not of Spain. In inflection, atmosphere, emphasis, it is American, and the unfortunate thing that Mr. Goldberg, apparently, does not know is that the Spanish rogue, the Irish corner boy, the French apache, the English hooligan, the American tough, are by no means interchangeable phrases. They do not, any of them, mean quite the same thing, and there is very little safety in translating the peculiar slang of the one into the peculiar slang of the other.

The question is rather an important one, because the literature of any country is often its best interpreter to those who cannot afford time or money for first-hand study. Good translations, therefore, become an absolute necessity to the cause of international understanding. Pio Baroja, for example, is a particularly keen observer of Spanish daily life, and it is disappointing to find the translation of his work so twisted out of focus as to be almost unreadable.

UP STREAM. By *Ludwig Lewisohn*. Boni and Liveright, New York. Pp. 346. \$3.50.

Just every so often America becomes too much for some of us, especially, perhaps, for certain of us whose European background is still a personal memory. Some of the phases of present-day literature reflect a spirit of revolt, and that is not wholly a bad thing. Revolt is youth and growth and exploration; it is life. But, on the other hand, when revolt sours into bitterness, it is not particularly good for the revolter or for the rest of us.

A great deal of praise has been lavished upon Ludwig Lewisohn's book, "Up Stream." Some of it is deserved, for the book is well written, though it tells us nothing that is particularly new or startling to those who are at all familiar with the younger set in literature. Mr. Lewisohn appears to have a highly developed martyrdom complex, which entirely obliterates his sense of humor. The first part of his book is charming; the second is marred by a Teutonically expressed sense of grievance. The fact that this sense of grievance is largely justified hardly makes it more attractive.

As far as his racial grievances are concerned, Mr. Lewisohn would do well to pause and observe his surroundings. Anglo-American prejudice has not stood in the way of a Baruch, a Disraeli, a Reading. The Jewish people who have come to this country have not always been the most able, the most cultivated, the most intelligent of their race. If they find themselves cold-shouldered, it is too often because the personal mannerisms of what, it is to be hoped, is but a noisy minority have created a definitely hostile impression among so-called Anglo-Americans. Mr. Lewisohn forgets the vast gulf that yawns between the type of immigrant of which his parents were, possibly, among the last comers and the later arrivals, so many of whom have been drawn from the very dregs of Europe. The main trouble with these latter is that they have never troubled to find out what the conditions of life in America really are, what this country really stands for, but presume to become annoyed with her when she does not correspond to their limited visualization. Nor is this all. What they imagine to be liberty and equality leads, in their case, to a certain aggressiveness and social selfishness, which is, to say the least, trying to people of a more cultivated generation. In these days there is but little time for differentiation, and amid the large number of offensive specimens it is perfectly possible that, with the best will in the world, a Ludwig Lewisohn should not be recognized as one worthy of a better reception.

THE OUTCAST. By *Selma Lagerlöf*. Gyldendal, London, W. C. 2. Pp. 289. k9.25.

Miss Lagerlöf, winner of the 1909 Nobel Prize for Literature, has in this book approached the peace problem from an entirely new angle. She has made powerful use of the psychology of contrast.

Svend, the young Swedish peasant-hero, adopted and edu-

cated in England, returns to his home and enters the story under a distressing cloud. While on an Arctic expedition, lost and starving, he and his comrades are said to have fallen upon the body of a suicide of the party and eaten of his flesh. Svend was ill of a fever at the time and cannot recall the circumstance, but supposes it to be true. As a matter of fact, he is later cleared from suspicion. Meanwhile he suffers all the obloquy of an outcast among his kind. Disowned by his foster parents, baited by the vicious, and hated by the righteous, he tries to recapture at least his own self-respect through service.

The revulsion of all human beings against him because of his violation of the sacredness of death is strongly depicted in Miss Lagerlöf's simple, almost Biblical, style. Every character is strongly drawn, but the peasant seer and mystic Lotta Hedman is the most vividly realistic of them all. The book is therefore real, in spite of the mysticism and melancholy of Scandinavia, which permeates it all.

The tale reaches its climax in the floating in of scores of dead and mangled bodies, in their life-belts, from the war zone in the North Sea to the fishing grounds of the Swedish coast. Svend pleads for the salvage and decent burial of the ghastly group, "coming like refuse that none would touch." The horror of the fisher folk at these sad "visitors from the sea" brings into lurid relief the contrast in the author's mind.

The wife of a fisherman, who had lost his legs by fishing up a mine at the beginning of the war, finally voices the new point of view. She says to Svend, "I have been thinking of them that sit making those mines and things. And if one of them heard about you, I dare say he'd think he was a fine fellow compared to you."

"That may be," said Svend Elversson.

"But I say, no!" "You've never done that. You only tried all you could to help us. What right had I to judge you for how you acted by the dead? But those whose doings have left all the quarries in Bohuslän empty, and the workers idle, and their wives and children starving—they've wronged the living, and that's worse."

The whole argument is rounded up in a brief sermon over the graves of the dead. The preacher begs his hearers to let the horror of the occasion "give birth to an abhorrence of war that nothing can ever overcome," and "to look with greater kindness toward those who are the true servants of Life; who seek to keep *Life* a good and noble thing and render aid and protection to the living."

POLITICS. By *Frank Exline*. E. P. Dutton and Co., New York. Pp. 226. \$2.00.

Mr. Exline has written a distinctly interesting study of modern systems of government, together with a suggestion for the ideal form of government of the future. In his opinion this ideal form is based on "the examinations conducted by the several examiners, as revised and approved by their respective district boards," which theory is entitled a "rational selective system of government."

To the casual reader Mr. Exline's theory has somewhat of a Chinese sound. The Chinese, under the old régime, certainly carried the selective examinatory idea to the extreme point, but it is doubtful as to whether the results could have been declared entirely satisfactory from the point of view of the governed.

An intriguing recapitulation of Mr. Exline's doctrines and conclusions is to be found at the end of the volume. Some of these may be considered slightly startling, such as the pronouncement upon all modern governments as being "autocratic despotisms," the denial of public opinion as an existing fact, or a possibility even, and so forth. At the same time the writer displays a touching idealism—of the eighteenth century variety—in his definition of natural law as the law of justice, the supreme and fundamental law of society, to which the will of sovereign and subject alike should be subordinate. Mr. Exline feels that government not according to the just conclusions of right reason, but according to the dictates of the will, setting the human will above natural law, is autocratic despotism, whether it be the will of a monarch or the will of a majority. At this point, however, the reader may feel inclined to pause and parody Pilate with the query: "What is justice? What is right reason?"

ADVOCATE OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

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SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THIS SOCIETY

THE 100,000 copies of this Society's pamphlet containing the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, distributed through the newspapers represented by Frederick J. Haskin, are nearly exhausted. Another \$1,000 is needed at once, if we are to continue to supply the demands for this pamphlet.

ONLY a half of the amount necessary to secure the \$15,000, offered to the Society on condition that a similar amount be raised, is in sight. The time left for meeting the requirements of this offer is short.

THE plan to raise a million-dollar endowment for the American Peace Society, referred to in our last number, is meeting with an encouraging response; \$25,000 are on hand.

OUR work demands more floor space. A committee of the Society is studying a number of properties in Washington with the view of purchasing headquarters for our organization.

THERE are other needs. The Society's library is being carefully recataloged, but additional space for book-stacks is very much needed. The ADVOCATE OF PEACE should be much more widely circulated. An immediate need is for a circulation manager; \$3,000 would meet this demand.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Quite American in Principle

THE UNITED STATES believe in the principle of an international court of justice, and they would be glad to adhere to such a tribunal, if only they were convinced that conditions warranted it. It ought not to be necessary to elaborate upon this; for, as a matter of fact, these United States have been making voluntary use of an international court since the free, sovereign, independent State of New York brought action against the free, sovereign, independent State of Connecticut *et al.* in the Supreme Court of the United States in 1799. Since that first international case before this international tribunal, there have been some 107 international cases or aspects of cases submitted by one or more of our States to this international court. Our fathers granted to the Supreme Court of the United States jurisdiction in all cases in law and equity arising under treaties, affecting our representatives abroad, relating to admiralty and maritime disputes, involving controversies to which the United States shall be a party, controversies between two or more States, and the like. Because the Supreme Court of the United States has original jurisdiction in matters affecting States, it is an international tribunal. When it sits in cases affecting States, it concerns itself with the principles of international law. Because our States have been making use of this international court of justice since the adoption of our Constitution, and that increasingly, it is perfectly reasonable to expect these United States to accept unquestioningly the principle of a similar international court of justice with jurisdiction in issues rising between States anywhere and at any time.

Because we of these United States have thus become familiar with the judicial settlement of disputes between States, because we have come to accept that method as a matter of course, our writers and statesmen have constantly advocated such a tribunal for the nations of the world. The American Peace Society has agitated for such a tribunal from its very beginnings, nearly a century ago. Mr. Ladd's proposals for the establishment of such a court were carried to Europe not only in book and pamphlet, but by his faithful disciple, Elihu Burritt, during the 40's and 50's of the last century. The processes of this education, extending through the fol-

lowing generation, ended in the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration under the terms of The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, adopted at The Hague Conference in 1899. Our American delegates, it will probably be agreed, took the leading part in the establishment of this arbitral tribunal. It was upon the initiative of President Roosevelt that it received its first case. Since its creation it has functioned with no little distinction. Furthermore, and primarily upon American initiative, the second Hague Conference, meeting in 1907, accepted with practical unanimity the principle of an international court of justice, to function between nations substantially as does our Supreme Court between States. Practically all of our leading statesmen from the days of Charles Sumner to the present have approved this principle, including such distinguished Secretaries of State as John Hay and Elihu Root; and Presidents such as McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. Secretary Hughes has stated the facts succinctly and with historical accuracy in his letter to President Harding, which letter appears elsewhere in these columns.

The principle of an international court of justice is thoroughly American.

Essence of the Harding Proposal

It is proposed by the Administration that the United States adhere to the protocol of December 16, 1920, and that we thereby adhere to the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice organized by the League of Nations and now seated at The Hague. The Administration proposes that we should not, however, adhere to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction. The proposal contains also other qualifications. Under its terms we should not become involved in any legal relations or obligations with the League of Nations. We shall, however, sit in equality with the other States, members respectively of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, when convened for the election of judges; we shall pay our share toward the expenses of the court; and we shall vote with the other States, "members respectively of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations," on all proposals looking toward an amendment of the statute of the Permanent Court. Indeed, this last proposal goes further. It insists "that the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States."

Difficulties Facing This Proposal

Since this is a concrete matter, which the American public must understand and settle, it is of importance to

ascertain at the outset and to remove as far as possible any difficulties which may be involved. Friends of the court must, like a general planning a battle, first "estimate the situation."

Evidently, there is a question of dignity involved here. Senator Johnson, just before sailing for Europe, was quoted as viewing the proposal as an undignified attempt to get us into the League of Nations by way of the back door. The Senator from California evidently looks upon the proposal as in some way a violation of the good taste of the nation. It is clear, however, that the President and the Secretary of State are quite convinced that we can accept the International Court not only without legal entanglements with the League of Nations, but without violation of any principle of good taste or national dignity.

Senator Borah is arguing in substance that the present International Court of Justice is not an international court such as the United States can understand or accept. The Senator from Idaho takes his cue from the Supreme Court of the United States, which has compulsory jurisdiction in issues between States; that is to say, it has the right to hear a plaintiff State and to decide the case, whether or not the defendant State appears. In other words, when the Constitution provided that the power of the Supreme Court should be extended to controversies between two or more States, it granted to the court compulsory jurisdiction. This does not mean, we have to remind ourselves, that the Supreme Court has the power to coerce a State by force of arms; it simply means that the Supreme Court has the right to hear and to decide a case with or without the presence of the defendant State. The granting of this jurisdiction to our tribunal for the maintenance of peace between our States was an expression of the good sense as it was of the good faith of our founding fathers.

Mr. Borah points out that the International Court of Justice has no such jurisdiction. His argument runs on substantially as follows: The court differs from the Court of Arbitration established by the first Hague Conference in 1899 only in one respect: it has a permanent bench of judges. This court, made up of a permanent bench, is competent to sit, therefore, only in a case which both parties to the dispute agree to submit. No case can be brought before it except upon the consent of all parties concerned. Since nations, especially the big ones, prefer to submit their cases to a tribunal made up of arbiters of their own choosing, it seems reasonable to expect that the big States will prefer to submit their cases, not to the International Court of Justice, but to the older Court of Arbitration, as recently did the United States and Norway. Furthermore, the big States are more familiar with the arbitral tribunal, to which

some eighteen international disputes have been submitted since its beginning, nearly a quarter of a century ago.

Every possible attempt has been made to convince us that the International Court of Justice is separate from the League of Nations; that it is quite independent. Mr. David Jayne Hill, who spends his summers frequently in Geneva, the home of the League, has said of the court, however, that "it is not a universal court, but the private court of the League." While this statement is not as true as at the time it was written, of course the fact remains that the judges of the International Court of Justice are elected by the members of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations. Indeed, they receive their pay from the League of Nations. So far, practically all of the questions submitted to the court have been submitted by the League of Nations. These are facts which Mr. Borah feels called upon to explain to the American people.

The answer to this argument will be found elsewhere in these columns and in the language of the Secretary of State. In his reply to the enquiries from the United States Senate, Mr. Hughes states with some fulness his reasons for not proposing that the International Court of Justice should have compulsory jurisdiction.

Another difficult to which we friends of the court must attend is the charge that the Big Nations of Europe responsible for its creation have not been altogether sincere. The reasons for this indictment need to be understood. In the original project drafted in the summer of 1920 by the Advisory Committee of Jurists at The Hague, which committee included Elihu Root and James Brown Scott of America, it was provided in article 33:

"When a dispute has arisen between States, and it has been found impossible to settle it by diplomatic means, and no agreement has been made to choose another jurisdiction, the party complaining may bring the case before the court. The court shall, first of all, decide whether the preceding conditions have been complied with; if so, it shall hear and determine the dispute according to the terms and within the limits of the next article."

Article 34 reads:

"Between States which are members of the League of Nations, the court shall have jurisdiction (and this without any special convention giving it jurisdiction) to hear and determine cases of a legal nature concerning:

- "(a) The interpretation of a treaty;
- "(b) Any question of international law;
- "(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- "(d) The nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;
- "(e) The interpretation of a sentence passed by the court.

"The court shall also take cognizance of all disputes of any kind which may be submitted to it by a general or particular convention between the parties.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether a certain case comes within any of the categories above mentioned, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court."

When these articles were laid before the League and adopted, December 13, 1920, they had been radically changed. They were combined in what is called in the revised project, Article 36. The significant words of this article are: "The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases *which the parties refer to it.*" The whole article reads:

"The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force.

"The members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the annex to the covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:

- "(a) The interpretation of a treaty;
- "(b) Any question of international law;
- "(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- "(d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or States, or for a certain time.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether the court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court."

Because of this change made by the League of Nations, largely upon the initiative of the Earl of Balfour, the Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, and the Right Honorable Lord Robert Cecil, we may expect the argument to be made that the same Great Powers who at Paris in 1919 were perfectly willing to organize a League of Nations with power not only to control the foreign policy of States, but to coerce them, if need be, by economic pressure and force of arms; when confronted with the original project for an international court of justice backed only by a rule of right, and with the proposal that they themselves agree in advance to submit cases of a legal nature arising under a very limited jurisdiction, when confronted with such a proposal the Great Powers of Europe have said No. Thus it has been said that the Big Powers at Paris contemplated a league for the coercion of the Little Powers, and in no sense as an agency for the coercion of themselves. The Large Powers appear to be willing that the small States

shall accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, but that for themselves they propose to do nothing of the sort.

So far the States which have signed and ratified the optional clause, accepting the principle of compulsory jurisdiction, are: Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Finland, Haiti, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay. The clause has been signed but not ratified by Costa Rica, Liberia, Luxemburg, Panama, and Salvador. Brazil, accepting this optional clause, has limited her acceptance to a period of five years, and has qualified her acceptance with the provision that compulsory jurisdiction be also accepted by not less than two of the Powers that are permanent members of the League Council. This test of the sincerity of the Big Powers does not seem to have been met. These Big Powers are willing to trust the court just as far as they are willing to trust the optional court of arbitration, existing since 1899, but no further. There are no classes of cases, however limited, which they will agree in advance to submit to the court. We shall be asked if it is not unfortunate that we friends of the court are confronted with a tribunal a bit discredited at the outset by its creators? Of course, the answer to all this charge of insincerity will be the acceptance by the Large Powers of Europe of the optional clause, giving to the court compulsory jurisdiction at least within the limitations set forth in article 36 of the statute.

The United States Will Join

Our Administration is bent upon an American business; more, it is laboring in the interest of world peace based upon justice. The prime solution of the problem of war is to offer a better method for the settlement of disputes as from time to time they may arise. The ages have proved the most practicable way to settle controversies, not capable of settlement otherwise, to be by those due processes of law which have made civilization possible. The United States of America will never stand in the way of these processes.

Because of our long successful experience with a real International Court of Justice, because of our faith in judicial settlement, and because of our century of education in that procedure, we shall find a way to overcome the difficulties facing the court that is to be. If we of the United States find the other Powers, large and small, ready for a genuine International Court of Justice, with a jurisdiction that commands our approval, independent of any limited number of States, American public opinion will lead us to accept and to make use of such a beneficent organ for the settlement of justiciable disputes between nations.

NO TIME TO DESPAIR OF EUROPE

THE MAN who professes to see hope in the European situation is a fearless soul; and yet there is hope in Europe. If France was persuaded to pay the indemnity imposed upon her by Germany in 1871, then Germany may yet be persuaded to pay an indemnity satisfactory to France. Anyhow, it does not seem to us that the French occupation of the Ruhr is the most serious trouble in Europe. The threatening danger in Europe is the spirit of resentment; not only in Germany, but throughout the lands "suffering unjustly because of the Treaty of Versailles." The reaction movement in central and southern Europe is a fact to be reckoned with. This movement has been encouraged not only by the apparent success of the Fascisti in Italy, but by Ludendorff's recent visit to Vienna; by conferences of military and Fascist leaders from Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, reported recently to have been held in various places, and by the apparent success of the Kemalists, which has greatly encouraged this spirit of reaction. There seems to be no doubt that the militarists and the Fascisti are working together. Ludendorff and his follower, Colonel Bauer, and Stephan Friedrich, leader of the Hungarian Fascisti, are two of the chief manipulators in this business.

And yet there are many competent men laboring at the business of lifting Europe out of her distress. The German Government is evidently considering with a more intelligent care the prospect of meeting her obligations to France. Furthermore, we need not be surprised to learn soon of the perfecting of definite plans for a general European peace, including the limitation of armaments. In short, a general European peace conference, patterned somewhat after the Washington Conference, may be nearer realization than we suspect.

Neither the brains nor the morals of Europe are extinct. A copyrighted dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun* under date of March 16 announces that the Bavarian Government is pressing ahead with its plans to re-establish a monarchy. This is probably the fact. But even this is not as ominous as some would have us believe. Jugoslavia, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Spain, not to mention Great Britain, have monarchies; Germany might be better off if she had one, too. In any event, it is difficult to conceive of her being in a worse predicament than under the present régime. What is wanted from Germany is sincerity that carries conviction. This is not an unreasonable demand. Intelligent men of Germany know it. The "formula" will yet be found, acceptable to France and to the rest of the world.

AS TO CERTAIN CRITICISMS OF FRANCE

THE CRITICISMS of France persist. For Americans to get at the truth is difficult. There are certain charges, for example, and from reputable quarters, that the French system of taxation is inadequate and breaking down. We have been able to ascertain, from official sources, some facts about these charges.

SOME CHARGES

It is charged that direct taxes in France are "scandalously low," especially upon the peasants. The answer to this charge is that the direct taxes are divided between relatively a large number of the French people, each taxpayer carrying a very heavy load; but it is true that the peasants are favored.

It is charged that the peasants, without exact information of the financial conditions in France, are buying national bonds; and that were they informed of the facts, France would collapse financially forthwith. The answer to this is that the peasants have invested primarily in available lands, and that comparatively few of them have purchased the bonds. The better class of the peasants have a clear idea of the state of French finances. But every one agrees that the French financial situation is serious. The charge, however, in this connection, springs in part from a misconception of the situation. The peasant is himself a business man; but in estimating his responsibility it isn't fair to count as revenue all that he gets from his sales. He, his wife, and his children if they work, are entitled to their wages on an eight-hour basis. If the man works eight hours, he should be credited with twelve to twenty francs; the woman from six to ten francs; the boy from three to six francs; and the girl from two to six francs. The fact, however, is that farmers work every day on an average from twelve to fourteen hours. All of this should be counted as salary and deducted from the revenue. The peasant, it will be seen, therefore, is not favored as much as it is generally thought.

It is charged that 50 per cent of French wealth comes from agriculture; that only one-tenth of the national revenue is raised from that source, and that in consequence, by various indirections, the merchants are evading two-thirds of their taxes. The answer to this, as far as we have ascertained, is that the revenues from the soil represent in effect about 50 per cent of the total national revenue, and proportionately to their importance they contribute only in a small measure to the income from taxes. It is true that the ground-rent tax, which affects the proprietor, has been increased, but the tax upon the income of the farmer is based upon an estimated valuation which is very far

from the real income. It follows that the farmer is taxed little in comparison with his actual profits.

The commercial men are obliged to submit an annual report. Because of the tax of trade licenses and the like, they are obliged to make numerous other declarations. It is, therefore, difficult for them to escape the tax, and the number who evade is very small. In the large cities only the commercial brokers and middlemen, whose activities are not well defined, can possibly escape the tax, and that only on condition that the firms for which they labor fail to send in the returns on commissions and discounts. Aside from the farmers, the really privileged persons are those who practice professions, such as the law, medicine, art. Their revenues, being irregular, cannot be exactly defined. It is, therefore, necessary to rely simply upon their declarations.

It is charged that the farmer pays but 90 francs upon the direct tax on, say, 30,000 francs, while the business man on the same amount of income pays 2,000 francs. The answer to this charge is that the business man pays upon an income of 30,000 francs, if he is an employee, 1,500 francs; if he works for himself his tax is about 2,400 francs. While the profits from agricultural activity have never been exactly determined, it is possible to indicate the amount of the farmer's tax corresponding to 30,000 francs income. One example will indicate approximately the tax assessed against the farmer. In the case of a farmer who works a property of fifty acres made up of forty acres of cultivated land and ten acres of meadow, valued roughly at 60 francs an acre for the cultivated land and 100 francs an acre for the meadow, his annual income will be estimated as follows:

	Francs
The 40 acres of cultivated land..... 40 x 60 francs =	2,400
The 10 acres of meadow land... 2 x 10 x 100 francs =	2,000

Total	4,400

For this he will pay in taxes 99 francs. From this example it will appear that while the business man pays from 1,500 to 2,400 francs on an income of 30,000 francs, the farmer for a similar income would pay only 700 francs.

But this requires some explanation.

To ascertain the amount of income paid in France by the farmers, one must keep in mind the fact that the agricultural incomes bear three kinds of taxes:

1. The special tax on the income arising from the ownership of the land.
2. The special tax on the income arising from the actual operation of agriculture.
3. The general income tax on the total income of every individual.

1. *Special tax on the income arising from the ownership of the land:*

There is levied annually a tax of 10 per centum of the amount of the income arising from the ownership of the land. This income is deemed to be equal to the "rental value" of the land. The "rental" value of every part of the French territory is determined by a periodical survey and valuation.

2. *Special tax on the income arising from the actual operation of agriculture:*

There is levied annually a tax of 6 per centum of the amount of the income arising from the actual operation of agriculture, which is in excess of 1,500 francs. However, the rate upon the amount by which the income exceeds 1,500 and does not exceed 4,000 francs is 3 per centum per annum.

For taxation purposes the income arising from the actual operation of agriculture is deemed to be equal to the "rental value" of the land, multiplied by a coefficient, which varies according to the nature of the cultivation. These coefficients are determined annually by a commission, which takes into account the relation existing in fact at the time between the rental value of the different kinds of lands and the profits arising from the operation of same.

According to the latest information, the coefficients are, for the time being, as follows:

Nature of the land	Coefficient
Plowed lands, woods, etc.....	1
Meadows, gardens, orchards, nursery gardens, etc.....	2
Vineyards, kitchen-gardens.....	3

3. *General income tax on the total income of every individual:*

There is levied, annually, a progressive tax (the rate of which varies from 2 per centum to 50 per centum) of the amount of the total income of every individual which is in excess of 6,000 francs.

In this particular case the question is to compute only the special tax on the income arising from the operation of agriculture. The farmer is supposed to manage an estate consisting of—

(a) Forty acres of plowed land, the rental value of which is 60 francs an acre.

(b) Ten acres of meadows, the rental value of which is 100 francs an acre, these rental values having been determined according to the facts by an official survey and valuation.

	Francs
The income arising from the operation of the estate is deemed to be equal to the rental value of 40 acres of plowed land (viz, 40 x 60) multiplied by the coefficient 1.....	2,400

To the rental value of 10 acres of meadows (viz, 10 x 100) multiplied by the coefficient 2.....	2,000
Total of the income.....	4,400

On the income thus determined, the tax will be computed as follows:

0 per cent of the amount by which the income does not exceed francs 1,500 (1,500 x 0).....	0
3 per cent of the amount by which the income exceeds francs 1,500 and does not exceed francs 4,000 (2,500 x 3/100)	75
6 per cent of the amount by which the income exceeds francs 4,000 (400 x 6/100).....	24
Total to be paid.....	99

Besides, the said farmer will have to pay the tax on the income arising from the ownership of the land, the general income tax, and a variety of indirect taxes.

It is also charged that French foreign policy is based upon the probability of another war. The answer to this charge is that it is not true. France sees her worst fears realized and has decided to defend her rights to live and to eat.

CERTAIN REALITIES

The French are confronted with certain realities. Germany has refused to pay. France finds that Germany has enough gold to buy coal in England and elsewhere; to build ships, railroads, telephones, hospitals, schools; but no money with which to pay her debts. When France has needed money she has had to borrow, and that at disastrous rates of interest. She realizes that England is against her, that the United States have forsaken her, and that she is standing alone with tiny Belgium to keep watch on the east. She knows that Germany has been almost openly preparing for another war. The French demand is perfectly clear. France wants peace, security, and what is owed to her. She purposes to have these things; if necessary, to fight for them.

A LETTER

A letter before us from a French authority near the Ruhr reads:

"Our nation, which is an honest nation, always honoring her signature, has enough of the grim joke. France is supposed to pay her debts to those who were her friends. She will pay the debts; but she expects the debts due to her to be paid also. And why not? It is a stern fact that Germany is richer than France.

"Moral support is all right; but we are morally strong enough to stand alone. When foreign peoples tell us they do not approve of our position they make us rather wild, because while they disapprove they pocket their neat profits just the same. This is specially true of England.

"We do not want war; we suffered far too much for

that; but we quite understand the German mind. We were the only ones who understood it in 1914. We seem to be the only ones who understand it now. Up to the present we have made the largest sacrifice; and evidently in vain. Now we can go no further. We refuse to pay for another war, another invasion, more ruin and starvation, by accepting the false theories of other nations. We have been threatened by our late friends. That ends it. We have lost faith in them. We know we are right. Events will prove it. Once more we are serving humanity.

"This is what accounts for the Ruhr. On the whole, the occupation is calm. Very few of the 'incidents' reported are true. Half the press is printing nothing but willful and stupid lies. Our soldiers are quiet, peaceful, and civilized creatures. They feed the kiddies and the women on their own rations, and ill-treat no one. There are no colored troops; the famous 'tirailleurs Marocains' come from Metz—true white boys—their general being a personal friend of mine, one of the greatest soldiers of Verdun. This general is a small, gentle, quiet, reserved man, worshiped by all his men, called by them '*le grand frère*.' Surely this is not the kind of a man to order cruelties or to let them take place. True, there have been riots—a very few of them—but some, all the same. Some of them happened for trivial reasons, but the greater number were pre-arranged by the Germans, so as to enable them to build up false accusations. Our men have strict orders to be patient, and they realize the necessity of it, quite apart from the natural kindness of our French young men.

"From the point of view of economics, we are very anxious. Counting on the assurances of our allies, we did not stock up with coal, and we are suffering from the lack of it. Now we have to send men and material when we are short of both, because Germany has taken away our means of transportation, and because of those one-and-one-half million boys who have been killed."

THE PROBABLE RESULT

France has difficulty in keeping her case before the world. She is handicapped by the enormity of the task she is undertaking. She has little time for explanations, and certainly less kidney for apologies. But France, in our judgment, knows her own mind.

Furthermore, there are evidences that she is getting results. A conference of the French and the Belgian premiers March 12 has led the world to believe that the invaders of the Ruhr will retire by stages, as did the Germans after the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. Once more it is clear that neither the French nor the Belgians contemplate any permanent occupation. Results achieved, they will retire.

News dispatches and common sense warrant the conclusion that Germany will decide to meet the French demands. No doubt conversations are being held between German and French representatives looking to this end. Indeed, a special cable to the *New York World*, dated Berlin, March 13, announces that the

fifty billion gold marks agreed upon by the Allies at Paris may yet be agreed to under the pledge of the German Industrial Association as well as of the government. Whether or not this be the precise proposal, it is an indication that efforts are being made to bring about a meeting of minds. While Germany has undoubtedly banked upon British support, even this serious complication may be overcome. It is further reported that there is no little talk of an alliance between France, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Lithuania. While such an alliance may serve the temporary purpose of satisfying the French in evacuating the Ruhr, British, Italian, and Russian interests, to say nothing of the Balkans, remain hanging in the air. It does not seem possible, however, that England will present other than diplomatic obstacles to this effort; while Russia, still impotent and alone, is but a negligible factor. The important point is that the French and Belgian effort in the Ruhr does not now seem to be the hideous crime described and advertised so widely by the enemies of France.

CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDIANTS

INTEREST among the students of universities in international affairs will not down. Before the war this interest manifested itself in some thirty American colleges by the organization of "Cosmopolitan clubs," beginning in the University of Wisconsin. At that time Cornell University boasted upward of 200 members, not to mention a Cosmopolitan club-house. The membership in these Cosmopolitan clubs consisted of about one-third American students, the rest being students from foreign lands. There were some 2,500 members of these clubs throughout the American colleges. Regular meetings were held and a monthly magazine was published.

The background of the movement leads back to an international conference held in Paris in the month of August, 1889; but it was not until 1898 that the President of Turin University issued his appeal to the students of the world to free themselves from "the incoherencies of principles which drag us fatally into struggles, wars, and ruin"; for, he said, "Our hearts are and must be brothers: *Corda Fratres*." This was the beginning of the *Federation Internationale des Étudiants*. The eighth international congress of this organization was held in America in 1913, students from thirty different countries being in attendance. At the beginning of the war plans were laid for holding the ninth international conference in 1915 at Montevideo, Uruguay.

It is with no surprise that we find this natural expression of youth reappearing, this time in the form of the *Confederation Internationale des Étudiants*. This organization had a council meeting at The Hague in January. Men and women students representing twelve nations were in attendance.

We are told that this new organization began in 1919 at the University of Strasburg, not for the purpose of discussing religious or political questions; but for the purpose of promoting social, intellectual, and other relations among the students of all countries. Efforts are being made to bring about a greater interchange of students, particularly during vacation. Mr. L. Marquard, writing in the *New York Evening Post* for February 27, 1923, is our authority for the information that last year a party of Belgian students visited Czechoslovakia, and at the same time an equivalent party of Czechs went to Belgium, each party practically exchanging families for the time and being entertained by the organizations of students in the respective countries. The same was done between England and Hungary. Again, agricultural tours were organized by the Danes for a party of English and Welsh students, which tours were conducted with the co-operation of the government.

We understand that interchange of correspondence is being promoted, and that annual council meetings and triennial congresses are to be held. It is an interesting fact that the students gathered at The Hague, after much discussion, unanimously decided to extend membership to the students of German universities. The next council meeting is to be held in Oxford in 1924.

One is led to wonder why interest in international affairs is so much more alive among the students of universities abroad than among students of our universities in America. We suspect it is due, at least in part, to the economic stress, the more difficulties in the way of enjoyment, and the ever-present evidences of the destructions of war in Europe.

RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS DECLARE WAR ON HEAVEN

RUSSIA having been reduced to ruin and the rest of the world having refused to follow the lead of Lenin's Communist crew, the present masters of Russia have now turned their attention to a new line of endeavor. War has been officially declared on Heaven, and the gods of all the religions that are professed in the world have been served with official notice of the opening of hostilities.

This startling bit of information has come to us through the columns of a new magazine, which began its publication in Moscow on January 4. This unique

periodical is called, in Russian, *Bezbozhnik*, which means "Godless Man." It is published by the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and is exceedingly lurid in appearance—entirely in keeping with its contents.

The cover bears a drawing in colors representing the caricatured conventional images of the gods of all the principal religions in the world, enthroned on banks of fleecy clouds. A ladder reaches from a forest of smoking factory stacks beneath the clouds, while over to one side of the group of factories lie the ruins of churches of all denominations. A workman in a bright red shirt is seen climbing the ladder. In his hand is a huge sledgehammer, while over the picture is the following inscription: "We have settled with the kings of the earth; now comes the turn of the kings of Heaven."

This first number of the new official organ of the Russian Communists opens with an article by Nicholas Bukharin, one of the best-known of the Communist leaders. The article is entitled "On to a Struggle against the International Gods!" We are giving the following translations from this article, as typical of the views which the Communists are now attempting to inculcate among the Russian people by means of their new publication:

"The Russian proletariat has knocked off the crown of the Russian Tsar—and not only the crown, but the head, as well. The German proletariat has knocked off Wilhelm's crown, but his head, unfortunately, still remains, including even his mustaches. The Austrian workmen did the same thing to their king, but did not have time to get at the head, for the king died of fright anyway. Still more recently the Greeks followed the example. In short, it is a risky business nowadays to wear this particular ornament.

"But the situation in Heaven is quite different. The international gods, like the international imperialists, are still strongly entrenched. Is it not time, comrades, to put an end to them? Have they not done us enough harm, these parasites?

"And why should we honor them and provide for them? All their deeds are pernicious. During the war they came close to murdering all the workmen in the world; their agents—the clergymen, the priests, the rabbis—gave their blessing for the war. And still more recently they sent famine on us. If we had not knocked the famine down ourselves, it would have been a sorry time for us.

"This cannot continue. It is time to reach out for the heavenly crowns and get at things there.

"We have to begin with anti-religious proclamations. Every great revolution begins with proclamations. Our press must begin a struggle against the gods. Russians, Negroes, Jews, Japanese, Chinese, write your complaints against your gods! The battle must begin and be fought with a united proletarian front."

This is the tenor of the whole paper. It is blasphemy raised to the *n*th degree. Every picture and every line of the text is intended to besmirch or ridicule all the things that religious men all over the earth hold sacred.

No more telling manifestation of the utter moral depravity and decomposition of the Russian Communists than this scurrilous sheet has ever come out of that stricken land.

JUDGING UPON THE EVIDENCE

THE BREAKDOWN at Lausanne was due, at least in part, to the fact that two civilizations with divergent ideals and languages were unable to understand each other. Our Western World will not know the Mussulman until we first know the Koran. Lausanne revealed the Mussulman to be sincere. It revealed him also as knowing his Koran and as determined to act on it. Before passing judgment, therefore, upon the Turk at Lausanne, we must study the problem with a judicial concern for the evidence.

It is clear that our Christian statesmen and missionaries do not seem fully to realize the position which our Christian civilization must hold in the minds of the Orient. We shall have to be told repeatedly that the Orient has seen the Christian nations always at war with each other. Missionaries attempting to teach the Christ to the East are, therefore, not convincing. It ought not to be difficult for us to put ourselves in the place of the Mussulman, at least enough to grasp that thought.

American insularity is depressing. It keeps us out of fruitless entanglements in Europe, but it depresses just the same. The forbidding thing in our American aloofness is the ignorance in it, the absence of evidence.

Our willingness to condemn without qualification, and that without any adequate sense of the evidence, is unworthy. Many among us are quick to condemn the Turk without qualification. And yet a former dean of Robert College, who lived among the Turks for over fifty years, left the American Foreign Mission Board rather than to obey orders to proselyte the Turks to Christianity. This man, the Rev. Charles Addeson, son-in-law of the founder of educational missions in the Ottoman Empire, says that he knows of no people in all the world, without exception, not even our own, that, when taken all in all, are so charming; and as far as natural abilities are concerned, they are quite the equal of any. He adds:

"I feel, however, that they are undeveloped; that they have the charm of primitive races, like as they were when they first came down from the wilds of the interior of Asia; and like the Chinese, for instance, they have the charm of children. Their ambition is to be

rulers and conquerors, as they were in their prime. They care little for the modern development in the arts, practical industrial science; but if left to themselves to govern themselves, as other nations do, they will make one of the finest people on the face of the earth. But I would not put Christian races under them. Let them drive out Greeks and Armenians, if you please, and be alone. They will then go through the proper course of evolution, as we all have done."

Sir William Ramsay, perhaps England's best authority on the Turkish question, was long disturbed because of Winston Churchill's policy in Mesopotamia. He is pleased that Mr. Churchill is no longer in Parliament, and believes that if the intention of the people of Britain is carried into effect England will very soon be out of Mesopotamia. He expresses the view that England did not fight in order that a group of millionaire oil-promoters may gain more millions. He is gratified to find that the activities of the Turkish Petroleum Company are meeting with strong disapproval in England. Bonar Law has recently said that he wishes "that we had never gone into Mesopotamia." Sir William Ramsay agrees with this and adds his deep concern because of the lack of our Western intelligence to meet the present situation. He says, "It needs knowledge to do good in this world."

There is another group among us who condemn Armenia wholesale, in spite of the fact that the Armenians could have saved themselves at any time during their long tragic history by becoming Mussulmen, which alternative they have thus far heroically refused to accept. Others among us condemn the Greeks, forgetting the proud history of that race, the romance of Byzantium, which throughout the Dark Ages kept enough of the ancient civilization alive to make possible the Renaissance.

It is possible that fighting will be resumed soon between the Greeks and the Turks. It is reported that the Turks are recruiting soldiers west of the Bosphorus and throughout Anatolia, and that the Greeks are calling fresh forces to arms because of the threats in Thrace. The draft treaty submitted to the Allied High Commissioners by Adnan Bey, the Kemalist representative at Constantinople, calls for an indemnity from Greece as compensation for Karagatch, retained by the Greeks. There are other aspects of the counter-proposals obnoxious to the Hellenic statesmen. The Turkish negotiators, it is reported, propose that the principle of reciprocity should be applied to all questions of capitulations. This is but one of the aspects in the many and complicated details of evidence. Should the boundary between Greece and Turkey be the river-bed or the eastern bank of the Maritza? Should the Turks have sovereignty over the island of Castellorizo, which

important island is near to the coast of Asia Minor, but occupied by the Italians? What disposition must be made of Turkish debts incurred by the previous Ottoman Government? Upon what basis can the questions of reparations raised by Greece be justly answered? How far should the British fleet and army, American financial assistance, allied control of Gallipoli and the sea of Marmora, be considered as legitimate factors in the solution of the problems in the Near East?

Our own view is that, since we of America are so uninformed about this whole situation, our duty is gracefully to mind our own business. There is but one conceivable situation which might arise calling for American action. That would be in case we were asked by all parties in dispute to serve in the capacity of referee. It does not seem probable that such a situation may arise.

BAYARD DODGE—direct descendant of David Low Dodge, founder, in 1815, of the first Peace Society, in whose house the American Peace Society was organized in 1828—sailed from America, February 24, for Beirut, Syria, to assume his duties as president of the American University in that city. President Dodge is faced with an opportunity to promote international understanding of a most needed kind. No one will doubt his appreciation of the responsibilities involved. The university, in spite of the upheavals in Asia Minor, maintains its student body of some fifteen faiths drawn from twenty-two nationalities of four continents, Christians and non-Christians being about equally represented. We understand that Dr. Dodge plans to remain in France, familiarizing himself with French administration and language, before going on to his inauguration, which is to take place in June. There is one fact to which the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, because of the history, will be pardoned for calling special attention. It is not that he is a graduate of Princeton University and of the Union Theological Seminary; not that he has been secretary of the Y. M. C. A. at the University of Beirut for a decade; it is rather to the fact that this young man's picture now before us bears an unusually striking resemblance to his ancestor whose portrait is now above us on the wall.

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court has ruled that decisions by the Railroad Labor Board must depend upon public opinion for enforcement. The decision is, of course, strictly in line with our American theory of government. As there can be no abiding peace between States based upon the principle of coercion, so between labor and capital.

AN IMPORTANT cause of international irritations since the United States raised the charge for viséing passports from \$2.00 to \$10.00 has been not only the continuance but the extension of this unreasonable charge. It will be a relief to travelers generally to know that Senate bill 4609 was, under date of February 27, passed by the Senate. The bill reads:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized, in the cases of aliens desiring to visit the United States temporarily for a period not to exceed one year, for business or pleasure, to reduce the passport visé fees to an amount not less than \$2, including the application fee: *Provided,* That similar provisions are made by the governments of the countries from which such aliens come in favor of American nationals desiring to visit such countries temporarily under similar conditions.

THE INTERNATIONAL Peace Bureau, with headquarters at Bern, Switzerland, is considering the advisability of omitting the International Peace Congress held annually under its auspices, and of calling a general conference of delegates from the various peace organizations of the world in its stead. Judging by the two international conferences held since the war, the expenses involved, the unwillingness of the thoughtful and competent leaders to attend, it would appear that a conference of delegates is preferable.

SIDDHATTHA GOTAMA*

Buddha, the Enlightened One

By ALEMBERT DECALLIVÉ

THE WORLD peace movement, by which we mean the social effort to reduce if not to eliminate international wars, is an ideal historically associated with the names of the major men of all times. Dante, of early fourteenth-century Italy, Erasmus, of early sixteenth-century Netherlands, call to mind the "De Monarchia," the "Praise of Folly" and the "Complaint of Peace." Emeric Crucé, Hugo Grotius, Duc de Sully, William Penn, are the outstanding figures among the peace expressions of the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century means to the canonical peace-worker, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Jeremy Bentham, and Immanuel Kant. Every President of the United

* The Buddha literature is very extensive. The following writings are suggestive: A Buddhist Catechism, Subhadra Bhikshu; Great Religions of the World, T. W. Rhys Davids; Ten Great Religions, Chapter IV, Book I, James Freeman Clark; Sacred Books of the East, Max Müller; The Light of Asia, Sir Edwin Arnold; The Life of Buddha, Tibetan Records translated by Rockhill; Four Great Religions, pp. 91-137, Annie Besant; My Pilgrimage to the Wisemeu of the East, Moncure D. Conway; Kim, Rudyard Kipling; The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha, etc., Charles Francis Alken; Interpreting India to the West, Irving Babbitt, *The Nation*, vol. 105, p. 424. For a full list of references see "Buddha" and "Buddhism," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, articles by T. W. Rhys Davids.

States at one time or another lifted his voice in behalf of world peace. Thus the aspiration for the peaceable settlement of disputes between nations is associated widely with the real leaders of men.

For some reason, in the writings devoted to the promotion of the cause of international peace there is little reference to the contributions of such men as Gotama, Socrates, Charlemagne, Francis of Assisi, Bruno, Leonardo, Goethe, Darwin, Lincoln, Emerson. No one should attempt to belittle the work of the men whose names are familiarly associated with projects for the abolition of war; but among world leaders such as these others there has also been a lasting service to the cause of international peace. The world may profitably dwell upon that service.

THIS PAPER

In this paper, attention is called to some of the characteristics of Siddhattha Gotama—Buddha, the Enlightened One. There are qualities in this man, admirable, enduring qualities, qualities at the heart of any enduring peace between men or States.

The aim here is not to write history, to contribute to the literature of criticism, to add to scientific or philosophical knowledge, surely not to discuss religion. The purpose is to review, as best we may in a brief space, a few of the mental and moral realities of a great person who has a message for all who labor for peace between nations. If we can understand something of the Buddha, we can understand a wide range of realities at the center of any desirable or attainable international peace.

It is difficult to be exact in matters of dates and specific events in the life of any man, especially of one who lived before our Christian era; but exactitude in these matters is not of prime importance. The thoughts discoverable in the mind of this man of ancient India have been the thoughts of millions throughout the ages. What men have thought of the Buddha are the things that matter. History knows that this man lived some five or six centuries before Christ; but the Buddha is what men have made him. We do not know when Zoroaster lived; whether it was six hundred or six thousand years before Christ; but around his name his followers developed a creed which for practical purposes has given to us the real Zoroaster—teacher of a one god, of cleanliness in body and soul, of respect for women, of righteousness in all things, an inspirer of a virile people—that is Zoroaster. The same thing is true of Confucius. Whatever the details of this man's actual life, when millions interpret his teachings to mean obeisance to the past, an aristocracy of scholars, a continuity of history, ethical behavior, filial obligation, ritualism—that is Confucius. Thus the great men of the world, world leaders, are built. By accepting this, and thus only, can we begin to acquaint ourselves with the real Buddha.

REALITY OF BACKGROUND

There is a fathomless reality in the Hindu background of the Buddha. In spite of our modern age of criticism and scientific investigation, the human spirit has something in it which only authority, freed of

dates and origins, can satisfy. Ancient India is a fact of the human heart as well as of history and geography. It is not an accident that Hinduism, dating from before the dawn of history to now, can boast its millions of worshipers. It is because of no accident that Asia is the cradle of leading religions, Brahmanism dominating throughout history, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Judaism followed by Christianity, Mohammedanism. It was a real thing from the beginning, from the very childhood of the race, this will to understand the visible forces of nature, and still is. It was a natural thing to think of gods with human attributes directing these visible, apparently warring energies of the world, and still is. Hindu history begins with a struggle between the Aryan Sanskrit and the native, ending in an Aryan victory. The beginnings of a lyric faith are found back there in those earliest struggles on the Indus, before the conquerors had reached the Ganges. Hymns, rituals, and Upanishads or philosophical inquiries are found in the Vedic hymns, many of which sound the deepest yearnings, as this from the Rigveda:

"Let one not yet, O Varuna,** enter into the house of glory.
Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.
If I go along trembling like a cloud driven by wind,
Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.
Through want of strength, thou Strong One, have I gone to
the wrong shore.
Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy."

Thus they evoked the guardians of their world, Indra of the thunders, Veruna of the sky, Agni of the fire, and the rest, all giving expression to a perfect sincerity. Out of this background, history observes men striving to discover their origin and the beginnings of things. They interpret with no little poetic feeling the birth of the sun, of the stars, of time, of males and females, of castes, of law, of kings, of faiths. They have their trinity, a Creator—Brahma; a Preserver—Vishnu; a Destroyer—Siva. In our modern day we of the western world have little sympathy with their pantheism, their fatalism, their idolatry, their degradation of woman, their caste arrogance, their lack of national unity and initiative, their slavery to a priestly tyranny; but in that ancient Hinduism we discover a tolerance and a liberality toward other views, an appreciation of the sanctity of human life, a patience and a submission which lives today wherever there is joy in meditation, reverence for the sacred, prayer, penance, and sacrifice. Out of such a background, no little of which was very real, came the Buddha.

REALITY IN THE EARLY DAYS

The birth and earliest days of the Buddha have been variously described. It seems to be established that his father was a man of wealth and influence; his mother was Maha Maya. We know of his birth beneath a satin-tree in the garden of Lumbini, beside a river, and at the foot of the world's loftiest mountains. His last name is Gotama, his first Siddhattha. His youth is lived in opulence. He is married at the age of nineteen. These are facts.

** Originally god of the heavens; later of the ocean.

But there is a deeper poetry in the setting. He is a prince. His birth is followed by great joy, rich gifts, and a festival. We are told of shaking hills, lulling of waves, of a strange fresh wind. It is said that the child took seven steps to the north, saying, "This is my last birth. I am the greatest of beings." The blind are made to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk, and the birds to listen, because he is born. He is taught scriptures and numbers; but without books he knows all; more, he is reverent, gentle, princely, modest, deferent, tender, fearless. There is nothing more real in the past, in the present, in the future, than this adoration of the world for a child.

Shortly we are led to see him a youth of great comeliness. Reality in the life of the lad is a palpable thing. True to the spirit of youth in all ages, he fares forth that he may look upon the beauties of his world; and, like the youth of all times, he is puzzled at finding thorns upon the rose of life. This is the beginning of his meditative mien. The splendor of environment does not satisfy. The peasant sweats for his wage. Life lives upon death. There is a continuous strife and murder. The Devas may come and sing songs of praise, the shadows of trees protect, but the unanswered questions intrude themselves.

The youth marries. He has a son. He lives amid palatial splendors. Granted every luxury, the satiety of it all grows upon him. Pleasures bring neither happiness nor contentment. He looks upon the infirmities of age, upon disease, upon penury, upon death, and he longs to find if possible the cause of misery, of the pains of life and how to end them. He sees in life no abiding reality. He is a fine lad without employment.

Like many another honest seeker after the truth, he makes the great renunciation. He puts behind him throne, power, riches, family, and he journeys forth in the night—his eyes upon the stars, his lips

"Close set with purpose of prodigious love."

Tempted to pursue mastery of the world, power and splendor, he begins the mystic process of casting away his world to the end that he may save it. This youth voices an echo in every seeking soul. With the unknown author of Ecclesiastes, of the thirty-ninth Psalm, with many a questioner he feels the vanity of life. Longing for the calm of the cloister, he becomes a mendicant. Giving up everything, his renunciation is complete. He accepts for a time the asceticism of the Brahmins, it is said for six years. Under the tree of knowledge he finds Nirvana. With his renunciation his youth may be said to have ended. Overcoming the temptations familiar to virile men everywhere, he becomes the Buddha, the Enlightened One.

REALITY OF HIS MANHOOD

We are told of the fine presence of this man, of the deep resonance of his voice, of the perfect sincerity in him. Because of these qualities, because of his love and pity, because of his discovery of the ambrosia of truth, he wins followers from among those next to him until finally he wins the king. He leads men to accept him through the expulsive power of the new affections for the things he lives and teaches. This positive person-

ality achieves the spiritual victory for which all men seek.

"THE MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD"

Preaching his first sermon, his Sermon on the Mount, to his disciples, he continued for some forty-five years to preach his doctrine, traveling hither and yon through the valley of the Ganges from his headquarters in Benares. As a result of his labors there was a remarkable missionary activity, carrying the doctrine throughout India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam. At eighty years of age he died, his last words to his disciples being: "Behold now, brethren, this is my exhortation to you. Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out, therefore, your emancipation with diligence."

REALITY OF THE DOCTRINE

The message of the Buddha was of sorrow and of the release from sorrow. His four basic doctrines were: that the conditions of existence are the conditions of suffering; that the cause of suffering is desire, lust, the will to live; that in proportion as we suppress this desire, we suppress the pain; that the cessation of sorrow can be attained only by way of the "Noble Eightfold Path": Right views, truth; Right aspirations, service, justice; Right speech, kindness and sincerity; Right conduct, benevolence; Right living, Golden Rule; Right effort, application; Right thinking, modesty; Right meditation, intelligent rapture, wisdom.

The Buddha discovered that one never finds release from sorrow by seeking worldly, pagan satisfactions on the one hand, or by ascetic lacerations of the flesh on the other. Freedom, wisdom, perfection, soul-serenity, Nirvana, lie between these two extremes.

The Buddha did not claim that his doctrine is simple or easy to understand; rather, he insisted that it is "intelligible only to the wise." He directed his energy to the inner, not the outer, world. He conceived that the divine in us is the spirit that says no, that "inner check" which so impressed Emerson. Perhaps the fundamental distinction between the teachings of Buddha and of the Occidental thinkers is a distinction between the principle of expansion and the principle of concentration. According to Buddha, the thinking man has joys aplenty. If it may be said that the Occident lives in terms of quantitative or outward increment, it must be said that ancient India as interpreted by the Buddha meant increment of a qualitative or inward kind. If the West is centrifugal, the East is centripetal. The difference is a difference between an outward and an inward striving.

The Buddha claimed no divine revelation for his writings. He practiced no miracles. He held that perpetual change is evil, but that there is something permanent. We call this Nirvana.

By Nirvana—"dying out"—the Buddha meant something other than extinction; he meant "escape from the flux." He meant what we mean when we say salvation; a condition of the mind and spirit where strife, passion, desire, covetousness, fear, ill-will, pain, become extinct. He meant a perfect inner peace.

To attain Nirvana one must know the truth. Its

achievement depends upon our wills, upon the moral order within us. We enjoy and suffer only what we deserve. "Every evil and every good deed bears its fruit of necessity." Thus every man is responsible for himself. He cannot escape this responsibility by trying to place it upon society. Even governments cannot grow our wings for us. Only the self can save itself. The Buddha teaches that we must therefore cherish this controlling, permanent self; but on a plain above selfishness.

If these be the affirmative qualities of the teachings of the Buddha, there are negative aspects of our natures that have to be overcome by the virtues which oppose them. These are commonly referred to as the Ten Bonds, the Four Intoxications, and the Five Hindrances, numbered because in those pre-printing-press times they were thus more easily remembered.

The Ten Bonds are (1) misconceptions of the soul, (2) skepticism, (3) dependence on ceremonies, (4) sensuality, (5) ill-will, (6) greed for earthly life, (7) hunger for a life in heaven, (8) pride, (9) egotism, (10) ignorance.

The Four Intoxications are the mental errors due to (1) bodily passions, (2) becoming, (3) delusion, (4) ignorance.

The Five Hindrances are (1) hunger for worldly advantage, (2) corruption due to the wish to injure, (3) mental indolence, (4) irritability and anxiety, (5) instability of mind.

Thus Buddhism in its ancient and purest form meant to know the Four Doctrines, to walk the Eightfold Path, to break the Ten Bonds, to overcome the Four Intoxications, and to destroy the Five Hindrances. Thus and thus only does one reach unto emancipation, "the state of him who is worthy," unto Nirvana here or hereafter.

When we think of the values of such traits of human character as pity and sincerity, we must include the Buddha. It was he who condemned slavery and polygamy, who enthroned womanhood as the equal of manhood, who set himself against formalism, theorists, and "views," and this half a millennium before our Christian era. He put his trust in causes immediate and practical, capable of execution. His doctrine forbade bloodshed. His calmness, fearlessness, compassionateness, chastity, simplicity, nobility, winsomeness, reappeared at a later time in Francis, sweet saint of Umbria.

For Buddha, life is no mere never-ending whirl on the wheel of change, a passive thing. His early followers were enthusiastic and exuberant; not emotional, but exalted. They were taught that the most subtle and deadly sin is moral indolence, passivity. The doctrine of the Buddha is often summarized as the doctrine of strenuousness and vigilance, including the energy of restraint and control. To think of the Buddha is to be reminded that if there be an *élan vital*, there is also a *frein vital*. There is in his teachings an optimism especially as to life on its qualitative side. Buddha was no Stoic.

He followed the chain of evil link by link, as did Plato, back to ignorance. It is our ignorance that leads us to desire the transient, such as the "three deadly sins," sensuality, ill-will, and delusion.

All followers of the doctrine—Upasakos—must accept

the Five Vows—not to kill or injure any living being; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to deceive or slander; not to indulge in intoxicating means of enjoyment. Family and citizen relationships were analyzed with no little wisdom. The True Disciples of the Buddha—Bhikshus—must accept five other and more rigorous vows—not to take food after the noonday meal; not to dance or to engage in other worldly and distracting pleasures; to avoid ornaments or anything that leads to vanity; to abandon the use of luxurious beds; to dwell in voluntary poverty. These ten vows of the brotherhood aimed not at renunciation as an end in itself, but at deliverance.

One became a Buddhist not by belonging to a class, not by a ceremony, not by birth, but by voluntary decision, by living according to the teachings of the Buddha, by losing one's self in something greater than one's self. Founded in reason, freed of deceptions and persecution, Buddha pointed out the way of escape from the sad unrealities in the transmigration theories of the Brahmins. The teachings of the Buddha mean plain living and high thinking, politeness, respect for all men, charity, including hospitals for persons and animals. Buddha shows the "blessedness of being little," the joy of *not* saying "I am." Buddhism meant reverence, prayer in the city streets at sundown, complete self-abnegation. The acceptance of him by hundreds of millions of people was a natural thing. When the Islam hordes in their initial strength advanced to destroy Buddhism in Persia, Egypt, Asia Minor, half the conquerors became Buddhists. Edwin Arnold found nowhere a record to mar the "perfect purity and tenderness of this Indian teacher, who united the truest princely qualities with the intellect of a sage and the passionate devotion of a martyr."

THE BUDDHA A PEACEMAKER

Since the great evil is ignorance, as taught by the Buddha, it ought to be capable of demonstration that international wars are the direct outcome of human failure to grasp, interpret, and to apply realities. One has but to read the books dealing with the causes and results of the World War to be depressed by the human failure to sense the reality in the life of men or of States. Ignorance of each other, absence of enlightened self-interest, pursuit of the impermanent, failure to visualize the permanent, absence of a sense of reality—these are the things that produced the World War.

Buddha set his face firmly against life's unreality. As has been said, he did this with great analytical power. The world has produced no man with a deeper ethical insight. Furthermore, he was possessed of a boundless enthusiasm. But, as phrased by Professor Babbitt—

"His enthusiasm, however, is not of the emotional type, with which we are familiar, but of the type that has been defined as exalted peace; for to pass from the less permanent to the more permanent is to pass from the less peaceful to the more peaceful. The problem of happiness and the problem of peace are found at last to be inseparable. One should grant the Buddhist his Nirvana if one is willing to grant the Christian his peace that passeth understanding.

Peace, as Buddha conceives it, is an active and even an ecstatic thing, the reward, not of passiveness, but of the utmost effort. 'If one man conquer in battle a thousand times a thousand men,' he says, 'and if another conquer himself, he is the greater conqueror.' Of him who is victorious in this warfare it is written: 'His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true wisdom, when he has thus become a quiet man.' Buddha himself seems to speak from an immeasurable depth of calm, a calm which is without the slightest trace of languor."

With Buddha, as later with Aristotle, happiness on the last analysis is meditative activity. It never would have occurred to Buddha that happiness can be attained by force of arms. Asoka, the head of a mighty empire, discovered this. Possessed of great power, actuated by the spirit of revenge because of the activities of Alexander the Great, Asoka, starting forth to conquer the world, became converted to Buddhism. He repented, gave up his bloody designs, and chiseled his repentance into tablets of stone for the enlightenment of the after ages. Disciple of an effort of expansion, he became the disciple of an inner effort, of the effort of concentration, of contemplation, of true happiness. He is the only military chieftain of history who abandoned attack in the face of victory. In the place of hate, Asoka substituted compassion; of greed, liberality; of falsehood, truth; of lust, purity; of ferocity, gentleness; of unrighteousness, righteousness. He substituted for the conquest by arms the conquest by religion. The teachings of Buddha led Asoka, a monarch of great ability, to believe and to live as if he believed that in proportion as one delves to the depths of meditation one reaches unto the depths of happiness—that is to say, peace. Thirty-five of Asoka's inscriptions remain, mute testimonies of his beneficent reign. Further, because of his allegiance to Buddha, his memory is cherished to this day by hundreds of millions of worshippers.

Our western world with its philosophy of expansion, of creation, of dynamics, is at least in part the antithesis of the philosophy of peace and brotherhood. Not so with the philosophy of Buddha, for Buddha shows us with consummate skill the law of the inner control, of the "inner check" to the whips of impulse, of an abiding happiness.

If in the after years the teachings gave way to compromise and superstition, to an overemphasis on the one hand and to a utilitarian sloth on the other, yet from out the life of the Buddha there come abiding realities for our modern world. The mind that dwells upon him loses somewhat its overexpansive restlessness. If we grant, as we must, that strife grows out of the struggle within the souls of men, from what Diderot called "the civil war in the cave," the Buddha turns the tide of battle from the fortresses without toward the citadels within. One cannot accept the reality in Buddha and at the same time project tyranny, intolerance, injustice, or war. Thus Buddha offers something to our Western World. Our will to cast off all restraint from without needs this call to achieve restraint within. There can be no doubt that our philosophy of expansion, with its corollaries of intrigue and force, is the very antithesis

of peace. The Buddha qualifies this philosophy with a healing check; not negative, but positive. There is nothing of the "cosmic loafer" in the Buddha; he is the very essence of an energy that engenders no harm. The gem in the crown of Gotama is peace, contentment in the heart. The Buddha offers this to our warring western world.

PEACE VIEWS OF EVERY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

By THE EDITOR

EVERY PRESIDENT of the United States is recorded as lifting his voice in behalf of peace.

In his farewell address of 1796 George Washington said: "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all." In a letter to Johathan Boucher, written two years later, he said: "Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy and the ardent desire of the Government."

In his message to a special session of the Congress in 1797 President John Adams wrote: "It is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations."

In the same year Thomas Jefferson wrote to Elbridge Gerry: "I abhor war and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind."

James Madison wrote in his eighth annual message, in 1816, these words: "A government, in a word, whose conduct within and without may bespeak the most noble of all ambitions—that of promoting peace on earth and good-will to man."

President Monroe, addressing the House of Representatives, in 1824, phrased his thought thus: "The whole movement of our Government from the establishment of our independence has been guided by a sacred regard for peace."

In his inaugural address of 1824 John Quincy Adams reminded his hearers "That the policy of our country is peace and the ark of our salvation union are articles of faith upon which we are all now agreed."

Andrew Jackson, in his sixth annual message, repeated the thought thus: "Our institutions are essentially pacific. Peace and friendly intercourse with all nations are as much the desire of our Government as they are the interest of our people."

Martin Van Buren, in his third annual message, 1839, said: "It is the crowning merit of our institutions that they create and nourish in the vast majority of our people a disposition and a power peaceably to remedy abuses." In his annual message of the following year he emphasized the thought still more.

William Henry Harrison, in his inaugural address, called attention to his "earnest desire to preserve peace."

John Tyler, in his second annual message of 1842, said: "Peace with all the world is the true foundation of our policy, which can only be rendered permanent by the practice of equal and impartial justice to all." In his fourth annual message, two years later, are these

words: "A war under any circumstances is greatly to be deplored, and the United States is the last nation to desire it."

James K. Polk, in his second annual message of 1846, referred to the blessings of peace which had lasted thirty years, and added: "From a policy so sacred to humanity and so salutary in its effects upon our political system we should never be induced voluntarily to depart."

Zachary Taylor, in his inaugural address of March 5, 1849, said: "In all disputes between conflicting governments it is our interest not less than our duty to remain neutral, while our geographical position, the genius of our institutions and our people, the advancing spirit of civilization, and, above all, the dictates of religion direct us to the cultivation of peaceful and friendly relations with all other powers."

In his first annual message, December 2, 1850, Millard Fillmore said: "The great law of morality ought to have a national as well as a personal and individual application. We should act toward other nations as we wish them to act toward us, and justice and conscience should form the rule of conduct between governments."

Franklin Pierce, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1853, said: "The great objects of our pursuit as a people are best to be attained by peace." In his second annual message of December 4, 1854, he came to the thought again in these words: "Hence, it has been my earnest endeavor to maintain peace and friendly intercourse with all nations."

James Buchanan, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1857, said: "We ought to cultivate peace, commerce, and friendship with all nations."

Abraham Lincoln deplored war in his first inaugural address of March 4, 1861, and in his second inaugural address, four years later, are these memorable words: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. . . . let us strive . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Andrew Johnson affirmed, in his first annual message, December 4, 1865, that "for myself, it has been and it will be my constant aim to promote peace and amity with all foreign nations."

Ulysses S. Grant said, in his third annual message, December 4, 1871: "The year has been an eventful one in witnessing two great nations, speaking one language and having one lineage, settling by peaceful arbitration disputes of long standing and liable at any time to bring those nations into bloody and costly conflict. An example has been set which, if successful in its final issue, may be followed by other civilized nations, and finally be the means of returning to productive industry millions of men now maintained to settle the disputes of nations by the bayonet and the broadside."

Rutherford B. Hayes, in his inaugural address of March 5, 1877, praised his predecessor's efforts in behalf of arbitration as "incomparably the best instrumentality for the preservation of peace."

James A. Garfield, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1881, said: "Let all our people, leaving behind them the battle-fields of dead issues, move forward, and in

their strength of liberty and restored Union win the grander victories of peace."

Chester A. Arthur, under date of April 18, 1882, sent to the Senate and the House of Representatives a copy of an invitation to all the countries of North and South America to participate in a general congress for the purpose of considering and discussing methods of preventing war between the nations of America. Referring to this document at some length, he concluded by saying: "I am unwilling to dismiss this subject without assuring you of my support of any measure the wisdom of Congress may devise for the promotion of peace on this continent and throughout the world, and I trust that the time is nigh when, with the universal assent of civilized peoples, all international differences shall be determined without resort to arms, by the benignant processes of arbitration."

Grover Cleveland, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1885, referred to our foreign policy, among other things, as a "policy of peace suitable to our interests." He went on to praise the policy of Monroe, Washington, Jefferson, a policy of "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none."

Benjamin Harrison, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1889, urged calmness, justice, and consideration as bases of our diplomacy, and added: "The offices of an intelligent diplomacy or of friendly arbitration in proper cases should be adequate to the peaceful adjustment of all international difficulties."

William McKinley, in his third annual message, December 5, 1899, praised the purposes of The Hague Conference which had been held during the previous summer as would be expected from a President who had said in his first annual message, two years before, that "the Government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens and will abate none of its efforts to bring about, by peaceful agencies, a peace which shall be honorable and enduring."

Theodore Roosevelt, in his first annual message, December 3, 1901, said: "The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace."

The attitudes of Presidents Taft, Wilson, and Harding toward the evils of war are sufficiently recent to make quotations unnecessary.

RUSSIA AND GERMANY: A POLISH VIEW

By ST. A. GROSGLIK

The following article was translated for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* from the Warsaw (Poland) *L'Est Europeen*, a bi-monthly politico-economic and historic review, of April 5, 1922. It discusses a very important European problem from a distinctly interesting angle.—THE EDITOR.

WHAT are the reasons for expecting close relations between Russia and Germany? What dangers would such an eventuality present for Europe?

Before attempting to answer these questions it may not be amiss to recall the causes of the friendship

between these two powers after 1762, and the more recent conflict of interests between them that resulted in the last war.

Many conditions made for close relations between Russia and Prussia. Kindred ideals united their dynasties and the bureaucracies. The prominent part the German Baltic nobles took in upholding the Russian police State on the Prussian model contributed very markedly; and their foreign policies played a still more important rôle in bringing them together.

In the XVIIIth century the Russo-Austrian antagonism in the Near East and the Austro-Prussian conflict in Germany were alleviated by the partitions of Poland. By permitting Prussia and Austria to annex portions of Poland, Russia purchased for herself the free hand in Turkey given her by the treaty of 1774. These partitions of Poland brought the three powers together into a condition of reciprocal dependence, for from that time on any attempts at reviving the Polish question constituted a definite menace for them, especially for Russia and Prussia. It was the Polish question that became the cornerstone of the "Holy Alliance" of the three reactionary monarchies, that hung over Europe like a constant threat.

There continued, however, a definite fermentation within the "Holy Alliance" itself. Starting with the middle of the XIXth century, Prussia worked assiduously to promote friendship between Berlin and St. Petersburg. She was very skillful in turning to account the Crimean War and the Polish insurrection of 1863, with the result that she succeeded in keeping Russia neutral during the wars of 1866 and 1870-1. And it was thus that the Russo-Prussian friendship, sealed upon the ruins of the old Polish Republic, shook later on the equilibrium of Europe for the benefit of Prussia, then already transformed into the German Empire.

This transformation, the effects of which Russia herself felt to her sorrow in 1878, forced her to break away from a tradition of long standing and to seek a way for counterbalancing the power of Germany, while the latter suddenly found herself threatened with isolation. This is the starting point of the two systems of alliances—the Austro-German, concluded in 1879, and the Franco-Russian, attained in 1891-94, the latter powerfully stimulated by Russia's financial needs.

Soon after that a new and decisive factor appeared in the situation. The unification of Germany and her prodigious economic and political success led her to a more and more marked commercial and industrial expansion and gave her an insatiable appetite for a world hegemony.

The result was to start a conflict of interests with Russia, directly in the Near East and indirectly through Russia's gradual affiliation with the anti-German powers. Starting with the end of the XIXth century, Germany made persistent efforts to lay her hands on Turkey, whose economic development was just beginning, and encouraged Austria in the same direction. Russia's Far Eastern expansion had been checked by the war with Japan, while the revolution of 1905 revived nationalist ideas, together with her traditional aspirations for Constantinople and the Straits.

By 1912 and 1913 the conflict between the Russian and the German ambitions in Turkey was evident. Russia's aspirations had behind them the force of traditions; Germany's, the pressure of economic necessity. And this conflict broke the thread of the numerous attempts at amity and close relations, opening the way for an armed struggle.

The Allied victory and the consequences of the Russian revolution changed the situation completely. And here is what the world has to face in this regard at the present moment:

1. Neither Russia nor Germany have attained the objects for which each of them fought the war.

2. Everything of which each of the two powers, at the moment of its greatest success, wanted to deprive the other, they have both lost completely. Russia's losses are the Baltic provinces, Poland, Lithuania, and her influence in the Balkans; Germany's losses comprise Prussian Poland, alliance with Austria, the rôle of "protector" in Turkey and Bulgaria, economic concessions in Turkey, and all of her colonies.

3. Both Russia and Germany, although they had fought in the war on opposite sides, now find themselves among the vanquished. Both have lost their status as great powers. Moreover, they have both become objects of a very close scrutiny on the part of the Allies, as countries which constitute a menace to the international or the social peace of the world and which are destined, in greater or lesser degree, to become fields for the application of foreign capital. Germany, besides, is forced to work for the restoration of the devastated regions. Russia, on the other hand, has reasons quite her own for turning against the Allies. The strong pressure exerted by the Allies after the March revolution to keep Russia in the war had disposed the masses of the people in Russia against the Entente. This alienation was increased by the Allied expeditions in furthering the anti-bolshevist cause. One portion of public opinion in Russia was outraged by this interference in Russia's internal affairs, while another now accuses the Allies of betraying Russia by not giving their full assistance.

4. With regard to the economic situation, both countries have suffered greatly because of the war and the revolution and both have to make enormous payments, Germany on account of reparations and Russia on account of pre-war debts. Germany has lost a large part of her mineral wealth, her colonies, her merchant marine, and is now cut off from the Near East and the overseas markets. For this reason she cannot bring her production up to the extent of development achieved before the war. As for Russia, possessed still of all the natural resources which she had before the war, but of which she could not make adequate use, she will not be able to recover without the assistance of foreign capital, machinery, and directing technical personnel.

All the consequences of the war operate, then, in favor of a Russo-German rapprochement. All the objective reasons which were responsible for the war have disappeared, while the results of the war have created a psychological basis for a rapprochement. In Germany every one realizes this, starting with Kautsky, who has pronounced the war against Russia as a piece of consum-

mate folly, and ending with Hindenburg, who now asserts that Russia and Germany can be prosperous only so long as they remain friends. And in Russia it is the same thing. The Bolshevist press attacks the "capitalistic and militaristic" Entente, and always rises in defense of "spoliated" Germany, while the Monarchists, who, today as always, lay all their hopes in German reaction, are in constant contact with Berlin and Munich.

But a Russo-German rapprochement possesses not only solid psychological foundations, but also a clearly defined political purpose, which ought to be sufficient to insure its development. This purpose is the recovery by both countries of the status they had before the war—in territory, influence, and power—the road to which is obstructed by the Entente and the new States, whose victory and, in some cases, whose very existence depends upon the weakening of Russia and Germany.

Finally, by the logic of things, the two countries are destined for a close economic collaboration. In fact, Russia is at the present time the only field open for Germany's economic expansion, while the latter's geographic position and intimate knowledge of Russian conditions make her participation in Russia's economic life much easier than that of any of the Entente powers.

As for the domain of political activities, both Germany and Russia are working for a breaking up of the Baltic Alliance, which would lead to an economic and political domination of Lithuania by Germany and of Latvia by Russia, and especially for the annihilation of Poland, that foundation of the cordon of States which separate the two, which fact makes her the eastern stronghold of European peace. Germany's behavior during the Bolshevist offensive toward Warsaw in August, 1920, taken in conjunction with her general military, diplomatic, and economic activity, as well as the tone of her press, disclosed then the true intentions of these two States with regard to Poland.

If Russia and Germany are left to themselves for a sufficiently long time, they will evolve forms of exclusive co-operation. Germany would thus be permitted to penetrate to the very heart of Russia, an interdependence of the two States will be insured, and the lines of their foreign policy in their attempts at recovering the positions lost during the war will converge. The experience of a century and a quarter of friendship between them as monarchies and of three years of collaboration between them as republics ought to be enough to show us what the world may expect from such an alliance.

A union of 40 per cent of Europe's population actuated by thoughts of revenge against the other half of the continent, burning with a desire to overturn the international order established after the war, once the cruel wounds inflicted by the war have been healed, will be able to dictate its will to the rest of Europe, if the victorious coalition of nations becomes dissociated, as now appears quite possible.

A Poland extending from the Carpathian Mountains to Danzig and Wilno, and from Pozen to Pinsk, will render forever impossible an economic and, what is even more important, a military fusion of Germany and Russia. A new Russo-German alliance would then, first

of all, have to isolate and subordinate Poland; and this will not be possible except by destroying her by means of a new partition. Should such an eventuality take place, the whole international situation would undergo a radical transformation. Once having become Russia's neighbor along her whole western frontier, Germany would begin to supply her with the necessary capital, technical resources, and manufactured goods, taking in exchange the inexhaustible products of the Russian mines and fields. Between their armies a co-ordination will be established very much like the one that existed before the war between the armies of Germany and Austria. This Russo-German union would be based on their common need of keeping Poland enslaved. The two States, as the inheritors of the instincts of conquest that had actuated the groups which had made them great powers—Prussia in Germany and Great Russia in Russia—will be mutually helpful to each other because of their common frontier. And when the German genius for organization, which could not but have caused universal admiration during the war, will have laid its hands in earnest on the resources of the immensely wealthy but still barbaric Russia, against whom will the armies of these two powers turn, and who will be able to stop them?

The geographic position, the economic condition, and the whole history of the two countries will show them the way that will lead Russia to the recovery of her lost territories and Germany to revenge against her enemies in the West and her old longing for the East. How long will it be and how many wars will have been fought before this program will have been realized?

To permit Germany and Russia to enter into a close economic union means to render inevitable an alliance between the two that will lead to a series of wars, in which the two States would have a very serious chance of success. And after such a victory, a German hegemony, under the guise of an alliance with Russia, would continue just so long as the aspirations of the two allies would not conflict. Glutted by the victory, however, it is safe to assume that they will be in no hurry to enter into such a disagreement.

If Europe does not wish to remain under arms for a long time to come, she has to prevent the establishment of this union. The means for doing this ought to appear clear from the preceding exposition.

1. The treaties of peace must be maintained, and Germany must be kept disarmed, while the great allied powers must remain united in the enforcing of these measures. Any weakening of this union would merely open the way for aggression on the part of Germany and Russia.

2. Poland, if she is to continue to exist, must be endowed with a vitality which she would have if the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaty of Riga, and the Geneva decision regarding Upper Silesia will be maintained. She will then be able to defend her own independence and, through that, protect the whole of Europe, as she did in 1920 by repulsing the Bolsheviki. In order that this should be so, just as M. Poincaré demands that the treaties which are the result of the peace conferences should become an integral part of the international law

of Europe, so the Treaty of Riga should be similarly regarded.

The Baltic States in the North and the Succession States in the South constitute the natural prolongation of the Polish rampart. Some of them are threatened by Germany, others by Russia, while still others by both Germany and Russia. They face an absolute necessity of looking for support to Poland and to the Allies. This necessity will serve to assuage the internal dissensions among them, while a coalition of these States, because of their geographical position, their access to the Baltic and the Black Seas, and the great diversity of their economic resources, will become a powerful organism, endowed with sufficient vitality to withstand any attacks from without. An alliance between France and Poland and a similar alliance between Poland and Rumania will be the basis of this political organization which will prevent Germany and Russia from going through with their program of revenge.

3. The fact that economic considerations have a tremendous influence upon international politics ought to be fully utilized. By developing economic relations with Russia and Germany, it ought to be possible to draw them into the current of the economic life of the whole of Europe, in order to inculcate in them the idea that their own well-being depends upon the maintenance of peace and their neighbors' prosperity, while another war would merely bring in its wake new economic catastrophes. Moreover, this economic reintegration of the whole civilized world is necessary for the reconstruction of the whole of Europe. The Wiesbaden agreement and the peaceable policy of Poland are the expressions of this tendency.

4. This economic reintegration should be attended, however, by very definite efforts to prevent the establishment of an economic interdependence between Russia and Germany. This twofold policy should be especially applicable to Russia, and it can be achieved if the Allied powers themselves would enter into full co-operation with Russia. The participation of Germany in this co-operation should be limited to a minimum, enough to enable her to pay the reparations, and in any case it should be carried on under a strict control of the Allies.

The experience of the pre-war period should have taught the Russians that if they were to give Germany a preponderant rôle in the restoration of their country, Russia would become a German colony, while an alliance between the two countries would become a German protectorate over Russia. On the contrary, a large participation of the Allies would leave Russia, in spite of their preponderance in the work of restoration, a much greater independence, besides opening up before her much greater resources than those which Germany can provide. Before the war, the German capital invested in Russian enterprises was estimated at 371 million francs, as against an English investment of 536 million, Belgian investment of 613 million, and French investment of 821 million. Moreover, the granting of concessions to the Allies would serve a double purpose: In the first place, Russia's resources would be developed, and in the second place means would be provided for the payment of Russia's foreign debt.

For a long time to come the need of economic recon-

struction will remain Russia's principal problem. It is also safe to assume that Russia, even if she should remain Soviet, would defer her dreams of revenge and enter into a co-operation with the Allies. And these latter should realize that their task lies not merely in deriving material profits from Russia, but in binding that country to themselves in order to inculcate in it the idea that its prosperity and its return into the concert of nations depends upon the maintenance of the world peace. Supported economically and financially by the West, profiting by an economic collaboration of Poland, Russia will be able to restore herself out of the ruins to which she has been reduced. Only in this manner will it be possible to obviate the possibility of a Russo-German alliance for the good of Russia herself and of the whole of Europe.

AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting

(Reprinted from the Congressional Record, March 3, 1923)

THE FOLLOWING is a stenographic report of the proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union:

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union was held in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Saturday, February 24, 1923, at 10:20 o'clock a. m., Senator William B. McKinley, President, presiding.

President MCKINLEY: Gentlemen, shall we come to order? The notice for this meeting sent out by the Executive Secretary contains the agenda, as follows:

NOTICE

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union will be held in the Caucus Room, third floor, House Office Building, Saturday, February 24, at 10:00 o'clock a. m.

The program will include:

1. Reading of the minutes.
2. Announcements and communications.
3. President's report.
4. Treasurer's report.
5. Executive Secretary's report.
6. The election of officers.
7. Unfinished business:

(a) Report of delegates to the Twentieth Conference at Vienna, Austria, August, 1922.

8. New business:

(a) Plans for the Twenty-first Conference of the Interparliamentary Union:

—August next, probably the 20th, 21st, and 22d.

—at Copenhagen, Denmark.

9. Adjournment.

You are receiving herewith the Executive Secretary's report of the Conference in Vienna.

If your name does not appear on the list of members enclosed, you will wish, of course, to send to the Executive Secretary the card which is also enclosed.

Every member of the Congress should be a member of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. If you are not a member, mail the application at once.

Surely you will agree that this is important.

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY,
President.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Exec. Sec., 613 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

The first matter on the program is the reading of the minutes. I should suggest that, since the minutes of the last meeting have been printed and distributed, perhaps we may waive the reading.

Mr. OLDFIELD: I move, Mr. President, we dispense with the reading of the minutes.

(The motion was duly seconded and carried.)

President MCKINLEY: As to announcements, I might suggest that we have not yet been advised what place the conference will select for the next meeting. We understand it will probably be held in Denmark and probably about the middle of August.

There are two vacancies on the board, caused by the retirement from Congress of Representative Rucker, of Missouri, and Representative Steenerson, of Minnesota.

The next matter in order is the President's report, and, for the benefit of some of the gentlemen who have not examined our work, I respectfully submit the following:

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

"For the contribution of the United States toward the maintenance of the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the promotion of international arbitration, \$4,000." This language is taken from the act making appropriations for the Department of State for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923. The amount, representing this year something of an increase over previous annual appropriations, has been paid annually by the United States Government for a number of years. The money, indicating something of the government's interest, is turned over to the Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union at the office of the Bureau, Geneva, Switzerland.

The Secretary General is Dr. Christian L. Lange, recently honored by the Nobel Committee.

Beginnings

The founder of the Interparliamentary Union was a member of the British House of Commons. The first idea of such a union seems to have been suggested to a member of the Austrian Parliament at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, in 1870. The settlement of the "Alabama Claims" shortly afterwards and the spread of interest in arbitration throughout the world paved the way. The Interparliamentary Union began in Paris, October 31, 1888, in the interest of arbitration treaties between the United States, France, and Great Britain. Its twentieth conference was held in Vienna, Austria,

August 28, 29, 30 last, in the interest of European reconstruction. To William Randal Cremer, of the British Parliament, assisted by Frédéric Passy, of the French Chamber of Deputies, is due all the credit for organizing the Union. Because of their energy, the organization grew rapidly. As a result, Cremer received from the President of France the decoration of the Legion of Honor, from the King of England a knighthood, and in 1903 from the Nobel Committee the peace prize of about \$45,000. A labor member of the British Parliament, a carpenter by trade, and a poor man, he forthwith gave all of this money to the cause of peace.

Objects

The Interparliamentary Union is composed of representatives of various parliaments. The object of the organization is to develop the principle of arbitration in general and to promote intelligent and peaceful relations between peoples. Its first labors were in the interest of treaties of arbitration between France and the United States and between Great Britain and the United States. At what is officially known as the First Interparliamentary Conference, held during the World Fair, in Paris, in 1889, nine parliaments represented, it was resolved: "The conduct of governments tending to become more and more the expression, only of ideas and sentiments voiced by the body of citizens, it is for the electors to lead the policy of the country in the direction of justice, of right, and of the brotherhood of nations."

Another Conference in America

In 1914 the United States Government invited the Union to hold the Twentieth Interparliamentary Conference in the city of Washington, and an appropriation of \$50,000 was carried in the Diplomatic Appropriation Act for the expenses of the gathering. The war naturally interfered; but there are many in and out of Congress, recalling the successful Conference at St. Louis in 1904, who hope that the invitation of 1914 may soon be renewed.

Conferences Heretofore

Conferences of the Union have been held as follows: Four times at Brussels (1895, 1897, 1905, and 1910); twice in each of the following: Paris (1889 and 1900), London (1890 and 1906), The Hague (1894 and 1913), Vienna (1903 and 1922); once in each of the following: Rome (1891), Berne (1892), Budapest (1896), Christiania (1899), Berlin (1908), Geneva (1912), Stockholm (1921), St. Louis (1904).

Advantages

The advantages of such an organization readily suggest themselves. Freed from the domination of any government, it represents a universal and democratic aspiration. Nothing in it savors of particular interest or privilege. Composed of officials, holding its conferences in houses of parliaments, it is itself only semi-official. Perhaps its main service is its opportunity for parliamentarians from all parts of the world to meet, to confer, to educate one another. At the meeting this summer in Vienna, twenty-four nations, the largest number ever participating at any conference of the Interparlia-

mentary Union, were represented by delegates. The governments represented were: Germany, America, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Spain, Esthonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Dutch Indies, Italy, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Sweden, and Turkey. For parliamentarians from so many different countries just to meet, officially or unofficially, at conference, at table, at social gatherings, is in itself not without benefit.

Speaking before the Conference in St. Louis in 1904, the then Assistant Secretary of State, the Hon. Francis B. Loomis, said to the assembled delegates: "You have aroused, directed, and educated public sentiment in favor of arbitration throughout the civilized world." Mr. Loomis also said: "The Interparliamentary Union deserves credit for practically forecasting five years in advance what proved to be the most salient work of the Peace Conference at The Hague." There is no doubt that the First Hague Conference was called because of the work of the Interparliamentary Union. There is no doubt that its labors made possible the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Upon its initiative President Roosevelt initiated the Second Hague Conference.

Our Officers

The present officers of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union are: Senator William B. McKinley, President; Vice-Presidents: Representative Andrew J. Montague (Virginia), Representative Halvor Steenerson (Minnesota), Representative William A. Oldfield (Arkansas), Representative Adolph J. Sabath (Illinois), Treasurer; Representative H. Garland Dupré (Louisiana), Secretary; Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary; Executive Committee: Representative Fred Britten (Illinois), Representative Theodore Burton (Ohio), Representative Henry Allen Cooper (Wisconsin), Representative William W. Rucker (Missouri), Senator Joseph T. Robinson (Arkansas), Senator Thomas Sterling (South Dakota), Representative Henry W. Temple (Pennsylvania), Representative James C. McLaughlin (Michigan), Representative Merrill Moores (Indiana).

Our Official Statement

On May 24, 1921, the American Group sent to the Council of the Interparliamentary Union the following self-explanatory communication:

To the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, 14 Rue de l'Ecole Medicene, Geneva, Switzerland.

SIRS: Please accept greetings from your fellow-members of the American Group, all of whom are pleased to know of the plans of our Council for the Nineteenth Interparliamentary Conference at Stockholm, August 17-19 of the current year. The gracious invitation of the Swedish Group, combined with the generous co-operation of the Swedish Government, leads us to feel that the resumption of our conferences will take place under circumstances as happy and propitious as could well be possible.

We have examined the "Agenda of the Conference," submitted under date of April 20, 1921, and we hasten to express our earnest hope and perfect confidence that our brethren will come again to a meeting of minds with reference to questions peculiarly within the historic province of the Union, questions relating principally to international law. The time, we believe, has not arrived when our Union can profitably discuss, much less decide upon, political or even economic questions which may give rise to disputes between States. The peaceful and judicial settlement of international controversies, so wisely and constructively discussed and advanced in the First and Second Hague Conferences, remains still the supreme opportunity of the Interparliamentary Union; so much so, indeed, that we of the American Group urge upon our co-workers of other nations:

1. The calling of a Third Hague Conference.
2. The extension of the principle of international conciliation, as set forth in the score and more of treaties negotiated between the United States and other powers in 1913, commonly known as the "Bryan treaties."
3. The creation of a judicial union of the nations, under which such questions as the interpretation of treaties or of international law, the breach of international obligations, the determination of reparations, and the interpretation of prior decisions passed by the court of the Union may all be decided by the court according to principles of accepted law and known equity.

4. The continuation of the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union, not only for these high purposes herein set forth, but for the additional and by no means insignificant reasons, namely, that lawmakers of the world may become more generally acquainted, more intelligently informed of each other's tasks, and more sympathetically alive to the possibilities awaiting them in the realm of practical international achievement.

We of the American Group have not lost interest in such questions as the limitation of armaments, the reduction of the cruelties of war, the establishment of a prize court, the rules relating to neutrality, and the like; but we feel that these matters are dependent upon, and that they are not anterior to, the mode of international conference, the method of conciliation, and the means of judicial settlement, to which we have taken the liberty here to advert.

We believe that the Interparliamentary Union has in its traditional adherence to substantially these high matters amply proved its reason for being, and that nothing has happened since our last meeting, in 1913, to warrant any change in its independent action, in its fundamental aims, or in its methods.

A Concluding Remark

It is not without significance that, in this day of divergent interests, points of view, and policies, there exists in the world this organization of parliamentarians, each trying as best he may to understand the other fellow's job.

(Applause.)

The Treasurer's report is next in order.

(Treasurer A. J. Sabath presented his report, as follows:)

TREASURER'S REPORT—A. J. SABATH

AMERICAN GROUP, INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 24, 1923.*

	Receipts.	Disbursements.
On hand December 13, 1921.....	\$383.87	
February 10, 1922—Arthur D. Call.....		\$21.45
February 27, 1922—Arthur D. Call.....		7.79
February 27, 1922—Judd & Detweiler (printing)		8.25
April 4, 1922—Douglas O. Morgan (reporting)		18.90
April 12, 1922—D. H. Elkins (duplicating)		10.60
June 1, 1922—American Peace Society....		29.00
April 23, 1922—Arthur D. Call, American Peace Society (printing minutes); Dr. Lange (cable).....		41.41
	\$383.87	\$137.40
Disbursements	137.40	
On hand February 24, 1923.....		\$246.47

President MCKINLEY: A very worthy report. We are glad to receive it.

The next is the report of the Executive Secretary. (Executive Secretary Arthur D. Call presented his report, as follows:)

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT

The last Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union was held February 24, 1922, in the Caucus Room of the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10:30 o'clock. A stenographic copy of the proceedings of that meeting was printed and distributed to every member of the House and of the Senate.

Since the last Annual Meeting certain things in connection with the work of our Group have happened worthy of record. They may be briefly enumerated.

Evidences of Interest

During the year there have been two evidences of a growing interest in the labors of the Group. Upon the initiative of Senator Spencer, the Interparliamentary Union and the list of the officers of the American Group are listed in the Congressional Directory under the heading "Joint Commissions and Committees." This is the first time that our Union has been thus officially recognized. Furthermore, the Congress has seen fit to increase its appropriation to the Interparliamentary Union from \$2,000 to \$4,000. The practical unanimity with which this action was taken both in the Senate and in the House is encouraging.

There have been a variety of meetings of your Executive Committee, usually taking the form of a luncheon, supper, or dinner at the gracious invitation of the President of our Group, Senator William B. McKinley.

Next International Conference

No little attention has been given to the question whether or not our American Group should invite the Interparliamentary Union to hold its Twenty-first In-

ternational Congress in the United States during the current year. After conferring with the Executive Department, your committee decided that it would be wise to defer inviting the Union to meet in America at least until 1925. Thereupon the following cablegram was sent to Secretary Lange, under date of January 29, 1923:

INTERPARLEMENT, *Genève:*

Mature deliberation convinces us would be unwise to invite Union meeting America this year. No diminution of interest.—Just matter of expediency.

CALL.

Replying to this cablegram under date of February 1, Secretary Lange has written:

DEAR MR. CALL:

I need not tell you that I was very sorry indeed to receive your wire of the 29th, which I found here on my return from a short vacation in the mountains. Of course, we have to bow to your decision taken after mature deliberation, but I cannot but think that it would have been a very great boon to our interparliamentary work if you had seen your way to receiving us this year. I know pertinently that especially in France an American invitation would have been accepted with great favor, and I need not point out how important it would be just now, under the present circumstances, to draw French parliamentarians into our circle. You will know that Canada was quite ready to support an invitation from America and to take part in the reception. It may be difficult to find for some years an opportunity which will suit both Groups as well as would have been the case in 1923.

I am very glad that you add expressly that there is no diminution of interest, but that your attitude is due only to considerations of expediency. I shall take care to let this be known as widely as possible.

We shall then have to fall back on the Danish invitation, and, as far as organization and a thorough preparation of the conference go, we could hardly be in better hands than in Denmark. The secretary of the Group, whom you met at Vienna, is a very capable man in all that pertains to organization, and I am quite sure that all members of the forthcoming conference will have great pleasure and find special interest in taking part in this meeting. I suppose it will take place in August, probably about the middle of the month, and I trust that at any rate we can count on a numerous and representative American delegation. You know there are direct and very good steamers from New York to Copenhagen. . . .

Will there be any special subject which an American would like to put before the conference? I suppose that we shall send round a circular to the Groups after the meeting of the Executive, containing a draft agenda for the conference. It would be a matter for satisfaction if this year, too, we could have an American to submit a report as Mr. Burton did last year. What about Mr. Montague presenting a resolution in favor of international arbitration, or America's entering the International Court? It would be necessary to be informed as to this some time before the meeting of the council, which, I presume, will take place at the beginning of April.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

CHR. L. LANGE.

Visit from Secretary of Canadian Group

Your Executive Secretary wishes to record that on February 6, 1923, he was visited by Senator C. P. Beau-bien, Secretary of the Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

Two Events

There remain two other outstanding events of the year:

(1) The attendance by our American delegation upon the Twentieth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union at Vienna, Austria, during the last days of August, 1922. The delegation from this Group to the Conference in Vienna was as follows: Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois, President of the American Group; Senator Selden P. Spencer, of Missouri; Senator E. F. Ladd, of North Dakota; Senator T. H. Caraway, of Arkansas; Senator W. J. Harris, of Georgia; Representative Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia, President of the American Peace Society; Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, former President of the American Peace Society; Representative Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania; Representative William A. Oldfield, of Arkansas, and Arthur D. Call, Executive Secretary of the Group. Other members of the party were: H. M. Pindell and J. W. Stipes, of Illinois; Mrs. Harris and daughter; Mrs. Montague and her daughter, Mrs. Moore; Senator McKinley's niece, Miss Julia Mattis, and her friends, Mrs. W. H. Smith and Mrs. Edward Clifford, wife of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Mrs. Call.

Your Executive Secretary has printed and sent to each member of the Congress a report of the conference, showing that there were twenty-four nations represented at the conference. In the report there is a record of the officers, of the work of the conferees, and a copy of the resolutions passed. There is also a brief account of the trip to Budapest and to Belgrade. The report includes some ten pages of "Notes on the Setting in Austria."

(2) Another important event was a supper given to the Executive Committee by President McKinley at his home, 1736 Massachusetts Avenue, Sunday evening, February 18. During the evening addresses were given by Representative Theodore E. Burton and Henry W. Temple, by Senators Joseph T. Robinson and Selden P. Spencer, and by Dr. James Brown Scott. While these addresses were extemporaneous, every effort is being made to persuade each of the gentlemen to write out his remarks for purposes of publication; this with the thought that in the form of a brochure they can be made of service not only at home, but abroad.

An Appreciation

Your Executive Secretary craves the privilege of recording his deep appreciation of the unflinching courtesy not only of the officers and members of our Executive Committee, but of all members of the Congress whom it has been his duty to approach in matters relating to the work of the Interparliamentary Union.

(Applause.)

President MCKINLEY: The next in order is the election of officers. Please permit me to say that I deem it

a great honor to have been elected three times as President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, but I really think the office should be passed around, and I shall be glad indeed if some one be named in my stead as President.

Mr. BURTON: Mr. President, for years we have had the same President, and I never could quite bring myself to believe that rotation was the best method for securing efficiency or the proper presentation here and elsewhere of the aims of the local Group; and I am going to make a motion that the present officers, excepting Messrs. Steenerson and Rucker, who withdraw, be re-elected—that is, for President, Senator William B. McKinley; for Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Andrew J. Montague and William A. Oldfield, and in place of Mr. Steenerson, Mr. Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania; for Treasurer, Mr. A. J. Sabath; for Secretary, Mr. H. Garland Dupré, and for Executive Secretary, Mr. Arthur D. Call. And I move that the rules be suspended and that the Executive Secretary be directed to cast the unanimous vote of the Group for the members nominated. Are there any other nominations? (After a pause.) If not, I will take the liberty of putting the motion, if it is seconded.

(The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

Mr. BURTON: There are three vacancies on the Executive Committee: Mr. Rucker, who retires; Mr. Steenerson, who retires, and Mr. Temple, who has just been elected a Vice-President, and that makes him *ex officio* a member of the Executive Committee.

President MCKINLEY: That is right.

Mr. BURTON: I move that the rules be suspended and that the Executive Secretary be directed to cast the unanimous vote for the re-election of the following-named gentlemen as members of the Executive Committee: Mr. Fred Britten, Mr. Theodore Burton, Mr. Henry Allen Cooper, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Senator Thomas Sterling, Mr. James C. McLaughlin, and Mr. Merrill Moores; and to fill the vacancies caused by the retirement of Mr. Rucker and Mr. Steenerson, Senator Seldon P. Spencer and Mr. John T. Raker.

President MCKINLEY: Are there any other nominations?

Mr. BURTON: If not, Mr. President, the motion is that the Executive Secretary be directed to cast the unanimous vote for the re-election of the present members of the Executive Committee, and that there be added thereto the names of Senator Spencer and Mr. Raker.

(The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

Mr. SABATH: Mr. President, I do not know whether I am in order or not; but it seems to me this is not the most available date or time in the year, rather, to hold the annual meeting and the annual election. A few days before Congress adjourns we are invariably very busy, and every one is trying to get away and is attending committee meetings, and so forth. I wonder whether we could not hold the next election early in January, when nearly every one is here and when they are not so engaged. If that could be brought about, I think it would secure a much larger attendance and more interest in the organization.

Mr. BURTON: Let me make this suggestion: The place of meeting and some other things are usually determined after January. The place of meeting this coming year would not have been determined in January. I think there is a good deal of substance in what Mr. Sabath says, and the question is whether the Executive Committee should not have the right to call a meeting at an earlier date, especially during the short session of Congress, when everybody is absorbed in the work of the session.

Mr. SABATH: I have spoken to some of the members who would have been pleased to be here, but they are busy, and it is impossible for them to come.

President MCKINLEY: Perhaps you will make a motion, Mr. Sabath.

Mr. SABATH: I think we should leave it with the President.

President MCKINLEY: Perhaps you will make a motion to give the Executive Committee power.

Mr. SABATH: I move the Executive Committee be given power to call the next annual meeting at the most advantageous date after January first.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

Executive Secretary CALL: Mr. President, may I call attention to the fact that Article 6 of the by-laws of our American Group of the Interparliamentary Union reads as follows:

"The annual meeting of the American Group shall be held February 24th, except when that date falls on Sunday, when it shall be held on the next subsequent day."

Mr. SABATH: Then I move to amend the by-laws, unless we can do so only at some meeting called for that purpose.

President MCKINLEY: Would we have a right to amend the by-laws at this regular meeting?

Executive Secretary CALL: No.

Mr. OLDFIELD: I move that we give this matter consideration between now and the next meeting.

Mr. BURTON: Then the resolution should be that the Executive Committee be requested to consider the desirability of changing the date for the annual meeting and make a report thereon at a later meeting of the Union.

Mr. SABATH: Yes; I accept that amendment.

(The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

Mr. DUPRÉ: Mr. President, a matter has occurred to me that might be of some interest. What success attended your efforts when you extended your great hospitality for a meeting at the Metropolitan last spring to induce attendance at the Interparliamentary Union? Has any result followed that effort?

President MCKINLEY: Mr. Call can answer that.

Executive Secretary CALL: There are two definite results following that meeting: One is that a number of the Ministers and Ambassadors who were present have been taking the matter up with their respective governments. In other words, action is being taken. A second result is this: That for the first time in the history of the Interparliamentary Union a South American government was represented at the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union this summer. That government was Chile.

Mr. MOORES: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. The other day the suggestion was made that we extend to the Interparliamentary Union an invitation to meet here in 1924. I remember the first meeting of the Interparliamentary Union I ever had the pleasure of attending was at St. Louis during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; and it occurred to me that there will be a fair and exposition in Philadelphia in 1926, and that it might be exceedingly appropriate to invite the Interparliamentary Union to meet in this country and at Philadelphia in 1926 at some time during the exposition. That is the suggestion that I have to make. We would probably have a larger attendance and be able to do better work during that year at the exposition.

Mr. BURTON: Mr. President, I think the suggestion made by Mr. Moores should have serious consideration. The delegates from the foreign countries would like very much to come here during an international exposition. But I do not think we can decide that question now. The European officers and members are very anxious to meet on this side of the water just as soon as they can. Conditions might arise that would make it very desirable for them to meet here in 1925. The sooner the better. I really think we should not decide that now.

President MCKINLEY: I did not think Mr. Moores made that as a motion.

Mr. MOORES: I made it merely as a suggestion.

Mr. WATSON: I do not think we should now decide to invite the Interparliamentary Union to meet at Philadelphia during that exposition. There seem to be differences of opinion as to whether that exposition will be held. Conditions might change in a year. I think we had better wait.

President MCKINLEY: Is there any other business?

Mr. OLDFIELD: I move we adjourn, Mr. President.

(The motion was duly seconded and carried, and thereupon, at 11 o'clock a. m., the Group adjourned.)

THE NEXT MEETING OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

It now appears that the Twenty-first Conference of the Interparliamentary Union will be held in Copenhagen, Denmark, on or about the first of August next. The provisional agenda for the conference have been submitted as follows:

1. The parliamentary control of foreign policy. Report by Dr. Mataja (Austria).
2. Colonial mandates and the League of Nations. Report by M. H. van Kol (Holland).
3. Report from the Economic and Financial Commission. Two reports may be expected from the Economic and Financial Commission—one relating to the freedom of trade, urged by M. Treub, of Holland, and Count Apponyi, of Hungary, and also the question of exchanges.
4. Report from the Commission on Racial and Colonial Questions on the rights of national minorities. The Vienna Conference requested the Commission for Racial and Colonial Questions to submit a report on the problem of national minorities. The drafting committee met in Paris immediately after the Executive Committee. A report will probably be submitted at Copenhagen dealing especially with the question of a draft for general international settlement of the problem.

5. Institution of an International Relief Organization to assist all disaster-stricken populations. A representative of the International Red Cross Committee has called the attention of the Bureau to a "Proposal for the Institution of an International Relief Organization to assist all disaster-stricken populations," drawn up by Senator Giovanni Ciruolo, president of the Italian Red Cross. It was asked whether the Interparliamentary Union would be inclined to support this proposal, which is now before the Council of the League of Nations. The Secretary General suggested that M. Ciruolo, through the Italian Group, should propose that the question be included in the agenda of the next conference. The initiative is one worthy of the support of the Union, and Mr. Ciruolo will accordingly be asked to submit a report on the question.

In accordance with the traditions of the Union, the question of disarmament, which was discussed at Stockholm and at Vienna, must again be taken up at Copenhagen, either with a view to tracing a definite line of action through the groups or to bring pressure to bear on the League of Nations. This year certain problems of execution or of application might be considered, such as:

(6a) Treaty of Disarmament and of Mutual Guarantee, on the lines of the plan drawn up by Lord Robert Cecil.

(6b) Regional agreements as to a reduction of armaments—a problem which will especially interest the Scandinavian States.

While these are deemed sufficient to constitute the whole agenda for a three days' discussion, other questions, some of which have already been considered, may, however, also be regarded as being ripe for discussion. Fresh questions may be proposed by the groups or by the members of the Council. The following list is submitted by the Bureau without comment:

1. Penalties to be instituted for the circulation of false news likely to endanger the peace. (Report by the late M. Lammasch (Austria), prepared for the Stockholm Conference in 1914).

2. Extension of international jurisdiction. (Participation of the States in the International Court of Justice and ratification of the optional clause of its statute; general treaties for compulsory arbitration; conciliation agreements.)

3. Organization of the work of codification of international law.

4. A study of the work of the Barcelona Conference on questions of communication and transit. Possible action to be taken by the Union in this connection.

5. Exchange of legislative information. (Report by M. Honorat (France), prepared for the Stockholm Conference in 1914.)

PROGRAM OF THE BUREAU FOR 1923

1. Continuation of the efforts to create new Groups of the Union in parliaments where such do not already exist; but especially to increase the activity of the Groups already at work.

2. To increase the income of the Union, according to the plan agreed upon by the Council.

3. Study the possibility of beginning again the publication of the *Annuaire interparlementaire*, at least in a modified form.

4. Preparation of the works of the Study Commissions, relating to such subjects as the declaration of war, the conclusion and ratification of treaties, the foreign policy of governments, etc.

OUR ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL ON THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

(Basic Documents)

On February 24 President Harding transmitted to the U. S. Senate a letter from the Secretary of State dealing with the possibility of our formal participation in the International Court of International Justice, which has been set up at The Hague. The President asked the Senate's consent to the United States' adhesion to the protocol under which the court had been erected.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The President's message to the Senate was as follows:

There has been established at The Hague a Permanent Court of International Justice for the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods, now effective through the ratification by the signatory powers of a special protocol. It is organized and functioning. The United States is a competent suitor in the court, through provision of the statute creating it, but that relation is not sufficient for a nation long committed to the peaceful settlement of international controversies. Indeed, our nation had a conspicuous place in the advocacy of such an agency of peace and international adjustment, and our deliberate public opinion of today is overwhelmingly in favor of our full participation and the attending obligations of maintenance and the furtherance of its prestige. It is for this reason that I am now asking for the consent of the Senate to our adhesion to the protocol.

With this request I am sending to the Senate a copy of the letter addressed to me by the Secretary of State, in which he presents in detail the history of the establishment of the court, takes note of the objection to our adherence because of the court's organization under the auspices of the League of Nations, and its relation thereto, and indicates how, with certain reservations, we may fully adhere and participate and remain wholly free from any legal relation to the League or assumption of obligation under the covenant of the League.

I forbear repeating the presentation made by the Secretary of State, but there is one phase of the matter not covered in his letter with which I choose frankly to acquaint the Senate. For a long period—indeed, ever since the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament—the consideration of plans under which we might adhere to the protocol has been under way. We were unwilling to adhere unless we could participate in the selection of judges; we could not hope to participate with an American accord if adherence involved any legal relation to the League. These conditions, there is good reason to believe, will be acceptable to the signatory powers, though nothing definitely can be done until the United States tenders adhesion with these reservations. Manifestly, the Executive cannot make this tender until the Senate has spoken its approval. Therefore I most earnestly urge your favorable advice and consent. I would rejoice if some action could be taken, even in the short period which remains of the present session.

It is not a new problem in international relationship; it is wholly a question of accepting an established institution of high character and making effective all the fine things which have been said by us in favor of such an agency of advanced civilization. It would be well worth the while of the Senate to make such special effort as is becoming to record its approval. Such action would add to our own consciousness of participation in the fortunate advancement of international relationship and remind the world anew that we are ready for our proper part in furthering peace and adding to stability in world affairs.

SECRETARY HUGHES'S LETTER

The letter, transmitted to the President by Secretary of State Hughes under the date of February 17, 1923, is here given in full. It sets forth the circumstances under which the Permanent Court was organized and the reasons for advocating our adhesion to the protocol.

Secretary Hughes wrote as follows:

Referring to our interviews with respect to the advisability of action by this government in order to give its adhesion, upon appropriate conditions, to the protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, I beg leave to submit the following considerations:

From its foundation, this government has taken a leading part in promoting the judicial settlement of international disputes. Prior to the First Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1899, the United States had participated in fifty-seven arbitrations, twenty of which were with Great Britain. The President of the United States had acted as arbitrator between other nations in five cases, and ministers of the United States, or other persons designated by this government, had acted as arbitrator or umpire in seven cases. In 1890 the Congress adopted a concurrent resolution providing

"That the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means" (Cong. Rec., 51st Cong., 1st sess., part 3, vol. 21, p. 2986).

In his instructions to the delegates of this government to the First Peace Conference at The Hague, Secretary Hay said:

"Nothing can secure for human government and for the authority of law which it represents so deep a respect and so firm a loyalty as the spectacle of sovereign and independent States, whose duty it is to prescribe the rules of justice and impose penalties upon the lawless, bowing with reverence before the august supremacy of those principles of right which give to law its eternal foundation."

A plan for a permanent international tribunal accompanied these instructions.

At that conference there was adopted a "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," which provided for a Permanent Court of Arbitration. This organization, however, while called a permanent court, really consists of an eligible list of persons designated by the contracting parties respectively from whom tribunals may be constituted for the determination of such controversies as the parties concerned may agree to submit to them.

In 1908 and 1909 the United States concluded nineteen general conventions of arbitration, which, in accordance with The Hague Conventions, provided for arbitration by special agreement of differences which are of a legal nature or which relate to the interpretation of treaties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, provided that the differences do not affect the vital interest, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States and do not concern the interests of third parties. Moreover, since the First Peace Conference at The Hague a number of conventions have been concluded by this government submitting to arbitration questions of great importance.

It is believed that the preponderant opinion in this country has not only favored the policy of judicial settlement of justiciable international disputes through arbitral tribunals specially established, but it has also strongly desired that a permanent court of international justice should be established and maintained. In his instructions to the delegates of the United States to the Second Peace Conference held at The Hague in 1907, Secretary Root emphasized the importance of the establishment of such a tribunal in conformity with accepted judicial standards. He said:

"It should be your effort to bring about in the Second Conference a development of The Hague tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. These judges should be so selected from the different countries that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages shall be fairly represented. The court should be of such dignity, consideration, and rank that the best and ablest jurists will accept appointment to it, and that the whole world will have absolute confidence in its judgments."

The Second Peace Conference discussed a plan looking to the attainment of this object, but the project failed because an agreement could not be reached with respect to the method of selecting judges. The conference adopted the following recommendation:

"The conference recommends to the signatory powers the adoption of the project hereto annexed, of a convention for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice and its putting into effect as soon as an accord shall be reached upon the choice of the judges and the constitution of the court."

The Covenant of the League of Nations provided, in Article 14, that the Council of the League should formulate and submit to the members of the League plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, which should be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto should submit to it, and which also might give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly of the League. This provision of the covenant, it may be said, did not enter into the subsequent controversy with respect to participation by this government in the League of Nations; on the contrary, it is believed that this controversy reflected but little, if any, divergence of view in this country with respect to the advisability of establishing a permanent international court.

Pursuant to the direction contained in the article above quoted, the Council of the League appointed an advisory committee of jurists, which sat at The Hague in the summer of 1920 and formulated a plan for the establishment of such a court. Honorable Elihu Root was a member of that committee. It recommended a plan which was subsequently examined by the Council and Assembly of the League; and, after certain amendments had been made, the statute constituting the Permanent Court of International Justice was adopted by the Assembly of the League on December 13, 1920.

While these steps were taken under the auspices of the League, the statute constituting the Permanent Court of International Justice did not become effective upon its adoption by the Assembly of the League. On the contrary, it became effective by virtue of the signature and ratification by the signatory powers of a special protocol. The reason for this procedure was that, although the plan of the court was prepared under Article 14 of the covenant, the statute went beyond the terms of the covenant, especially in making the court available to States which were not members of the League of Nations. Accordingly a protocol of signature was prepared by which the signatory powers declared their acceptance of the adjoined statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Permanent Court thus established by the signatory powers under the protocol with the statute annexed is now completely organized and at work.

The statute of the court provides for the selection of the judges, defines their qualifications, and prescribes the jurisdiction of the court and the procedure to be followed in litigation before it.

The court consists of fifteen members—eleven judges called "ordinary judges" and four deputy judges. The eleven judges constitute the full court. In case they cannot all be present, deputies are to sit as judges in place of the absentees; but if eleven judges are not available, nine may constitute a quorum. It is provided that the judges shall

be elected, regardless of their nationality, from amongst persons of high moral character possessing the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointments to the highest judicial offices or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law. The judges are elected by the Council and Assembly of the League, each body proceeding independently. The successful candidate must obtain an absolute majority of votes in each body. The judges are elected for nine years and are eligible for re-election. The ordinary judges are forbidden to exercise any political or administrative function. This provision does not apply to the deputy judges except when performing their duties on the court.

The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force.

Provision has also been made so that any signatory power, if it desires, may in signing the protocol accept as compulsory "*ipso facto* and without special convention" the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; and (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

This is an entirely optional clause, and unless it is signed the jurisdiction of the court is not obligatory.

The first election of judges of the court took place in September, 1921. The eleven ordinary judges are the following: Viscount Robert Bannatyne Finlay, Great Britain; B. C. J. Loder, Holland; Ruy Barbosa, Brazil; D. J. Nyholm, Denmark; Charles André Weiss, France; John Bassett Moore, United States; Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, Cuba; Rafael Altamira, Spain; Yorozu Oda, Japan; Dionisio Anzilotti, Italy; Max Huber, Switzerland.

The four deputies are: Michailo Yovanovitch, Serb-Croat-Slovene State; F. V. N. Beichmann, Norway; Demetre Negulesco, Rumania; Chung-Hui Wang, China.

It will be noted that one of the most distinguished American jurists has been elected a member of the court—Honorable John Bassett Moore.

In considering the question of participation of the United States in the support of the permanent court, it may be observed that the United States is already a competent suitor in the court. The statute expressly provides that the court shall be open not only to members of the League, but to States mentioned in the annex to the covenant.

But it is not enough that the United States should have the privileges of a suitor. In view of the vast importance of provision for the peaceful settlement of international controversies, of the time-honored policy of this government in promoting such settlements, and of the fact that it has at last been found feasible to establish upon a sound basis a permanent international court of the highest distinction, and to invest it with a jurisdiction which conforms to American principles and practice, I am profoundly convinced that this government, under appropriate conditions, should become a party to the convention establishing the court and should contribute its fair share of the expense of maintenance.

I find no insuperable obstacle in the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations. The statute of the court has various procedural provisions relating to the League; but none of these provisions save those for the election of judges, to which I shall presently refer, are of a character which would create any difficulty in the support of the court by the United States, despite its non-membership in the League. None of these provisions impair the independence of the court. It is an establishment separate from the League, having a distinct legal status resting upon the protocol and statute. It is organized and acts in accordance with judicial standards, and its decisions are not controlled or subject to review by the League of Nations.

In order to avoid any question that adhesion to the protocol and acceptance of the statute of the court would involve any legal relation on the part of the United States

to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the covenant of the League of Nations, it would be appropriate, if so desired, to have the point distinctly reserved as a part of the terms of the adhesion on the part of this government.

Again, as already noted, the signature of the protocol and the consequent acceptance of the statute, in the absence of assent to the optional compulsory clause, does not require the acceptance by the signatory powers of the jurisdiction of the court, except in such cases as may thereafter be voluntarily submitted to the court. Hence, in adhering to the protocol, the United States would not be required to depart from the position which it has thus far taken, that there should be a special agreement for the submission of a particular controversy to arbitral decision.

There is, however, one fundamental objection to adhesion on the part of the United States to the protocol and the acceptance of the statute of the court in its present form. That is, that under the provisions of the statute only members of the League of Nations are entitled to a voice in the election of judges. The objection is not met by the fact that this government is represented by its own national group in The Hague Court of Arbitration, and that this group may nominate candidates for election as judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This provision relates simply to the nomination of candidates; the election of judges rests with the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. It is no disparagement of the distinguished abilities of the judges who have already been chosen to say that the United States could not be expected to give its formal support to a permanent international tribunal in the election of the members of which it had no right to take part.

I believe that the validity of this objection is recognized, and that it will be feasible to provide for the suitable participation by the United States in the election of judges, both ordinary and deputy judges, and in the filling of vacancies. The practical advantage of the present system of electing judges by the majority votes of the Council and Assembly of the League, acting separately, is quite manifest. It was this arrangement which solved the difficulty, theretofore appearing almost insuperable, of providing an electoral system conserving the interests of the powers, both great and small. It would be impracticable, in my judgment, to disturb the essential features of this system. It may also be observed that the members of the Council and Assembly of the League in electing the judges of the court do not act under the Covenant of the League of Nations, but under the statute of the court and in the capacity of electors performing duties defined by the statute. It would seem to be reasonable and practicable that in adhering to the protocol and accepting the statute this government should prescribe as a condition that the United States, through representatives designated for the purpose, should be permitted to participate, upon an equality with other States members of the League of Nations, in all proceedings, both of the Council and of the Assembly of the League, for the election of judges or deputy judges of the court or for the filling of vacancies in these offices.

As the statute of the court prescribes its organization, competence, and procedure, it would also be appropriate to provide, as a condition of the adhesion of the United States, that the statute should not be amended without the consent of the United States.

The expenses of the court are not burdensome. Under the statute of the court, these expenses are borne by the League of Nations; the League determines the budget and apportions the amount among its members. I understand that the largest contribution by any State is but little more than \$35,000 a year. In this matter, also, the members of the Council and Assembly of the League do not act under the covenant of the League, but under the statute of the court. The United States, if it adhered to the protocol, would, of course, desire to pay its fair share of the expense of maintaining the court. The amount of this contribution would, however, be subject to determination by Congress and to the making of appropriations for the purpose. Reference to

this matter also might properly be made in the instrument of adhesion.

Accordingly, I beg leave to recommend that, if this course meets with your approval, you request the Senate to take suitable action advising and consenting to the adhesion on the part of the United States to the protocol of December 16, 1920, accepting the adjoined statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, but not the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction: provided, however, that such adhesion shall be upon the following conditions and understandings, to be made a part of the instrument of adhesion:

I. That such adhesion shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Covenant of the League of Nations constituting Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

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

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

IV. That the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

If the Senate gives its assent upon this basis, steps can then be taken for the adhesion of the United States to the protocol in the manner authorized. The attitude of this government will thus be defined and communicated to the other signatory powers whose acquiescence in the stated conditions will be necessary.

THE SIGNATORIES OF THE PROTOCOL

In the light of this communication from the administration, our readers will be interested in the following facts relating to the signatories and ratifications of the protocol and the optional clause, as officially announced to September, 1922:*

States which have signed and ratified the protocol: Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Venezuela.

States which have signed but not ratified the protocol: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Estonia, Latvia, Liberia, Luxemburg, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador.

States which have signed and ratified the optional clause: Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Finland, Haiti, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay.

States which have signed but not ratified the optional clause: Costa Rica, Liberia, Luxemburg, Panama, Salvador.

ADMINISTRATION'S REPLY TO SENATE INQUIRY

The subject raised by the President's message came up for discussion in the Senate, but was set aside in the pressure of other business that had marked the end of the last session of Congress. In the course of the discussion, Senator Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, ad-

ressed to the President a letter of inquiry concerning the proposed plans of our participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice. An answer to this inquiry from the Senate was made by the Administration in a statement, prepared by Secretary Hughes and transmitted by the President to Senator Lodge. This statement was as follows:

I have received your letter of February 28, enclosing a request handed to you by Senator Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, for certain information desired by the committee in order to reach a decision relative to advising and consenting to our adhesion to the protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice. I beg leave to submit the following statement upon the points raised:

First. The first inquiry is this:

"That the President be requested to advise the committee whether he favors an agreement obligating all powers or governments who are signers of the protocol creating the court to submit all questions about which there is a dispute and which cannot be settled by diplomatic efforts, relative to (a) the interpretation of treaties; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation; (e) the interpretation of a sentence passed by the court."

I understand that the question is not intended to elicit your purely personal opinion, or whether you would look with an approving eye upon an agreement of this sort made effective by the action of all powers, but whether you as President, in the exercise of your constitutional authority to negotiate treaties, favor the undertaking to negotiate a treaty on the part of the United States with other powers creating such an obligatory jurisdiction.

So understood, I think that the question must be answered in the negative. This is for the reason that the Senate has so clearly defined its attitude in opposition to such an agreement that until there is ground for believing that this attitude has been changed it would be entirely futile for the Executive to negotiate a treaty of the sort described.

I may briefly refer to earlier efforts in this direction.

In the latter part of the Cleveland Administration a very strong public sentiment was expressed in favor of a general arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, this being regarded as a step toward a plan for all civilized nations. In January, 1897, the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty was signed, with provisions for compulsory arbitration having a wide scope. This treaty was supported not only by the Cleveland Administration, but President McKinley indorsed it in the strongest terms in his annual message of December 6, 1897, urging "the early action of the Senate thereon, not merely as a matter of policy, but as a duty to mankind."

But, despite the safeguards established by the treaty, the provisions for compulsory arbitration met with disfavor in the Senate and the treaty failed (Moore's Int. Law Dig., vol. VII, pp. 76-78).

A series of arbitration treaties was concluded in 1904 by Secretary Hay with about 12 States. Warned by the fate of the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty, Secretary Hay limited the provision for obligatory arbitration in these treaties to "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 have been possible to settle by diplomacy." Even with this limitation, there was added the further proviso: "provided, nevertheless, that they (the differences) 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."

It was also provided that the parties should conclude a "special agreement" in each individual case "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 arbitral tribunal and the several stages of the procedure."

Notwithstanding the limited scope of these treaties for compulsory arbitration, the Senate amended them by sub-

* League of Nations, Official Journal, October, 1921, pp. 807-9; January, 1922, p. 5; February, 1922, pp. 119-20; March, 1922, p. 203; April, 1922, p. 305; May, 1922, p. 425; June, 1922, p. 475; August, 1922, p. 757; September, 1922, p. 1025.

stituting the phrase "special treaty" for "special agreement," so that in every individual case of arbitration a special treaty would have to be made with the advice and consent of the Senate (Moore's Int. Dig., vol. VII, pp. 102-103). In view of this change, Secretary Hay announced that the President would not submit the amendment to the other governments.

It should also be observed that The Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907, to which the United States is a party, relating to the general arbitration of certain classes of international differences, do not make recourse to the tribunal compulsory.

In 1908 a series of arbitration treaties was negotiated by the United States. The provisions of these treaties were limited to "differences which may exist of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy," with the proviso "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."

Secretary Root also provided, taking account of the failure of the Hay treaties, that "in each individual case" the contracting parties before appealing to the arbitral tribunal should conclude a "special agreement" defining the matter in dispute, the scope and powers of the arbitrator, etc., and it was further explicitly stipulated in these treaties that such "special agreement" on the part of the United States should be made "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." These treaties, with these limiting provisions, made in deference to the opinion of the Senate as to the permissible scope of such agreements, received the Senate's approval.

In 1911 the Taft Administration submitted to the Senate general arbitration conventions with Great Britain and with France which were of broad scope. There were numerous objections on the part of the Senate. There was a provision in Article III that in case of a controversy as to whether a particular difference was justiciable, the issue should be settled by a proposed joint high commission. Objection was made that such an arrangement was an unconstitutional delegation of power, and the provision was struck out by the Senate.

Again the Senate conditioned its approval on numerous other reservations, withholding from the operation of the treaty any question "which affects the admission of aliens into the United States, or the admission of aliens to the educational institutions of the several States, or the territorial integrity of the several States or of the United States or concerning the question of the alleged indebtedness or moneyed obligation of any State of the United States, or any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe Doctrine, or other purely governmental policy."

In the amended form, the treaties were not acceptable to the Administration and remained unratified.

In the light of this record, it would seem to be entirely clear that until the Senate changes its attitude it would be a waste of effort for the President to attempt to negotiate treaties with the other powers providing for an obligatory jurisdiction of the scope stated in the committee's first inquiry quoted above.

If the Senate, or even the Committee on Foreign Relations, would indicate that a different point of view is now entertained, you might properly consider the advisability of negotiating such agreements.

Second. The second inquiry is as follows:

"Secondly, if the President favors such an agreement, does he deem it advisable to communicate with the other powers to ascertain whether they are willing to obligate themselves as aforesaid?

"In other words, are those who are signers of the protocol creating the court willing to obligate themselves by agreement to submit such questions as aforesaid, or are they to insist that such questions shall only be submitted in case both, or all, parties interested agree to the submission after the controversy arises?

"The purpose being to give the court obligatory jurisdiction over all purely justiciable questions relating to the interpretation of treaties, questions of international law, to the existence of facts constituting a breach of international obligation, to reparation for the breach of international obligation, to the interpretation of the sentences passed by the court, to the end that these matters may be finally determined in a court of justice."

What has been said above is believed to be a sufficient answer to this question. It may, however, be added that the statute establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, as I stated in my previous letter, has a provision (Art. 36) by which compulsory jurisdiction can be accepted, if desired, in any or all of the classes of legal disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty, (b) any question of international law, (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, and (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation. Accordingly, attached to the protocol of signature for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice is an "optional clause" by which the signatory may accept this compulsory jurisdiction.

I understand that of the 46 States which have signed the protocol for the establishment of the court, about 15 have ratified this optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction; but among the States which have not as yet assented to the optional clause are to be found, I believe, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The result is that, aside from the objections to which I have referred in answering the first inquiry, there is the additional one resulting from the attitude of these powers.

It was for all the reasons above stated that in my previous letter I recommended that if this course met with your approval, you should request the Senate to give its advice and consent to the adhesion on the part of the United States to the protocol accepting, upon the conditions stated, the adjoined statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, but not the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction.

Third. The next inquiry is:

"The committee would also like to ascertain whether it is the purpose of the Administration to have this country recognize part XIII (labor) of the Treaty of Versailles as a binding obligation.—See article 26 of statute of League establishing the court."

I submit that the answer should be in the negative.

Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles relating to labor is not one of the parts under which rights were reserved to the United States by our treaty with Germany. On the contrary, it was distinctly stated in that treaty that the United States assumes no obligations under part XIII. It is not now contemplated that the United States should assume any obligations of that sort.

Article 26 of the statute of the court, to which the committee refers in its inquiry, relates to the manner in which labor cases referred to in part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles shall be heard and determined. But this provision would in no way involve the United States in part XIII. The purpose of the court is to provide a judicial tribunal of the greatest ability and distinction to deal with questions arising under treaties.

The fact that the United States gave its adhesion to the protocol and accepted the statute of the court would not make the United States a party to treaties to which it was otherwise not a party or a participant in disputes in which it would otherwise not be a participant. The function of the court, of course, is to determine questions which arise under treaties, although only two of all the powers concerned in maintaining the court may be parties to the particular treaty or the particular dispute.

Undoubtedly there are a host of treaties to which the United States is not a party, as well as part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, which would give rise to questions which such a Permanent Court of International Justice should hear and determine. None of the signatory powers by co-operating in the establishment and maintenance of the court make themselves parties to treaties, or assume obligations under treaties, between other powers.

It is to the interest of the United States, however, that controversies which arise under treaties to which it is not a party should be the subject of peaceful settlements, so far as it is practicable to obtain them, and to this end that there should be an instrumentality, equipped as a permanent court, through which impartial justice among the nations may be administered according to judicial standards.

Fourth. Finally the committee states that "they would also like to be informed as to what reservations, if any, have been made by those countries who have adhered to the protocol."

I am not advised that any other State has made reservations on signing or adhering to the protocol.

THE FRENCH IN THE RUHR

The history of the first ten weeks of the French occupation of the Ruhr (up to and including March 10) may be summed up as follows: Increasing pressure on the part of the French, met by increasing stubbornness on the part of the German people.

The French advance has reached Mannheim, Karlsruhe, and Darmstadt. Several cities on its way, notably Gelsenkirchen, Bochum, Essen, and Recklinghausen, have been the scene of "incidents" which have resulted in the suspension of newspapers (Essen), heavy fines (Gelsenkirchen, one hundred million marks), and wholesale arrests and deportations of German municipal, state, and mine officials, followed by strikes of a more or less enduring nature. Some ten thousand "security police" have been rounded up and expelled from the Ruhr district on the charge of espionage, spreading propaganda, and otherwise hindering the French and Belgian occupation.

FRENCH PREMIER'S EXPLANATION

M. Poincaré's explanation of the Ruhr advance, which took place on February 22, before the Foreign Affairs Commission, and lasted for three hours and three-quarters, is reported by the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (February 23) to have been a great personal success. In the course of his speech he denied that the recall of General Degoutte was ever in question, and made a long statement as to the manufacturing riches of the Ruhr, including the 14,000 coke furnaces, which he declared to be under French control. According to the correspondent of the English paper, however, the report on the amount of these riches actually realized was less satisfactory. Transport control is the key to French difficulties, and in this connection Monsieur Poincaré said: "We never dreamed of the exploitation of the Ruhr; only of controlling it." As a step toward control, almost a thousand Prussian employees have been expelled from the district.

The *Manchester Guardian* report states that instead of the 1,200 trains, freight and passenger, running daily throughout the Ruhr region, there are now barely seventy in all. Some 9,000 railway men have been sent by France and Belgium to replace the 40,000 German railway workers, who are practically all on strike. One thousand trucks of coal, conveying about 15,000 tons, have been safely convoyed to France and Belgium.

Announcement has also been made that the French Treasury will ask the cabinet for a further sum of 35 million francs for the army and six million francs for the civil service expenses of the occupation. It is stated in the

English press that the actual amount of occupation costs, both direct and indirect, by the cessation of German payments and coal, the damage inflicted on steel and other industries, the 12 per cent slump in the foreign value of the French currency, and so forth, are not revealed, but the out-of-pocket expenses are estimated at over five hundred thousand sterling a month.

DEBATES IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT

British neutrality in the Ruhr was debated in Parliament on reassembling in February, the occasion being a joint amendment presented by the Liberal groups, calling for the intervention of the League of Nations, with American participation. In the course of a speech, Mr. Lloyd-George condemned the French policy, and stated that disaster would be inevitable unless some move aiming at international agreement were substituted for England's present policy of neutral inaction. The importance of securing American aid was emphasized.

In reply, Mr. Bonar Law declared that acceptance of the amendment would put an end to the government. In spite of the fact that they differed from France, he did not feel that an attitude of open hostility to that country would be helpful. Intervention at this moment would be regarded as an act of hostility by France, and the Premier gave it as his opinion that to wait, in the hope that some opportunity for intervention would come, was a better policy than to intervene when it was certain that intervention would do harm. At the same time, he added, it was in the interests of the Entente to keep British troops on the Rhine.

On the part of the Labor Party and other elements of what is known in Great Britain as His Majesty's Opposition, as well as in Germany, Mr. Law's speech was received with disappointment. Bearing in mind the fact that Cologne and the area occupied by the British generally is the railhead of the Ruhr district, and from a strategic point of view the keystone of the Rhineland, it was felt, according to reports in the British press, that the position of the British troops is delicate to a degree, and considerable anxiety was manifested as to the dangerous potentialities of the situation.

VIEWS OF A GERMAN STATESMAN

The German view of the situation has been fully expressed in an interview given to the press by Dr. Stresemann, the leader of the German People's Party. When asked by the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* for his opinion on the probable issue of the Ruhr struggle, the German leader is stated to have said:

It seems fairly apparent, even at the present stage of the struggle, that France is not destined to gather economic advantages from her action in the Ruhr. I think that the figures quoted by the French authorities as covering the upkeep of the army of occupation are much too low. France has only been able to obtain trifling quantities of coal compared to the quantities that were being delivered free of cost under the reparations agreement, and is confronted with enormous direct expenditure, in addition to her indirect losses derived from the partial stoppage of her industry. How far an insufficient coal supply can oblige her to incur further expenditure the near future may possibly demonstrate. Neither politically nor economically can the Ruhr area be exploited by France. Forty millions, constituting the present population of France, cannot possibly, in the long run, dominate politically and slave-drive eco-

nomically the twelve million Germans in the Ruhr and the Rhineland.

An interesting reply was made by Dr. Stresemann to a query regarding the possibility of co-operation between French and German industries. The German leader, referring to the speech regarding that subject made at Hamburg by Chancellor Cuno, pointed out that an official communication had been made to the French government scheduling a proposal for co-operation. In his opinion, the accusation that German industry refrains from fulfilling the agreement intended to reconstruct the economical connection between French and German industry severed by the Treaty of Versailles was not based on fact. In this connection Dr. Stresemann made the following remarks:

The government and industry were willing to negotiate. M. Poincaré, however, did not accede to the proposals made by the German Government. In French industrial quarters there has been no echo of Dr. Cuno's speech. And yet a brazen attempt is made to hold the German industrialists responsible for the failure to reach an economic understanding with France.

Discussing the question of the French fear of German revenge, Dr. Stresemann emphasized the fact that Germany had, through the Intermediary of the United States, made proposals to the French Government designed to secure both frontiers. Subsequent to the refusal of the first German proposal, Herr Rosenberg, the German Foreign Minister, declared that Germany was willing to discuss any suggestion likely to alleviate France's apprehensions. In this connection Dr. Stresemann suggested that an international agreement might be achieved which would give the support of a group of powers to the State whose frontiers were threatened by its neighbor—an agreement likely to secure general peace. So far, however, France has declined to discuss safeguarding measures offered by Germany.

Finally, Dr. Stresemann declared that Germany refused to negotiate under the pressure of French bayonets. In his opinion, there was no necessity for the German Government to incite the people of the Ruhr to resistance, the German people being unanimously aroused by what they consider to be an unwarranted outrage. It is felt that the other signatories of the Treaty of Versailles should endeavor to bring about a restoration of the peaceful conditions roughly disturbed by MM. Poincaré and Millerand.

COMMENT FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Yet another view of the situation has been afforded by Dr. Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia. Asked to give the daily press his views as to the possibility of any other solution of the reparation problem than the course taken by France at the present time, the minister replied at some length as follows:

I won't criticize the Allies' policy, as it is always easy to offer criticism when an act has already been committed. But I can and do say that it is a great misfortune for the Allied States not to have pursued one and the same line, one constant and definite policy on the reparation question. In my opinion, the question of reparations is far more a psychological one than a material matter. At the Peace Conference none of us had any idea what it was possible for Germany to offer. Different sums were named at different times in the year 1920; about 200 milliards was mentioned in 1921; in London 132 milliards was agreed upon, and at the Paris Conference in 1923 only 50 milliards.

These various sums prove that we had not fully grasped the problem. It is true that Germany was able to pay more six months ago than today, and a year ago more than six months ago. This is in consequence of her reparation policy. For the same reason France has now adopted her present tactics, which have led to the occupation of the Ruhr. Therefore one must not reproach France so strongly. She had strong reasons for taking the present measures. Material and psychological grounds, as many other things, have so fused together that France could not well draw back.

What could have been done? In my opinion, the fixing of the total reparations is not the principal matter. Neither Mr. Lloyd-George nor M. Poincaré, neither Dr. Rathenau nor Mr. J. M. Keynes, knew or know what Germany could really pay. From month to month economic circumstances vary during these parlous times. Two years ago Germany might have been able to get together ten milliard gold marks very easily. Today this would be totally impossible. Therefore the reparation problem and its solution should be revised. We ought to say we won't discuss the total any more. There is one question only at stake, and that is the reconstruction of northern France. Everybody, including Germany, agrees upon this point. All other questions should be eliminated from discussion for the time being. The reconstruction of France is the great European question. If that had happened at the time so that the reconstruction of France were guaranteed, then it would have been easy to have discussed other questions afterwards. If Germany desires the world to have confidence in her again, she must not begin with saying, "We can't pay," but she should produce a concrete plan as to how she pictures the solution of the question of the reconstruction of devastated France.

Mediation through a third State, in the opinion of Dr. Benes, was no longer possible. Germany would have to find some direct approach to France, unless, perhaps, England and America would float a loan for a milliard, and thus enable the French Government to recall its troops from the Rhine.

DISCUSSION IN THE UNITED STATES

The varying points of view regarding the Ruhr situation current in the United States are adequately illustrated by a "Debate on the Ruhr," published in the *New York Nation* (March 14). The protagonists of the debate were Major General J. F. O'Ryan, of the 27th Division A. E. F., and Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes, former United States Rhineland Commissioner.

In the eyes of Major General O'Ryan, the French invasion of the Ruhr was justified and necessary. A lack of goodwill has been apparent on the part of Germany in living up to her treaty obligations. In the matter of her own expenditures, he states, Germany has disregarded her promises to the Allies, and in support of this accusation the General declares that, after having engaged herself not to make any expenditures unauthorized by the Reichstag without giving previous notice to the Allied Committee of Guarantees, Germany paid thirty-one billion paper marks to certain ship-owners without authorization and without notice. The article concludes as follows:

When we threw in our lot with the cause of France, it was our purpose to see the thing through to the end, no matter what might be the cost. But the period of armed hostility was but one phase of the struggle. The invasion of the Ruhr is a logical, and one might say an unavoidable, step in the progress of the great struggle which began in 1914 and is only now nearing a close. We should continue to help our ally, at least by our good-will and confidence. In the rôle of friend and adviser, we can do more to temper

any harshness that may develop than we could as an unfriendly critic of our old associate.

On the other hand, Mr. Noyes states that, in his belief, there are two governing factors in bringing about the present Ruhr situation: First, that the German indemnity has at all times been fixed at an immensely larger amount than any country of German's size could pay; and, second, that France knows this, and has always known it, and purposely insisted upon a figure which would insure German default. Ever since 1920 political power in France has been in the hands of men who regarded the destruction of Germany as immensely more important than the collection of reparations. The impossible indemnity, like the huge French army, has been maintained against the day when other objecting allies could be safely defied and the carefully planned Ruhr campaign inaugurated.

In connection with the indemnity problem, Mr. Noyes makes the following interesting remarks:

In 1871 the total capital value, total wealth of all kinds, in France was estimated by a member of the French Cabinet as about twenty-five billion dollars (one hundred and twenty-five billion francs). Germany assessed against France an indemnity of one billion dollars. This was supposed to spell economic ruin for France. It was paid within three years, but the payment has always been considered miraculous. This indemnity represented 4 per cent of the national wealth of France. In 1908 a celebrated British statistician estimated the total wealth of Germany as sixty-five billion dollars. The best estimate I can obtain of Germany's wealth in 1914 puts it at between seventy-five and ninety billion. Certainly, after the war, seventy-five billion is a liberal estimate. Now, the indemnity assessed against Germany in 1920 was approximately fifty-six billion dollars, or 75 per cent of her total national wealth, and the much-lauded merciful compromise of London in 1921 still called for over thirty-two billion dollars, or 43 per cent of Germany's total wealth. In 1871 the 4 per cent indemnity was considered an outrage of intoxicated victors; yet for three years past the people of America have repeated the outgivings of French propaganda claiming that Germany could easily pay 75 per cent and afterwards 43 per cent of her total wealth, if she only would.

This is not all. Figures submitted to the French Parliament in 1872 showed that the total cost of the war to France was less than 6 per cent of her capital wealth. The war in 1914 cost Germany between 30 and 40 per cent of her resources. Even so, in 1871-73 France could not have paid the indemnity but for her credit, which was supported in every way by neutrals, and even by Germany, because of her need of the money. On the other hand, from the very day of the Armistice, the policy of the Allies has tended to destroy German credit.

Mr. Noyes contends that France has always regarded the Ruhr as the starting point of a military expedition against Germany and against Europe, and points out, in support of his statement, that while the Rhineland cannot support a large army, the industrial districts of Westphalia and the Ruhr can, theoretically, be made to support at least 250,000 French soldiers. In his opinion, therefore, the French militarists, aiming to dominate Europe, envisage 250,000 soldiers permanently garrisoning the Ruhr and the Rhineland without expense to France. Such an army, equipped and ready to move, could, points out Mr. Noyes, undoubtedly intimidate any nation of the continent, which opposed French plans. With Belgium and Poland on either side, this army would be the keystone of a military arch capable of extension through the Balkans and on into Russia, as the occasion offered. This army would also be a defense against rebel-

lion at home—troops from the Ruhr could, within twenty-four hours, be thrown into Paris.

At the time of writing, a joint declaration has been made by the French and Belgian premiers to the effect that the Ruhr will be evacuated by the punitive forces under their control as soon as Germany begins to pay.

THE BRITISH DEBT FUNDING SETTLEMENT

February 16 saw the final discussion of the British debt funding bill in the Senate, when it was passed by a vote of 70 to 13. The arguments for and against the bill contained very little that had not previously been said, either in the Senate, the House, or the daily press.

Senator La Follette opened the discussion by vehemently opposing the settlement, on the grounds that it entailed a financial liaison with a foreign country extending over a term of years, which, in the opinion of the Senator, must affect the external policy of the United States. This, contended Mr. La Follette, was highly undesirable from every standpoint. At the same time he objected to the rate of interest which, he felt, penalized the American taxpayer on behalf of the foreigner.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE

In reply, Senators Gillen and McCormick defended the settlement because, in their eyes, continued economic isolation would have a disastrous result as far as the prosperity of the United States was concerned. Mr. McCormick stated that it was his belief that the proposed settlement was conducive to the restoration of trade and prosperity and opened the way to the ultimate payment of their debts to us by other countries. His speech concluded as follows:

Nay more, this settlement once made, the two creditors of the governments of continental Europe, America and Britain, have a common right and common interest to address themselves to the debtor governments, which not only have made no plans to pay, but of which the progressive insolvency threatens not only their own ruin but the injury of our trade. The occupation of the Ruhr has been unproductive of any economic or financial benefit to the French; the mining of coal has almost ceased, factories are closing, the costs of the occupation are rising, the mark has fallen and the franc is falling, the French financial minister has announced a new financial loan of thirteen billion francs at a higher rate of interest than hitherto obtained. French bonds, like those of a majority of other States of continental Europe, are quoted at a great discount below par. The ruin of credit and currency which first overspread Russia, and then spread all over south central and central Europe, threatens to cross the Isonzo and the Rhine into Italy and France and Belgium. The time may very well come when the agreement presented to us for ratification may constitute the precedent from which steps can be taken to reorder the finances of Europe. I shall vote for it.

The rate of interest formed a favorite theme for discussion on the part of those opposing the settlement. Senators Heflin, McKellar, and others contended that 3 per cent was far too low, having regard to the original conditions under which the loan was made, namely, at an interest rate of 4½ per cent. A great deal was made of this point, on the ground that ratification of the settlement at 3 per cent would necessitate the making up of the 1½ per cent by taxation of the American people.

Taking for his text the settlement as a basis for economic

reconstruction, Senator Caraway made the following interesting remarks:

At least the proposed settlement is a beginning. I do not think that anybody contends that it is such a settlement as he approves in every particular. I do not think that it is the best possible settlement that could have been made. I do know, however, Mr. President, that it is the only settlement that is here before the Senate; it is the only one that will or can be before this Congress in a year. If it is rejected, I know that the American farmers for at least 12 months more must have the same chaotic conditions confront them which now confront them, if, in fact, they shall not grow worse.

I sympathize with those Senators who say that the interest rate is too low; and yet I am sure, as I am sure of anything, that if every dollar of our foreign indebtedness had been canceled in November, 1918, and every dollar of this foreign debt had been levied upon the agricultural interests of America, they could have paid it and been richer today than they now are, provided Europe had become a normal consumer of American goods.

The bill was signed by President Harding on February 28, and the event was signaled in London by a dinner given by the Pilgrims' Club in honor of Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, at which Ambassador Harvey created a sensation in the course of his speech on the loan.

AMBASSADOR HARVEY'S SPEECH IN LONDON

Answering a number of views current on the debt in England, Mr. Harvey denied that Great Britain had ever been asked to guarantee a single dollar advanced to the other Allies, and declared that a great proportion of the debt had been incurred to pay for clothing and food which England needed. He stressed the heavy burden which the United States had undertaken in lending money to Great Britain—a burden which, he said, was only possible to assume because 90 per cent of it was subscribed by Americans of British descent. The Balfour note of August 1, in which it was stated that the United States would only make advances for the use of France, and other allies of Great Britain would back their notes, was found fault with by the ambassador, who expressed his opinion that at a suitable time the British Government would formally and explicitly remove the misapprehension created by it.

The text of the ambassador's speech is as follows:

We have met here tonight to celebrate a great achievement. I do not think I exaggerate when I pronounce it the first conclusive settlement of a really vital world problem since the armistice. It involved far more than the greatest financial transaction recorded in history. It bore with it the enhancement of the mutual respect, and I firmly believe the everlasting friendship, of two great nations, to which the entire world looks for the preservation of the solvency and stability which are essential to the prosperity and happiness of all mankind.

The task which confronted those in positions of high responsibility was one of appalling magnitude. The mere adjustment of terms was relatively of minor importance. The undertaking could not have been regarded in any other light than that of a devastating failure if the agreement should not have won the approbation and measurable satisfaction of the millions of people who comprise the British Empire and the American Republic.

That object has been attained. The great majority in our houses of Congress presents conclusive evidence of the unmistakable gratification of the United States. The virtual unanimity manifested on all sides in this country affords eloquent testimony to the sense of relief, even of joy, that the United Kingdom continues to rest upon the rock of financial integrity and national honor.

Let me first recount briefly the circumstances under which this obligation to the United States was incurred by Great Britain. When my country joined forces with the Allies in the great battle for civilization, the most pressing need was for munitions, clothing and food. These essential materials we were in position to supply, but the process was less easy than might be supposed. Our Treasury contained no available funds and could obtain adequate sums only through taxation almost to the limit of capacity.

The plan already in exercise by the Allies of one supplying another and holding that other accountable was continued; that is to say, whatever the people of the United States could furnish to Great Britain was bought and paid for by the United States Government. Whatever our people could manufacture for France or Italy was furnished in the same way. Whatever Britain could more readily supply to France or France to Italy followed the same course, and so on.

Incidentally, while borrowing these huge sums we were commandeering, through taxation, from our own people for our own participation vastly more. It is indeed an interesting fact that if you take into account for inevitable pensions you will discover that the cost in money of the great war to the United States and Great Britain was about the same, approximately \$10,000,000,000. The human mind cannot comprehend a sum so colossal, but nobody here, I am confident will deny that the outcome was worth the money and probably—God pity us—all the lives.

A few more misapprehensions I must, in justice to my country, remove. It has been said that we singled out and "dunned" Great Britain. We did neither the one nor the other. The expiration of three years, during which we had agreed to bear the entire burden, was approaching, and on the same day our government gave notice to all of our debtors to that effect. Every lender and borrower in this room knows that this is no more than the customary preliminary to payment or the negotiation of terms.

One or two appeared and talked about the weather. Great Britain arrived and talked business. The outcome was a completed settlement of this greatest of financial transactions in less than a month.

It was not an easy task, the raising of more than \$20,000,000,000 in so short a time; but we did it, and when the time came to settle with the enemy we were gratified to hear that our portion of the reparations would be no less than \$10,000,000,000, when their pockets had been thoroughly searched; whereupon we waived our claims in favor of the Allies—certainly a well-meant act at the time, even though thus far the searching has been less productive than was then anticipated.

But I have no wish either to defend or to seek credit for the part we played in the war. It would be unbecoming and I doubt if it is necessary. There is, however, one point which may not be fully understood. It is this: Our contribution was undoubtedly helpful; it may, indeed, in the generous words of your Prime Minister, have been decisive.

Now the odd fact is that if the bulk of our colored brethren and of those who were not sympathetic with the Allied cause be eliminated from consideration, probably 90 per cent of the 60,000,000 who purchased our bonds were descended from the United Kingdom. This can imply but one thing, namely, that if our people had supposed that they were giving aid exclusively, though indirectly, through the British Government to other allies, we simply could not have raised the money. You see we certainly thought we were helping England.

That is all I have to say along this line. Indeed, I would not mention the matter at all but for the circumstance that an official statement of the British Government, promulgated on August 1, last, contains the specific assertion that under the arrangement arrived at the United States insisted, in substance if not in form, that though our allies were to spend the money, it was only on our security that they were prepared to lend it. I cannot and do not for a moment doubt that at some suitable time the British Government will with equal formality and no less explicitness remove the misapprehension created by this unfortunate allusion.

The simple fact is that, barring Russia, which could not

get our products, the Allies owe the United States more than they owe Great Britain. At this point I pause to remark that, although as a result of our settlement Great Britain and the United States necessarily sit in the same boat as the two creditor nations, and would naturally act in accord, the United States has not the slightest intention of ruining the credit of any other country by cancelling its debts.

The terms of settlement between our two countries will be set forth, I doubt not, with characteristic lucidity by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. My own deduction, however, is that the total obligation as of December 15, 1922, after the payment of some millions of dollars, amounted to \$4,600,000,000. The capital account need not be taken into calculation, because whatever sums are received from Great Britain go immediately, under the rigorous but rightful determination of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, to liquidate the same amount borrowed by the United States for the use of Great Britain.

The interest accounts, therefore, are the only ones susceptible to discussion. The average interest being paid and to be continued to be paid by the United States is $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. In addition to this, the actual cost of obtaining the money, paid by the Treasury and various associations and individuals, amounted to fully $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent additional, making a total of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Under the terms of settlement, the British Government pays to the United States 3 per cent; consequently Great Britain assumes two-thirds of the obligations and the United States assumes one-third.

True it is that at the end of ten years the nominal interest paid by Great Britain increases to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; but there is little doubt in the minds of financiers that before those ten years have expired, the British Government will be able to refund these obligations upon a basis less even than 3 per cent. The mere fact that a young country like the United States reduced its interest payments from a basis of 3 per cent at the end of her Civil War to 2 per cent immediately preceding the European war would seem to justify this expectation.

Moreover, under the agreement the British Government reserves the right to make payments in three-year periods, and may pay off at any time additional amounts of the principal with the purpose of reaching a more favorable basis and may, if it should have occasion to do so, for temporary purposes, remit only 50 per cent of its interest falling due in the forthcoming five years, adding the remainder to the principal, and thus increasing the total budget by an amount almost negligible.

We make no claim that this adjustment, effected by your Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor of the Bank of England, is magnanimous on our part, but we do maintain, nevertheless, that in the words of the chairman of our Debt Commission, Secretary Mellon, it is just and fair and might even be considered generous.

The President recognizes the settlement as "a new element of financial and economic stabilization, representing the recommitment of the English-speaking world to the sanctity of contracts." Secretary of State Hughes perceives in it "the dawn of a better day."

In what precise terms the Chancellor of the Exchequer would express his judgment remains to be heard from his own lips. I can only say simply that in the opinion of the American people Great Britain could not have sent a truer representative of her own sturdy character than Mr. Baldwin. I trust, moreover, that he will feel that I did not mislead him when I assured him, as I had already assured his eminent predecessor, that a fairer or more considerate funding commission could not be produced from the public life of America than that which was appointed by the President of the United States.

Great Britain did nobly. America recognizes and glories in the fact. She also hopes that the mother country will consider that she, too, regarded faithfully the obligations of justice, honor, and of fidelity to each other.

Mr. Robert Horne seconded Ambassador Harvey's proposal of Mr. Baldwin's health. The settlement reached at Wash-

ington, he said, did impose a very great burden on England, but it was an obligation of honor and it was not forgotten here that it was infinitely less than the American people had a right to exact, according to the letter of England's bond.

Mr. Baldwin, responding, thanked Mr. Harvey for the assistance he had rendered in reaching the settlement. He continued:

We all rejoiced that a settlement has been reached and we are now going to provide students of economic theory with an opportunity of observing what happens in practice when large remittances are made at frequent intervals from one country to another. The works on political economy that will be written in ten years' time will be able to be written not from the experience of pure theory, but from the experience of pure theory modified by practice.

Mr. Baldwin then spoke of the pleasant time he had in America. He went on to say that two things which the world wanted today more than anything else, and without which there could be no prosperity, were peace, first and foremost, and economic stability, and that economic stability which could only come when peace was assured. Without those two things there was nothing before the human race, he said, but ultimate bankruptcy, bloodshed, and starvation. It behooves those who had the faith strongly in them to stand up and join hands, and if the English-speaking peoples joined hands in the determination that their ideals should prevail in the world, it would be even as they willed.

REACTION TO THE SPEECH IN U. S.

The reaction to this speech on the part of Treasury and State Departments in this country was one of surprise. In the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, as evinced to callers, the matter had already been dealt with adequately shortly after the publication of the Balfour note, when Mr. Mellon made public the records of the transactions. Whatever misunderstanding may have been caused by the note was, in the opinion of Treasury officials, cleared away by this step. Mr. Harvey's desire that the misapprehension be formally cleared by the British Government was treated as a purely personal matter by the State Department, where the press was informed that no exchange or correspondence with Great Britain over the matter was contemplated.

Speaking in the House of Lords on March 8, Lord Balfour referred to Mr. Harvey's speech and declared that his note did not deserve the strictures passed upon it by that gentleman. In explanation of his reply, the Earl stated that silence on his part after such a statement by one holding the high post of ambassador would probably be misunderstood.

Lord Balfour insisted upon the truth of the statement that the British debt to America was incurred for other countries and not for Great Britain, in substance if not in form, and gave facts and figures in support of his argument. Concluding, he remarked that, from a strictly commercial standpoint, Mr. Harvey's statements might be correct, but that for his part he took less of a commercial view of the deal.

CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA

One of the most distinguished economists of Russia, during a recent visit to Berlin from London, where he now resides permanently, conducted an extensive inquiry among Russians of every description whom he met in Berlin, and who had but recently arrived there, either as representatives of various Soviet organizations or as refugees. His observations shed an interesting light on conditions in Russia.

THE STABILITY OF THE SOVIET REGIME

Mr. A., one of the persons interviewed, for example, formerly an engineer of the Department of Ways of Communication, is of opinion that the Bolshevik régime is not stable, but that it may exist for quite a time, as long as its funds are not exhausted. He admits the possibility that it may continue to exist for 3 to 5 years more. Administrative expenses have been reduced and continue to be reduced to the last possible limit. With the aid of the natural tax which may be squeezed out of the peasantry, and the remnants of gold and jewelry in particular, much time may be gained. As for constructive work, the present régime shows so little of it that it is idle to talk about its practical results; the régime can merely hold its ground by drawing upon the accumulated resources of the past.

To the question regarding the possible gold reserve and value of precious stones held by the Soviet Government, Mr. A. said he did not think there was more than 100 million roubles' worth of gold left, but that he thought that the value of the jewelry was about 500 million, and that it was this which, in his opinion, was the chief reliance and present source of stability of that government.

Another person interviewed, the former director of an insurance company, a very able and practical person, a close observer of conditions, and with a vast circle of friends and acquaintances in Moscow, who was in Moscow in the fall of 1922, as representative of a foreign insurance company, has no faith at all in the stability of the Soviet Government. He thinks that the corruption and demoralization even of Communists, who have until now been perfectly honest, is proceeding apace under the influence of the new economic policy, with its trust formations. The opportunity to squander the remnants of trust capital provides the non-Communist or the marauding type of Communist trust directors with a means of corrupting. All this, of course, is being done without anything like conspiracy or sinister motive; it is done simply to prevent such a Communist from interfering with their enjoyment of life.

The means vary. Sometimes there is a direct attack; at other times indirect means are used. Here, for instance, we have a non-Communist wife or one whose Communism is none too strict. She and her children are very poorly dressed and shod. So they begin to fit them out with clothes and shoes. The idealistic Communist husband at first may look askance and grumble at this business, but soon yields to the temptation, and not only keeps quiet, but himself also begins to accept all kinds of things, such as imported boots, neckties, cloth, etc. And soon enough he is found to be in favor of selling the products of his particular trust through a middleman, and may even take the leading part in devising ways and means to foil the State Political Administration (the new department which continues the activities of the former Cheka), which is looking to apprehend "grafters."

Aside from the common human weakness for gain, the loss of faith in the stability of the Communist régime plays an important part in this respect. Everybody is trying to make hay while the sun shines. Even the most sterling characters finally succumb to this temptation.

It is obvious, of course, that there should be such "fat" trusts as the textiles, oil, footwear, and similar trusts, on the one hand, and "lean" trusts, on the other. So the Com-

munist directors of the "lean" ones are demanding to be transferred to the "fat" ones, rightfully declaring that in this they are only trying to follow Lenin's injunction, that a Communist should now learn "to manage and trade." The present incumbent of the presidency of a "fat" trust, they may claim, has already learned all there was to be learned about the business, and so he should now surrender his position and give the others a chance to try their hand. But the chief of the "fat" trust, for his part, comes out with the argument that he has only just now finished his schooling as a manager of the trust; that he has made in the course of it many mistakes costly to the Soviet treasury, but that now, when he has at last learned all about the business, the national economy may profit by his experience, and that it would therefore be foolish, from the standpoint of the interests of the state, to transfer him from his present post to another. The other set of Communists, left in their "lean" jobs, therefore spy on their more fortunate comrades at the head of the "fat" trusts and start all kinds of campaigns against them for the purpose of "disclosing" all sorts of mismanagement and graft in their trusts. The entire organism is thus seen to be rotten at its very core.

As regards capital reserves, this man thinks that there is very little gold left. He is not in a position to give an accurate figure, but estimates that there is not more than about 20 to 30 million roubles' worth of it in the treasury. He considers the stories about vast stores of precious stones exaggerated. In Moscow, at any rate, a stone of 3 to 6 carats fine is now a great rarity. If the government really had much jewelry in its possession, much of it would unquestionably have leaked out into the Moscow market, either through thefts by Communist officials or simply because the Soviet Government would have sold it in the open market outright, for it could be sold for foreign exchange in Moscow. As for disposing of the large stones of the crown jewels, the Bolsheviks are having great difficulty.

Apart from the gold and jewelry, the new economic policy has been accompanied by the discovery of a great number of old stocks of merchandise. In many places these stocks were nationalized back in 1917 and 1918 and kept under guard ever since, and often the changing sentries did not even know what they were guarding in those stores, nor at whose orders they were posted there originally. During the period of the "Glavki" (*i. e.*, centralized, bureaucratic Soviet departments of the various branches of trade and industry) the people "on the inside" of things quietly took advantage of these forgotten stores of merchandise for their own benefit, afraid to do such things on a very large scale; but as soon as the trusts began to be formed, resulting in the comparative security and impunity of "commercial" management, all these old stores were thrown open and began to be sold out, right and left, this time already on a perfectly "legal" basis. In Moscow one could now buy pre-war cotton, silk, and woolen goods; and, of course, the release of all these stocks for the market at the inauguration of the new economic policy caused quite a revival of business activity. But all these goods very quickly reached their ultimate consumer, so that today the effect of all these old stocks upon business revival has practically ceased.

There are many other varying estimates of the stability of the Soviet régime.

A "PUSH" IS NEEDED

This difference in the various estimates of the possible length of duration of the Soviet régime is occasioned by the different circumstances under which one is able to observe the working of the Soviet Government apparatus, all depending upon whether one watches it at the Soviet headquarters itself or in real life. The seeming prosperity of the Soviet officials and smooth running of the bureaucratic machine probably create an illusion of the stability of the Bolshevik régime. Observers who have come under this spell are talking about three to five years' duration for that régime. No sooner, however, do people step a little farther away from the official machine than they feel that the gulf between actual life and the Soviet authorities is so wide and deep that the whole machine is apt to come crashing to the ground any moment. To have this machine tumble down, however, an impetus is needed. It may be only a slight push, but some kind of a push has to be given, for without it the machine may, perhaps, go on existing by sheer inertia for a comparatively long time.

Is there any chance for such a push to come from the ranks of the Communists themselves, or from those classes of society who prosper under the Bolshevik régime?

The man who is doing some sort of business under the new economic policy is making some kind of profit. But has he any assurance that these profits will remain in his possession? An interesting story was told to me in this connection by one of my informants about the measures that have been evolved by the new economic policy traders and speculators for the safety of their possessions, since, in spite of all official decrees permitting the possession of certain amounts of private property, there is absolutely no assurance that any agent of the State Political Administration will not take it into his head to try to confiscate something.

Here, for instance, is the so-called "Black Exchange," or curb market. Let us assume that you like to sell 50 pounds sterling. All transactions take place under the open sky, in the street. And the agents of the Cheka, or State Political Administration, are scurrying and sneaking back and forth right there, among these same buyers and sellers. Most of them are already known personally. And the agents, too, know the faces of the habitués of this curb market. It is probably on the basis of these observations that the Cheka agents afterwards make their raids and house searches among the frequenters of that market or exchange. In the market itself, however, such raids are now very rare. Why is that? Because of those measures of protection which life itself has taught these speculators. Supposing that you have found a buyer and agreed upon a price. You turn over to him right there your bank notes or check, whatever it be. He then goes with it to his movable hiding place for valuables and money, a few streets farther away. It is a highly ingenious arrangement, making it possible for the funds to be scattered in every direction at the slightest sign of alarm on the curb market. The most that the Soviet agents could discover on searching such a speculator would be the amount of the individual transaction he had just gone to fetch from or to his secret safe-deposit place.

Nevertheless, neither the new economic policy speculator nor any of those 1,500 to 2,000 directors or presidents of

trusts can feel secure in whatever they may be able to accumulate today; this because the Communist who has not yet succeeded in making his little pile is always on the lookout for a chance to grab something with the aid of his political "authority." Besides, such a Communist may be anxious to show off his ostensible loyalty to the Soviet Government by "fighting the speculators and grafters."

Disaffection among the victims of this "zeal" may provide the little "push" mentioned before, as neither the beneficiaries of the new economic policy, popularly known as the "NEPmen" (from the three initial letters in the words "new economic policy"), nor the experts serving in Soviet enterprises can consider their position secure.

As for the peasantry, the taxes in kind—i. e., in agricultural products—were paid this year very promptly. Does this not indicate that the peasants are satisfied? No; for it was found that in many places these taxes were paid so accurately for the only purpose of getting rid of the authorities, at least for the next few months, and not to be bothered by their demands. So, for instance, the tax was regularly paid in the Ukraine; yet there is now famine in these same places, and the peasants are demanding relief from the authorities. The success of the tax collection was also increased by the steps taken by the local branches of the Supply Commissariat. So, for instance, they refused to permit the peasants to harvest their wheat until the tax had been paid in full with rye harvested earlier, which the peasants were thus compelled to thresh immediately and carry to the government stores. Small wonder that the peasants bringing their taxes had to stand in long lines, anxious to be done with the whole business as soon as possible, for the unharvested wheat was already beginning to shell.

It is therefore possible that that little "push" will be given by, or at least find sympathizers among, the peasants.

AFTER COMMUNISM—WHAT?

As regards some kind of a nucleus about which a definite ideology of post-Communist reconstruction could begin to form, there seems to be none in evidence at this moment. With the detective machinery of State Political Administration as perfect as it is now, such a center would be ferreted out and put behind the bars very quickly. Still, fragments of such an ideology of reconstruction seem to be floating in the air everywhere. It may be regarded as definitely established that the right of *private property* as the basis of any future régime is not only universally accepted in Russia, but is even being confirmed by the daily practice of present relationships.

Thus, among those of the "NEPmen" who come from the old merchant class, honesty is the rule in their bargains, as it used to be in the old days. Most frequently bargains are made by word of mouth, and kept more scrupulously than all the lawyers and written contracts of the Western European countries can do.

The newly rich "NEPmen," on the other hand, are unreliable, and they are barred from the company of the former.

Another hopeful aspect of this situation is the passionate desire of all classes for conditions under which they may be left to work in peace and quiet, and the opposition to protracted political turmoil and revolutions accompanied by acts of revenge. The people feel that such an atmosphere

would only further postpone the opportunity to start peaceful work and would lead to a further pauperization of the cities.

It does not seem likely that a revolution will occur in Russia, or that a government will come into power that would start bloody vengeance and reprisals. Of course, the possibility is by no means excluded that when the Bolshevik régime collapses particularly hateful individual Communists may be lynched here and there. The gulf between the Bolshevik Government and the rest of Russia is wide, to be sure; but not all the Communists are being measured with the same yardstick by the population, for those Communists who have not done any harm personally are distinguished from the rest. Such Communists get to be more and more intimate with the population and often resign from the party. Even if there should be such a thing as a massacre of Communists, it would be only a short outbreak.

Still less likely is, therefore, the chance of any government attempting a policy of monarchic restoration, an attempt to alter the social relationships as now established among the non-Communist classes of the population, such, for instance, as an attempt to drive the peasantry from the land of the former estates, or to displace the generals and officers of the Red army. This is why neither Wrangel nor any of the monarchists can hope for success in Russia today. They are all regarded as a menace to the established order of things and as carriers of bloody reprisals.

The officers of the Red army are unalterably opposed to the "White" movement and monarchism, which, for lack of a candidate to the throne within Russia itself, can come only from abroad. With such a monarch would also return the old generals who now surround him. But these, as well as Wrangel's officers, are regarded as competitors for posts of influence in the Red army, and are feared as carriers of reprisals against all those generals and officers who now serve in the Red army in the conviction that they have performed a patriotic duty by having helped Russia to restore an army and discipline, no matter what it be.

As for the rank and file of the Red army, of course it is made up mostly of peasants, and they naturally do not feel disposed to give up again their land to the landlords, being afraid of the return of the former governor and police chief. Here is an interesting detail:

Even today there are still preserved in many sections of the country lists of peasants who took part in the dividing up of estates in 1917 and 1918. These lists were compiled by the former managers of these estates, often at great risk to their life. The peasants who participated in those affairs are aware that such lists are in existence; and the situation is not in the least changed, even if there is no such list for a particular village on the spot, for every participant of those riots is living in the fear that such a list may have been preserved somewhere. There is no direct evidence to show that the Bolsheviks themselves are anxious to have such lists preserved, nor even proof of the claim that they exist everywhere. It seems, however, plausible and natural. The Bolsheviks are very clever agitators and they should know how to make excellent use of such a story, to inspire the peasantry with such a fear and thus make them choose the lesser evil of Bolshevism rather than the risk of a restoration of the landlords and reprisals.

At any rate, the Red army, rank and file, is in perfect accord which the officers in their desire to prevent a monarchic restoration.

Everything points to the fact that any change which will come about in Russia will have to be from within.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

The National Education Association of the United States has issued a call for a world conference on education, to be held in San Francisco, June 28 to July 6, 1923, in connection with the annual meeting of the association. The plans for the conference have been prepared by the association's Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, which has been at work for more than a year on this important task.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

The objectives of the conference, as announced by the committee, are as follows:

1. To promote friendship, justice, and good-will among the nations of the earth.
2. To bring about a world-wide tolerance of the rights and privileges of all nations, regardless of race or creed.
3. To develop an appreciation of the value and the inherited gifts of nationality through centuries of development and progress.
4. To secure more accurate and satisfying information and more adequate statements in the text-books used in the schools of the various countries.
5. To foster a national comradeship and confidence which will produce a more sympathetic appreciation among all nations.
6. To inculcate into the minds and hearts of the rising generation those spiritual values necessary to carry forward the principles emphasized in the Conference on Limitation of Armaments.
7. Finally, throughout the world, in all schools, to emphasize the essential unity of mankind upon the evils of war and upon the absolute necessity of universal peace.

In discussing the means proposed for accomplishing the foregoing objectives, the committee has offered the following suggestions:

1. The teaching of international civics, which will acquaint the rising generation with the various points of contact made necessary and facilitated by the modern means of communication and trade.
2. By the organization of text-book material used in the schools, such as will give a more accurate visualization of the dominant traits, conditions, and ideals of the nations.
3. Through the exchange of teachers and through scholarships to students of foreign countries.
4. By a program looking to universal education.
5. Through an exchange of articles on education setting forth programs and methods used in the various countries and through an exchange of educational periodicals.
6. The designation of a day to be observed by all, which may be known as "World Good-will Day," upon which such programs may be given as will promote international friendship.

All meetings of the National Education Association, including the sessions of the World Conference on Education and all subconferences, are open to the public. All who can attend will be welcome. Inasmuch, however, as those who are to be designated as "delegates" should take with

them credentials which will satisfy the committee, it is desirable to quote the requirements governing delegates which have been made. These follow:

1. Each nation should be represented by at least five delegates who shall participate in the deliberations of the conference.

2. Each nation may send five advisory delegates to participate in special conferences.

3. Each educational organization of a national scope should send at least one representative, and if made up of branches or departments should have one delegate for each such branch or department.

4. In choosing delegates it would be well to observe the educational divisions within the country, as elementary and secondary schools, teacher-training institutions, and colleges.

5. Chief educational officers or ministers of education of all the countries are invited as official delegates to participate in the conference.

6. Organizations now interested in any phase of international education may secure representation by application to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

7. Exchange professors doing work in American colleges may be admitted to the conference upon application to the committee.

8. Full announcement will be made in the final program of the National Education Association.

THE PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE

The forthcoming conference has aroused a great deal of interest among the educators of the Pacific region of the world, and the Pan-Pacific Union has undertaken to cooperate with the National Education Association. In fact, the Pan-Pacific Union, whose headquarters are located at Honolulu, is really a forerunner of the National Education Association in the work of making education a truly effective force for international understanding. In August, 1921, the Union organized in Honolulu a Pan-Pacific Conference of Educators, at which a number of important recommendations were made. The most important recommendations of the Pan-Pacific Conference were as follows:

1. That there be incorporated in the educational programs of Pacific nations definite teaching inculcating the ideals of peace, and the desirability of the settlement of international disputes by means other than war.

2. That scientific research into the cause of war should be promoted by governments and educational agencies.

3. That a Pan-Pacific conference be held for the purpose of organizing a scientific survey of the population problem of the Pacific.

4. That all possible educational agencies, and especially the subjects of history, civics, economics, and geography, be utilized to eliminate racial prejudice and antagonism, and to promote better understanding and co-operation among the peoples of the Pacific.

5. That the governments of Pacific peoples make adequate provision in their university systems for the scientific study of Pacific problems and for the dissemination of such knowledge among their respective communities.

6. That the Pan-Pacific Union institute machinery for the purpose of acquiring a body of authoritative knowledge for the practical furtherance of those ideals of racial inter-knowledge, amity, and co-operation which are its main objectives.

7. That the educational authorities of Pacific nations provide facilities for the interchange of students and teachers, and that where such system has already been instituted it be further encouraged and developed.

8. That the governments of Pacific nations be asked to promote the production of educational films showing the resources, industries, and general social conditions of their respective countries, and to provide adequate means for

prohibiting misrepresentation of other nations through the use of moving pictures.

9. That the Roman alphabet should be adopted in all Pacific countries.

10. That there should be instituted by the forthcoming World's Press Congress a Pan-Pacific branch, commissioned to promote, by the medium of the press, interracial understanding and co-operation throughout the Pacific.

11. That, inasmuch as the growing unity of the world must ultimately embody itself in some form of super-national world-order endowed with effective powers to safeguard the peace of the world and the ideals of humanity, educational effort should be co-ordinated throughout all Pacific lands to make this great ideal a definite part of the national consciousness.

It is hoped by the organizers of the world conference that important results will be achieved, and that a way will be opened for furthering the creation of an international mind through the powerful instrumentality of the world's schools.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS is evidently to have no part in the settlement of the problem between France and Germany. The proposal to lay the matter before that body has been defeated by the British Parliament. Robert Cecil has drawn the fire of Mr. Lloyd-George, who has said: "One, I think, of the most remarkable incidents was the way in which I should say the most intolerant champion of the League of Nations threw it over without any provocation. He had been forcing his attentions upon the poor League for years. Suddenly, in public, before every one, he cruelly abandoned it. It was brutal. He was a man who had got up himself for the part of the Savonarola of the League, and last night he doffed the somber garments of the preaching friar and attempted to join the gay throng on the Treasury Bench. It was a sad sight."

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, author of various books and brochures dealing with international problems, has just started for a tour of southern schools and colleges to lecture on international relations and current international questions. Mrs. Mead has in the last few months lectured in Virginia, Kentucky, New York, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, as well as in her own neighborhood of Boston. She has given courses of lectures before the Citizenship Department of the Boston University this winter and also before the Gordon Bible College and other institutions of learning.

THE DEATH OF LORD WEARDALE (Philip James Stanhope) was announced from his home, Weardale Manor, Brasted Chart, County of Kent, England, March 1. Lord Weardale was born in 1847, the youngest son of the fifth Earl Stanhope. In 1877 he married Alexandra, daughter of Count von Cancrine of the Baltic provinces, widow of Count Tolstoy of Petrograd. He was trustee of the National Portrait Gallery and president of the Interparliamentary Union.

The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, under date of March 6, 1923, adopted the following self-explanatory statement:

The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union has just received notice of the death of Lord Weardale, president of the Interparliamentary Union from 1906 to 1922.

Heartfelt appreciation of the unselfish devotion and the intelligent service of Lord Weardale to the interests of the Union compels us, members of the American Group, to do more than record the death of this royal gentleman, friend, and counselor; it leads us unanimously to express to his relatives, his wide circle of friends, including all members of the Interparliamentary Union around the world, our common sympathy.

(Signed)

WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY,

*President of the American Group of the
Interparliamentary Union,*

THEODORE E. BURTON,

ANDREW J. MONTAGUE,

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,

Exec. Sec.,

Committee.

613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

ECHOES OF THE HYMN OF HATE reverberate ominously in the breasts of the alumni of Yale University. The most popular song at Yale for many generations has been its "Bright College Years." But this famous old song has always been sung to the tune of "Die Wacht am Rhine." There are no objections to the words, but the tune grates on the nerves of Yale men. The result is that a prize of \$1,000 has been offered for a tune which will not "invite objections from graduates or undergraduates."

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By *Henry William Elson*. Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. 998 and index.

This book, first appearing in 1904, is the third revised edition, bearing the date of January, 1923. It satisfies the demand for a one-volume history of our country, written with some completeness and with an interesting style. Certain inaccuracies of analysis are illustrated by his statement that first among the framers of our Constitution stands Washington, and next to him we must place Franklin. The newly added pages covering our history following the war are propaganda of a biased sort worthier of a partisan newspaper than of a history.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY. By *Arthur Twining Hadley*, *President Emeritus of Yale University*. Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 157 and index. \$1.50.

Here we have the lectures given at British universities in April and May, 1922, under the foundation of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions. This volume is the first full course of lectures under the Watson Chair Foundation. The lectures are the worthy work of this man, who for more than twenty years was the head of Yale University. The themes discussed are: democracies old and new, economic freedom, industrial combination, collective bargaining in politics, national animosity, class consciousness and public opinion. Since the outstanding need in world thinking is a clarification of the basic principles at the bottom of the successful State, this book may be truthfully said to be much needed.

THE DAYS OF A MAN. By *David Starr Jordan*. World Book Co., Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York. Vol. I, 661 pages and appendices; Vol. II, 780 pages, appendices, and index.

We have here a composite etching of an American life replete with interesting episodes, unusually wide and valuable contacts, and with a high service withal. A Master of

Science, a Doctor of Medicine, a Doctor of Philosophy, a Doctor of Laws—this teacher, author, naturalist, could not talk of himself without interest. Readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will wish to know these volumes, not so much because Dr. Jordan has for many years been an Honorary Vice-President of the American Peace Society, as because of the man's work in natural history, biology, education, and particularly in behalf of international enlightenment. The long list of his various publications constitutes a vivid testimony to his claim as a "minor prophet of democracy." Dr. Jordan always writes with a pungent clarity, with an objective force peculiar to himself. A keen student of his world and of men, he never has been an imitator. These volumes are the expressions of an original soul molded by an unusual variety of original experiences. Nowhere is there a tiresome page throughout the 1,600. After reading the story, one feels that one has been in company not only with the President of Indiana University from 1885 to 1891, the President of Leland Stanford Junior University from 1891 to 1913, Chancellor from 1913 to 1916, and now emeritus, but with a large mold of a man. One is gratified to realize not only that America can produce such men, but that America is permitted to profit by their experience.

LEADING CASES ON INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *Lawrence B. Evans*. Chicago, Callaghan & Co. 824 pages, table of cases, and index to notes.

This is a new edition of a standard text, the first one of which appeared in 1917. The student of international law will need this book because of its merit and because of the limited number of books of this character. With the 148 cases here collected, of which 83 were decided in British courts and 65 in American courts, there are something over a thousand cases cited, cases drawn from jurisdictions in America, Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Brazil, and Japan. The author's informing explanatory passages are found in the notes accompanying the cases. The bibliographical references are sufficiently complete for the average student. The cases have been grouped in chapters the titles of which indicate clearly the nature of the work. By his citations the author aims to set forth the nature and authority of international law, jurisdiction of States, the pacific relations of States, the belligerent relations of States, and the rights and duties of neutrals. While the author aims to bear in mind that the normal relation of nations is one of peace, and that it is the law of pacific intercourse rather than of war which should chiefly hold our interest, an examination of the text reveals some of the difficulties confronting one bent upon such a purpose. If he does scant justice to the services of the Supreme Court of the United States as an international tribunal, if he omits important cases pertinent to the judicial settlement of controversies between States, if he seems to ignore America's contribution to the theory of peace between States without recourse to arms, the author may properly excuse himself on the ground that any text of a single volume must be marked more by the things which it omits than by the matters which it includes. Since, however, the Supreme Court of the United States has shown with such conspicuous ability how, without the power to coerce States, an international court can promote peace between States, an international court can promote peace between States, it seems unfortunate that the author could not have included such a case as *Kentucky versus Dennison*, where Mr. Chief Justice Taney held: "But if the Governor of Ohio refuses to discharge this duty, there is no power delegated to the General Government, either through the Judicial Department or any other department, to use any coercive means to compel him." Another case of major international importance was the case of the State of Rhode Island against the State of Massachusetts, heard before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1838, in which Mr. Justice Baldwin pointed out how political questions may become judicial. It would seem that the time is at hand when our texts on international law should include those outstanding cases so vitally related to the world's search for an international peace of justice. The text before us could be made much more useful by the inclusion of an index covering the book as a whole.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of International law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct; and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD ACCEPT

DISCUSSION in America over the proposed participation by the United States in the International Court of Justice, with the renewal of agitation in favor of our entering the League of Nations, must end in an improved, because clarified, public opinion. Since a problem clearly stated is half solved, we essay to enumerate some of the international principles to which, we believe, the United States, judging from the past, would be willing to subscribe.

CANNOT ACCEPT

Since the United States, in their relations with each other, have consistently stood for the principle that all States, large and small, are equal before the law, it is reasonable to assume that our people will never willingly accept any international system based upon the principle of the subordination of smaller and weaker States by the larger and more powerful.

Since it is a fundamental faith with us that governments are created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, the United States will probably never willingly accept any system of international organization that does violence to that principle. Since for 134 years we of the United States have lived and developed our institutions under a written constitution, buttressing our achievements upon legalistic exactitudes, poring over every phrase of our fundamental law with carefulest scrutiny, it is reasonable to expect that we shall refuse to accept any international system which pretends to be something contrary to the statute upon which it is based.

Since practically all of our relations in the United States are regulated by the principle that control can be successful only so far as it conforms to a government of laws and not of men, it is reasonable to expect that the United States will refuse to accept any international system that proposes to give to a group of men the authority to dictate the foreign policy of the United States or to interfere in any way with what we as a nation shall or shall not do.

Since in this our system of a union of free, sovereign, independent States we have insisted upon the principle that every right of a State carries with it a correlative duty to respect that right in the case of every other State, it is fair to presume that our people will refuse to accept any international system that proposes to

divorce rights from duties or to ignore the latter in the interest of the former.

Since we are a practical people, concerned in every way possible to avoid war, brought up in the faith that we should avoid at all hazards military alliances, it is not reasonable to expect that the United States will accept any international system which will make it necessary for our people to go to war in any situation which it is now impossible to forecast.

The common sense of our people will keep us from joining a permanent international organization with the power to control by force of arms the behavior of other States, especially if we at the same time are unwilling that the power of such a combination should be used against ourselves.

It may be accepted without qualification that the United States will consistently refuse to take sides in European controversies or to assume, in that land of rapidly changing emotions and interests, the highly dangerous rôle of dictator.

In short, the United States, if we may judge from the past, will have nothing to do with any international league to enforce peace, with any alliances or division of alliances, with any group of big powers set up for the purpose of controlling the small, or with any international association granting the control of foreign policies to a mere group of men.

WOULD ACCEPT

But all this does not mean that the United States prefer isolation, or that they are not concerned for the welfare of other nations. America will always accept the principle, in the language of Grover Cleveland, that "the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations."

The United States will do its share to advance those rules of conduct governing individual or international relations which, in the phrases of George Mason, relate "to the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

The United States will never forget, to quote the language of Daniel Webster, that "justice is the great interest of man on earth."

The United States will leave no stone unturned to help the nations in their onward march toward that permanent international relief which, to draw upon the teachings of Elihu Root, can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law. To the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, the United States will contribute their full share towards the success of an international "government of laws and not of men."

But the United States would not confine their acceptance to principles only.

Since the United States have sat along with other nations at The Hague Conference of 1899 and again in 1907, and on many other occasions—at Geneva, at Algeiras, in Rio de Janeiro, in Buenos Aires, in Washington, in Santiago—it is reasonable to expect that the United States will sit at any time, mutually agreeable, with any group of nations, or with all nations, called for the purpose of preparing projects for the consideration of governments, of restating or amending, of reconciling or clarifying, of extending or advancing those rules of international law without which there can be no justice between nations. In other words, the United States have attended international conferences where delegates of the respective governments have agreed upon principles, with the understanding that when those principles were ratified by the respective governments they were to become laws for the nations that ratified. As a matter of fact, when such laws have been ratified by our government, we have gone about the business of obeying such laws. Since we have found that method to be successful heretofore, it is reasonable to expect that we shall welcome such a method again, and that at any time agreeable to the other powers.

The United States believe in international conferences. They would undoubtedly be glad to see a system of international conferences meeting at stated intervals.

If such a system were inaugurated, there need be no difficulties in the way of its administration. If, for instance, it were decided that these conferences should be held in the city of Brussels, the diplomatic representatives accredited by the various governments to Belgium would be the natural persons to form an administrative council. All of the details could be easily managed by such a body. There would be no difficulty in the way of the United States accepting such a reasonable method of administration.

The United States will continue, as in the past, to accept the methods of good offices, mediation, friendly composition, commissions of inquiry, councils of conciliation, arbitration as means of settling international disputes not capable of settlement by the ordinary methods of diplomacy.

The United States will also accept an International Court of Justice to which all States shall have direct access, a court to which all parties shall agree in advance to submit for adjudication such justiciable questions as the interpretation of international laws. The United States are habituated to judicial processes in issues between States. The whole project for an International Court is peculiarly American.

Thus, briefly stated, there are proposals in the inter-

national field which the United States cannot consistently accept; but there are other and very hopeful international methods with which the United States are perfectly familiar and with which they are in perfect accord.

THE NEED FOR SOUND ECONOMIC THINKING

NEVER BEFORE in the history of the world, or of this country, has there been so much need for sound economic thinking as there is today. The war brought us into a more intimate intercourse with the rest of the world than this continent had ever known. Europe drew upon us for resources with which she had formerly supplied herself. We gave without stint, leaving the question of the payments to the future. In a spurt of tremendous effort, we increased our productive capacity along definite lines. And now we face the twofold problem of making this productive apparatus continue to function with an intensity that would make its operation profitable, at the same time that we put our house in order in terms of international finance.

The first phase of this twofold problem is the more pressing of the two at the present moment. We produce more than we can consume. We want to continue producing more than we can consume. But in order to do that we must find a market for our surplus. Before the war, our greatest market was Europe. During the war Europe became even more important as our market. At present, Europe is still our real market.

It is obvious that we can sell to Europe only if she can buy. This means that we can continue selling Europe the surplus of our national production only if she can arrange to pay us for what we furnish her. Europe's purchasing capacity, then, is the crux of the most important economic problem that confronts us today.

It is true that our exports are but a very small part of our total production. It is sometimes argued, therefore, that we ought to be able to get along nicely enough, if we consume all that we produce. But it is becoming more and more clear that if we throw our entire production on the home market, we shall simply lower prices beyond the point that enables us to maintain the high standards of living which have become the pride and boast of our stupendous and rapid economic development. The present-day farming situation is but too glaring an illustration of this.

Many responsible leaders of our agriculture express more and more the opinion that it would pay the farmer better to destroy from 5 to 15 per cent of his crops—that is, the estimated surplus over domestic consumption and present exportation—than to offer it on the home mar-

ket. But the farmer is loath to do this. He believes that there is somewhere in the world a market for his surplus, and in this belief he is right in many ways. There is a market, in terms of the world's needs. The trouble is that there is no market in terms of the purchasing capacity of the countries that experience these needs.

Here we have, indeed, a problem worthy of our best economic thought. The solution of this problem is as pressing as it is vital. Perhaps this solution will be found soon; so far it has not. But it will never be found unless the thinking that is applied to it is clear and consistent and based upon a correct interpretation of the facts that bear upon it.

We are offering here no solution. We believe that the solution will evolve gradually out of the world's persistent efforts to adjust itself to the effects of the past decade. We only want to point out here the sort of economic thinking that should *not* be indulged in, if the visualization of the problems that press upon us is to be kept free from a beclouding fog.

Mr. George E. Meyercord, president of the American Manufacturers' Foreign Credit Underwriters, Inc., in an address recently delivered before the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, proposed a plan for selling our agricultural surplus to the countries of central Europe, especially to Germany. The plan is based on the following line of reasoning as to Germany's purchasing capacity at the present time:

Mr. Meyercord points out that Germany's exports in 1913 amounted to ten billion gold marks, while her exports in 1921-22 were valued at only 3,600,000,000 gold marks. He assumes that Germany has lost 35 per cent of her pre-war exporting capacity because of the contraction of her territory and because she has been compelled to make large reparation deliveries. He concludes, therefore, that Germany's purchasing capacity during the last fiscal year should have been 6,500,000,000 gold marks, or 2,900,000,000 more than it really was, and he argues that this decrease was due to the fact that Germany is selling her exports below prices based on pre-war gold standards. He proposes, therefore, that Germany be compelled "to pass a law that no goods shall be sold in export at prices that are below the 1913 standards." And he follows this proposal with details for the establishment of a branch of our subtreasury in some convenient part of Europe, for the transfer to this branch of a large stock of gold, for the issue of new German export currency against this gold, and the use of these "American marks" in German-American trade, etc.

In making his analysis of the German exports, Mr. Meyercord did not, apparently, trouble himself to ex-

amine the quantities of Germany's exports, as well as the values. If his reasoning is correct, then Germany exported last year about 45 per cent of the quantity of goods she had exported in 1913. The German official reports, however, state that the actual quantity exported last year was only 29 per cent of the pre-war amount, or one-third less than Mr. Meyercord's assumption. This means that Germany's exports last year were only about 20 per cent below the prevailing world prices, and not 80 per cent, as Mr. Meyercord would have us believe. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful, in view of the general trade situation in the world and of Germany's peculiar condition at the present time, that she would have been able to sell as large a volume of exports as she did sell had she attempted to charge full prices for them.

But, even granting all of Mr. Meyercord's reasoning, the essence of his plan, so far as the United States is concerned, is most interesting. What he asks is that Germany be compelled to sell the amount of exports that she sold last year for 3,600,000,000 gold marks for 6,500,000,000 gold marks. We take a substantial part of Germany's exports and, in order to safeguard our own markets from German competition, impose differential customs duties on these incoming commodities. He wants our importers, therefore, to pay Germany 80 per cent more for the goods we buy from her than they pay now, in order to enable her, with this additional amount, to purchase a part of our agricultural surplus.

Why go to all this trouble? Why not make Germany a present outright of the quantity of food that can be bought with 80 per cent of the value of our imports from her? It would amount to the same thing.

Mr. Meyercord's whole plan is on this order. And his is one of any number of its kind.

This is the sort of reasoning that merely befogs our efforts to understand the economic problems which confront us. Surely those whose views are clothed with enough apparent authority to impress thousands of us ought to do more of the really sound economic thinking or else keep their thoughts to themselves, where they can do the least harm.

Nor is there any justification for falling back upon merely theoretical considerations. Before the World War broke out many people believed that such a struggle would be impossible, because of the financial difficulties involved. Not only did these anticipated difficulties fail to prevent the war, but we have discovered that many of our well-established economic theories do not really hold water. The present-day world is all in flux economically; it is a huge laboratory. And the processes that are going on in this laboratory require most careful scrutiny—but, above all, sound thinking.

"NO MORE WAR" AND UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT DEMONSTRATIONS

A NATIONAL COMMITTEE has been organized in England for the purpose of conducting again this year "No More War" and Universal Disarmament Demonstrations, July 28 and 29, anniversaries of the outbreak of the World War. As officially stated, "the object is to demand that the government shall make a definite proposal for immediate disarmament by land, sea and air, by mutual agreement."

It is claimed that last year twenty countries held simultaneous demonstrations against the method of warfare. This year the intention is to make the demonstrations more definite. It is proposed to crystallize this apparently widespread desire for peace into sufficient public opinion to compel governments to cease arming against each other, "dragging us into the vortex of an even worse World War." One paragraph of the committee's communication now before us reads:

"We cannot urge too strongly the need to reinforce the efforts of all those who are working to end the hourly danger of an outbreak of armed conflict. The spirit of violence is alarmingly rampant in Europe. Rulers and politicians have proved themselves unable to resist it. Only when the peoples unitedly demand a settlement of our quarrels by reason and common sense can there be any hope for the world. The International No More War Demonstrations provide a great opportunity for expression of the democratic will for peace, and we therefore call upon all people of good-will to support the demonstrations to the fullest extent of their power."

The movement has the backing of a variety of persons prominent in English life: Lord and Lady Parmoor, Bishop Gore, John Clifford, H. Hamilton Fyfe, Jerome K. Jerome, Bertrand Russell, C. Roden Buxton, J. R. Clynes, J. Ramsey Macdonald, Arthur Ponsonby, Phillip Snowden, Charles Trevelyan, many of these persons being members of Parliament.

We have here an expression of a deep thing in the human heart, the will to overcome international war. The writer attended the demonstrations in Hyde Park, London, last July. Some seven or eight platforms had been erected. It was a windy day. Groups appeared, struggling with various banners against the breezes, dressed in colors of differing symbolisms, men, women, children, all faces set with the determination of faith and idealism. Around each platform gathered some hundreds of men and women, while speakers from every walk of life attacked from their various angles the war system. In the main the speakers were of the radical kind, arguing for the "overthrow of the social system." But there was a heroism there, of a kind, a definite expression of that common aspiration to do away with the costly, unsatisfying, devastating institution of war. A

poor, weak sort of gesture; but a gesture. Unwise things were said. But no attempt was made to stop the speakers. Indeed, they were guarded by the police. On the whole it was a goodly evidence of democracy at work. Our own view is that these demonstrations are wholesome.

The improvement this year over the program of last lies in the demand that the disarmament shall be "by mutual agreement." Of course, if there is to be disarmament, it will have to be brought about with the common co-operation of all the nations.

Our own judgment, however, is that the danger of armaments cannot be successfully overcome by a frontal attack. Armament in our day has come to mean infinitely more than guns and battleships. The requirements of modern warfare are such as to involve every productive capacity of the nation. To "disarm" a nation effectively we would have to take away from it the means of producing armament. And "armament" is now a very inclusive term. It is the product of every phase of man's economic and intellectual activity—every industry, every profession, every science, every art. There is no way of effecting physically complete "disarmament" save by abolishing all the human effort that goes into the making of what we know as civilization. This is not an argument; it is simply a statement of fact.

Constructive disarmament lies along different lines. The lathe that is used to turn out typewriters should not be destroyed, simply because it can just as easily be used for making rifles and shrapnel shells. Human relations should be so organized that there be no occasion for applying the productive equipment of the nation to the task of turning out the means of destruction, which technically go under the name armament.

The Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments has achieved a limitation of armaments, but that of itself is of little importance for the cause of international peace. The value of the Washington Conference consists in its disarmament within the realm of international policy. Armaments, even battleships, are harmless in themselves. The danger lies in the policy behind the armaments. What is needed, therefore, is an understanding of international policies and programs. If nations can adopt rational policies toward each other, armaments may be trusted by the very nature of the case gradually to disappear as far as they constitute a danger to the peace of the world. But, on the other hand, if every battleship be scrapped and aggressive policies be retained, the danger of war has been reduced not at all. Whether or not the new world order desired by multitudes is to be brought nearer depends upon the motives of men expressed in action.

THE OBJECTION TO WAR

THE OBJECTION to war is not the soldier, for there is, of course, fineness and nobility in him. Too many of the world's creative men, and lesser folk as well, have, as soldiers, bowed their heads beautifully to death, and, dying, lived on immortally, for us to condemn or to forget the soldier.

The objection to war is not that it breaks upon its wheel the bodies of men and the hearts of women. It does that, on a withering scale—ten millions of the fairest and youngest and best slain at a time. Yet death is not life's greatest calamity. It is sometimes its loftiest achievement, as in the Athens of Socrates, the Jerusalem of Jesus, or in some unsung home where love lifts up its face in final sacrifice.

The objection to war is that wars may be won and justice defeated. If war achieve the rule of right, it is by accident only; for, after all, war is as a flip of the coin, with misery the referee and death the stake. There is no ultimate relation between war and justice. If war be begun by an unjust aggressor, justice, in our present condition of international anarchy, may require that the injustice shall cease, even if at the expense of justice itself. But the goal of goals, the reign of righteousness, is approached only by the fulfilment of justice. And this fulfilment is reached only in accord with those rules, beaten out on the anvil of the ages, which we call the principles of law and equity. Police? Of course, for the control of recalcitrant individuals. But wars are conflicts between nations. There can be no physical compulsion of a state except by war. And since war is so uncertain in its outcome and so unrelated to that sweet reasonableness which is the very breath of justice, war as a means of settling international disputes is condemned not only by instinct but by reason.

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF EMOTIONAL PACIFISM

ONE READING the fulminations of the peace advocates of before the war is depressed by the inadequacy of most of them; untold tons of perfectly good paper devoted to sentimental tirades against the "militarists." No one seems to have had any particular person in mind, but the familiar method of trying to promote peace was to visualize a Moloch, call it a "militarist," and then to heap upon it every conceivable anathema. It was all quite emotional. Arguments in the Congress, even, rarely rose above the question whether or not America should have one or two additional battleships. When that argument was at its height, the peace workers would pull out their statistics showing that anywhere

from 90 per cent to 95 per cent of the nation's expenditures were for wars—past, present or future—and that the situation was all very dreadful.

Looking back across that effort, through the prism of the last decade, it is difficult not to feel the inconsequence of it all. It certainly was unrelated to the thing most needed to be done. It was an honest work. Noble men and women participated in it. But in the main it was futile. Often it was little better than a forensic contest of ill-will and poor taste.

Just now the same old arguments, the same old caustic flings, the same old irascibilities and towering passions are bidding for a place near the center of all our peace discussions. It is most unfortunate.

In the first place, we civilians are neglecting our duty, abdicating our privilege to phrase the international policies of our nation. We are not clear in our own minds as to any plan for aggression or as to any danger against which we must defend ourselves, particularly the latter. No one in America is planning an aggressive campaign against any other nation. Whatever military equipment we need, therefore, must be for the purposes of defense. But defense against what? That is a civilian problem and should be definitely analyzed and stated. Then, and not until then, can our military men know what their equipment should be.

In the apparent absence of a definite program on the part of our statesmen, it is natural to expect that our Navy and War Departments should insist upon a maximum of equipment. Since they are the men who will have to bear the brunt of any conflict which may arise, it is their right to feel that they are prepared.

But all this has little relation to the problem of war and peace. That is a civilian matter, having to do with questions of policy. Are we as a nation planning to attack Turkey, France, Great Britain, Japan, Mexico—one or all of them? If so, it is our duty to say so to our Navy and War Departments and to direct them to get ready. On the other hand, are we expecting to be attacked by one or all of these powers or by any other power or group of powers? If so, it is our civilian duty to state the facts and to ask our War and Navy Departments to prepare accordingly. Besides these, we are faced with the alternatives: either the statesmen of the world are preparing for the peaceable settlement of their international disputes, with the possibility that wars offensive and defensive are becoming less, or we are wholly uninformed and therefore impotent in the face of all questions involving policy. In any event, the question whether or not we are spending 13.5 per cent or 24.5 per cent for national defense is quite irrelevant except for purposes of the national budget. Whether we should base our percentages upon gross

expenditures or upon net expenditures is similarly unrelated to the question of war and peace.

We print elsewhere a communication from the Secretary of War. We do this because we would have our army and navy people realize that we are engaging in no campaign against them. True, we may well remind them that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States is a civilian, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy are civilians. The making of war and the conduct of war under the genius of our government are subject to civilian control. Only civilians can declare war, raise armies and navies, and provide for the payment of the bills. Policies, consequently, should be laid down by civilians. It has not always been good taste, therefore, for our admirals and generals to be delivering speeches from the public platform as to our international policies. And yet we are a one people which includes all our civilian and military folk.

The main point is that the old pacifism, honest as it was, cannot meet the demand of today. Controversies between civilians and military men, in which either side permits emotion to rule reason, are neither helpful nor seemly. The important thing for the peace worker today is to clear his own mind about the international policies for which this government should stand. A régime of law and justice between the powers, backed by the approval of the intelligent majority, will put the military arm in its proper place. There is no other way to achieve this result.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP MOVEMENT

THE CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE of the American Bar Association, in co-operation with other patriotic organizations and public-spirited citizens, is instituting a movement for the special celebration of three successive holidays, with programs that will emphasize matters pertaining to better citizenship. The days which have been selected are: Patriots Day, April 19, the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord; Decoration Day, May 30; and Independence Day, July 4. The plan is to hold community meetings, wherever possible, all over the country and to interpret the meaning of these respective days in the terms of patriotism and better citizenship. These celebrations will be followed by the observance of Constitution Week during the month of September.

Our own judgment is that this is a most worthy movement. It is much more sensible to advertise the merits of our history than to spend our time belaboring various unpleasant doctrines generally classified under the blanket term *bolshevism*. We have a basic law in this

land embodied in the immortal principles of our Constitution. Personally we are not disturbed by the attempts to introduce communism in this country. Among the many foolish things said by Lord Macaulay, none was more so than his remark that "Your American republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, but your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own institutions." The "ancient landmarks" of our government, in our judgment, are not in danger. But we agree with this committee of the American Bar Association that there is too much talk about the Constitution and too little general idea of what it means, what a tremendous and vital thing it is, "of how necessary it is as a safeguard of the rights of the individual and of the greatness of the nation." We are willing to go further and agree that, "The time is come when a general movement should be made to revitalize the Constitution in the popular mind, to secure its adoption once more by the heart and soul of the people."

All right-thinking Americans will be glad, therefore, to know that the American Bar Association, through its journal, is planning to broadcast articles relating to our Constitution, representative government, property rights, justice according to law, national standards, and the like. We understand that the articles will be published under the title of "The New Federalist," in the choice of which name there is no political significance whatever. It is a happy title. Our country, from time to time, will have to do what the author of the "Federalist" did in the time of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay.

It is good for our souls to be reminded of the advantages of our Constitution and of its enduring merits.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD ROBERT CECIL, now happily in our midst, invites proposals looking toward any amendments to the League of Nations "that might make it possible for America to enter." In his first speech, delivered in the city of New York, Lord Robert is quoted to have said: "The central idea of the League of Nations, as I understand it, is a system of international conferences and co-operation, not depending on coercion, without coercion, without force, without any interference with the sovereign independence and the freedom of action of any of its members." It is said that he dwelt further upon the fact that no lasting achievement can be based on force. A civilization based on armament is based on force, and will go to pieces as all civilizations have. The League of Nations rests on persuasion and not on force, so argued our distinguished visitor.

These are rather remarkable statements in light of the fact that all framers of the Covenant—Mr. Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, and the rest—agreed when it was adopted at the Quay d'Orsay that the League is based upon force; and of the further fact that Lord Robert Cecil himself was arguing last summer in London that "the League must be all-powerful or nothing," and that "it must have an international army to carry out its will."

Of course, we welcome the changed interpretation, and, if we may be permitted to be one to accept the distinguished gentleman's gracious invitation, we should respectfully suggest that the League transform itself into the thing which this "Savonarola of the League" now tells us it really is.

THE CIRCULATORY SYSTEM of the nations has not broken down. Their economic blood pressure, on the contrary, seems to be surprisingly normal. Exports from the United States to Europe, Canada, South America, Oceania, and Africa increased for the month of January over those of January, 1922, from \$278,848,469 to \$335,539,192, and this in spite of a falling off of our exports to Asia of over \$13,000,000. For the seven months ending in January our exports to Europe were \$1,276,255,620. Furthermore, we are buying goods from all over the world, nearly a billion dollars' worth from Europe during 1922, our total purchases from the outside world for the last year reaching \$3,112,548,772. This amount represents an increase over the year before of considerably over a half billion dollars. So long as we are exporting raw materials, foodstuffs, and manufactured products and receiving other goods in increasing quantities, it cannot be said that America is pursuing a policy of isolation. Our readers will be interested to know that among our exports 29 per cent are raw materials, 27 per cent foodstuffs, and the rest manufactured articles, while our imports consist of 37 per cent raw materials, 23 per cent foodstuffs, and the rest manufactured goods. Our greatest exports are to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and to Canada. We are, however, doing good business with France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Our heaviest imports are from the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, and Cuba, but we are also importing in increased amounts from France, Mexico, Brazil, and China. Our imports from Russia in Europe, still small in amount, are increasing, while our exports to that country during 1923 nearly doubled the amount of 1922. Our exports to Germany in January of this year amounted to \$26,085,756 as against \$23,669,195 for January, 1922. Our imports from Germany are mounting rapidly—\$80,279,943 in 1921, \$117,493,372 in 1922.

After all, it is in this realm of trade, more than in the sphere of politics, that we are able to gauge the world's health. The signs are favorable.

SINCE GERMANY'S floating debt is 5,800,000,000,000 marks, we are not surprised to be told that the financial experts are finding little consolation in the announcement that only one quarter of the new \$50,000,000 loan has been subscribed by the public and that the Reichsbank will probably not be able to dispose of the unsubscribed balance. Evidently the small investors of Germany are suspicious. Yet the Reichsbank, we are informed, will continue its effort to sustain the mark at the present level.

ACCORDING to a special dispatch to the *New York Tribune*, from Los Angeles, under date of April 3, "There is no authentic record of an atrocity ever having been perpetrated by the commander and crew of a German submarine." These are reported to be the words of Admiral William S. Sims, speaking before the Los Angeles City Club. According to the report the Admiral continued: "The press accounts of the 'terrible atrocities' were nothing but propaganda. The British naval records and our own are filled with reports showing that German U-boat commanders aided in the rescue of crews and passengers of ships they sank. If they could not tow the ships to safety, they would always, by means of the radio, notify other ships of the position of the crippled vessel." This is an interesting statement. We are glad to know that U-boat commanders "aided in the rescue of crews and passengers of ships they sank"; but in light of the fact here clearly recognized we cannot understand the Admiral's statement that there is "no authentic record of an atrocity ever having been perpetrated by the commander and crew of a German submarine." Evidently the distinguished Admiral has a definition for "atrocity" fundamentally different from ours. In the light of what the world knows of the facts, sinking of hospital ships for example, we hope that our Admiral has been misquoted.

HERE IS A SUGGESTION for the Interparliamentary Union. Labor leaders in Britain are moving to obtain American co-operation toward the solution of world problems. According to the Associated Press, under date of April 4, the British labor party intends to go about this through parliamentary co-operation. J. Ramsey McDonald, the labor leader in Parliament, candidate for Prime Minister, referring to the recent conferences of French, Belgian, Italian, and British

labor parliamentarians in Paris, has expressed the view that the United States Government need not be approached, that it appears to him more hopeful if labor would attempt to get in personal contact with American Senators and Representatives, laying by that means the foundation for co-operation, to the end that the United States, Great Britain, and other Powers may work out a great European policy. Surely here is a pabulum for the Interparliamentary Union.

MUCH IS BEING made of the proposed abrogation of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, as set forth in the exchange of notes of November 2, 1917. That so-called agreement set forth the principle that because of territorial propinquity Japan had special interests in China, but that this meant no violence to the territorial sovereignty of China or to the principle of the open door in China. There was nothing startling in this simple announcement. It was in the main a reaffirmation of a similar agreement similarly arrived at by an exchange of notes between Baron Takahira and Elihu Root, Secretary of State, in November, 1908. True, the phrase "special interests" is somewhat vague. Yet because of propinquity there are 100,000 Japanese in Manchuria and an equal number in other parts of China, most of whom are engaged in various forms of business. Japanese have many millions of dollars invested in China. Japan and China are customers of each other. Furthermore, propinquity gives Japan a more intimate knowledge of Chinese language and psychology than could be possible for Americans or Europeans. We have always felt that that is all the Lansing-Ishii agreement intended to say. The agreement may now be scrapped, but the facts in the situation will not be altered.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE welcomes the reappearance of *Die Friedens-Warte*, founded and published for many years by the late Alfred H. Fried. The first number of the new edition, published with the co-operation of Ludwig Quidde, Walter Schücking, Hans Wehberg, and Friedrich Hertz, is edited by Rudolf Goldscheid, Vienna III, Jaquingasse 45, Austria. This number now before us begins with "Zur Einführung" by the editor. Some of the general articles are: *Drei Jahre Völkerbund*, by Dr. Hans Wehberg; *Völkerbund und Kooperation*, by Th. Ruyssen; *Friedenswarte und Völkerbund*, by Paul Löbe; *Die Europäische Frage*, by Dr. Richard Nikolaus; *Der Weg des Pazifismus*, by Professor Dr. Walther Schücking; and *Weshalb ein "negativer" Pazifismus versagen mutz*, by Norman Angell.

THE COST OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

By JOHN W. WEEKS, Secretary of War

IN VIEW of the widespread circulation that has been given recently to incorrect and misleading statistics concerning the costs of the military defenses of the United States and the relation those costs bear to the total annual budget, it becomes necessary to call public attention to the facts.

These people include those forces in America who are preaching revolution and the establishment of a Communist government, and also those who seem to believe that any army or navy is unnecessary. Unfortunately, these elements, who are a very small minority of our people, are supported by considerable bodies of patriotic citizens, men and women, who, lacking knowledge and information of the true situation and apparently unwilling to be governed by the experiences of the past, are lending themselves to reduce, if not destroy, the military safeguards of the nation. All of these classes, as far as I have been able to observe, are using as one reason for their arguments for the reduction of the army and navy the theory that the costs of these establishments are excessively large when compared with the purely non-military activities of the government.

Typical of the material that is being used in this what seems to me to be a dangerous campaign is the following statement which appeared in a recent bulletin of an organization calling itself the National Council for the Prevention of War, which has its headquarters in Washington:

"The officially prepared chart enclosed shows that we are allowing one-fifth of our budget for 1924 for the army and navy. More than 85 per cent of that budget will go for past and future wars."

The chart referred to purports to show the "estimated expenditures of the Federal Government for the fiscal year 1924." The legend on it states, "Prepared by the Bureau of Efficiency from the Budget Report submitted to Congress by the President, December 4, 1922." This is the foundation for the assertion that the chart is "official." This chart purports to show that "expenditures for present national defense and past wars" will absorb 85.8 per cent of the total budget, while civil expenditures will amount to only 14.2 per cent.

The budget report submitted to Congress by the President on December 4, 1922, contains charts prepared by somewhat the same processes of analysis, but the budget charts make an entirely different showing. Chart No. 5 of the budget report covers "estimates of expenditures by governmental functions" for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924. It classifies four general divisions and allots percentage figures as follows:

	Per cent
Non-functional (including public debt charges).....	37.2
Military functions.....	32.7
Civil functions.....	27.3
General functions.....	2.8
Total.....	100.0

On the other hand, the budget chart shows that only 13.5 per cent of the national budget will be expended on the national defense, the other 19.2 per cent, under the

head of military functions, being required for military pensions, retirement pay, life insurance, etc.

The Bureau of the Budget is the only governmental agency whose analysis of its own figures may be regarded as official and fully authorized. Its plan of classifying expenditures by functions as well as by departmental designations is essentially correct. Moreover, the War Department expends funds in large sums for non-military purposes, such as the Rivers and Harbors work, for which last year the appropriation was \$42,815,661.00, and the Panama Canal, the appropriation last year being \$4,114,434.00. However, this appropriation is for the purpose of carrying on the activities of the Canal Zone, the receipts from this service going into the Treasury, and in the case of the canal the receipts greatly exceed the appropriation.

We have thus the budget's graphic statement that only 13.5 per cent of the national budget is for purely national defensive purposes, and that military pensions, aggregating more than \$200,000,000 a year, the tremendous disbursements of the Veterans' Bureau, and the payment of retirement pay bring the total expenditures for military purposes up to 32.7 per cent, as against the 85.8 per cent set forth in the chart circulated by the pacifist organization I have named. Under the circumstances, this latter chart must be considered as a carefully conceived effort to deceive.

This government is not and never has been spending 85 per cent of its budget for military purposes. The budget report of December 4, 1922, in a comparative tabular statement numbered 9, shows that apportionately a lesser amount of the annual budget is being expended for the national defense now than in the fiscal year 1915. In the latter year 24.8 per cent of appropriations were for national defense, whereas the appropriations actually made for the national defense for the fiscal year 1924 were 13.5 per cent of the total.

The authors of the incorrect chart reach their figure of 85.8 per cent by counting in the following items:

	Per cent
Interest on the public debt.....	26.6
Pensions and care of soldiers.....	25.9
Army and navy.....	20.2
Retirement of the public debt.....	12.7
Special activities pertaining to recent wars.....	.4
Total.....	85.8

The budget report's chart presents the comparable items as follows:

	Per cent
Interest on the public debt.....	25.2
Military pensions, retirement pay, life insurance, etc.	19.2
National defense.....	13.5
Retirement of the public debt.....	9.1
Total.....	67.0

It is an important fact that the pacifists erect the figure of 85.8 as a means of propaganda only. When they come to urging their views on Congress, they concentrate their entire effort on the purposes represented by the figure of 13.5 per cent for national defense. Never do they suggest means for reducing the public debt charges or the pension and Veterans' Bureau expenditures. All that they seek to eliminate is the rela-

tively small expenditure for military defense of the country.

Including public debt payments in the classification of military expenditures, as in the misleading chart, appears to have been done with the intent to deceive the public. It is in the same dishonest category as charging up to the army the civilian work which it is obliged to perform under acts of Congress.

One may even question the propriety of including the cost of the operations of the Pension Bureau and the Veterans' Bureau in the list of military expenditures. Those prodigious costs are to a large extent the direct result of our unpreparedness, which was due to pacifist propaganda in the past, and it is not of record that any organization advocates the repeal of the pension system or provisions for the veterans of the last war as now provided by law.

The deceptive chart is apparently drawn for the purpose of emphasizing with the statement that 85.8 per cent of the budget is spent for military purposes, the accompanying statement that only two per cent is spent for "research, education, and development." Without quibbling over what is meant by "development," since that term could very well cover many activities of the government, the cost of which runs into a prodigious figure, attention should be called to the fact that education in the United States is primarily the function of State and municipal governments and not of the Federal Government. It is of record that in 1919 expenditures for education in the United States exceeded \$1,157,000,000, or twice what the Federal Government expended on the army and navy that year.

On this challenged chart the legislative, executive, and judicial expenditures are grouped under the heading, "Primary government functions." Such a grouping is erroneous and deceptive, and evidently for the purpose of conveying the impression that national defense is not a primary function of the Federal Government. Three of the six purposes for the creation of our Federal Government as laid down in the preamble of the Constitution are: "Insure domestic tranquillity," "Provide for the national defense," and "Secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The amount spent by the Federal Government for civil functions is only a small part of the entire amount spent in our country through governmental agencies for such purposes. Under our dual system of government the great bulk of the civil functions are exercised by State and municipal governments. A study made of the expenditures for governmental purposes in our thirteen largest cities indicate that out of every dollar about 2½ cents is spent for the upkeep of the military establishment and less than 6 cents for the army and navy combined. The per capita cost of the military establishment is \$2.34. In other words, the amount spent for national defense is so small a part of the total expenditures that abolishing the army and navy could result in no appreciable reduction in the cost of government.

The circulation of the misleading figures creates an erroneous impression in the public mind as reflected in demands on Congress for further reductions in the army and navy, and has the appearance of creating a public opinion that is inimical to the national welfare. Public

opinion is the power behind the American system of government. If the nation is to survive, it must have an intelligent public opinion. The corruption of that opinion is an act which clearly indicates the bad faith of those who purport to be actuated by sincere interest in the national welfare.

Americans who are asked to subscribe to petitions or other communications to Congress for reductions in the appropriations for the nation's defensive services, on the plea that the "cost of militarism" is a direful burden on the American people, would do well to inform themselves of the facts and to examine into the character and patriotism of those who are promoting the pacifist campaign before taking a step that may readily align them with the enemies of the Republic.

WORK OF THE BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

By DR. JULIUS KLEIN

Director of the Bureau

THE Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which is a part of the United States Department of Commerce, has been recently reorganized and enlarged with the view of affording the business public of the country better foreign trade facilities. Over 15,000 firms have enrolled themselves upon the department's "Exporters' Index" and are, therefore, in close touch with the services which are at their disposal in this organization. These, with the hundreds of other correspondents of the department, are sending in approximately 3,000 inquiries a day on their foreign trade problems. In spite of this formidable figure, however, there is, generally speaking, but a vague understanding as to the best procedure for securing definite trade-building information from the department.

The facilities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce are at the disposal of the business public, and personal contact between the inquirer and the department affords the most satisfactory means of co-operation. Commercial ailments, like others, can best be diagnosed by personal conferences.

This may involve a visit or telephone call to one of the 33 branch offices of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in this country. It may involve a personal examination of the quantities of valuable confidential trade data in Washington, instead of an expensive trip abroad.

Vague, all-inclusive requests are one of the principal sources of perplexity and embarrassment to the department's foreign-trade staff. Such requests as "Please give me all available information about coal exporting," or "Send us immediately a report on textile trade conditions abroad," cannot produce satisfactory results. And yet hundreds of queries are submitted daily in this form. In each case much time is lost in endeavoring to define clearly the exact purpose of the inquiry. The department has accumulated a vast quantity of recent, highly detailed data on foreign trade, and if an attempt were made to satisfy literally a request for "all the suggestions you have on machinery marketing in South

America," it would be necessary to devote weeks of work (in copying, compiling, and organizing material) to the preparation of an answer to this single letter. By presenting fully the details of his needs and plans, the inquirer can secure a much more prompt and valuable reply and will contribute to the more efficient functioning of the government's trade-information service.

Many American firms write directly to consuls and commercial attachés for information—sometimes circularizing the entire Consular Service and the foreign staff of the Department of Commerce—before they make any effort to ascertain whether the data they desire is obtainable in this country. For example, a New York manufacturer may write to the consul-general or trade commissioner at Calcutta, India, for information that he could obtain in ten minutes by a telephone call to the New York district office of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. By the former procedure he is sacrificing his own interest, because of the long delay involved, and is wasting the time of the Calcutta office, which has probably sent in already these very facts he requires.

The 33 branch offices of the bureau in the leading cities of the United States are maintained primarily for the purpose of saving valuable hours and days in speeding up the delivery of a highly perishable commodity—commercial intelligence. In most instances they, or the Washington divisions, can provide the desired data from the material that has already been gathered by the government's foreign offices. If not, the bureau can probably obtain the information from the government's representatives abroad more easily and more quickly than can the individual firm. This is made possible through special arrangements to expedite communication from Washington to the field force, and especially through the close and active liaison now effective between the staffs of the State and Commerce Departments. Cable inquiries can be sent immediately, if such action is deemed advisable, the expense being charged to the firm that makes the request.

In this connection it is gratifying to note the rapidly increasing use of the district and co-operative offices of the bureau as preliminary "service stations" by manufacturers and their export representatives. During 1922 they received 135,000 personal calls, which was nearly double the number for any previous year. These offices are to be considerably strengthened during the coming months, because of a 50 per cent increase in the fund provided by Congress for their maintenance. They are so equipped that, under ordinary circumstances, inquiries are answered the same day they are received. These branch offices are supplied by the Washington divisions with the latest available field reports, dealer lists, foreign tariff rates, and other timely export data.

It is desirable that each export house or department should maintain the closest relations with that commodity division of the bureau which specializes on the firm's particular products. The division should be kept fully informed as to the firm's export policies, its foreign connections, its price quotation practices, the special merits of its products from an export point of view, etc. With this information before him—and it is, of course, kept in strictest confidence—the commodity chief, who

is in each case a man of practical experience, selected after careful consultation with the trade, will be in a position to give the firm precisely the right kind of advice as to its business prospects abroad, sales plans, and market conditions affecting particularly its operations.

A commendable practice has arisen among business men to use their respective commodity divisions as points of contact with other offices in the department and in the government. For example, inquiries from an exporter of electrical goods for information on foreign tariffs, transportation rates, or statistical problems may be cleared through the Electrical Equipment Division, which sees that the inquiry reaches its proper destination and is promptly and satisfactorily handled. These divisions are in a position to serve as liaisons between their respective trades and the various offices in Washington.

The prospective user of the bureau's service must have his name and his interest in export trade recorded in the Exporters' Index. This is a confidential, classified index of American merchants and manufacturers (about 15,000 at present) who are interested in foreign trade. They are entitled to reserved information on foreign trade opportunities and trade lists, and they also receive automatically confidential circulars and bulletins of various sorts relating to their particular lines. There is no charge for enrollment, which can be effected at any of the branch offices of the bureau.

Let us assume that an American manufacturer of standard steel beams wishes to sell his surplus product abroad. He has no knowledge as to what foreign markets offer the best opportunities for the sale of his product; he has no clear conception of an export selling policy, and he does not know of the various problems of packing, financing, foreign tariffs, consular regulations, overseas freight rates, and other obstacles which may confront his plans.

How should he use the bureau? Having heard of the Iron and Steel Division, perhaps through his trade journal or trade association, he establishes contact with it by means of correspondence. The divisional chief surveys the world's markets for him and lays out a sales campaign in those that seem most suitable. The manufacturer is also supplied with appropriate trade lists of desirable foreign "prospects" in the more promising centers. If he or his export manager can visit Washington, he is put in touch with experts in every phase of overseas selling, foreign trade-marks and tariffs, customs and port regulations, ocean freights, routes for salesmen, terms of desirable agency agreements, commercial reports on foreign buyers, and the general economic situation in the best prospective markets. In other words, when he leaves the bureau he should be thoroughly equipped, so far as information is concerned, to launch his foreign sales campaign. If such a trip is impossible, the facilities of the nearest branch office of the bureau on each of these subjects are placed at his disposal.

There are practically unlimited opportunities for constructive co-operation between the department and the trade associations of the country in the promotion of foreign trade. In fact, over seventy of these, with a membership of more than 150,000, have appointed co-

operative committees, which are now working closely with the department in this field. Industries can maintain even closer contact with the department, and can obtain maximum results from its service, if their trade associations have representatives in Washington.

As was indicated above, the department can in every case be consulted by the exporter who requires information, of vital consequence to his foreign business, that is not obtainable in this country, but must be sought abroad by the government's field men. In such instances the exporter or industrial organization is asked to prepare a questionnaire, which the chief of the appropriate commodity division will revise, if such action is considered advisable. The questionnaire is then transmitted to the proper foreign representatives.

A constructive trade-promotion service such as this has two valuable merits: First, it encourages the American manufacturer to broaden his commercial horizon and make far-sighted plans for the disposition of his output; this will eventually give the country a well-balanced, substantial trade position, with firmly rooted bases in every market on earth. Secondly, it is very apt to lead directly to immediate orders and, as one exporter expressed it, "makes the manufacturers' tax installments pay profits."

JEW AND CHRISTIAN—CAN THEY UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER?

By REV. DR. ABRAM SIMON

JEW AND CHRISTIANS are separated only by the sincerity or the insincerity of their professions of good-will. Let not the sneer of Dean Swift be true that men have just enough religion to hate, not to love one another. Jews and Christians are thus apart because they have made no efforts toward mutual understanding. Why should a man be less a Jew or less a Christian if he tries to exemplify the truth of his claim by a closer fellowship? I know two sects of the Protestant Church who have broken away from the dogma of the Atoning Blood of Christ, and against whom there is no social reaction of ill-will or suspicion. A sympathetic appreciation of each other's differences would clear the atmosphere of all mist, suspicion, and fancied delusions, and would unite us all in a common cause for the betterment of the human race.

What keeps you and me from such a co-operation? Prejudice! A prejudice is an opinion or an emotion or a judgment made in advance of due examination. Such a judgment is usually the instinctive reaction of bias. Difference in feature and function runs through the universe of stars and seeds, of suns and souls. Infinite variety is the classic charm of infinite nature. The soul of France does not behave like the soul of Russia. England expresses herself differently from Japan. Who asks any nation to surrender the uniqueness of her soul for the dull drab of monotonous uniformity?

Judaism claims the same privilege for the right of its soul to independent self-revelation. Why should the Christian Church deny this right to our religion? Why should Christianity claim that a New Dispensation has driven beyond the grace of God and the favor of man the

so-called Old Dispensation? Why should any religion declare that the world is so narrow as to have room only for one religious message? No matter how vigorous may be your opposition to the so-called Old Dispensation, the fact remains that the Jewish religion, however inadequately appreciated, is still a thriving, spiritual enterprise. It ill becomes Christianity to enjoy the pastime of hanging crepe on the door-bells of the synagogue. It is unbecoming a daughter of Judaism to bespeak the premature death of her mother. Believing that the cause which separates Jew and Christian is not the right of our religion to exist and to be distinctive, the conclusion is justifiable that the source of the ill-will lies in the individuals as Jews or as Christians rather than in their religious interpretations. In other words, it is not religion that is the divisive element. It is personalities, social relationships, accumulated racial deposits, with their inevitable claims of superiority and prestige, that accentuate these differences and separate us into unfriendly camps. The prejudice is not against our religion, but against us as Jews, as individuals and as representing certain social and ethnic types and traits.

Of course, by all the exactions of history, the Jews ought to have been killed off the stage. Their existence is a living protest. They refuse to commit hari-kari either as an accommodation or as a penalty. Driven in upon themselves, they have fought for self-preservation; and, if in the belief of their historic mission, they have cultivated the powers of resistance and persistence and qualities of mind that inspire success, they do not merit hatred or suspicion, but rather surprise and respect.

What is the cause or the occasion or the character of such prejudice? To cover this field would consume many an hour. It would at least uncover the ugliest sores of human error, suspicion, and hatred. Prejudice lives longest in literature. Literature has an immortal memory. The greater the literature, the more perfect is the embalming of the quick and the dead. A calumny lives longest if interred in the greatest literary masters. From the standpoint of literature, I should divide the prejudices against the Jew in three groups. First, those resulting from the Crucifixion story in the New Testament; second, those resulting from the *Merchant of Venice*; third, those resulting from the antisemitic scholarship of racial theories, "Made in Germany."

I hesitate in speaking to a Christian audience on the Crucifixion story. I know with what spiritual tenderness and melting exaltation you read and ponder over this ceaseless tale of sacrifice. I wonder, however, if the Christian world will ever realize that, traceable directly to this story, is the age-long crucifixion of Israel. Mine is not the time nor the disposition to argue the judicial character of that trial or the relationship of Rome or of Judea to it. Mine only is to show you how, no matter what or who was responsible, the narration in the New Testament has been fed to nineteen centuries of Christian children. The question which I put to you is this, "Why should my children and the children of the 20th century suffer because of that most unhappy tragedy?" An average Christian child cannot take his eyes from the trickling blood of nailed hands without resting them in resentment upon the Jewish child as Christ-killer. With the very best of intentions to the contrary, the psychology of seeing blood creates bad blood. No Chris-

tian child leaves the crucifixion with a sense of deepening affection for the Jewish child, or even in one of pitying forgiveness of "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." I believe that, because of the advance of education, the Crucifixion story will lose the potency for prejudice that it wielded in the Middle Ages. There are some Christians, and I hope the number may be multiplied, who sincerely declare that the Crucifixion brings to them no reaction of ill-will against the Jew. Nothing would please me more than to find myself absurdly wrong in linking this story with the history of dislike toward us. Surely if the crucifixion of Jesus was in the heart of the unfolding Divine Purpose, the Jew must have been the inevitable vehicle of the Divine Revelation. If he did what he could not help doing, why can you not help from teaching the children that the Jew destroyed your Savior?

Can it be that you, nevertheless, believe that the Jewish people, having denied the Christ, are still under the curse? Do you really believe that the love of Almighty God can be chargeable with an eternal curse on the spiritual discoverers of His Existence and Unity?

Nor would I have you believe that all of the Jews denied Jesus. The testimony of the New Testament is that his disciples were our people, that the common people heard him gladly, and that his entrance into Jerusalem was an ovation from the multitude, singing hosannas and waving palms. That individual and influential priests may or may not have liked him no more justifies the hatred for Jews today than the shocking tortures of Savonarola, Wycliffe, Huss, and other martyrs should hold to future execration the religious followers of Christian fanaticism. Who reproached the descendants of those whose intolerance burnt witches at Salem? Nothing in recent years has been so unutterably condemned as the crucifixion of Belgium and the *Lusitania*. Yet, with whatever of horror we contemplate these crimes, no finger of rebuke is pointed at the religious beliefs of those who inspired or perpetrated these ghastly outrages.

Nor was there anything in the teachings of Jesus that could be construed as in violent contradiction to the best Jewish thought of the age. There were likely some who opposed his teaching, just as today the restrictions of prohibition and Puritanism have violent antagonists. What certain Jewish leaders objected to at that time, and what they later on refused to accept, was the coalescence of Jesus, the man, with Christ, the Divine Atonement. There is no doubt of it that the religion of Jesus is not the Christian religion. What did Jesus know of Original Sin, Infant Damnation, Transubstantiation, Immaculate Conception, Ascension to Heaven, the Atonement, Papal Infallibility, all the dogmas of the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed? Were Jesus to visit a modern Christian Church, his unfamiliarity with these dogmas would be most apparent. All these thoughts were as far from the mind of Jesus as the 17th or 18th amendment from the American statesmen who wrote our Constitution. It is, therefore, on the basis of Jesus, a Jew, in line with the highest flights of ancient prophetic teachings, lover of God and lover of his fellow-men, that Jew and Christian may find an ampler platform for mutual understanding.

I am free to confess that there is no hatred or revenge in the heart of the Jew because of the past nineteen centuries of suffering and prejudice which the ceaseless rehearsal of the crucifixion naturally inspired. Gladly would the Jew wipe from the tablets of memory the stain of all the tears and torments of the past. If only these past centuries had been more sunny! The proscriptions of church and state, inquisitions and papal bulls and ritual murder accusations drove out of the synagogue a kindlier understanding of the name and the message of Jesus and of Christianity. In other words, the Christian Church did not permit Jesus to win any synagogue appreciation. Were there fewer exhibitions of the Passion Play and less association of persecution with the name of the Prince of Peace, I am certain that there would come of necessity a closer social rapprochement between Jew and non-Jew.

The following story loses none of its point by repetition: A group of American soldiers in France were seeking burial for a fallen comrade. Finding a near-by cemetery, they approached the padre of the Church for space within the sacred inclosure. With deep regret, the aged priest answered that the consecrated soil was only for believers in his faith, but that a resting place could be found without the gate. The soldiers reluctantly left their hero in the place directed. During the night the good padre paced the floor. He was not content that Church regulations should bar from the sacred burial one whom the higher loyalty inspired to battle for French and world freedom. Quietly he stole out in the stillness of the night, lifted the fence a foot or two further off, and thus the American soldier lay within the holy precincts. If we can lift the barriers for the dead, can we not pull up the separating and unnecessary fences that keep the living from happier contact?

We shall never be able to measure the ocean of ill-will, suspicion, and mistrust for which the *Merchant of Venice* is directly responsible. If only the majestic genius of Shakespeare had not created such a misrepresentation. The constructive imagination of Shakespeare fashioned an individual, placed him in the Ghetto, dressed him in a gabardine, made him a victim of Middle Age proscription and hatred, engraved on his face and in his heart the lines and weaknesses which a cramped experience generated, and called him Shylock, a son of Israel. Shylock met the level of the gallery gods of the seventeenth century. We will never cease resenting this caricature of things Jewish. No matter how we may endeavor to gloss over the behavior of Shylock, he still remains an avaricious money-lender of Venice, and not typical of the Jews of Jerusalem or of the United States. Even if we attribute to Shakespeare the desire to make a universal appeal of sympathy for the Jew, the fact remains that Shylock is distasteful to our religious and social sensibilities.

Shakespeare had no other purpose than to show the limits of a character developed under hatred and persecution. He places in glaring contrast the two noble ideals of justice and love. In order to bring both of them into striking and conflicting relief, he presents the former as embodied in the Jew, and the latter incarnated in the Christian. In order that Shylock may be an adequate representative of Justice, he must be greedy of

money, bent on revenge, a hater of the Christian, and a seeker of the pound of flesh. I ask any fair-minded man if these vices are characteristic of Jews any more than they are of Christians? I ask any fair-minded man if these weaknesses are not inherent in men and women as individuals, rather than the expressions of their religious loyalties? What weaknesses has Shylock in his vulgar love of money that cannot be duplicated in men and women today of other faiths? Who has a monopoly on revenge, greed, and hatred?

On the one hand, Shylock is contracted into the Ghetto, and then he is blamed for the habits which are necessarily thus contracted. Denied the rights of citizenship, refused the privilege of owning property or of tilling the soil, and stamped "pariah," he is the inevitable result of injustice; and yet from him, whom you deny the simplest justice, you ask a heavenly love. Shylock, the money-lender, is by no means a pleasing personality; and Shylock the usurer merits Biblical disapproval. But before we thus pour out the vials of our ill-will, permit us to indulge the inquiry, "Why is the public not so familiar with the papal denunciations of the Christian money-lenders of the Middle Ages?"

I have often wondered why Henry Irving considered Shylock the only gentleman in the play, and Antonio and Bassanio mere cads. The answer is found in the inability or the refusal of Antonio to borrow any money from his Christian money-lenders. Why did he not go to them? Why did he go, or why was he compelled to go, to Shylock? A dozen suspicions as to the unworthiness of Antonio rise into relief as reasons for the same. But enough: Antonio is no more worthy than is Shylock; in fact, as a child of a favored race and with his Christian chivalry and his supposedly higher religious standard, more should have been demanded of him. And who knows, maybe Shakespeare wanted to make the Christian world ashamed of itself.

I recall the story of an old man whose eyes were none too strong, but whose grumbling exceeded the merit of his circumstances. A good neighbor entered the room and, without paying attention to his complaints, busied herself with a dusting rag, and cleansed the windows. Suddenly said old Mr. Grumbles, "Dear me, my eyes are getting worse. What a terrible glare is coming from the window! Pull down the blinds!" No, my friends, if Jew and Christian are to live together, they are to pull up the blinds. If Jew and Christian are to co-operate, their windows should be cleansed of all specks, smears, and motes. Trying to understand one another, they may be startled at first by the glare which the blazing truth drives before their mental vision. But they will eventually grow accustomed to the new light and greet it with a cheer. They will rejoice in knowing how much they have in common either in vice or in virtue.

A third source of indiscriminate prejudice against our people comes from the double proclamation of the superior Aryan over the Semitic race, and the alleged commitment of the Jews to capitalism. These two charges were born in the German universities. Great scholars hatched them in their fevered brains. They are the disreputable children of the Franco-Prussian war. To attempt an explanation of both of these indictments would take us far afield. My purpose is to portray, and not to

give a dissertation on racial and economic philosophies. Suffice it to say that the German scholars have given us a new apotheosis of race. The long-headed, fair-haired, blue-eyed race of Aryans, most creatively expressed in the supremacy of the Teuton, is in direct contrast to the narrow-headed, dark-skinned, curly-headed Semite, who belongs by force of history and ethnology to the Orient. A race inferior in qualities of blood and creativeness, yet thriving in Europe, is a menace, so we are told; and any contact with it, social, religious, or academic, is the price of enslavement which superiority pays to inferiority.

The theory of the pure race has long since been discredited. The fiction of the superior Aryan is like the crucifixion of the superior Jesus, in being the prolific source of an ever-widening alienation. If the Jew is an alien from a spiritual and a racial point of view, fellowship with him must be a dangerous condescension.

This theory, the erstwhile mental pastime of scholars, culminating in the tragedy of the recent World War, has been magnified by the supposed relationship of the Jew to capitalism. This latest pronouncement goes down to the roots of the humblest man's understanding or misunderstanding. Nothing so inflames the laboring classes as the bluster of haughty, tyrannous, and self-sufficient capitalism. It would be an easy task to balance the names of some bankers who happened to be of Jewish birth and who have long since exchanged their birthright for a mess of Teutonic pottage by the names of such outstanding leaders as La Salle, Bernstein, Karl Marx, and dozens of others, haters of the capitalistic system, friends of the poor, and protagonists of the new economic revolution.

Nor would it be difficult to show how this double-barreled theory is directly responsible for the Dreyfuss tragedy in France, the hundred-fold pogroms in Russia, the fiasco of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," and ending in the crude, cruel and yet million-dollar financed propaganda of poison spread by Mr. Henry Ford with his enormous power of purchasing brains and magazines. Modern Ku Kluxism is the multiplied shadow of Henry Ford. To catalogue all the charges that ensue from these major offenses would consume considerable time. For our own satisfaction let us write them out:

The Jew is charged with an undue worship of success; that he interprets success and power in terms of money; that the possession of money by so many bankers and brokers creates an invisible empire of Jewish finance, with its dead hand upon the lever of Christian progress and civilization; that he is not creative, but reaps his inordinate rewards as distributor rather than as producer; that he is ill-bred, unscrupulous, with an eye to first advantage, lacking in self-restraint, insensitive to the rights of others, annoyingly conspicuous and vulgarly aggressive, finding himself socially exclusive and Jewishly gregarious, and at heart swamped by materialistic longings and atheistic tendencies.

Far be it from me to exculpate the vulgarities and the flaunting insolence of individual Jews. But what I do most strenuously resent is the indictment of all our people because of the cupidity or stupidity of some or many. We gain nothing by alleging the same offenses in Christians. What we Jewish people ought well to

cultivate is the art of self-criticism, an art whose enshrinement in the cathedrals and churches of Christ would be equally desirable. We Jews have our individual preferences and prejudices. And while we know what are our own objectionable traits as individuals, it becomes our first duty to clear our minds of any prejudice against the Christian, either as exponent of a certain creed or as a definite social group or as an individual. Let every Jew first sweep before his own door. His duty is to win the good-will of his fellow-man for his own inherent, individual worth. Craving for fellowship, he must have the capacity for it. The individual Jew must make himself lovable, and ask to be judged on his own merits.

If there is any particular weakness that I do discover in many Jews, it is that of envy. This envy states that the members of this dominant religion do not suffer the sting of exclusion from certain hotels, apartment houses, clubs, resorts and selective companionship, because their non-semitic features and their non-Jewish loyalties are an open sesame. There is a feeling of pardonable envy that a Christian can do a great many things which, ignored in him, become condemnatory in a son of Israel; and that the newspapers and the ordinary speech of men readily proclaim the religious or racial grouping of the Jew, if some wrong is done, while affiliations of the Christian pass by without comment. This envy of the immunity and privileged position which the Christian enjoys may be, I hope, the greatest of our faults.

There is no Jewish prejudice against the Christian. There is an amazing amount of dislike in our own ranks for those of our brethren of broken accent and foreign birth. That the Jews condemned those who left the synagogue is no more reprehensible than the contempt which we pour on the American who betrays his country or sells his American citizenship for a foreign title. Our desire to preserve the integrity of our religion by an unwelcome ear to the music of intermarriage does not mean our objection to the melting pot of civic and political unity. We are not, therefore, a group that refuses an approach. Fraternity is an instinctive craving of our hearts.

Alas, prejudice in its hydra-headed forms is with us! Its newer manifestations, exhibited since the war, are most discouraging to a lover of his race. The recent eruption of anti-Jewish prejudice is closely related to reaction, monarchy, and defeatism. If Jews and Christians are genuinely desirous of overcoming this great barrier to mutual co-operation and respect, they must break completely with every form of reaction and pledge themselves to a program of mental and social liberalism. We can best cultivate the art of mutual appreciation by dragging our souls into the open forum of public discussion and fair play. A conference between the Jewish and Christian clergy is a desideratum. An interchange of pulpits between denominations will disclose honest differences of standpoint, and will help to clear the mind of bias and miasma. If we can make social contacts and not draw our conclusions of what Jews or Christians are from pictures of them in the press or in literature, we shall get closer to an understanding of one another's problems, perplexities, and professions. The task that lies before us is mountain high. Yes, mountain high is

the accumulated mass of misunderstanding, distrust, envy, greed, lack of chivalry, fault-finding, and prejudice that rear a barrier between members of opposite faiths who ought to be tunneling with might and main to reach one another in the clasp of fellowship.

Nothing so appeals to me as the rather recent discovery of the inscription on the Pool of Siloam. In the days of kings Ahaz and Hezekiah, engineers cut through the massive rocks to bring the nourishing waters from a great distance into the Holy City. The inscription shows how, on opposite sides, the men with pickaxes drove their incessant and well-directed blows until, through the thin partition of rock, the pickaxe of one touched the pickaxe of the other, and thus the limpid waters of life flowed in refreshing streams to the people of Jerusalem.

Let us consecrate ourselves to this gigantic task. It will call for a heavy drain upon our patience, our loyalty, our courage, and our sincerity. Let us together take up the pickaxe and chop away at the heap of wrongs that bar our mutual relationship. Slowly the hills will crumble; the lies and delusions will fall to powdered dust, and from opposite sides, piercing the barrier, so thin and tenuous, we shall beat our pickaxes into hand-grasps and our prejudices into prayers for each other's welfare.

SOCRATES

Peace Through Right Reason.

By ALEMBERT DECALLIVÉ

THE ENDURING greatness in the life and teaching of the Buddha, sketched in the last article, suggests that civilization, if it is to advance, must cherish that intimate acquaintance with the major views of the leading men of history which makes any intelligent effort on our part possible. This impression is deepened as we turn to the integrity of Socrates.

OUR DEBT TO THE FEW

The Buddha taught that the great evil is ignorance. Our lack of information about the thoughts and labors of history's great men—great because they knew how to think and to labor—is a withering type of ignorance. If we dwell upon our forerunners at all, we are prone to view them as visionary, unpractical, or, at least, as too deep for our limited understanding. It is a common weakness. When Aristophanes bantered Socrates good naturedly in the streets of Athens, the crowds, understanding neither, enjoyed it as a sport. Failure of the many to realize the greatness of their leaders opened the

NOTE.—One interested to know of Socrates may well begin by reading "*Socrates—Master of Life*," by William Ellery Leonard. Of course, one should have the *Dialogues of Plato*, translated into English by Jowett. Zenophon's *Memorabilia* has been variously translated. Other important treatises are: *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, by E. Zeller; *History of Greece*, volume 8, by G. Grote; *Greek Thinkers*, by T. Gomperz; *Socrates and Athenian Society*, by A. D. Godley; *Greek Philosophy*, Part I, by John Burnet; *The School of Plato*, by F. W. Bussell; *Four Phases of Morals*, by J. S. Blackie; *The Clouds*, by Aristophanes. The *Histories of Philosophy* are numerous. See also *Socrates*, by Henry Jackson, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

flood-gates to the destruction not only of Athens, but of all Hellas. So with the modern world, our fears and superstitions and hatreds and wars are due primarily to a lack of any lasting foundations for our will to live. World peace must be achieved. The inability to achieve it, either between men or states, is due to an unnecessary ignorance, unnecessary because if we are unfamiliar with what our great men have done to show the way, we have only ourselves to blame.

That civilization has not perished utterly is due to the few who have shown the way, to the few who, mindful of the need for enlightenment, pursued it. These solid and sagacious few hold before us the immortal torch of hope. When we are burdened, as we should be, with the mystery of existence, they come to us and lift. When our minds return upon themselves unsatisfied, as they must, there are the few offering to us satisfactions out of their plenitude. Because of them we never quite lose hope that we, too, may comprehend with an increasing fullness the present and perhaps the future. Because of them we accept less readily the unrealities of the moment as real, and strive more diligently to discover something of the nature and validity of human knowledge. Because of them we are more concerned to synthesize and to interpret the sciences which we are forced to accept. We must pay our allegiance to these few who have concerned themselves with existence and its laws, with the knowing mind, with the real and the ideal in our common life. Such norms as we have of the human mind, of right conduct, of the beautiful, of rights and duties, we owe to them. We lesser ones can build securely only upon the achievements of these few. Education is simply an active appreciation of their work. Any peace of justice between nations, and there is no other desirable peace, can thrive only as the noble few have shown the way. Tradition is not a static but a creative thing.

One of these immortal few, answering to the cry of the world, was Socrates.

PRE-SOCRATIC GREECE

Socrates lived in a great epoch of human civilization. As with the Buddha, so with him, there was a deep background to his work. The struggle on the part of the few to know the nature of reality began with the Greeks, as in India, very early.

The first interests of these forerunners were in the world which they could see. It was far back, perhaps two centuries before the Buddha, that we catch here and there glimpses of certain myths and heroes culminating in Homer and Hesiod, men of the epic age of Greece, with its valor and heroism, with its Achilles—man of action. Through the two hundred years just before Socrates, the Greek political spirit had expressed itself in monarchical government; then in the form of an oligarchy; then in tyrannies which gave rise, in turn, to a popular demand for democracy.

Contemporary with the Buddha there was in Greece one Thales, Benjamin Franklin of his time, who brought applied geometry out of Egypt and made it a science; who laid the foundation of algebra; who divided the year into 365 days and began the science of astronomy, predicting, in fact, an eclipse of the sun in 585 B. C.

Disbelieving in the myths and heroes, he, as did Anaximenes, sat himself to learn of the ultimate composition of the world outside himself and of its physical cause. While Anaximenes reduced this objective world to air, Thales believed it to be water.

Crude, we say. But the spirit of scientific inquiry was there. The search for reality, for the unity in the world, had begun. Heraclitus, with his speculations, a bit too deep even for Socrates, finding that the only reality is an endless change, a perpetual flux, forecast our modern theory of evolution. Pythagoras through his pupils had advanced the theory of the atom, stated the belief that the earth is a sphere, and that it revolves on its axis around a central luminous body. Practically all naïve explanations of reality had been conceived and developed in Greece before the birth of Socrates.

But, furthermore, this interest in the world outside man had turned at last to an examination of the human mind itself. Self-contradictions and apparent absurdities in the merely objective investigations and interpretations were becoming more and more evident.

The proverbial pride and self-consciousness of the Greeks, furthered naturally by the victory over the Persians at Marathon, 490 B. C., and by the colossal heroism at Thermopylæ, ten years later, were well on their way before Socrates was born. The city-state, the supreme institution of Greece, was already a fact.

Protagoras, priding himself on being able to argue both sides of a question equally well, had given rise to the Sophists, teaching that man is the measure of all things; that he is his own tribunal; that he has the right to question all authority, be it of other men, of the state, or of any god. Skepticism was in the air. Radicals were in full swing. While word-juggling stirred up no little fog, grammar, philology, and literary criticism were becoming accepted sciences. Ethics and human brotherhood were objects of study. If it be agreed that the Sophists recognized no universal standard of truth, it must be accepted that they were earnestly bent upon self-realization. From interest in the outside world, men were turning to inquire of the life within. Furthermore, the non-entity of a common man, such as Homer conceived, was developing into the citizen with a growing sense of his own importance and with his broader demands.

During the three hundred years between the end of the epic age and the birth of Socrates, spurred on by the developing self-consciousness and pride of the people, a classic literature and art were rapidly developing. Greek elegies had set forth their interminable reflections. Iambic verse had rendered its lighter service in raillery and fable. Æolian odes had arisen in Lesbos, where Sappho sang with lyric melody. When Socrates was born, Pindar, venerated as the national lyrist of Greece, was singing his odes to victory; and genius was weaving the strands of those literary forms which made possible the immortal dramas of Æschylus, of Sophocles, and of Euripides.

Æschylus, founder of tragedy and of the true drama, with his abiding belief in an inevitable law of retribution, of righteousness, representing not Athens merely, but all Greece, as struggling on a heroic scale amid super-human powers, died in 456 B. C., when Socrates was thirteen years of age.

Sophocles, second of the immortal Greek dramatists, himself the Shakespeare of antiquity, representing with matchless serenity and genius Athens at ease, enjoying the fruits of her labors, a united and harmonious Hellas, was born when Socrates was twenty-seven years of age, and "died well, having suffered no evil," seven years before the death of Socrates.

Euripides, third immortal dramatic poet of Greece, more modern than Sophocles, foe of human slavery, herald of heroic womanhood, epitome of Athens in political chaos chastening her spirit, the dramatic embodiment of the Sophists at their best, was born when Socrates was eleven years of age and died the same year as did Sophocles.

Furthermore, Socrates was born when Pericles was twenty-one years of age, and lived thirty years after the death of that unrivaled Athenian statesman and patron of Attic art, in 429 B. C.

STORY OF THE LIFE

Socrates was born at Athens, probably in 469 B. C., son of Sophroniscus, a maker of statuary, and of Phænarete, a midwife. He was executed in his native city, 399 B. C., in his seventieth year. Thus he lived through the period when Athenian power, art, and poetry were at their height. His was the Periclean age of Athens.

Since he left no writings of his own, we are dependent for the most part upon his friend Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and upon his pupil Plato's *Apology* and *Symposium* for the few facts of his life.

There is no doubt that he was a human being. He had three sons by Zanthippe—one of the world's proverbial shrews—whom he married and endured as a self-discipline. Evidently the wife's tastes were not altogether satisfied by her "drollest of husbands," "ugliest of the sons of men," with his bald head, protruding eyes, and pug nose. The meanly clad, shirtless, shoeless, "unwashed guide of souls," with his thick lips, short body, walking like a pelican, was not altogether soothing to the lady's nerves. She objected to his inordinate interest in the affairs of other folk, especially since he seemed so little concerned about his own. One little eccentricity which disturbed her was his decision, at what seemed to her to be an overmature age, to take up dancing. Furthermore, Socrates' friends, of whom he had a great variety, were not wholly congenial to Zanthippe, especially when he brought them home to dinner unannounced. When the roistering and somewhat graceless scamp, Alcibiades, sent a cake to Socrates, Zanthippe in her rage stamped it under foot. Angered at Socrates on another occasion, she assaulted him and tore off his cloak in the public street. On still another occasion she doused him with dish-water. According to the record, however, Socrates invariably treated his wife with perfect good humor, which in turn probably subtracted little from the family temperature. Socrates refused to be ruffled. He seemed rather to enjoy practicing the fine art of paying a divine disregard to what he evidently considered non-essentials. Like the mistreated husbands of all time, he felt that he was "misunderstood"; but, unlike the many husbands of many times, he probably was. It was evidently his keen sense of the incongruous, the basis of his famous irony and

paradox, that seemed to save both his temper and his reason. There is every evidence that there was in this man a greatness which rose above self, overcoming all fear. Seeing things in their relations, he succumbed to none of the weaknesses of irritation. Seeing his world as ordered, accepting creation with a creator, looking upon his own soul as probably immortal, believing in the authority of conscience, we have here a most sensitive genius incapable of being disturbed.

There were heroic things in this man. Alcibiades tells of some of them in the *Symposium*, by Plato. In time of war, the soldiers being cut off from supplies and compelled to go without food, Socrates revealed more power of endurance than any other in the army. In time of severe winter weather Socrates, with his bare feet on the ice and in his ordinary dress, marched better than the soldiers who were well shod. On one occasion, while both were engaged in battle, he saved the life of Alcibiades. The younger man was wounded, but Socrates would not leave him until he had rescued both him and his arms. When Alcibiades urged the generals to grant to Socrates the prize of valor which because of Alcibiades' rank they conferred upon him, Socrates was more eager than the generals that Alcibiades and not he should have the prize.

The following is from Socrates' "*Apology*," according to Plato:

The only office of state which I ever held, O men of Athens, was that of senator. The tribe Antiochis, which is my tribe, had the presidency at the trial of the generals who had not taken up the bodies of the slain after the battle of Arginuse; and you proposed to try them in a body, contrary to law, as you all thought afterwards; but at the time I was the only one of the Prytanes who was opposed to the illegality, and I gave my vote against you; and when the orators threatened to impeach and arrest me, and you called and shouted, I made up my mind that I would run the risk, having law and justice with me, rather than take part in your injustice because I feared imprisonment and death. This happened in the days of the democracy. But when the oligarchy of the Thirty was in power, they sent for me and four others into the rotunda, and bade us bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis, as they wanted to put him to death. This was a specimen of the sort of commands which they were always giving with the view of implicating as many as possible in their crimes; and then I showed, not in word only but in deed, that, if I may be allowed to use such an expression, I cared not a straw for death, and that my great and only care was lest I should do an unrighteous or unholy thing. For the strong arm of that oppressive power did not frighten me into doing wrong; and when we came out of the rotunda the other four went to Salamis and fetched Leon, but I went quietly home. For which I might have lost my life, had not the power of the Thirty shortly afterwards come to an end. And many will witness to my words.

Endowed by nature with impetuous appetites and a terrific temper, he subdued both until he became the epitome of moral continence. Never an ascetic, he lived in piety, justice, and temperance, all of which are at the heart of that self-control which raises men above the brutes.

Believing that to want nothing is divine, this man

who practiced self-discipline, limiting himself to coarse fare and scanty clothing, indifferent to heat or cold, fearless before his enemies, reduced desires until, like Buddha, he reached a nirvana to which we all instinctively aspire, or at least think we ought.

When Socrates gave up the trade of his father and, impressed by the ignorance and unrestraint of his fellows, began his peculiar work of arousing the mind of his Athenian world, we do not know. Xenophon tells us that he was constantly in public, for he went in the morning to the places for walking—the Agora—and to the gymnasium. At the time when the Agora was full, he was to be seen there, and the rest of the day he was where he was likely to meet the greatest number of people. He was generally engaged in discourse, and all who pleased were at liberty to hear him. His acquaintance-ship must have extended to practically every one in Athens. His influence became marked. When he was forty-seven years of age, Aristophanes, the jester, calling Socrates' speculations "Clouds," wrote a play by that name which was staged before large multitudes in the theater of the city.

This time must have marked the beginning of the opposition to Socrates, with the charges that he was erratic, meddlesome, dangerous. The government passed a law calculated to embarrass him in his work. The reactionaries and the dishonest were feeling the stings of his sincerity and ability. These were some of the forces destined to end in the indictment that "Socrates is guilty of crime: first for not worshiping the gods whom the city worships, but introducing new divinities of his own; next for corrupting the youth. Penalty: death." The final picture of him upon earth, told in the *Crito* and the *Phædo*, filled as it is with the eloquent indifference of this majestic spirit, strengthens unto this day, as does only one other in our western world, the soul of man confronted with death. In that fine little work, *Socrates—Master of Life*, by William Ellery Leonard, are these words:

Were the people of the planet, wearied with erecting statues of the admirals and cavaliers, to set up in some city, more enlightened than the rest, a memorial to this hero of their ancestral stock, they should cause to be carved upon one oblong of the base, beside honest sayings of the sage's own upon the other three: "*No one within the memory of men ever bowed his head more beautifully to death.*" The judgment was true when Xenophon wrote it down; and it were today far more true than most that is graven in bronze or stone.

THE METHOD

Socrates' contribution to his world appears largely in his method. Always in good temper, master of a delicious irony, he approached his work of educating his fellows, usually in the Agora, by employing the art of conversation, questioning and answering, drawing for illustrations from the things nearest at hand, proceeding from the known to the unknown. Socrates himself called his work *Maieutics*, the art of giving birth to ideas. He was little interested in the speculations of philosophy; but he set himself with determination against vague thinking and laxity of speech. His plan almost invariably was to get the views of his companions,

then by adroit questioning to develop these views in the words of his associates to their ultimate absurdity; then to develop the larger truth of which the original view was but a part.

This is the method uniformly pursued throughout most of the Dialogues and, indeed, in the *Memorabilia*. Take, for example, the dialogue, "Laches." Here a son of Aristides and a son of Thycydides are represented as bringing their sons to two generals, Nicias and Laches, for advice respecting education. Laches recommends in turn that they should take counsel of Socrates, who is present. When one of the fathers asks for Socrates' advice as to the desirability of teaching the boys to fight in armor, Socrates, as usual, does not answer directly, but asks that he may hear what Nicias has to say. After Nicias has spoken, it develops that Laches does not agree with Nicias. One of the fathers appeals to Socrates to settle the dispute. Socrates begins soon to analyze the question, and finds that there seem to be two questions involved, one relating to the means and the other to the purpose. Socrates' questions have not gone far when Nicias remarks:

Because you seem not to be aware that any one who has an intellectual affinity to Socrates and enters into conversation with him is liable to be drawn into an argument; and whatever subject he may start, he will be continually carried round and round by him, until at last he finds that he has to give an account both of his present and past life; and when he is once entangled, Socrates will not let him go until he has completely and thoroughly sifted him. Now, I am used to his ways; and I know that he will certainly do as I say, and also that I myself shall be the sufferer; for I am fond of his conversation, Lysimachus. And I think that there is no harm in being reminded of any wrong thing which we are, or have been, doing; he who does not fly from reproof will be sure to take more heed of his afterlife; as Solon says, he will wish and desire to be learning so long as he lives, and will not think that old age of itself brings wisdom. To me, to be cross-examined by Socrates is neither unusual nor unpleasant; indeed, I knew all along that where Socrates was, the argument would soon pass from our sons to ourselves.

Socrates then proceeds to develop by questions that if we would teach virtue we must first know what virtue is. The conversation then runs on as follows:

Soc.: Then which of the parts of virtue shall we select? Must we not select the one to which the art of fighting in armor is supposed to conduce? And is not that generally thought to be courage?

LA.: Yes, certainly.

Soc.: Then, Laches, suppose that we first set about determining the nature of courage, and in the second place proceed to inquire how the young men may attain this quality by the help of studies and pursuits. Tell me, if you can, what is courage?

LA.: Indeed, Socrates, I see no difficulty in answering; he who does not run away, but remains at his post and fights against the enemy, he surely is a man of courage.

Soc.: Very good, Laches; and yet I fear that I did not express myself clearly; and therefore you have answered not the question which I intended to ask, but another.

LA.: What do you mean, Socrates?

Soc.: I will endeavor to explain; you would call a man courageous who remains at his post and fights with the enemy?

LA.: Certainly I should.

Soc.: And so should I; but what would you say of another man, who fights flying, instead of remaining?

LA.: How flying?

Soc.: Why, as the Scythians are said to fight, flying as well as pursuing; and as Homer says in praise of the horses of Æneas, that they knew 'how to pursue, and fly quickly hither and thither'; and he passes an encomium on Æneas himself, as having a knowledge of fear or flight, and calls him 'an author of fear or flight.'

LA.: Yes, Socrates, and there Homer is right: for he was speaking of chariots, as you were speaking of the Scythian cavalry, who have that way of fighting; but the heavy-armed Greek fights, as I say, remaining in his rank.

Soc.: And yet, Laches, you must except the Lacedæmonians at Platæa, who, when they came upon the light shields of the Persians, are said not to have been willing to stand and fight, and to have fled; but when the ranks of the Persians were broken, they turned upon them like cavalry, and won the battle of Platæa.

LA.: That is true.

Soc.: That was my meaning when I said that I was to blame in having put my question badly, and that this was the reason of your answering badly. For I meant to ask you not only about the courage of heavy-armed soldiers, but about the courage of cavalry and every other style of soldier; and not only who are courageous in war, but who are courageous in perils by sea, and who in disease, or in poverty, or again in politics, are courageous; and not only who are courageous against pain or fear, but mighty to contend against desires and pleasures, either fixed in their rank or turning upon their enemy. There is this sort of courage, is there not, Laches?

LA.: Certainly, Socrates.

Soc.: And all these are courageous, but some have courage in pleasures, and some in pains; some in desires, and some in fears, and some are cowards under the same conditions, as I should imagine.

LA.: Very true.

Soc.: Now, I was asking about courage and cowardice in general. And I will begin with courage, and once more ask, What is that common quality, which is the same in all these cases and which is called courage? Do you now understand what I mean?

LA.: Not over well.

Soc.: I mean this: As I might ask what is that quality which is called quickness, and which is found in running, in playing the lyre, in speaking, in learning, and in many other similar actions, or rather which we possess in nearly every action that is worth mentioning—of arms, legs, mouth, voice, mind; would you not apply the term quickness to all of them?

LA.: Quite true.

Soc.: And suppose I were to be asked by some one: What is that common quality, Socrates, which, in all these uses of the word, you call quickness? I should say the quality which accomplishes much in a little time—whether in running, speaking, or in any other sort of action.

LA.: You would be quite correct.

Soc.: And now, Laches, do you try and tell me in like manner, What is that common quality which is called cour-

age, and which includes all the various uses of the term when applied both to pleasure and pain, and in all the cases to which I was just now referring?

LA.: I should say that courage is a sort of endurance of the soul, if I am to speak of the universal element which pervades them all.

Soc.: But that is what we must do if we are to answer the question. And yet I cannot say that every kind of endurance is, in my opinion, to be deemed courage. Hear my reason: I am sure, Laches, that you would consider courage to be a very noble quality.

LA.: Most noble, certainly.

Soc.: And you would say that a wise endurance is also good and noble?

LA.: Very noble.

Soc.: But what would you say of a foolish endurance? Is not that, on the other hand, to be regarded as evil and hurtful?

LA.: True.

Soc.: And is anything noble which is evil and hurtful?

LA.: It would be wrong, Socrates, to say so.

Soc.: Then you would not admit that sort of endurance to be courage, for it is not noble; but courage is noble?

LA.: You are right.

Soc.: Then, according to you, only the wise endurance is courage?

LA.: True.

Soc.: But as to the epithet "wise"—wise in what? In all things small as well as great? For example, if a man shows the quality of endurance in spending his money wisely, knowing that by spending he will acquire more in the end, do you call him courageous?

LA.: Assuredly not.

Soc.: Or, for example, if a man is a physician, and his son, or some patient of his, has inflammation of the lungs, and begs that he may be allowed to eat or drink something, and the other is firm and refuses; is that courage?

LA.: Not at all, any more than the last.

Soc.: Again, take the case of one who endures in war, and is willing to fight, and wisely calculates and knows that others will help him, and that there will be fewer and inferior men against him than there are with him; and suppose that he has also advantages of position; would you say of such a one who endures, with all this wisdom and preparation, that he, or some man in the opposing army who is in the opposite circumstances to these and yet endures and remains at his post, is the braver?

LA.: I should say that the latter, Socrates, was the braver.

Soc.: But, surely, this is a foolish endurance in comparison with the other?

LA.: That is true.

Soc.: Then you would say that he who in an engagement of cavalry endures, having the knowledge of horsemanship, is not so courageous as he who endures, having no such knowledge?

LA.: So I should say.

Soc.: And he who endures, having a knowledge of the use of the sling, or the bow, or of any other art, is not so courageous as he who endures, not having such a knowledge?

LA.: True.

Soc.: And he who descends into a well, and dives, and holds out in this or any similar action, having no knowledge of diving, or the like, is, as you would say, more courageous than those who have this knowledge?

LA.: Why, Socrates, what else can a man say?

Soc.: Nothing, if that be what he thinks.

LA.: But that is what I do think.

Soc.: And yet men who thus run risks and endure are foolish, Laches, in comparison of those who do the same things, having the skill to do them.

LA.: That is true.

Soc.: But foolish boldness and endurance appeared before to be base and hurtful to us.

LA.: Quite true.

Soc.: Whereas courage was acknowledged to be a noble quality.

LA.: True.

Soc.: And now, on the contrary, we are saying that the foolish endurance, which was before held in dishonor, is courage.

LA.: Very true.

Soc.: And are we right in saying so?

LA.: Indeed, Socrates, I am sure that we are not right.

Soc.: Then, according to your statement, you and I, Laches, are not attuned to the Dorian mode, which is a harmony of words and deeds; for our deeds are not in accordance with our words. Any one would say that we had courage who saw us in action, but not, I imagine, he who heard us talking about courage just now.

LA.: That is most true.

Soc.: And is this condition of ours satisfactory?

LA.: Quite the reverse.

Soc.: Suppose, however, that we admit the principle of which we are speaking to a certain extent.

LA.: To what extent and what principle do you mean?

Soc.: The principle of endurance. We, too, must endure and persevere in the inquiry, and then courage will not laugh at our faint-heartedness in searching for courage; which after all may, very likely, be endurance.

LA.: I am ready to go on, Socrates, and yet I am unused to investigations of this sort. But the spirit of controversy has been aroused in me by what has been said; and I am really grieved at being thus unable to express my meaning; for I fancy that I do know the nature of courage; but, somehow or other, she has slipped away from me, and I cannot get hold of her and tell her nature.

Of such is Socrates' Maieutics and of such is his gentle irony. But, more important, we see here divergent and shallow views improved into a harmony of which Socrates is himself the expression. Socrates was no mere Sophist. He gave no courses, took no pay; he did not even profess to teach. What he appears to be doing is to learn with his fellows. Throughout his life it is apparent that he believes in universal principles of truth. It is clear to him that there are laws of logic upon which men must rely if they are ever to arrive at truth.

PRINCIPLES

Socrates' special mission to the world was that of an educator, to which he felt himself divinely called. Since man is the measure of all things, he believed it is first essential that man should know himself. He had evidently been impressed by the familiar command engraved on the temple at Delphi, "Know thyself." Socrates knew himself; hence we never find him pharisaical. He aimed to develop youth for practical life. He held

that virtue is knowledge, and that knowledge is virtue. With Buddha, he emphasized knowledge and the power to think. He was a missionary of truth and virtue. He may be said to be the founder of moral science, basing it upon conscience, human nature, knowledge. For him immorality is simply ignorance expressed in action.

He engaged himself upon the problems of knowledge, accepting the human mind as the measure of truth. Since man is the measure of all things, it is man which we must understand. Others around him were teaching that knowledge is confined to the senses. Socrates rose, however, above this theory, to a conception of "induction among conceptions" universally valid. When he was told that each man's judgment is as good as another; that, given two men, each with ideas opposite to the other, both might be right, Socrates said, "We must listen to right reason, which is the voice of God speaking to our souls."

One reading the passages where Socrates leads his companions step by step to realize their own ignorance is less skeptical of one's own ability to achieve truth. His selfless humility and moral earnestness, his energy and insight, are contagious. Following him as he leads his questioners to see for themselves, one catches the glow of a new intellectual independence. Since piety, justice, courage, temperance, are shown to depend upon knowledge, one the more readily sees, as with the Buddha, that insight rather than unresting struggle is the only basis of right conduct. As we dwell upon Socrates, it grows in upon us that poise, balance, self-control, knowledge, wisdom, are all essentially the same thing. The more we dwell with this man, the more we feel that Kant's good-will and Socrates' right thinking are also identical. Following the sweet reasonableness of his inquiries, filled with their good nature, devoid of any sentimentality, we catch a new sense of the meaning of life.

Loyal to the state, Socrates dreamed of no peace based upon any force other than the force of right reason. He resisted no evil attacks upon himself. He founded no institution, enunciated no creed. Yet every human institution and every last creed is richer because of him. A popular writer has recently said: "You can judge any man pretty well by what he thinks of and how much he knows about Socrates."

Indeed, discussing the academic aloofness of our American schools, a writer of but a few months ago has said in one of our best-known magazines: "The school, if it is to do the work of democracy and support the efforts of science, must return from its academic aloofness, with Plato, and find its place once more in the midst of the actual experiences of life and the world, with Socrates, the pedagogue." True it is that Socrates immortalized the Agora.

It has been charged that Socrates was insufficiently tactful. His power of convicting his auditors of ignorance and folly was not always agreeable. His ironical attitude toward the intolerance and superstitions of his time aroused resentments. His refusal to accept current doctrines alienated some. Failure to develop the constructive thought after his Maieutics had done their deadly work left an unnecessary ill-will. But similar charges were laid against Jesus of Nazareth.

Socrates' methods and principles, emancipating men from mere custom and tradition, originating the philosophy of conceptions, influenced all the schools and all the philosophers of his day and of the after ages. Antisthenes, founder of the school of the Cynics, hence of its product, the Stoics, received his inspiration from Socrates. Aristippus, attracted to Athens by the fame of Socrates, founded the school of the Cyrenaics, which developed later into Epicureanism. Plato, his pupil, aimed, after the tragic year of 399, to do in writing what Socrates had done by word of mouth to promote right thinking. Socrates fixed Plato's literary forum and message; and without the Apology, Crito, Georgias, and Phædo, the world would probably never have had an Epictetus, a Seneca, or a Marcus Aurelius. Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca were deeply touched by this man's magic spirit. Socrates not only laid the foundations of scientific ethics, he was himself the bridge between pagan Greece and Christianity.

THE LAST DAYS

The opposition to Socrates finally took definite shape. Meletus, a poet; Anytus, a rich leather dealer, and Lycon, an orator, all personally offended one way or another by Socrates, became his accusers. He was tried before a jury of some 500 citizens, who owed their positions to the method of election by lot, against which Socrates had inveighed. Found guilty, he was sentenced to death.

It was customary under such circumstances for the prisoner to appeal for clemency. But not this man. He said: "Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty that no evil can befall a good man, whether he be alive or dead. . . . But the hour of departure is at hand, and we go our ways—I to die, you to live; but which of us unto the better affair remains hid from all save the divine."

The last three days of his life were spent in conversations with his friends. It is here that we find ample justification for the statement that, "He is the first great incarnation in Europe of the moral law, faithful unto death." He was offered and urged to accept the opportunity to escape the impending doom. As all men know, he unhesitatingly declined. The story of his preferring to be faithful unto the laws rather than to escape is set forth in the last pages of the Crito. The tale of the final scene is also grippingly told by Phædo, the "beloved disciple," in the closing passages of the dialogue by that name.

The delay of the execution was due to the voyage of the sacred ship which had not yet returned from Delos. But now the holy month is over. The end is near. Disciples are gathering that they may listen to their master for the last time. Socrates takes leave of his family. He praises the humanity of his jailer. Urged by Crito to delay the drinking of the poison, Socrates insists that he would feel ridiculous in his own eyes were he to do so. The poison is brought. He takes the cup "in the easiest and gentlest manner." Raising it to his lips, "quite readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison." The friends are unable to control themselves when they see him drinking, and they weep bitterly. Socrates alone retains his calmness. Bidding them to be quiet and to have patience, he lies down and covers himself.

But mindful of the kindly god of health, curing him now of his last earthly ill, and with a touch of his old familiar playfulness, as he recalls a common rite, he throws back the cover, saying, "Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt?"

Concluding his description of this Athenian Calvary, Phædo says: "Such was the end, Echeocrates, of our friend, concerning whom I may truly say, that of all the men of his time whom I have known, he was the wisest and justest and best."

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEED OF INTERNATIONAL THINKING

By PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM

CERTAIN outstanding facts or conditions confront one as he contemplates the present state of the world. These are:

First. The enormous development of the means of communication and transportation. This has made practically all nations contiguous to one another.

Second. This development has brought racial customs, traditions, and ideals into contact and to a considerable extent into conflict with one another.

Third. The wide diffusion of knowledge and ideas has stimulated many minds to think in new ways, especially concerning the principles of authority and liberty. Political and also, to a less degree, religious notions have been passing from a static into a plastic and even fluid state. As a result, power has very largely shifted from the hands of kings and statesmen into the hands of peoples. An immense fermentation has invaded every land and race, giving promise of hitherto undreamed of changes in government and industry.

Fourth. The habitation of mankind is the earth. All peoples live and must continue to live on this planet in ever-closer relations with one another and ever-increasing interdependence. Practically the entire earth has been or is in process of being exploited for the resources by which mankind materially lives, and with ever-sharpening competition in the quest for those resources and in the industries which they feed.

This being the case, it is obvious that the various races must find a way of living together in such a manner as shall conserve and promote their mutual well-being.

This means that no longer can any nation rightfully consider only its own special interests. No longer can thought with justice and safety be exclusively national; it must more and more be international.

The adjustment of rights and obligations to persons has been and to a large extent still is the chief problem of life within the nation. That problem has crossed the boundaries of nations and become the problem of mankind. Any nation which refuses to recognize this and to address itself to the solution of the problem is guilty of a crime against humanity. The sooner this truth is recognized and the obligations which it involves are accepted, the sooner will the curse of war be abolished. As long as national policy, in the field of international relations, is dictated by selfishness, war will continue to afflict mankind.

Considerations such as are here set forth show that the

twentieth century's supreme need is the capacity and disposition to think, not in terms of the parish or the nation, but in terms of the whole human world.

One beneficent result of the World War has been the awakening of a multitude of minds to the idea that nations as well as individual men and women are under moral law, are subject to moral obligations, and can secure peace and world-wide well-being only by obedience to that law, only by fulfillment of those obligations.

The Christian conception of society as a body of men and women integrated and motivated by love, as that was taught and exemplified by Jesus, is more clearly seen today than ever before and by a greater number of thoughtful persons. The truth that beneficent service is the chief function and engagement of man as a member of society finds its full realization only in its application to the whole human family. The moral forces which secure the integrity and safety of the community, the state, and the nation are the forces by which alone can be secured the integrity and safety of the world.

Men have plausibly argued that the frightful destruction of life by the deadly instruments which the scientific mind has invented and the mechanical ingenuity of the skilled artisan has constructed would ultimately end war. Others have as confidently argued that the measureless economic cost of war would cause its abolition. These contentions were equally plausible, but both have been refuted by the World War, and today the menace of renewed conflict overshadows a large part of the earth, and prophecies are rife that within ten years, or even within as many months, it will break out again with intensified violence.

The twentieth century mind is beginning to see this and, despite the Disarmament Conference, which seemed to promise so much for the world's peace, preparations for war are advocated and in process of making. Far-seeing statesmen and many others are beginning to realize that the only effective restraint of the war impulse must be moral, and it must be as wide in its application as the entire human race. It is obvious, therefore, that the twentieth century mind must turn steadily and strongly in this direction if civilization is not to be hopelessly wrecked.

Here is an urgent call upon the home, the school, the church, the press, and individual men and women to accept the task of everywhere inculcating the truth, which is of the very essence of Christianity and of the best that is in the ethnic religions, that all right activities of men and nations are of the nature of service for the general good. Commerce notably is a service. This is true, even though it is still so largely motivated by selfishness; it may be, without loss of profit, magnificently beneficent. Selfishness has made it a prolific source of international enmities and conflicts. Justice, fair dealing, and persistent good-will make it a force to draw nations together and weave between them the ties of friendship.

In a recent number of one of the most trustworthy daily papers the following judgment was expressed:

Students of international politics must remember that the motive force behind diplomacy has undergone a considerable change. This has been religion, dynasty, allegiance and nationalism in succession. Today it is the turn of economics,

and nowhere have great nations been more willing to sell their birthright for a mess of commercial pottage than in Turkey.

But there are many interests and enterprises, such as those of education, science, art, literature, charity, and religion, all of which, except, perhaps, the last, naturally promote friendly and mutually serviceable relations and tend to create a true "parliament of man," a real "federation of the world." The very importance of religion has often made it a divisive force. Men have cherished their gods, their ritual customs, and their creeds with such ardor that any seeming impeachment of these has aroused the sharpest contention and made them divisive instead of unitive. But that which is universal in real religion, namely, their spiritual content, tends to unity rather than to division. It has always been true that the fundamental religious sentiment draws men toward a common ground. They separate on that which is incidental.

One God, one law, one element, lead toward
The one, far-off, divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

To create and nourish a general state of mind which magnifies mutual interests instead of emphasizing incidental differences, is to counteract the forces that cause misunderstandings, stimulate nascent antagonisms, and quickly arouse demoralizing contention and conflict. This beneficent task is one which everybody may share.

A patient and persistent propaganda for international co-operation in the endeavor to establish world peace on moral grounds carries the most weight and promises the largest and most enduring results. In the long run, the sincere moral appeal is the strongest. The historic diplomacy was permeated with insincerity and created a deep-rooted distrust. Intercourse between governments was largely a struggle in which each government sought to outwit the others. It settled wars by planting the seeds of other conflicts. The hope of civilization lies in the development of a public opinion which shall express the moral judgment of mankind. That, once formed, must be irresistible. It will create a league of nations unvitiated by secret treaties—a kind of treachery which destroyed the integrity of international co-operation. The present League of Nations suffers incurably from the survival of the old-time diplomacy.

OUR RUSSIAN POLICY RESTATED

During the past month there was a resumption in many parts of the country of the movement in favor of the official recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States; and, as on previous similar occasions, the agitation in favor of the recognition has resulted in a restatement of our Russian policy by the spokesmen of the Administration.

These latest official utterances, made by Secretary Hughes and Secretary Hoover, indicate that our Russian policy has undergone no changes. When the Harding Administration came into power, two years ago, a determined effort was made to induce it to extend official recognition to the Soviet régime in Russia. This effort failed completely to achieve the aim which was sought, but it resulted in a clear formu-

lation of our government's attitude on the question. Secretary Hughes then laid down certain fundamental conditions which have to be fulfilled before there can be any serious discussion of the matter. As these conditions concern the acceptance by the Soviet régime of definite fundamental principles, the test of the possibility of recognition rests in Russia, and the advocates of such an act on the part of our government find themselves impelled to produce convincing proof that these conditions have been fulfilled before they can hope to influence the Administration.

An attempt to present such proof to the Department of State was made on March 21 by the Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia. In his reply to the committee's delegation, Secretary Hughes made a comprehensive analysis of the government's information with regard to Russian conditions, which, in the opinion of our government, still does not warrant belief that the Soviet régime has fulfilled the fundamental conditions laid down in March, 1921, and therefore opens no way for any change in our Russian policy.

In addressing the women, who had called on him at the Department of State, Secretary Hughes emphasized "the concern which we felt for the welfare of the people of Russia," in recalling to his visitors the views he had presented to their general organization last May. He then pointed out that Russia's plight cannot be ameliorated by means of charity, but that the whole problem is much deeper and lies in the realm of "the underlying and controlling facts" of economics.

SECRETARY HUGHES' SPEECH

The Secretary of State spoke as follows:

Not only do we not desire to interfere with the internal concerns of Russia, not only do we recognize the right of the Russian people to develop their own institutions, but such interference would be futile.

The salvation of Russia cannot be contrived outside and injected. Russia's hope lies in Russia's action. It is absolutely impossible to deal with matters which are in the control of the Russian people and which, until they are adequately dealt with, furnish no ground for helpfulness, no ground for Russian recuperation.

Russia needs industry and trade, but industry and trade cannot be created by any formal political arrangements. However important may be the facilitation of the transactions of industry and trade through political arrangements, still those arrangements do not create the transactions or supply the essential basis for them. You can't support what does not exist.

We have in the case of Russia the need of investment. It would not help the Russian people to encourage adventurers or those who would wish to go into Russia for the purpose of exploitation. The benefit to Russia through which her productivity can be increased and the basis of industry and trade provided must come from those who make a permanent investment in Russia, who are there to see their transactions through on a basis of permanent relations, and who consequently, so far as they are foreigners, can be assured before they will contemplate such investments that these will be secure and worth while. The conditions which would invite the foreign assistance which you point out is so necessary are in the control of the Russian authorities. They cannot be in the nature of things supplied from the outside.

Now I may say that there is a good deal of fallacy in what is said about trade between Russia and other nations. Of course, other peoples are trading with Russia and our people are trading with Russia. Trade is going on, so far as it can go on, but it is relatively insignificant. If you will examine statistics you will observe that it makes very little difference whether or not any particular government has recognized the Soviet authorities with respect to the actual trade

that is being conducted. If Russia buys, she must be able to have something to buy with; that is, she must produce so that she can buy.

I am glad to note that agricultural conditions in Russia have somewhat improved, because agriculture is basic in Russia. There is hope in that fact; but agricultural conditions are still far from what they should be. The conditions of industry and transportation are most lamentable. If you need to know what those conditions are, I refer you to the Soviet authority, Mr. Rykoff, and his statements last fall, which no doubt are accessible to you, and the analysis of which I think will correct some of the rather optimistic statements that you have made.

There have been changes in laws and methods. I would be the last to decry them. It is not a pleasure to me to look into the conditions of Russia and find them unsatisfactory. It would be the keenest delight to me to find that they were quite the reverse. On the other hand, it serves no useful purpose to take these changes that have been made and exaggerate their effect or misconceive the result of them. They are far from adequate to create the conditions which would support industry and trade in Russia. If you will examine Mr. Brandenburgsky's analysis of the civil code and the changes in laws which have been recently made, you will find indubitable evidence of the unsatisfactoriness and inadequacy of those changes. He, as you no doubt know, had a good deal to do with the preparation of these laws.

The reason Russian stocks are decreasing, the reason that they have this progressive impoverishment, is that they have not yet supplied what is essential. And when I speak of what is essential I am not referring to anything that anybody on the outside of Russia, least of all ourselves, artificially sets up. We are pointing to the conditions of helpful intercourse in the world as it exists. If there were any need of a demonstration of the essentiality of these conditions, the Russian experience would certainly give it.

I recognize fully the distinction between matters exclusively of economic import and the question of diplomatic relations. As I said to the representatives of your organization a year ago, the fundamental question in the recognition of a government is whether it shows ability and a disposition to discharge international obligations. Stability, of course, is important; stability is essential. Some speak as though stability was all that was necessary. What, however, would avail mere stability if it were stability in the prosecution of a policy of repudiation and confiscation?

In the case of Russia we have a very easy test of a matter of fundamental importance, and that is of good faith in the discharge of international obligations. I say that good faith is a matter of essential importance because words are easily spoken. Of what avail is it to speak of assurances if valid obligations and rights are repudiated and property is confiscated? This is not a question of the rich or of the poor. It's a question of principle. Only the other day I had a letter stating the case of two American women who had been living in Russia and invested all their savings in Russian securities, and they are poor people, dependent, and they are very anxious to know whether these securities will have any recognition.

Our own government after the first revolution loaned about \$187,000,000 to Russia. I may say that we were the first to recognize the Kerensky Government. That government did not profess a policy of repudiation. Now what did the Soviet authorities do? In their decree of January 21, 1918, they made this simple statement: "Unconditionally and without exceptions all foreign loans are annulled."

What was loaned to Russia out of our Liberty bond proceeds and the war loans obtained by Russia before the revolution to enable Russia to continue the war were simply annulled. Now the United States is not a harsh creditor. The United States is not seeking to press debtors who cannot pay beyond their means. But indulgence and proper arrangements are one thing, repudiation is quite another.

I have yet to hear of any change in this announcement of the Soviet authorities. Suggestions which have been reported have always been coupled with impossible qualifications. This strikes at the heart of some of the suggestions which you have made in the interest of the principles of

religion, which we all have at heart—good faith is the very essence of brotherly kindness. There is no hope for the success of your gospel—our gospel—of brotherly kindness in a world of hatred and in a world which is not animated by the sincerity of good faith.

Here is a simple test. We have in this case no need to speculate, as of what avail are assurances when we find properties taken, without compensation or restoration, obligations repudiated—properties of all sorts, the investments of one of our great life insurance companies, for example.

Not only would it be a mistaken policy to give encouragement to repudiation and confiscation, but it is also important to remember that there should be no encouragement to those efforts of the Soviet authorities to visit upon other peoples the disasters that have overwhelmed the Russian people. I wish that I could believe that such efforts had been abandoned.

Last November Zinoviev said:

"The eternal in the Russian revolution is the fact that it is the beginning of the world revolution. Lenin, before the last congress of the Third Internationale, last fall, said that 'the revolutionists of all countries must learn the organization, the planning, the method and the substance of revolutionary work. Then, I am convinced,' he said, 'the outlook of the world revolution will not be good but excellent.' And Trotzky, addressing the Fifth Congress of the Russian Communist youths at Moscow last October—not two years ago, but last October—said this: 'That means, comrades, that revolution is coming to Europe as well as in America, systematically, step by step, stubbornly and with gnashing of teeth in both camps. It will be long protracted, cruel and sanguinary.'"

Now I desire to see evidences of the abandonment of that policy. I desire to see a basis for helpfulness. We want to help. We are just as anxious in this department and in every other branch of the Administration as you can possibly be, to promote peace in the world, to get rid of hatred, to have a spirit of mutual understanding; but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, but one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of obligations and a sound basis of international intercourse.

SECRETARY HOOVER'S ANALYSIS

The second utterance on Russia came from Secretary Hoover. The Secretary of Commerce, in response to a number of inquiries as to the conditions in Russia relating to possible need of relief, made a statement, which was embodied in his letter to Mr. C. V. Hibbard, of the Young Men's Christian Association. The Secretary said that there are four great relief problems in Russia—famine, disease, poverty, and reconstruction—but that none of these basic problems can be solved with any degree of adequacy until conditions in Russia herself permit of their solution. He concluded his statement as follows:

It is impossible to picture adequately the complete impoverishment of a great nation. The war, the revolution, the blockade, the great climatic famine of last year, the trial and failure of Communism—all have combined to project a misery and impoverishment the most awful of modern history.

The terrible famines and epidemics have been stemmed through the great relief campaign and the improved harvest of last August. There are some signs of renewed national life from the changes in economic policies, yet standards of living are still the lowest in the civilized world, disease is rife, and mortality is high.

What Russia needs is economic reconstruction, the re-creation of productivity. Her peasants need agricultural machinery and animals; her workmen need tools; her industries need raw materials; her factories need new machinery; her transportation needs repairs and equipment.

Furthermore, for purposes of restoration, gigantic sums of capital and the professional personnel to direct reconstruction must come from abroad.

It is a hopeless illusion that there will be a flow of foreign savings, business, or skill into Russia by the simple act of official recognition by our government. Indeed, there has been no appreciable investment in Russia from the several countries which have extended recognition, although some of them are exporting capital in other directions. This is not an argument for or against recognition, but simply a statement that the question of restored productivity to large industry rests on other fundamentals, such as the security and the freedom of initiative, and these can only be created through the institutions of Russia herself.

The Russian people must work out all these problems in their own way. All that charitable relief can hope to do is to lift special groups from utter destitution up to the level of the general poverty and thus to prolong life for the future.

These two official statements indicate clearly that neither the Soviet régime nor its protagonists in this country have so far succeeded in convincing our government of the consummation in Russia of the fundamental changes required as prerequisite to a recognition of Soviet Russia. Our Russian policy, therefore, remains unchanged, and is still directly in line with that of the great powers of Europe, who, after the failure of the conference at Genoa and at The Hague, still appear as far as ever from according official recognition to the Soviet régime in Russia.

IN THE RUHR

The past month in the Ruhr was marked by an increasing tension on all sides. In unoccupied Germany this was illustrated by rumors of Nationalist plots, culminating in a widespread series of arrests toward the end of March. In the Ruhr itself attempts at the occupation of various works on the part of the French were met with resistance, resulting in casualties of a more or less serious nature, and sabotage of railways, etc., continued, in spite of arrests, fines, hostages, etc.

Among the most serious administrative difficulties confronting the French, and which have not yet, apparently, been satisfactorily solved, was the question of international trading rights in the Ruhr and navigation of the Rhine. Holland and Switzerland have voiced complaints on these scores, especially the former country, which claims navigation rights on the Rhine under the Versailles Treaty. At the same time the Cologne Chamber of Commerce (British) forwarded complaints to Great Britain regarding the stragulation of British trade in the Ruhr and Rhineland, which is reported to be a serious matter. According to the Chamber of Commerce, the Germans do not recognize French export licenses, and *vice versa*, besides which Germans are afraid to consign goods to any destination because of the French propensity for stopping and redirecting such consignments.

During the second week of March the Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission passed a decree (on which the British representative refrained from voting) placing the entire railway system of the Ruhr and the Rhineland under Franco-Belgian administration. Under this decree, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of Occupation has full powers to assure the administration of the railways. But any line or portion of a line can be placed outside of his control. This is taken to refer to the lines in the zone under British administration.

The *Daily Telegraph* (London, March 9) has an interesting account of the clash between General Godley, command-

ing the Cologne area, and the French authorities over the question of French transportation claims through the district under the former's command, which resulted in the whole matter being referred to London. The French are stated to have demanded the right to run fifteen trains per diem through Cologne to Bonn and Neuss. As each of these trains would have to be shunted for at least thirty minutes in Cologne, the British general felt unable to consent to a procedure which would involve considerable disorganization, if not entire dislocation of the system under his control. His feelings on the matter were strengthened, as he is said to have reported to London, by the fact that the British had already conceded to the French the use of the Elsdorf-Haroe direct line to Bonn and Neuss, which crosses a corner of the British zone and has a capacity of seventy trains a day. The French intention, as stated at the time of cession, was to run eighteen trains a day over this route, but at the time that they were claiming further concessions at Cologne they were not running more than four.

The correspondent of the English paper referred to above gives it as his view that the British Government might consider the grant of further facilities to the French in exchange for trade facilities in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, but no further developments have been reported.

Led by M. Vandervelde, the anti-occupation party in Belgium is reported to continue voicing the utmost discontent with the trend of matters in the Ruhr. An interpellation in the Brussels Parliament, immediately prior to the Premiers' Conference in that city, which resulted in a formal joint declaration of policy in regard to the evacuation of the Ruhr, forced M. Jaspar, the Belgian foreign minister, to take refuge in refusing to repeat what had been said in the secret session of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Among the questions put by M. Vandervelde were the following:

1. How many tons of coal have been sent to Belgium and France since the occupation began?
2. What help has the Italian Government given in the organization of this territory?
3. What have been the results on Belgium industry of the cessation of coal deliveries from Germany?

M. Jaspar stated that it was against the public interest to publish the details asked for by M. Vandervelde.

That the French Government expects fresh developments of a peaceful nature shortly appears to be indicated by the appointment of M. Daubigne, on March 21, as Undersecretary of Finance, a new post created for the purpose of leaving the Finance Minister, M. Charles de Lasteyrie, free to devote himself to the reparations problem and financial questions arising out of the Ruhr occupation.

TRADE DEADLOCK CONTINUES

The former German tariff schedule as it stood in May, 1922, is now again being applied by the French and Belgian authorities on all goods shipped into and out of the occupied territories of Germany, instead of the uniform 10 per cent import and export taxes which had been temporarily collected. The movement of goods for export out of the occupied territories of Germany continues, however, practically deadlocked, owing to the two sets of contradictory customs orders issued by the occupational and the German authorities, and the refusal of most German concerns either to apply for allied licenses themselves or to deliver goods to foreign purchasers intending in their own name to apply for export licenses to the French and Belgian authorities in control of the customs.

Upon representations from the neutral governments that shipments on contracts entered into before the occupation should not be subject to the same customs restrictions as later orders, the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission had, on March 15, announced that special facilities will be granted for the shipment or orders for export placed in the occupied region prior to February (for United States, February 10). The export taxes on such goods were to be those existing at the time the order was placed, and the foreign buyer was allowed to substitute himself for the German exporter in securing the export license, this privilege being conditional upon the German exporter authorizing such substitution and assuming responsibility toward the German Government for any violation thereby of German laws.

The Rhineland Commission concessions of March 15 were, however, immediately countered by a German ordinance of March 16, in which the Berlin Government warned manufacturers in the occupied territories against complying with or recognizing the decrees of any authority other than the German, in all matters affecting the customs control of imports and exports, to the point of making punishable by imprisonment, even the delivery of merchandise to foreign buyers when it is evident that the latter themselves intend to apply to the occupational authorities for export permits. The result has been that while some of the smaller German firms continue to sell for export, the larger firms generally are reported to be refusing sales or deliveries when it is understood that the goods are to be exported under the control of the occupying authorities.

With the restoration of the German tariff schedule of May, 1922, the official costs and conditions of doing business with the occupied regions become almost identical with those operative before the occupation, with the single difference that the license and tax system is under the control of the French and Belgian occupational authorities instead of the German, there being now no German office in the occupied area where export licenses can be secured and the duties paid.

While numerous complaints have been made to Washington, and to the American representatives in France and Germany, of difficulties of obtaining shipments of goods ordered for American account from manufacturers in the occupied territories, investigation has in most cases found no evidence of official interference by the occupying authorities with the movement of goods, provided that the goods were accompanied by an export license issued by the French and Belgian authorities and evidence that the export tax had been paid. Reports indicate that the large quantities of goods made on export contracts which are not leaving the occupied territories are being held up for other reasons: Partly by the congested transportation conditions, which are aggravated by the refusal of some German vessels on the Rhine to accept goods not covered by German licenses, and partly by the refusal of the German exporter himself to apply to the occupational authorities for the export license and pay the export tax to them or to deliver to the foreign buyer who will apply for such a license.

The representatives of the United States, in connection with those of other neutral countries, are endeavoring to find a way out of the present deadlock, whereby the movement of goods for export out of the occupied territories could be actually effected; but until a way out is found the reported adherence of the majority of German concerns to the orders from Berlin is causing a practical standstill in foreign business with producers in the occupied territories.

THE WORLD COAL SITUATION

The occupation of the Ruhr coal field by the French, with consequent decrease in its coal production, entailing as it does shutting off supplies to Italy, France, Germany, and other European countries, has caused interesting changes in the world coal situation. This is especially true of Great Britain, the largest coal exporter in the world.

British colliery owners and coal merchants seem to be unable to supply the increased demand for coal and coke resulting from the Ruhr situation, as not only has their production of coal reached its probable maximum, under existing conditions, but their dock capacity, which is and has been for some time the governing factor in their export trade, is heavily overtaxed. This is due largely to the fact that the British dock labor has insisted upon only two 8-hour shifts per day. Strong efforts have been made to put on an additional shift, but so far with little success, and the whole matter has now been referred to the Industrial Court, which means a probable delay of six months before the matter can be adjusted.

To show the handicap imposed upon the British export trade by their limited ship-loading facilities, it was publicly stated by the head of one of the largest South Wales coal shippers that during the last week in February, "out of a hundred thousand wagons (cars) employed in the coal field on the transport of coal from pit to port, no less than 70,000 of them, loaded with 700,000 tons of coal, are standing at the collieries, sidings, and docks waiting shipment." The same authority also declared that 450 vessels, with a carrying capacity of about 400,000 tons, were at the South Wales ports waiting for that coal. In February there were 94 vessels waiting at the chief Scotch ports, 70 of them on the east coast.

British coal exports for January were 5,611,670 gross tons, as compared with 6,070,318 tons in January, 1913; 5,794,770 tons in January, 1914, and 4,020,935 tons in January, 1922. British production is now ranging from about 5,567,000 to 5,644,000 tons per week, compared with an average of 5,520,000 tons per week in 1913, the year of greatest production; the total production for 1922 was 259,839,000 gross tons, as compared with 286,729,000 tons in 1913. For the year 1922, British exports were 64,198,384 gross tons, as against 24,660,552 tons in 1921 and 73,400,118 in 1913, the record year.

Production in the Ruhr field in past years and up to February 1, 1923, is given in the following table:

	Metric tons
1913.....	114,487,000
1914.....	98,285,000
1915.....	86,778,000
1916.....	94,563,000
1917.....	99,365,000
1918.....	96,016,000
1919.....	71,153,000
1920.....	84,986,000
1921.....	91,321,000
1922.....	93,298,174

For January, 1923, no figures are available, but it is estimated that it was 25 per cent below December; for February the estimated production was 33 per cent of the December output.

In 1922 the total reparation deliveries amounted to some 18,000,000 tons, as against the demands of the Reparation Commission for 22,279,000 tons, while the total output of the

German coal field in 1922, outside of lignite, amounted to 130,664,000 tons.

There is a great demand in Belgium for coke and coking coals. The Belgian coke ovens are producing only about 70 per cent of their normal output, owing to the lack of suitable coal. None is being received from the Ruhr, and the British coking coals cannot be obtained in sufficient supplies, although in 1922 British exports to Belgium increased to 3,489,419 tons from 618,066 tons in 1921.

Since the 19th of January very little coke or coal has been imported into France from Germany, causing a greatly increased demand for the British product, which, however, cannot be secured in any increased amount. This has made it necessary for French buyers, including the government, to make inquiry in this country for both coal and coke. France is particularly short of coke and coking coal, reducing metallurgical production, as the supply available is absorbed by contract requirements. A great number of blast furnaces are reported as now being blown out owing to the lack of coke. British coke is now costing about 240 francs per metric ton, c. i. f. Dunkirk.

British coal exports to France in 1922 were actually in excess of those in 1913 and twice as large as in 1921, as shown in the following table:

	Gross tons
1913.....	12,775,900
1921.....	6,395,651
1922.....	13,479,417

For the past year Italy's coal requirements have been taken care of by the import of British coal, supplemented by that received from German original sources. Now, however, Italy is looking to this country, especially for gas and coking coal, as shown by inquiries and the actual closing of a fairly large tonnage over the next three months.

Germany is apparently in urgent need of large tonnages of industrial coal. For the past year she has been purchasing increased quantities in England, as shown by the following figures of British exports to Germany:

	Gross tons
1913.....	8,952,328
1921.....	817,877
1922.....	8,345,606

There is also a considerable tonnage of coal from Great Britain that reaches Germany through Holland, and it is significant that British exports to Holland increased from 1,787,678 tons in 1921 to 6,067,789 tons in 1922.

As a result of the European situation, Sweden has also asked for quotations on coal suitable for locomotive fuel, but, as far as is known, no actual sales have been made.

There is no increased movement this year in the export of British coal to the countries involved, but there is a pronounced weakening in the iron and steel trades in Germany, Belgium, and France, as a result of the closing of plants from lack of fuel.

Owing to the increased demand in Europe, British exporters have cut down their shipments to South America, exports to Argentina having been decreased from 308,078 tons in December, 1922, to 207,786 tons in January, 1923, with a probable further decrease in February.

Inquiries for United States coals have come from Brazil and Argentina, although but little actual business has resulted up to this time; two boats have been fixed recently, it is reported.

TURKEY AND THE LAUSANNE TREATY

By the middle of March, the Turkish counter-proposals to the Lausanne draft treaty were handed to the Allied High Commissioners. The principal modifications of the treaty suggested by the National Assembly are, according to Reuter's Agency, as follows:

By the addition to part 1, article 1, of a paragraph stipulating that immediately following the ratification of the present treaty by the National Assembly, without awaiting notification by the other contracting powers, all portions of Turkish territory in Allied occupation are to be immediately evacuated.

The Turks propose to substitute for the words: "the left bank of the Maritza," the line of the Thalweg or the principal course of the Maritza, as the frontier with Greece.

With regard to Iraq, they propose that the frontier be determined amicably between Turkey and Great Britain within a period of 12 months, and that, failing agreement, the question should be referred to the League of Nations.

Other territorial modifications comprise a demand for the islets of Markel, in the proximity of Tenedos, and also for Castelorizzo, a small island off the coast of Asia Minor, and the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over the island of Ada Kaleb, in the Danube.

They propose the addition of a clause releasing Turkey from all obligations in regard to Turkish loans guaranteed by the Egyptian tribute, which stopped during the war, and likewise of those guaranteed by the Cypress revenues.

They suggest that article 28 be modified in such a way that the high contracting parties declare that they have completely abrogated the capitulations in regard to the régime governing foreigners in Turkey, and likewise the economic and financial systems which depend therefrom.

The tendency of the Turkish modifications of the financial clauses, states Reuter's, is to reduce the authority of the public debt administration to a minimum. With this in view, this portion of the treaty was almost completely recast, the Turkish proposals providing for a distribution of the debt among the interested States, who would then have a nominal capital in the Turkish debt proportionate to the detached portions of Turkey embodied in their territory. The Turkish note thus suppressed the Allies' stipulation for gold payments in connection with the Turkish debt, and a special declaration provided for the reservation of Turkish claims against the Balkan States under the treaties of Berlin and Thessaly in regard to the share in the Turkish debt to be apportioned among the Balkan States under these treaties.

The note agreed to mutual cancellation of all claims for reparation arising from the war, except those against Greece, and renounced the claim for gold transferred to Germany and Austria, and also for the payment of the battleships ordered in Great Britain. Compensation for damages caused by Greek army officers was demanded, with a suggestion that the amount be settled between the Greek and Turkish governments or, failing agreement, by arbitration.

The question of war graves brought forth the following restrictions, according to Reuter:

The Anzac cemeteries must not be used for military or commercial purposes; the Turks maintain the right of inspection; the custodians of the cemetery must be limited; no quays, pontoons or landing stages to be allowed; no visitors to be armed; and a week's notice required for groups of visitors which must not exceed 150.

Articles 152/3, which confirmed financial arrangements made in Turkey since October, 1918, were suppressed by the

Turks and replaced by a declaration that no claims would be admitted against the authorities of the powers occupying Constantinople on account of any decisions or orders given since October 30, 1918, affecting the rights or interests of foreign or Turkish subjects; similarly, no claims are to be admitted against the Turkish authorities.

Articles 156, accepting the conventions on the traffic in arms, and 159, confirming the Greco-Turkish convention in relation to the exchange of populations, were suppressed.

Finally, a declaration was appended regarding the administration of justice, in which the Turkish Government agreed to engage for a period of not less than five years legal advisers from the list to be submitted by The Hague Tribunal of lawyers who do not belong to the belligerent States, and who will depend upon the Ministry of Justice and participate in the work of the Commission upon legislative reforms and watch the working of the civil, commercial, and penal jurisdiction at Smyrna and Constantinople.

A reply to this note was handed to Turkey by the Allies at the end of March. According to the Associated Press, the note invited the Turks to a resumption of the Peace Conference at Lausanne. New proposals involving substantial modification of the territorial provisions already agreed upon were excluded from further discussion, but an offer was made to accept in principle the proposed Turkish re-drafting of the convention relating to the judicial status of foreigners in Turkey, in order to meet Turkish ideas of reciprocity to such an extent as might be considered practicable. The only stipulation was that the powers could not be regarded as pledged to any changes in the Lausanne treaty as recently suggested.

Regarding the request made by Ismet Pasha that the economic clauses be detached from the treaty and negotiated subsequently between the interested parties, the note refused to consider anything but concomitant rediscussion at Lausanne, adding:

The inviting powers believe it should be possible in the course of the new negotiation and by means of some mutual concessions to arrive at an agreement upon clauses of this nature to be inserted in the treaty.

With reference to the security of foreign capital and enterprises in Turkey, it was explained that some of their nationals interested had already been invited by the Allied powers to negotiate directly with the Turkish Government, and it was suggested that the discussion of these questions would depend upon the success of such negotiations.

In the event of the failure of such negotiations within a reasonable time, continued the note, the Allies would have to insist upon the insertion in the treaty itself of detailed provisions approximating to those appearing in the draft treaty of January 31, in order to safeguard the vital interests of their nationals.

The tone of the note is said to have been reasonable, to the point of conciliatoriness, and to have expressed a firm belief that with good-will on both sides at Lausanne the conclusion of peace will offer no difficulty.

Coincidentally with the publication of the above, news reached London from Constantinople stating that the National Assembly at Angora, on April 1, on a proposal made unexpectedly in behalf of the 200 Kemalist deputies, voted by a large majority in favor of immediate elections, so that the new Assembly would be ready to ratify a peace treaty, if one should be signed. The dispatch, which was sent to

the *London Times*, added that Ismet Pasha expressed his approval of the plan.

The Turkish National Assembly has closed its debate on the Lausanne peace terms and the ministry has been authorized to reopen negotiations with the Allies.

The amended counter-proposals, on the basis of which the government is now definitely instructed to negotiate, are:

(1) Complete abolition of the judicial and financial capitulations.

(2) Postponement within a fixed time of the settlement of the Mosul question and the economic clauses.

(3) Acceptance of the cession of Karagach (that is, the abandonment of the Turkish claim to 1913 frontier west of the Maritza Delta) and insistence on the claim for reparations from Greece for damage done in Anatolia.

(4) Acceptance of all the other points settled at Lausanne.

(5) Immediate evacuation of the occupied territories by the Allies after the restoration of peace.

The chief changes, apart from the postponement of the economic clauses, is a demand for reparations from Greece, as follows:

(a) Turkey to retain Castellorizo, Merkeb or Rabbit Islands near Tenedos, Ada Kaleh, in the Danube near the Iron Gates, which was forgotten in the Treaty of Berlin, and all the islets within three miles of the Asiatic coast unless otherwise arranged.

(b) The Western frontier to be Thalweg instead of the left bank of the Maritza, except for a bridgehead at Karagach.

(c) The islands ceded to Greece and Italy to pay a quota of the Ottoman debt since the date of occupation.

(d) The Succession States to take over a proportion of the capital of the Ottoman debt (Syria, Iraq, and Palestine to partake in the redemption of Turkish paper money), Turkey to share the privileges with regard to delay in payment, no interest on outstanding debt coupons.

(e) Turkey need not pay interest on the debt in gold.

(f) Railway construction loans to be included in the debt not submitted to arbitration.

(g) No mention of any restrictive authority or judicial advisers in the case of domiciliary visits to houses of foreigners.

Ismet, who will be Turkish negotiator with full powers at the resumed conference, has gone to Konla.

THE MEMEL IMBROGLIO

On January 10, 1923, almost at the moment of the French advance into the Ruhr, a small body of Lithuanian troops advanced upon the port of Memel, overpowered the garrison, and took possession of the city. Thus, while France and Germany faced each other in the Ruhr, French soldiers found themselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with Germans against the Lithuanian invaders of some 4,000 square miles of what was once the farthest corner of the German Empire. According to the Lithuanian Government, the occupation of Memel was not carried out by regular Lithuanian troops, but occurred as the result of a spontaneous revolt on the part of the inhabitants of the district against the German district government, and a voluntary demand for union with Lithuania.

As a protest against the seizure of Memel, the German Government thereupon broke off diplomatic relations with

Kovno, stopped negotiations for a commercial treaty, and instructed its newly appointed Minister to Lithuania not to present his credentials.

On January 17 the Council of Ambassadors decided to dispatch a special commission to form a provisional government for Memel under Allied authority, and to re-establish order. The single British cruiser dispatched to Memel in January was joined by five French destroyers, and later by a Polish vessel, which subsequently departed after protest had been made against it by the Lithuanian Government. The Polish Government then announced that it would adopt whatever policy the Allies agreed upon in regard to Memel.

On January 19, in a note to the Council of Ambassadors, the Lithuanian Government denied complicity in the Memel seizure. In the Lithuanian Diet, however, Premier Galvanuskis stated that Lithuania would not accept any decision of the Council of Ambassadors which conflicted with the desires of the population of the country.

In order to understand the abrupt and sometimes violent course of events in this remote corner of Europe, it is necessary to refer to a map. At the time of the Versailles Conference the district of Vilna, about one-third the size of Lithuania and situated on the southeastern border of that country, as well as the port of Memel, on the shore of the Baltic to the north of Lithuania, was left for future decision. Vilna was claimed by both Poland and Lithuania, the former country extending in a narrow salient to the southeast of the Vilna district, and by a decision of the Council of Ambassadors during the earlier part of March was handed over to Poland. This decision, besides materially reducing the size of Lithuania, puts Poland into a much better position, strategically, on her southeastern frontier, greatly diminishing the possibility of the Polish salient being cut off by Lithuanian and Russian forces in the event of a war.

The port of Memel, on the other hand, constitutes the only outlet into the Baltic Sea for the territory of the Niemen basin occupied by the new Lithuanian State. It is about 120 miles distant from the capital of Lithuania, Kovno; about 55 and 225 miles from the Baltic ports of Libau and Riga, and about 140 miles from the free port of Danzig. Strategically speaking, it is highly valuable, giving to the outside country possessing it power to cut off Lithuania's access to the sea, to occupy a flanking position with regard to the naval communications with the Baltic ports of Libau, Riga, and Reval, and to make its influence felt on the naval communications with Danzig. Economically speaking, Memel has also considerable value for countries bordering on Lithuania from the east, owing to the important rôle played both by the port and the lower course of the Niemen in timber export from those countries.

There seems to be but little doubt that the seizure of Memel was, to some extent, precipitated by fear of Franco-Polish control over that port, which would, with Poland in possession of the Vilna district, leave Lithuania in an extremely awkward position, both from the strategic and economic points of view. This fear possibly found its basis in the fact that for some time previous to the seizure the future political status of Memel had been the subject of deliberation on the part of a commission of the Council of Ambassadors. Among the plans submitted for consideration was the following, presented by Poland with the backing of France:

1. The district of Memel remains autonomous, under the direction of a high commissioner of French nationality, acting as the plenipotentiary of the Allied powers. The foreign policy of the Free State of Memel is conducted by the French Government.

2. A "port council," to be created, made up of the high commissioner and the representatives of Memel, Poland, and Lithuania; the council will have charge of the transportation on the railroads and the shipping on the river Niemen, in the Memel district.

3. In the harbor of Memel a free territory to be reserved for Poland.

4. The district of Memel forms an autonomous customs unit.

5. The above regulations will be in force for a period of ten years.

This plan was strongly objected to by the Memel inhabitants, and the local press declared that the elected government of Memel should be granted not only a consultative voice, but also the right to decide, and should be put in charge of the foreign affairs of the district. At the same time the Lithuanian Government made known its desire to the Council of Ambassadors, requesting that Memel be made part of Lithuania, which was refused. The Kovno Government then asked permission to annex the area of the district exclusive of the city. The Soviet Government of Russia also made known its views, in a note issued in December stating that the question could not be decided without the participation of Russia.

Following the adjudication of the Vilna district to Poland on March 15, it is expected that negotiations between the Polish, Lithuanians, and Memel representatives under the ægis of the Council of Ambassadors, will take place about the end of March or the beginning of April, though the *Manchester Guardian* (England, March 16) expressed a certain doubt as to whether the Lithuanian Government would adhere to its agreement to send special representatives to Paris to discuss the definitive status of Memel, in view of the Vilna decision.

ITALY'S SHIPPING POLICY

The policies of the Italian Government in respect to the Italian merchant marine and Italian merchant shipbuilding have been determined by the Mussolini Administration, and the most important provisions were put into operation on March 1, 1923. The Italian policy of steamship subsidies or subventions for many years has been confined almost wholly to steamer lines between Italy and Italian Islands, Italian colonies, and Italian populations on the coasts of the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Red Sea; it is based on national as much as on commercial considerations and has been accepted and retained by the Mussolini Administration.

The changes, as explained by E. T. Chamberlain, of the Transportation Division of the Department of Commerce, are in the line of reduced expenditures and more effective operation. The system by which the government chartered the steamers of the subsidized lines and made good the losses in operation has been definitely abandoned; hereafter the fixed subsidies represent the total amount of the government's obligations to the steamship companies.

The Mussolini Administration has gone even further and has arranged for the transfer to private ownership of the steamer lines between Naples and Palermo, as well as other lesser lines for some years owned by the government and

operated in connection with the government railway system.

The contractual obligations incurred under previous administrations during and since the war, in the form of bounties on shipbuilding, will be met by an appropriation of 150,000,000 lire (about \$7,500,000 at current exchange) to cover expenditures from the present time to the end of 1926, when the system is to end.

The total of the annual subventions to specific steamship lines will amount to 140,450,000 lire (say, \$7,000,000 at current exchange) compared with 300,000,000 lire, estimated by the previous administration last July, which was subsequently reduced to 200,000,000 lire. The appropriation of 140,450,000 lire covers subsidies for the Italian lines and for the former Austrian and Hungarian subsidized lines acquired by Italy as reparations.

The combined annual pre-war subsidies for all these lines was the equivalent of 48,000,000 lire, or at the par of 1914 equivalent to \$9,500,000; so that in this respect and on these bases the Mussolini budget will show a reduction of about 25 per cent below pre-war subsidies.

The largest single item is 43,000,000 lire for subsidies between Italy and the Italian colonies of Tripolitana, Cirenaica, Eritria, Somaliland, and Benadir. For the Italian coasting trade lines 24,000,000 lire are provided; so that about half the total of 140,000,000 lire is applied to steamer lines between Italian ports. The most western foreign terminals of the Italian subvention system are Marsellie and Morocco, and no subventions are provided for Italian steamers beyond the Strait of Gibraltar.

Negotiations for subsidies to be paid by Brazil to Italian steamers, to carry Italian farmers for the Brazilian coffee plantations, are understood to be pending.

The subsidies for trade between Italy and ports on the eastern Mediterranean, the Ægean, and the Black Seas, with which Italian trade for centuries has been active and which have considerable Italian populations, amount to about 45,000,000 lire. The only subsidies provided for Italian steamers beyond the Suez Canal are for 12 voyages between Genoa and Bombay—4,600,000 lire—and from Trieste, 12 voyages to Bombay and 12 voyages to China and Japan, the payment for which is included in the amount allotted for 208 voyages to the eastern Mediterranean and Black Seas.

CHRISTENDOM FOR A WARLESS WORLD

TO THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN ALL COUNTRIES

An Appeal from the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)

Fellow-Christians and Sister Churches of all Lands:

The small fraction of the Christian Church which ventures to address this appeal to you does so in a spirit of fervent hope that we may give our united strength wholeheartedly to uphold and advance the standards of peace which some followers of Christ have long cherished as a fundamental Christian principle.

Christianity seems to us to face a grave crisis and a divine duty. In this aftermath of history's most terrible war we see two paths before us: One leads inevitably to another war by renewed preparedness of the most efficient military, economic, educational, and religious means of waging it.

The other begins with a complete rejection of war, and of all preparations for it, for any purpose and against any people; it demands definite organization for peace.

These two paths lie in opposite directions; we cannot possibly follow them both. There is no shadow of doubt on which of them are found the footprints and the sign-posts of Jesus Christ our Lord. Christ would not send His disciples where He Himself does not lead. "Follow me," has been forever His watchword. Shall not, then, the Christian Church follow its Leader with perfect loyalty along this path?

Such loyalty to Christ is consistent with loyalty to one's native land. The higher loyalty includes the lower, and gives to it all its best and brightest substance. The Christian's love of country finds its source, its inspiration, and its direction in his love of God and his fellow-men. Christ taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; His church transcends all divisions of nationality, all prejudices and hatreds of nation for nation and of class for class. It must rise to the height of its divinely given mission. It must not depend on the leadership of generals, or admirals, or financiers, nor await the changing policies of statecraft. In time of war, as in time of peace, it must keep its eye single to God's commands, and must draw constantly its Founder's immortal and stupendous contrast between that which is Caesar's and that which is God's.

As Christians, we are striving for "a warless world." We are firmly convinced that this can be achieved only by refusal to participate in war, simply and sufficiently because war is by its very nature at variance with the message, the spirit, and the life and death of Jesus Christ. We unite in supporting treaties of arbitration and conciliation, limitation and reduction of armaments, international courts of justice, a league or association of nations for the preservation of peace. This is well; it is a great achievement for statesmen to accomplish these things; but it is not sufficient for the Christian Church.

A principle is greater than any or all of its applications. The fundamental peace principle of Christianity demands the utter rejection of war, unequivocally and without compromise. With this principle in its charter, the Christian Church can always utter a clear and unmistakable verdict on any specific measure of statesmanship that is proposed; it will not be misled or coerced, by argument or by force, into participating in any kind or degree of preparation for war, or into lending the sanction of Christianity to the waging of any war whatsoever.

The achievement of all the great moral reforms in history has awaited the development of a deep *religious* conviction in the hearts of the people. Vital, uncompromising Christianity, when applied to great moral issues, has never failed to bring the kingdom of heaven on earth another step nearer to realization.

The most pressing reform of our time is to abolish war, and to establish exclusively peaceful means of settling disputes and promoting co-operation among the nations. These peaceful means cannot prevail until the nations beat their swords into plowshares and learn war no more. To accomplish these results, the Christian Church in practice and profession must condemn the whole system of war unequivocally and finally, relying not upon armed preparedness, but upon the awakened conscience of **mankind**.

Fellow-Christians, we can scarcely exaggerate the loss and suffering of the Great War. There is a bitter Macedonian

cry in our afflicted time for physical help and healing, but far more for the things of the Spirit—for faith and hope and love. What greater message of cheer and reconstruction could be brought to mankind today than the assurance that all who bear the name of Christ in every land have solemnly resolved to have no part in war or in preparation for war, but henceforth to work unitedly for peace by peaceful means alone? Shall we not make this venture of faith together in the love that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, and that never fails? Shall the torch of spiritual heroism be borne by the Church of the living Christ, or shall leadership in the utter rejection of war pass from our hands to men of braver and truer spirit? Which Master shall we who call ourselves Christians be known by all the world to serve, the God of Battles or the Prince of Peace?

With love and greetings to you all, we are your sincere friends.

Adopted and directed to be signed by Philadelphia yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in session at Fourth and Arch streets, Philadelphia, third month 31st, 1922.

DAVIS H. FORSYTHE,
MARY R. WILLIAMS,
Clerks.

And by Philadelphia yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in session at Fifteenth and Race streets, Philadelphia, fifth month 17th, 1922.

MORGAN BUNTING,
JANE P. RUSHMORE,
Clerks.

Endorsed by London yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in session at Devonshire House, London, England, on fifth month 26th, 1922.

ROGER CLARK, *Clerk.*

Also by the five years' meeting held at Richmond, Indiana, on ninth month 11th, 1922, and other official bodies of the Society of Friends in the United States and Canada.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

RADIO TELEGRAPHY IS BEING SUBJECTED to stringent regulation in Cuba. Pending the passage of a law to cover the use of radio telegraph in Cuba, a presidential decree has been issued defining the various classes of non-governmental radio stations and prescribing certain general rules for their operation. Up to the present time there has been no law or regulation covering the construction or operation of radio stations in Cuba. Under the decree, non-governmental radio stations are divided into five classes, to each of which is assigned a wave-length and a maximum power. No sets of any of these classes will be used for commercial purposes. The decree further provides that the government may, under specified circumstances, require transmitting stations of any of the five classes to cease operation without claiming indemnity from the government. Transmitting stations of any class are made subject to the regulations of the International Radio Convention signed in London in 1912. The decree also prohibits the transmitting of the international distress call S. O. S., either as a special

signal or in the course of any general text. Penalties are provided for the disclosure of any public or government message intercepted by any station.

THE AMERICAN MOTION PICTURE has come to historic Asia Minor and has come to stay. All through Turkey, the Greek islands, Palestine, and Syria, the American celluloid picturizations are certain of an appreciative audience, and in these localities the superiority of the American film is accepted without question. Pictures of the "Wild West" type are extremely popular among the "movie fans" of Asia Minor, and strong preference is shown in general to those films that are replete with action and depict sensational feats. There are about 30 motion-picture theaters in Constantinople, for the most part poorly appointed and having a seating capacity of from 300 to 1,200. American films dominate the field, but most of the pictures screened are copies, recaptioned in French for the local public and obtained chiefly through distributors in Paris and London. In Syria more than half the pictures shown are of American manufacture, obtained chiefly from distributors in Constantinople, Alexandria, or Paris.

THE BRITISH ARMY, NAVY, AND AIR ESTIMATES for the year 1923-4, as reported by the *London Times Weekly*, show decreases by comparison with the current year in the expenditures for the army and the navy and an increase for the air forces.

The army estimates show a decrease of about ten millions, while the Consolidated Fund charges will probably be about the same as for the present year—any advantage derived from the surplus on the current year's revenue being roughly balanced by the American debt payments. On this basis the estimates of expenditures for the next financial year, as compared with the present, would be as shown in the following table:

	1923-4.	1922-3.
Army	£52,000,000	£62,300,000
Navy	58,000,000	64,883,700
Air	12,011,000	10,895,000
Civil services	314,134,754	402,319,748
Consolidated fund services.....	363,000,000	363,000,000
Total	£799,145,754	£903,398,448

The indications are, therefore, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be called on to face an expenditure of about eight hundred millions next year, as compared with about nine hundred millions in the present financial year.

The First Lord of the Admiralty's statement of the navy estimates is supplemented by a long memorandum initialed by him in which he says:

The estimates for 1923-24 compare with those for 1922-23 as follows:

	Gross.	Net.
1922-23	£69,476,657	£64,883,700
1923-24	61,401,165	58,000,000
Reduction	£8,075,492	£6,883,700

The memorandum continues: "The reduction of the personnel of the fleet by 20,000 officers and men, which was foreshadowed in my predecessor's statement, is expected to be complete by April 1, except for 140 officers

and 1,000 men who are being retained pending the final decision of the government on the Admiralty proposal that the navy shall in future provide the personnel for its own air arm."

The Secretary of State for Air presents a memorandum on the air estimates, which reads as follows:

The gross total of air estimates now presented is £18,605,000 and the net total is £12,011,000. The true increase on services other than in the Middle East is £1,550,500.

This increase is due to the scheme of expansion for home defense, which has already been reported to Parliament, and also to additions to the strength of the air force units allocated for co-operation with the navy in consequence of the impending completion of new aircraft carriers.

The scheme of expansion for home defense involves the formation of fifteen new squadrons. This number will not be reached until April, 1925, and only seven will be formed either completely or in part during the financial year 1923-24. The additions to the strength of the air unit working with the navy amount to about three squadrons, and will take full effect in 1923-24.

SPECIAL EMIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN is being forecast, according to *Wileman's Brazilian Review*, by a plan now being developed to establish colonies of British farmers in Brazil. It is reported that 400,000 hectares (1 hectare equals 2½ acres) have been purchased in the State of Bahia, where English families are to be located for the cultivation of rubber, cacao, cotton, and other products. A party of experts are to leave England in April for the purpose of investigating conditions in Bahia and of estimating the chances for a successful colony. All preparations are to be completed within a year and the first settlers are to leave England before April, 1924.

THE FRENCH ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION will be resumed at Dieppe June 7 to 11 of this year, for the first time since pre-war days. The management hopes to make this as successful as the former exhibitions. Among the special items on the programs are exhibitions of Norman cattle, exhibitions of draft horses, and also of sheep and pigs raised in Normandy. Poultry breeders and beekeepers will compete and a general exhibition of all agricultural products with modern machinery will be included.

THE GREEK COUNCIL OF MINISTERS has approved the project of the Minister of Finance for the imposition of a capital tax on immovable and movable property in Greece. The law took effect on April 1. By the terms of the arrangement, property to the value of 50,000 drachmas is exempted from the tax, while on larger fortunes a graduated tax is imposed, varying from 2 per cent on fortunes from 50,000 to 100,000 drachmas to 20 per cent on fortunes larger than 25,000,000 drachmas. It is understood that the decree contains no provision for exempting property in Greece owned by nationals of foreign countries. The par value of a drachma is .193 cents, but the present exchange value is about one cent. The American equivalent of the exemption is, therefore,

about \$5,000, and of the fortunes on which the maximum of 20 per cent is imposed is \$250,000.

BULL-FIGHTING IS LOSING ITS APPEAL as the most popular sport of Mexico. Baseball is gradually usurping the place of the time-honored bull tilts. In many cities more space is given in newspapers to baseball than to bull-fighting. In Chihuahua, for example, there are three large parks in which about fifteen teams play daily. The same situation is encountered in Vera Cruz, where on Sundays and holidays every available inch of space is used for baseball playing.

THE TREMENDOUS DEFICIT IN THE GERMAN BUDGET, as revealed in the Reichsrat on March 20, has been widely commented upon in German financial and political circles. According to the Associated Press, this discussion concerns mainly the technical apportionment of the Republic's domestic upkeep; but the fact that the Finance Ministry attributes its deficiency so largely to the Ruhr occupation finds ready sympathy from the man in the street, as shown by the following:

The Finance Ministry's report shows that the ordinary budget for general administration falls short by 1,300,000,000,000 paper marks, and the deficit in the postal department amounts to 318,800,000,000 marks.

Expenditures in execution of the peace treaty have risen more than 2,500,000,000,000 marks, while since last autumn there has been an increase of 6,200,000,000,000 marks in the total budgetary deficit of 7,100,000,000,000 marks.

All allowances for governmental administration were exceeded by 2,800,000,000,000 marks; there was a shortage of 1,000,000,000,000 marks on the estimates for operating expenses, and it cost 3,100,000,000,000 marks more than was expected for carrying out the Peace Treaty. Aside from 400,000,000,000 marks authorized for the purchase of foreign grain, 100,000,000,000 marks were loaned to the provinces for the erection of dwellings and 5,200,000,000 marks went to the Food Ministry to provide milk for children.

The expenditures for general pensions rose 62,100,000,000 marks under the law dealing with increased cost of living for military pensioners: 300,000,000,000 marks more than had been anticipated went into bonuses given for increased cost of living for government employees, and 900,000,000,000 marks were advanced to the federated governments to meet increases in wages.

Besides 1,000,000,000,000 marks devoted to the resistance campaign in the Ruhr, the depreciation of the mark and the higher costs of supplies caused the outlay in maintaining the occupation troops to increase 82,000,000,000 marks, and that for the deliveries of reparation goods in kind to mount by 800,000,000,000 marks, while it took 1,300,000,000,000 marks more than estimated for liquidating the treasury bills given to Belgium, and the expenses of the Reparation Commission increased 76,500,000,000 marks.

Two billion marks more had to be devoted for the care of refugees, and 26,000,000,000 marks additional for meeting indemnity claims of German nationals.

THE JAPANESE ARE BECOMING every year more interested in occidental music, and particularly in pianos. A few pianos are manufactured in Japan, notably the player piano "Yamaha," which retails for about 2,000

yen (yen equals 50 cents at normal rate of exchange). Of foreign makes the most popular player pianos are the English "Duo-Art"—retail price about 1,800 yen—and an American make, which retails at about 1,500 yen. Ordinary pianos come chiefly from Germany, which delivers a cheap grade of piano for \$300; but England and the United States are both in the market, with the latter steadily growing stronger after a considerable decline in the early part of 1922.

AMERICAN PIANOS IN PERU have had to meet persistent propaganda carried on by the Germans for many years. The usual argument is that the German piano is especially made for the damp climate of Lima and vicinity, rust-proof parts being employed, and that unseasoned wood is used in the American piano, causing it to warp and lose its tone. For those who have actually bought and used an American piano of standard make, this argument has little weight. Investigation has shown that there are American pianos in Peru, bought from ten to fifteen years ago, which are still practically as good as when new. The style of the American piano is also beginning to be preferred. On account of the prior hold of the German piano on this market, Peruvians were at first accustomed to a highly carved, squat instrument of ungainly proportions. The American style is now considered more artistic, however, and German manufacturers have begun to imitate the simplicity of the American piano in a number of cases.

HAVING ITS BEGINNING BEFORE the period of modern history, the fish-drying industry of the Canary Islands has today developed to the point where it supplies practically all the West African ports, which take the entire annual output of practically 3,500 tons. Not only are fish similar to cod and hake dried, but the fishermen bring in tons of sharks of the marrajo and cazon species. The remarkable longevity of this industry is probably due to the fact that the Afro-Canary fishing banks are considered inferior to none; the banks are warm and shallow, producing marine growth for the nourishment of unlimited numbers of fish, which seem to exist in inexhaustible numbers. At no time of the year is the sea too stormy for fishing, and the anchorage is extensive and good. The aridity of the coast and islands affords unlimited natural drying grounds.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT has called upon Japan to return Port Arthur and Dalny to China, this being the year for the expiration of the original Russian lease. It is indicated that Japan will refuse, first, because these places are necessary to Japan's military and economic safety, and, second, because they were taken from Russia as the result of great losses to Japan. Whether or not this situation is destined to give rise to apprehensions in the Far East remains to be seen. According to press dispatches, the Chinese note emphasizes the importance of consolidation and of strengthening the friendly relations between China and Japan, so as to maintain the "peace of the world by safeguarding the peace of the Far East." Reviewing the history of the twenty-one demands as presented at Paris and at the Washington conferences, the note calls attention to

the resolution of the Chinese Parliament in January, declaring the treaties and notes of May 25, 1915, null and void and calling on the Chinese Government to act accordingly. The note also contains this statement: "In view of the fact that the lease of Port Arthur and Dalny is about to expire, the Chinese Government considers the present an appropriate time to improve Sino-Japanese relationships by reiterating a formal declaration to the Japanese Government that the whole body of these agreements should be considered abrogated." The Japanese are asked to appoint a day for the discussion of the question. This gesture on the part of the Chinese Government is said to mean little more than a registration of protest.

CERTAIN CANADIANS ARE AGITATING the abrogation of a number of treaties characterized as "old relics of the past." The treaties referred to are those with Argentina, 1825; Colombia, 1866; Norway, 1826; Russia, 1859; Spain, 1713; Sweden, 1826; Switzerland, 1855; Venezuela, 1825. It is pointed out that under these treaties these nations are enjoying the privileges of the "most-favored-nation clause" with Canada, while Canada gets nothing in return. Addressing himself to this situation, Hon. C. B. Beaubien, of the Canadian Senate, in a speech, March 5, pointed out that Canada's imports surpassed exports from Spain during the last decade, and that the same thing is true of Switzerland. Indeed, it is argued that Canada's foreign trade has fallen generally during the last two years. It is hoped, by revision of treaty arrangements, this slump may be overcome. It appears that since the war some sixteen nations have increased their tariff duties. As Senator Beaubien pointed out, "England, once a great free-trade country, now raises \$700,000,000 yearly from her customs collections. The emergency tariff of the United States, from May, 1921, to May, 1922, has reduced our exports to that country, on 15 commodities, from 172 millions to 42 millions. The depreciation of foreign currencies has reduced our exportations to certain European countries to a terrible extent. . . . Taken in its entirety, the country has less than three inhabitants per square mile; and on arable lands only, less than nine inhabitants per square mile. This is compared with France, 184 inhabitants per square mile; Germany, 318, and Belgium, 670."

Steps are being taken, furthermore, to increase Canada's foreign trade by the use of an exhibit train of forty large motor cars, fitted with show-cases and moving-picture apparatus, advertising the products of Canada.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH FRANCE is willing to go in the direction of concessions, according to a copyrighted article in the *Chicago Tribune* for April 16, is set forth under three headings, as follows:

First. A two years' moratorium for Germany on payments in cash, but continued occupation of a portion of the Ruhr as a guarantee.

Second. Germany is to continue the delivery of material in kind to a total of 26,000,000,000 gold marks (\$6,500,000,000), paying off the balance of 26,000,000,000 gold marks in cash. France is to get 52 per cent of 50,000,000,000 gold

marks (\$10,000,000,000) in A and B series bonds after the moratorium.

Third. France is to write off in equal amount from the 82,000,000,000 gold marks (\$20,500,000,000) C bonds—with its share of 52 per cent the amount will be a trifle more than 40,000,000,000 gold marks (\$10,000,000,000)—certain quarters being certain that the United States will reduce its claims to war debts from France. France owes Great Britain the equivalent of \$3,000,000,000 and the United States \$2,500,000,000, which doubled amounts to 44,000,000,000 gold marks (\$11,000,000,000), thereby eliminating the entire C bond series if Great Britain abandons its 22 per cent claim and if the other powers interested write off theirs, which is expected.

PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN, known widely for his theory of relativity, announces his resignation as a member of the League of Nations Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, in a letter received by the League Secretariat. Professor Einstein says he has become convinced that the League has neither the strength nor good-will necessary to accomplish its task, and, "as a convinced pacifist, it does not seem well to me to have any relation whatever with the League."

HAMBURG HAS REGAINED her prewar position as the greatest shipping center on the European Continent, according to the tonnage statistics for last year just published. These show that the port of Hamburg handled more than 13,000,000 net tons, as compared with 12,750,000 for Antwerp and 12,250,000 for Rotterdam. The German lines, whose operations before the war accounted for 67 per cent of Hamburg's traffic, now handle only 29 per cent, being second to the British, whose percentage is 34. The Dutch are third and the Americans fourth. The Hamburg-America Line, the figures show, now has 30 per cent of its prewar tonnage, having reached this figure through new construction and repurchases of vessels from the Allies.

THE COSTA RICAN DELEGATION, according to the Associated Press of April 9, created something of a sensation in the political committee of the Pan American Conference at Santiago by proposing a plan for the reorganization of the Pan American Union, which would abolish as a condition to membership on the governing board the present requirement that such government must be recognized by the United States. In the place of this requirement, under which membership on the governing board is limited to diplomatic representatives accredited to Washington, Costa Rica proposed that the board be composed of representatives directly accredited to the Pan American Union. According to Alvarado Quiroz, of the Costa Rican delegation, who submitted the plan, it was designed to obviate embarrassment such as that felt by Mexico, with regard to participating in Pan American conferences, or to being represented on the governing board of the Pan American Union by a diplomat of some other nation, as is provided in the present rule for those nations not diplomatically accredited to Washington.

The Costa Rica plan, while providing for direct representatives, would allow governments to appoint their diplomats at Washington as members of the board if

they so desire. If they should prefer to appoint direct representatives other than their diplomatic representatives, the latter also would be permitted to attend meetings but would have no vote. Under the present rule the chairmanship of the board is vested in the Secretary of State of the United States.

It is reported that there is opposition to this proposal.

THE PAN-PACIFIC UNION is making a vigorous campaign to turn over its local work to the younger generation of the people of Hawaii. It has reorganized the Pan-Pacific Luncheon Club, which now meets every Monday. This club is composed of men of all Pacific races who are interested in the plan to bring together the peoples of the Pacific into better understanding and cooperation. For nearly fifteen years the older men of Pacific races in Hawaii have been endeavoring to make themselves better known to each other and to formulate plans for working as a unit, and they have made considerable progress. But the really vigorous work is being taken up by the younger generation.

LETTER BOX

DERRY, N. H., December 30, 1922.

DEAR SIR:

I became a member of our dear Society almost sixty years ago at the request of and upon the advice of Charles Sumner; and, as I have passed my eighty-seventh birthday, I can do but little for the real Christian cause, waiting for the progress of which the world and true religion are only marking time. Your *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been recently, as well as formerly, one of the most hopeful sources of encouragement. May God bless your efforts. You will find enclosed my little check.

Hastily yours,

LEONARD H. PILLSBURY.

NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES,
LOS ANGELES, CALIF., January 6, 1923.

GENTLEMEN:

I am enclosing herewith 25 cents in postage, for which please send me a copy of your pamphlet, "Federal Convention." I wish to present it to one of the teachers in our high school who devotes a great deal of his time to the education of aliens applying for American citizenship. I believe each of them should have a copy of it and study it carefully in order to fully understand our government and its organization.

Yours truly,

T. C. PORTEOUS.

MARCH 3, 1923.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received from Dr. Ludwig Quidde, Zimmerstrasse 87, Berlin S. W. 68, representing the Deutsche Friedengesellschaft, a combination of eighteen peace societies of Germany, a moving appeal for help in this crisis.

The only hope for Germany lies in passive resistance, and the greatest danger lies in the return to power of her military leaders discredited at the end of the war.

The immediate need of the friends of peace who look to the long future—for something nobler and more lasting than victory—is for money to keep up organization and propaganda.

For the last six months the Bureau has kept up a bare existence on a total of \$100. Any contribution toward sustaining the effort for peace in Germany will be of the utmost value in this time of world peril.

Very truly yours,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

FEBRUARY 16, 1923.

DEAR SIR:

I am surprised to see in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for January, 1923, page 12, a statement about the "International Army in Memel under the League of Nations." There has never been any such force. The League of Nations had nothing whatever to do with Memel in any way. The situation in Memel has been entirely in the hands of the principal allied and associated powers, acting through the conference of ambassadors.

Sincerely yours,

MANLEY O. HUDSON.

DEAR SIR:

Thank you for calling our attention to our inaccurate reference to the League of Nations in Memel. We have evidently been quite misled by our friends the newspapers. THE EDITOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 29, 1923.

DEAR SIR:

The first sentence of the first paragraph of the first article in the first number of the first volume of *Hygeia*, a journal of individual and community health, published by the American Medical Association, issue of April, 1923, is:

"During the last twenty years the death rates in all civilized countries, excluding those due to war, have decreased markedly."

Although, in my opinion, the American Medical Association has done a good many "bonehead" things, I am still fallow enough to be impressed by the manner in which their new journal of health passes over the death rates due to war as an accepted and unquestionable fact in our present scheme of social organization. Am I right in thinking that the above is a good text for a sermon?

Yours truly,

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD. By Philip Gibbs. Doran & Co., New York. Pp. 428. \$2.00.

From the relation of war Mr. Gibbs turns to propaganda for peace. "Work for peace" is the message of his book, and it is, undoubtedly, sincere.

A book with a message, however, has many pitfalls to overcome, and Mr. Gibbs has fallen into quite half of them. His hero, who keeps the middle road, between Capital and Labor, Sinn Feinism and British Governmentalism, Constitutionalism and Bolshevism, during the first half of the book, is a most unattractive dummy. The second half of the book abandons all pretense at plot and omits most of the theorizing, with the result that Mr. Gibbs is enabled to give his reader a very convincing, if somewhat gloomy, picture of Europe in the depressing period of 1921.

Just how peace should be worked for is not any apparent concern of the author's. In fact, the only peace association he actually introduces the reader to seems to be a futile and hopeless affair. Nevertheless, his pictures of Russia swept by the aftermath of war, the famine districts of the Volga Valley, the desolation of Petrograd, are sufficiently horrifying to induce peaceful thoughts in the reader's mind. And, perhaps, that is all Mr. Gibbs feels he can do.

But possibly he could have done it even better if he had left out the story and simply given us a descriptive work.

INHERITING THE EARTH. By O. D. von Engel, Ph. D. Macmillan & Co., New York. Pp. 379. \$2.00.

Professor Engel has given in this book a study of the geographical factor in national development. The first six chapters of the book, forming, roughly speaking, half of the volume, are devoted to a historical survey of the development of nationality—its industrial, cultural, commercial, and political growth.

"It is herein proposed," Dr. Engel says in his first chapter, "that the one comprehensive and completely satisfactory explanation of the origin and development of nationality is to be found in the adjustment of peoples to the lands in which they live." He later admits that peoples and varied cultures have influence in shaping events. "Because place is fundamental, it does not follow that an identical national culture would result from placing unlike peoples in turn on the same region. . . . Geographers have been at fault in attempting to fix direct and simple cause-and-effect relationships between place and particular mental and physical modifications of the human species, in failing to recognize the importance of origins, historical contacts, etc. Historians and economists, on the other hand, have been rather unctuous in practically dismissing from consideration, in their interpretations, the influence of environment."

He goes on to show historically how nationality has developed through racial adaptation to geography, and how nations have crystallized about certain water-courses or basins which made them suitable to the life of the inhabiting race.

Once a human group has established its habitat, cohesion demands that the members of the group be willing to cooperate for the common defense. "National patriotism, therefore, is ultimately an expression of neighborliness, and

as such is capable of development along other lines than those of defense." Professor Engel contends that the reason why one kind of public opinion ends and another kind begins at a national boundary is "due primarily to the supreme interest of politicians, as a class, in maintaining the *status quo* of the sovereign State." He thinks that neighborly co-operation normally would extend across boundary lines.

Expansion, as a national policy, he argues, benefits only the few—"In monarchical States, the dynastic interests, in democratic States, the capitalistic interests"; but in either case at a net loss to the larger group of which they are a part. All the geographic factors, and they are the basis of national life, are opposed to aggressive policies of any sort. On the other hand, if human life is to go on, the peoples in different regions of the earth must learn to cultivate their several resources to the utmost, and through commerce and exchange to disseminate them to the best advantage.

This brings us to the second half of the book, which is divided in two long chapters—"Inheriting the Earth—the Temperate Zones" and "The Conquest of the Tropics."

The possibilities of the different zones and climates are rather thoroughly canvassed and the methods of exchange suggested. "It should be recognized," says the author, "that nationality will persist for an indefinite period into the future. As has been argued in these pages, nations are fundamentally and categorically territorial societies. It may be that an effective world confederacy can be achieved in time, but the same end will probably be attained much more easily by preserving national regional groups intact, if the preservation of nationality is coupled with progressive development of a 'live and let live' policy in international relations."

Dr. Engel thinks that though for the last number of generations world trade has naturally developed east and west, the ultimate trade routes must be north and south. The Old World and the New have both become so well opened that now we are coming to the final stage, which will supply tropical agricultural products to the temperate zones and temperate zone meats and manufactures to the tropics.

One misses the usual summary chapter to tie up the ends of argument threaded through the book, but in his concluding sentence Professor Engel perhaps gives one enough to carry away and think over. It runs: "Only as all the conditions of every environment are made known, and, being known, are taken into full account, will the human race be able to realize completely its great heritage—all the regions of the earth."

INDELIBLE. By Elliot H. Paul. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. Pp. 297.

"A girl in Cliftondale, whose name is Hazel, plays the cornet. She plays wonderfully, and I don't see how a girl can get such a strong, clean noise by just blowing a cornet. She played 'The Palms' at a concert. I love to hear her play, but I do not look at her while she is playing, because sometimes, when the notes are especially high, her eyes get crossed, and I am so afraid the cornet will slip that I hold my breath all through the piece. The boys make fun of me because I play the piano, which they think is for girls. The girls make fun of Hazel because she plays the cornet, which they think is for boys. . . . Violins seem to be all right for both boys and girls. The boys in our neighborhood do not make fun of Jack Foley, although they are Protestants, because he is not afraid of anybody. Fighting seems silly to me, and I am not sure who I can lick because I am so good-natured."

That is the sort of little picture of life that appears in one part of this book of swift and strangely fascinating sketches of every-day life.

Here is another:

"Pitts Street is mostly Italian, with possibly 10 per cent of Jews. . . . Women sort their broods and keep them close as possible. They never say 'Hush' to a child out of doors. From nooks and corners float the lilting gay waltz melodies of Italia, wheezed from accordions. The faulty chromatics of a hurdy-gurdy rise from the curb. From the open first-floor windows come the sound of violins and

snatches of tenor song from upstairs. The faintest breath of music, even the whine of a mouth-organ, electrifies Lena."

Does not that open one's eyes and ears to the hidden beauties of every town's East Side—hidden under filth and greed and anger?

Now the boy who was thinking thoughts about juvenile life in Cliffondale was Samuel, and in time he loved Lena, the Jewess. And in time, after many adventures and equally many well-done sketches, their paths run parallel. And it makes a good story.

AMERICANS. By *Stuart P. Sherman*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 336 pages. \$2.00.

"To lengthen the childhood of the individual, at the same time bringing to bear upon it the influences of tradition, is the obvious way to shorten the childhood of races, nations, classes, and so to quickening the general processes of civilization." This quotation, we judge, fairly epitomizes the social philosophy of the author of "Americans." We know of no philosophy more needed by our Menchenized school of "New Critics," indeed, by all our foot-loose philosophers bent upon the overthrow of everything antedating, say *The New Republic*. The author of this book is not only professor of English at the University of Illinois, he is a teacher of sanity to our modern world. We understand that he has just issued another book, "The American Genius." We have not read it. But "Americans," now before us, is a series of masterpieces painted most pleasingly upon an American canvas, each with a vital American background. One reading this book will grant that the author has achieved his purpose of leading his readers "to keep open the channels of their national traditions and to scrutinize contemporary literature in the light of their national past."

There are twelve chapters: Mr. Mencken, the Jenne Fille, and the New Spirit in Letters; Tradition; Franklin and the Age of Enlightenment; the Emersonian Liberation; Hawthorne: a Puritan Critic of Puritanism; Walt Whitman; Joaquin Miller: Poetical Conquistador of the West; a Note on Carl Sandburg; Andrew Carnegie; Roosevelt and the National Psychology; Evolution in the Adams Family; an Imaginary Conversation with Mr. P. E. More.

There is delicious humor and irony here, scholarship, depth, possible only to him "who has lived in a great tradition." This is not puffery, but fact. If, as has been remarked, American criticism has been singularly unsociable, reserved, and poor in personality, this writer has opened up the gates to a new verve and a new hope. The cackling "new spirit of letters" has lost several of its tail feathers already because of this clear-eyed man bent upon preserving what is excellent in our American breed. In his delicious imaginary conversation with Mr. P. E. More, he closes with this typical kindness and penetration:

"But even as I write these words, I seem to hear Mr. More, in an accent slightly eighteenth century, exclaiming, not without asperity, yet rather in pity than in anger: 'Sir, I perceive that you are a vile Whig!'

"To which I reply, not without animation, yet more in affection than in malice: 'Sir, I perceive that you are a stubborn Tory!'

"'Sir,' says Mr. More, 'I am obliged to lean a bit backward to counterbalance the villainess of your Whiggery.'

"'And, sir,' I conclude, 'I am obliged to lean a bit forward to counterbalance the stubbornness of your Toryism.'"

HISPANIC-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. By *William Spence Robertson*. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. Pp. 416, appendix, bibliography, and index.

While this is but one volume among an already long series of texts published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, it is representative in nature. The author, a professor of history in the University of Illinois, spent a year of travel and study in South America, upon the invitation of the Endowment, for the purpose of investigating relations between the United States and the nations of South America. In order to avoid the confusion inherent in the term "Latin America," which would normally include New

France and the French colonies in the West Indies, he has chosen the more modern term Hispanic-American, and quite properly, as his work is a series of studies of relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations as such. Most of the topics considered end with the conclusion of the World War. Beginning with a treatment of the age of transition in Hispanic-America and the foundations of international intercourse, he ends with a chapter on Pan Americanism. Other subjects treated are: the political influence of the United States in Hispanic-America; the Monroe doctrine, allied doctrines, and intervention; and mediation, arbitration, and diplomatic adjustments. Other chapters treat of commercial, industrial, educational and scientific relations between the north and the south of our hemisphere. There is an elaborate appendix containing tables showing the commerce of the United States with the Hispanic nations from 1830 to 1916. There is also a satisfactory bibliography and index, not to mention a number of maps and charts. The analysis at the beginning of each chapter is helpful as a ready reference. It is a worthy expression of the invaluable contribution which the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is making to the cause of an intelligent understanding between nations.

LETTERS OF MEMBERS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. Edited by *Edmund C. Burnett*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921. 538 pages and index.

It would be impossible to review this scholarly book in language more appropriate than that used in the introductory note by J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Dr. Jameson says:

"In a letter written in his old age to another surviving member of the Continental Congress, John Adams exclaims, 'Who shall write the history of the American Revolution? Who can write it? Who will ever be able to write it? The most essential documents, the debates and deliberations in Congress, from 1774 to 1783, were all in secret, and are now lost forever.'

"True it is, that a 'Hansard' or *Congressional Record*, stenographic and complete, of the Continental Congress can never be supplied, but the effort to fill the gap as well as it can now be filled, to which Dr. Burnett has devoted several years of patient labor, has succeeded far beyond the expectations originally entertained. The materials collected, additional to what is in the *Journals*, will occupy six volumes, of which this is the first. Considerable as is the contribution which this volume makes to a fuller knowledge of the proceedings of the Congress, the contributions of fresh information which the later volumes will present will be much larger, in proportion as the amount of material already published, for the period ending with July 4, 1776, is greater than that for the later years. The second, third, and fourth volumes are nearly ready for printing."

BOOKS RECEIVED

- FOOD PRODUCTION IN WAR.** By *Thomas Hudson Middleton*. 348 pages, appendix, index, and list of monographs. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York.
- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.** By *James Bryce*. 265 pages and index. Macmillan Co., New York.
- THE TREND OF HISTORY.** By *William Kay Wallace*. 347 pages and index. Macmillan Co., New York. \$3.50.
- THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER.** By *Harry F. Ward*. 384 pages. Macmillan Co., New York. \$1.50.
- THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.** By *Carl Becker*. 279 pages and index. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York.
- EUROPE AND BEYOND.** By *J. A. R. Marriott*. 325 pages and index. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. \$3.00.
- SAMUEL TRAIN DUTTON.** By *Charles Herbert Levermore*. 277 pages and appendix. Macmillan Co., New York.
- SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.** By *Stuart Alfred Queen*. 322 pages and index. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.
- EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON FRENCH ECONOMIC LIFE.** Edited by *Charles Gide*. 190 pages and index. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—reurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

BRINGING AMERICA TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT

THIS NUMBER of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE is devoted primarily to the question, Shall the United States of America join the Permanent Court of International Justice as organized under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and now sitting at The Hague? In the main, the views as set forth by the six persons whose articles we are printing herein, undoubtedly reflect the opinions of the major portion of our thinking people throughout America.

The development of discussion over the whole question is a remarkable fact. Since the founder of the American Peace Society was the first to suggest the practicability of such an agency for the promotion of international justice, no organization in America is more entitled to feel gratified because of this discussion than the American Peace Society. It is the only society now existing which has pleaded since 1840 for an International Court of Justice. That the project meets with such general approval and from such high sources is the outstanding fact in America's participation in the world peace movement.

Readers of the addresses by Mr. Hughes and by Mr. Root will, upon turning to Mr. Lodge and Mr. Borah, discover that there are some differences of opinion. Others than Mr. Borah are finding it difficult to follow Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root as they deftly argue that the present International Court of Justice is wholly independent of the League of Nations. Those unable to

understand Mr. Root and Mr. Hughes point out that it is Article 14 of the League of Nations which provides that "the Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption, plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice." Under the terms of this article, the Council went about the business. They appointed a committee of jurists to draft a plan. The committee of jurists accordingly drew up and submitted such a plan "in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations." The plan was modified and adopted by the League of Nations. We print the plan elsewhere in these columns. Under its terms it will be seen that the members of the court are elected by the Assembly and by the Council of the League of Nations. The judges receive an annual indemnity which is determined by the Assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the Council. The Assembly of the League of Nations, upon the proposal of the Council, lays down regulations fixing the conditions under which retiring pensions may be given to the personnel of the court. The expenses of the court are borne by the League of Nations, in such manner as shall be decided by the Assembly upon the proposal of the Council. In the light of these facts Mr. Borah and many others find it difficult to follow Mr. Hughes when he says that "action of the League could not have established the court," and to understand just how it is that "the Council and Assembly, in electing judges, do not act under the Covenant of the League of Nations."

And yet there is common ground upon which the President, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Pepper and Mr. Borah seem comfortably to stand. They all believe in an International Court of Justice. The American people believe in an International Court of Justice. Being Americans they quite understand that there can be no popular government without self-restraint; that where order is destroyed, there liberty perishes also: that there can be no order save where courts of justice are established and respectfully obeyed. We in America are all upon common ground here. Therefore it would be unreasonable not to expect the American people to favor the judicial settlement of international disputes.

While many friends of the court regret the embarrassment because of the connection, difficult to disentangle, between the present court and the League of Nations, the principle here involved is crystal clear. To make

the court acceptable to the United States is merely a matter of details. How these details are to be worked is in the lap of the gods, in this instance the members of the United States Senate.

JUSTICE, THE OPEN DOOR

IT WILL be generally agreed that international wars are now mainly precipitated over questions of rights, real or imaginary. If there were a universal respect for the rights of others, a general desire to be fair, to see that every one gets his due; in short, if justice were to prevail there would be no wars. If when controversies between States arise there were means of establishing rights according to the principles of law and equity, and were there a willingness to accept such a method of settlement, the necessity for wars would be removed. The end of the war system, therefore, can only follow the wake of justice.

And yet men say that justice is "meaningless." It is a word "impossible to define." At one time it found expression in the principle, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Later it meant "that the punishment fit the crime." Even now we are told that it is impossible to reach justice "on the merits of the case." Justice, we are told, "is a thing that can't be measured." With a universal "passion for justice, justice never seems to be attained." A writer in a recent number of the *Dearborn Independent* puts the matter flatly. He says, "If there ever was a word which ought to be abolished, it is the word justice."

Yet justice is not so difficult to understand. There is something in us that leads us to respect the rights of others, to be fair, to grant to every one his due. Men have been led by it to demand the establishment of rights according to law and equity, rather than by the methods of brute force. That for which laws are made is justice. In this respect, justice is a definite word with a perfectly clear content.

It is true that in seeking justice nations have gone forth to war. Indeed in modern times most wars have been fought in the name of justice. One thinking only as children think might conclude that justice is therefore the cause of wars. Of course that is not the case. The reason for war invariably is that the nations know of no way, other than by force of arms, to obtain justice.

Is there another way?

It is of course true that force is a precarious method of achieving justice. Wars may be won and justice defeated. It is more uncertain than the method of the early English chancellors administering equity by personal consciences which were as variable as the size of their feet.

There has been an evolution in the means of achieving justice. In civilized communities individuals are no longer permitted to decide their controversies by duels. No judge now has unlimited jurisdiction—power to decide cases according to his own whims. Men, judges, courts themselves are subordinate to law. As law has become systematized, men have provided that all questions of right and wrong shall be circumscribed by law. Realizing that the controversies between man and man should be capable of settlement by means other than the fist, courts of justice have been set up, with the result that a measure of peace before unknown has been established between individuals. Law and courts have opened the way for justice. That is how men have obtained a greater peace. Of course there are many disputes which never reach the courts, trifling, indefinite disputes. The courts do not deal with spiritual obligations or moral claims or private thinking. But in case of a controversy over a question of rights, courts have been found to function with advantage to the parties and to the public.

There are no major disputes which cannot be settled according to the principles of law and equity if there be any honest desire to avoid conflict. Questions of personal independence, of personal honor, of vital personal interests, of the integrity of property, and of the interests of third parties, are settled daily in courts of justice.

The same method is applicable in the case of disputes between nations. Under article three of the Constitution of the United States the judicial power of the United States extends "to controversies between two or more States." The Supreme Court of the United States has original jurisdiction in all such cases. The Supreme Court of the United States has handed down decisions in issues between States involving international law, at this writing, in 107 instances. There has been no restriction to any particular class of controversies. The only limitation is that before a controversy between States can be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States the controversy must be justiciable—that is to say, capable of judicial settlement. The High Court of Australia, following the example of the Supreme Court of the United States, has limited its jurisdiction to justiciable questions. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain has imposed the same restriction upon its jurisdiction. This all means that it is the practice throughout the English-speaking world that before a dispute can be brought before a court it must be brought within some recognized legal principle.

Are there any disputes between nations liable to lead to war that cannot thus be brought within the jurisdiction of a court? Oppenheim holds that "by consent

every possible difference, whether legal or political, can be settled by arbitration." The Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, adopted at the Second Hague Conference, contains this paragraph: "In questions of a legal nature, and especially in the interpretation or application of International Conventions, arbitration is recognized by the Contracting Powers as the most effective, and at the same time the most equitable, means of settling disputes which diplomacy has failed to settle."

While therefore courts with unlimited jurisdiction are, as a matter of fact, limited to disputes capable of settlement according to the principles of law and equity, as the principles of law and equity develop, the jurisdiction of the court increases. Lord Mansfield found little difficulty in expanding the jurisdiction of the courts of common law. The present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court argued more than a decade ago that international law is competent to treat questions of national honor, vital interests, or any other international dispute as justiciable whenever international public opinion would rise to demand it. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch has said: "Whenever the rightfulness and justice of conduct is capable of determination by a body of impartial judges, a judicial question exists." But there is a more important fact. While the Supreme Court of the United States has no jurisdiction over political disputes, the jurisdiction extends "to controversies between two or more States." There is no limitation to this jurisdiction. If it be argued that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court cannot be extended to political questions, the answer is that if States agree to submit a controversy, of whatever nature, to a court of law or equity, the court has jurisdiction in such cases, for, in the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, "from the time of such submission, the question ceases to be a political one. . . . By this grant, this court has acquired jurisdiction over the parties in this cause, by their own consent and delegated authority." Thus there is no international controversy which may not become justiciable, and therefore capable of settlement according to the principles of law and equity. In other words, there is no insurmountable obstacle in the way of establishing an International Court of Justice capable of settling any major dispute between States according to the principles of justice.

Justice is neither a meaningless word nor an outgrown shibboleth. Its establishment is still the chief purpose of the State, its realization the aim of all hopeful international effort. Upon its establishment rests any desirable co-operation between the nations.

Thus the world, searching mournfully for peace, stands, albeit somewhat blinded by the brightness of the light, before an open door.

THE PEACEMAKERS—WHAT OF THEM?

THE PEACEMAKERS—what of them? Have they been lost in the bloody shuffle of war? If not, is there a place for them in the present scheme of things?

It is a striking paradox in current opinion that, at a time when men everywhere loathe war with an unspeakable hatred, the peacemakers of the world seem to be less favorably considered than before the war. This may not be an accurate statement of the situation—we hope it isn't; but there is plenty of evidence that such is the case. No one seems to think that peacemakers are "blessèd," or that they shall ever "be called sons of God." They are just queer.

The best analysis of this paradox which we have seen appeared in the *North American Review* for the month of March. Major Sherman Miles, son of General Nelson A. Miles, it may be remarked, discusses there "The Problem of the Pacifist." He is struck with what seems to be a fact that the world worships peace, but denies the pacifist. He suspects that the reason for the discredited pacifist is due to the general feeling that such a person is either a slacker or a fanatic.

The Major has studied the peace movement with some care. He has discovered that there are thirty-five peace societies in the United States, with twelve magazines; that there are twelve peace societies in Germany, sixteen in France, thirty-eight in the British Empire, and fifty-nine in other countries. But he has been unable to find any digest of the programs supported by these organizations; and, furthermore, he fails to see that there is any unity either in their aims or methods. He seems surprised that there are no studies in the causes of war, and that there is no survey of the "practical methods to prevent war." He finds that one class of peacemakers puts its faith in religion, another in disarmament, both being largely of the non-resistant type. Another section of the peacemakers expresses itself in the terms of some sort of a league to enforce peace; another in some form of federation for the control of conditions that lead to war; while another finds arbitration, justice, law, to be the only means of achieving peace between States.

None of these things impress Major Miles. He believes that "the basis of cure is the knowledge of cause"; that if we are to do away with war it must be through "prevention by foresight"; by "heroic effort." He finds none of these things among the pacifists. It seems to him strange that these workers have not been able to profit by, say, the experience of the anti-saloon campaign.

And yet the Major believes that there is a work for the peace society; indeed, he says that if there is to be any achievement in the campaign against war, that work will have to start with the peace societies. But the labor

must be co-ordinated, strenuous, scientific, growing out of carefullest study and sound plans based on that study. Finally, it must head up in a "long, aggressive fight based on those plans." Here surely is a challenge to the peacemaker. Verily the Major is a peacemaker himself.

There is no doubt that he feels deeply on these matters. The peace movement of today reminds him of the ringing of the church bells and the exhortations to be good offered in the long ago as the only means for counteracting the plague of the "black death." And this, adds the Major with some asperity, in spite of the fact that if anything is to be done to prevent war, with any hope of success, it must be done now, before the new generation of boys, unfamiliar at first hand with the distress of war, is in the saddle.

This criticism from a distinguished soldier, student of war at first hand, intelligently concerned to avoid war, has attracted surprisingly little notice. It deserves carefullest reading, especially by the peacemakers.

It is, we repeat, a challenging thing, this belief of the Major's that any achievement in the campaign against war must at least start with the peace societies. That, coming from such a source, is a sobering expression of views. Every peacemaker will sit up and take notice.

The Major is not alone in emphasizing public opinion as the hope for any international peace. Mr. Willis H. Booth, vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York City, recently elected president of the International Chamber of Commerce at its recent congress in Rome, has just given an interview to a representative of the *New York Times*, under date of May 7, in which he says: "In the last analysis, the investor in England and in the United States is going to be the determining factor in any reparation settlement. Unless he has confidence that the settlement will insure the peace of Europe for an extended period and is within the capacity of Germany to pay, no basis for credit has been established, and without such a basis the ultimate financing cannot be done. *Hence the importance of broad educational efforts by every possible agency, to the end that American judgment, when called for, shall be intelligently expressed.*" (The italics are ours.) President Nicholas Murray Butler, in his annual report as director of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, points out "that governments cannot and do not, except on rare occasions and under pressure of great popular emotion, express the soul of the people." He goes on to point out that "the world must look to the voluntary and unorganized activities of the people themselves."

Thus from the army, from business, and from a university president actively devoted to the cause of international peace, we are told that there is a work of educa-

tion among the people to be done. The peacemakers, therefore, have a task to perform now, before it is too late. And, in the language of Major Miles, the effort must be "heroic," "co-ordinate, strenuous, scientific, growing out of carefullest study and sound plans based on that study."

THE CAUSES OF WAR—THE SOLE PROBLEM OF THE PEACE MAKERS?

WE AGREE with Major Miles. There should be readily available a digest of the programs supported by the various peace organizations. There should be a more tangible unity in the aims and methods of the peace societies. There should be a survey of the practical methods to prevent war. There should be studies in the causes of war. In all of these matters Major Miles, to whose article we referred in the last editorial, is quite correct. Of course, if the Major had dipped a bit more deeply into the literature of the peacemakers he would have discovered various digests of the programs, no little unity in the aims and methods of the peace societies, more than one survey of the practical methods to prevent war. Furthermore, he would have discovered that practically every treatise, be it book or pamphlet, relating to international peace aims to discover and to state the causes of war. Indeed, there are many books devoted primarily to the causes of war. Before the writer at the moment is that interesting volume of "Letters," by Thomas Thrush, written in England in 1828 and by 1833 reprinted in a fourth edition. In one section of this interesting treatise the author writes "On the alleged causes of war," and in another "On the real causes of war." Practically every writer on the problem of peace since Erasmus has concerned himself with the causes of war.

The trouble is not that we do not know the causes of war. We know them. They are as infinite as the instincts and emotions of men. Indeed, they are the instincts and emotions of men. If we are to remove the causes of war, therefore, we must remove the instincts and emotions of men. But if we remove the instincts and emotions of men, we remove men, for men are their instincts and emotions.

Every one of us has inherited responses to definite external or internal stimuli. These are our instincts. They are forces common to us all. Without them there would be no race unity or race at all. Our instinct to preserve ourselves, to fear evil, to fight an aggressor, to hate injustice, to assert ourselves under one set of circumstances and to retire under another, to hunt, to handle, to move, to accumulate, to understand—these are inherited by us all. Without them life itself would

be impotent. There are other race instincts, such as the instinct to mate, to care for the young, to love, to be jealous, to be modest, the instinct of sympathy, love for the beautiful, play, religion, gregariousness—these all enter into the very foundations of groups, societies, nations. If any one or group of these does not function at its proper level, the tendency is for it to lessen in intensity, possibly to atrophy and disappear. This cannot be true of all of them, but it is undoubtedly true of some. Practically all of these instincts are capable of modification. Some of them are fixed and permanent. As Professor Pillsbury says: "It must be remembered that instinct is developed, modified, and even restrained through experience, and reduced to conventional type by social pressure, itself an expression of the social instinct." But in the main instincts are inherited facts of life, and without them there would be no life.

The same thing is true of our emotions, our feelings of pleasure or pain accompanying a given state of consciousness. These emotions of ours constitute our most self-asserting mental states. We act emotionally against evils, especially if they threaten us or ours. Our pride in achievement, ambitions, are the foundations of any *esprit de corps*. We respond emotionally to truth and beauty. Sensations, sentiments, instincts express themselves in emotions. We act from these emotions. Without them we would not act. To eliminate them would mean to eliminate life—at least life as we understand it.

Our instincts and emotions get us into trouble. They ruin health, families, States. They produce war. They are the causes of war. But they also keep us out of trouble. They conserve health. They rear families, States. They establish and maintain peace.

If our instincts and emotions are the causes of war, then, manifestly, to remove the causes would mean first to destroy our instincts and emotions. But that is impossible without destroying life itself.

Does this mean that there is no alternative? When it was said of old, "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called sons of God," was the speaker regaling himself with idle words? We think not. While it is constantly incumbent upon us to make unnecessary the evil expressions of our instincts and emotions, the prime duty of the peacemaker is to offer acceptable methods for the natural instincts and emotions of men to function, to open the way for the intelligent settlement of disputes as they arise.

It is not true, therefore, that we must wait until the causes of war have been removed before the war system can be overthrown. As was pointed out by a distinguished German writer in the midst of the war, it is "the lack of international organization which has failed; and a system of order between States will have to be established, if future wars are to be avoided."

THE PEACEMAKERS' STRAIT AND NARROW COURSE

WHILE the problem of overcoming war is most complicated, mixed up as it is with economic, social, political, racial, psychological factors, all of which are directly related to our instincts and emotions, the course for the peacemaker for the practical present is comparatively clear. Our instincts and emotions, complicated in their variety, equally dangerous if overextended on the one hand or balked on the other, beget our loves and hatreds, our generousities and greeds. The causes of war are infinite and varied.

And yet the work of the peacemakers is comparatively simple. War, as a method of settling international disputes, has been revealed again, not only in its uncivilized ruthlessness, but in all its inadequacy and futility. The World War has left the nations for the most part estranged, each striving in uncoördinated ways to advance its own interests, enlightened or otherwise. And yet, now as ever, the ideal of all civilized States is that "justice is the great end of man on earth." The supreme indictment of the war system lies in the fact that wars may be won and justice defeated. As between man and man, so between State and State, there can be no abiding or desirable peace except a peace of justice.

In the light of these simple facts, the work of the peacemaker is to urge upon press, pulpit, and platform, upon Congress, the President of the United States, and all forward-looking people everywhere, that they make every possible effort:

(1) To bring about at the earliest practicable moment a conference of all the nations for the restatement, amendment, reconciliation, and declaration of international law.

(2) 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.

(3) To promote a truly 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.

THE Permanent Court of International Justice has work to do. Its next ordinary session opens June 15. There are two cases upon the calendar: one, the steamship *Wimbledon*, a case brought by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan against Germany because of Germany's refusal to allow the steamship *Wimbledon* to

have free access to the Kiel Canal. The German Government, under its rights, has appointed Prof. Walter Schücking to sit in the case. An interesting fact in connection with this case is that the Polish Government proposes to intervene under Article 62 of the court's statute, which provides that a State considering "that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case may submit a request to the court to be permitted to intervene as a third party." The other case as called relates to the German minority in Poland. The Council of the League of Nations has requested the court to give an advisory opinion on several points in connection with measures taken by the Polish Government with regard to certain individuals of the German race in Poland. These persons, it appears, have protested against being expelled from their holdings in former German territory ceded to Poland.

THE Permanent Court of International Justice already has a literature of interest. In the first session of the court, held during the summer of 1922, three advisory opinions were handed down, the texts of which are now available. The World Peace Foundation has been appointed sole agent for the publications of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the United States. The address of this organization is 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Publications of the court are divided into four series: Series A, collection of judgments; Series B, collection of advisory opinions; Series C, acts and documents relating to judgments and advisory opinions given by the court; Series D, acts and documents concerning the organization of the court.

The Permanent Court of International Justice held its preliminary session at The Hague Peace Palace in February, 1922. The rules of the court were organized and formulated at that time. The first formal business session was held June 15, 1922. The first session of the court closed on August 12, 1922. The second session was convened on January 8, 1923. The literature relating to this work is of peculiar value to those interested in international law.

THE American Society of International Law held its seventeenth annual meeting in Washington April 26-28. This meeting was presided over by Mr. Elihu Root, President of the Society. The jurisdiction of the United States as to the three-mile limit was discussed by Prof. Philip Marshall Brown, of Princeton University, and by Fred K. Neilson, formerly Solicitor for the Department of State. The existing state of international law, its bases, its scope, and its practical

effectiveness, together with constructive suggestions for its extension into new fields, was another subject for discussion. The two addresses on the Permanent Court of International Justice, one by Mr. Root and the other by Secretary Hughes, appearing elsewhere in these columns, were delivered at this meeting.

TRAVELERS to Europe this summer will wish to attend the Tercentennial Jubilee Exposition in Gothenburg, Sweden, commemorating the founding of the city, three hundred years ago, by King Gustavus Adolphus. The exposition was opened May 8 by King Gustaf with imposing gala festivities. The royal procession was greeted by many thousands of people, who had gathered for the occasion from all parts of Sweden. The opening included an imposing historical pageant, a jubilee cantata sung by a chorus of one thousand children. Members of the Interparliamentary Union planning to attend the conference in Copenhagen will naturally wish to see this exposition, only 186 miles away.

THE FRENCH Bismarckian plan of occupying the enemy's territory until payment is forthcoming has made it perfectly clear that Germany will have to deal with France and Belgium. These two nations have made up their minds that they will not withdraw from the Ruhr except in proportion as Germany pays. They have evidently concluded also not to abate their demands for reparations. In short, pressure upon Germany will continue until the German Government shall make a proposal substantially meeting the French demands. In the meantime, good offices, be they from Great Britain, the United States, or other power, do not seem to be welcome.

LORD CURZON, in his recent speech in the House of Lords, reaffirmed the British attitude of friendly detachment toward the various tentative suggestions for intervention that have been made from time to time, Britain being quite well aware that if she acted prematurely "she might do more harm than good." England's Secretary of Foreign Affairs went on to say that Germany so far has shown little willingness to profit by external advice. "In these circumstances it appears a certainty that if we had directly intervened we should have failed." Lord Curzon assured his listeners that Britain had never had and never would give the smallest encouragement to Germany to evade her liabilities. But, perhaps most important, the distinguished Secretary added that the guiding consideration of British policy is to maintain the entente between France and Britain.

THE Sixteenth National Peace Congress will be held at Leeds, England, June 6, 7, and 8. The provisional program calls for a discussion of the problems of reparations, of disarmament, of the machinery of peace, and of education and militarism. Delegates or indi-

viduals wishing to attend are asked to send their names and addresses, with a registration fee of two shillings six pence, to the Secretary of the National Peace Council, 19 Buckingham Street, London, W. C. 2.

A COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

A SYMPOSIUM OF VIEWS

I

PRESIDENT HARDING

(Address Delivered Before the Annual Meeting of the Associated Press, New York, April 24)

DURING the closing days of the last Congress I sent to the Senate a communication asking its advice and consent to the adherence by the Government of the United States to the protocol establishing the International Court of Justice. Out of this simple, natural, normal proceeding has developed so much of mystery, so much of misunderstanding, so much of protest and approval, so much of threatened muddying of the political waters that I welcome the opportunity, on so appropriate an occasion, to reveal to the American people both the purpose and the motives impelling.

Ours is popular government through the agency of political parties, and it must be assumed that the course of the successful party, which is at the same time an honest party, must be fairly charted by the platform of that party, and by the utterances of its candidates when appealing for popular approval. On that assumption it is seemly to recall the declarations of the party now in power relative to the promotion of international relationships.

In 1904 the national platform of the Republican Party said: "We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration." Four years later, in the national convention of 1908, the party in its platform alluded to progress made in keeping faith with the previous declaration, and said:

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the cause of international peace so strongly advanced in The Hague conferences are occasions for just pride and gratification. . . . We indorse such achievement as the highest duty of a people to perform, and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all the nations of the world.

In 1912 the Republican platform made a very explicit declaration relating to an international court of justice. I quote from the party covenant of faith:

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican Party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world, and for the development of closer relationships between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in a peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

The next formal and solemn pledge was made in 1916. I quote again:

The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best as it is the only true way to preserve peace and restore to us our rightful place among nations. We believe in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

In 1920 the question of our foreign relationship was very acute. The Senate had rejected the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations pact. The convention voiced its approval of the rejection, but was unwilling to pledge aloofness from the world. Therefore it said in its platform pronouncement:

We pledge the coming Republican Administration to such agreements with other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

As a participant in the making of some of these platforms and as the banner-bearer of one campaign, I have a right to believe they spoke the party conscience so plainly that it is not easy to misconstrue.

But there are other utterances which it is seemly to recall. I allude to the interpretation of the platform by the candidate in 1920. On August 28, 1920, speaking on the League of Nations proposal, I said frankly and very definitely I did not favor the United States entering the League of Nations. It was declared then the issue, as defined by the candidate, "involved the disparity between a world court of justice, supplemented by world association for conference, on the one hand, and the Council of the League on the other." Quoting further from the same address, I said:

The one is a judicial tribunal, to be governed by fixed and definite principles of law, administered without passion or prejudice. The other is an association of diplomats and politicians, whose determinations are sure to be influenced by considerations of expediency and natural selfishness. . . . One a government of laws and one a government of men.

In the same address I commended The Hague tribunal. One paragraph is particularly appropriate to quote afresh:

I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts on justiciable questions this country, in common with all nations, would be willing and able to uphold. The decisions of such a court or the recommendations of such a conference could be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality.

So much for political party history. I have quoted it because I believe in keeping faith. If political parties do not mean what they say and candidates do not mean what they say, then our form of popular government is based on fraud and cannot hope to endure.

In compliance with its pledges, the new Administration, which came into power in March, 1921, definitely and decisively put aside all thought of the United States entering the League of Nations.

It doesn't propose to enter now, by the side door, the back door, or the cellar door. I have no unseemly comment to offer on the League. If it is serving the Old World helpfully, more power to it. But it is not for us.

The Senate has so declared, the Executive has so declared, the people have so declared. Nothing could be more decisively stamped with finality.

In further keeping of the faith the Administration made a treaty of peace with Germany, a just treaty, which so impressed our war-time enemy that when we came, later on, to set up a mixed claims commission to settle the claims of American nationals against Germany, that nation named one commissioner, we named one, and then, for the first time in the history of international relationships, Germany asked us, as a contending nation, to name the umpire, the third member, whose vote would decide all differences. I know of no like tribute to a nation's fairness in all the records of history.

Then, in the fulfillment of the pledge of free conference, the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament was called, not in haste, not because some one was prodding, but as early as the barriers to success could be removed. The spirit of that conference and the achievement wrought have been written into history and will grow immeasurably beyond the almost universal popular favor already accorded. There was not alone the triumph in reducing naval armaments and ending competition, which was leading to oppressive naval strength and adding staggering burdens to the treasuries of competing powers; not alone the removal of every war cloud and every reason for conflict in the Pacific, so that now accord and concord abide where suspicion and fear had previously dwelt, but we gave an example to the world of the conference way to peace which time will appraise as the supreme accomplishment.

Hardly had this gratifying work been accomplished before the Administration began its endeavors for further fulfillment. Meanwhile an international court of justice had been established.

It was an agency of peaceful settlement which long had been sought. Its establishment previously had failed because no agreement had been possible over the method of electing judges. The existence of the League of Nations offered a solution. Almost all the member nations had signed a protocol establishing the court.

The members of the Council, in which the larger

powers have permanent representation, afforded one voting body with a veto on the members of the Assembly, consisting of representatives of all the nations, and member nations of the Assembly could have a veto on the larger powers represented in the Council. Here was a device for electing judges which removed the heretofore unsolvable problem of a satisfactory means of selecting them. Not the Council, but the nation members thereof, must vote in majority for the same candidates for which members of the Assembly voted in a majority, else the election is void until a conference points the way to agreement.

The court was established and is functioning. An American judge sits on the court, though we had no part in choosing him.

Under the provisions of its establishment, the United States can apply for a court decision on any justiciable question, even as any nation participating in its establishment. Perhaps the court is not all that some advocates of the court plan would have it, but it is in a large measure the fulfillment of an aspiration we long have boasted. So I thought, and still think, we ought to be a party to the agreement, assume our part in its maintenance, and give to it the benefit of such influence as our size and wealth and ideals may prove to be.

For mere eligibility to appeal to the court nothing was needed. But it didn't seem fair to seek its advantages without accepting all becoming responsibilities, and here developed the stumbling block. Naturally, we should wish to participate in selecting the judges, and the electors designated were members of the League. We had no thought of joining the League; we sought none of its offerings and will accept none of its obligations. The President could propose no solution to the signatory powers, because the world has witnessed in disappointment the spectacle of the executive proposing and the Senate disposing.

It was not desirable to make some proposal abroad that could not be carried out; indeed, none would be considered, and it was not pleasing to think of asking the Senate's consent to a program to which the nations concerned would not agree. So, very informally and very discreetly, the situation was felt out, over a considerable period of time, and when satisfied that there was an appropriate course of action without connection with the League, provided the Senate consented, I proposed adherence to the court protocol and asked the Senate's consent.

The documents speak for themselves. It was pointed out that no rights under the League and no obligations of the League would be incurred, but to make certain that we would not be involved the letter of the Secretary of State suggested suitable reservations to afford ample guaranty.

This is the complete recital. It is in harmony with platform pledges, candidatorial promises, and, I believe, with American aspirations. The Senate's decision was hardly to be expected, amid the enormous pressure of business incident to the closing weeks of the short session. But I felt that the Senate, the country, and the friendly nations whose counsel we had sought were entitled to know that our gestures abroad were sincere, and our own people should know there are no secrets about our purposes at home once they are matured.

Excessive friends of the League have beclouded the situation by their unwarranted assumption that it is a move toward League membership. Let them disabuse their minds, because there is no such thought among us who must make our commitments abroad. And the situation is likewise beclouded by those who shudder excessively when the League is mentioned and who assume entanglement is unavoidable. Any entanglement would first require assent of the Senate, which is scarcely to be apprehended, and if by chance the Senate approved of any entanglement, the present Administration would not complete the ratification. If in spite of these statements, uttered with full deliberation, there are excessive and unfounded hopes on the one hand, or utterly unjustifiable apprehensions on the other, I know of no word fittingly to apply.

Frankly, there is one political bugbear. When we discussed the League of Nations and its rule of force, with its superpowers through a political council and assembly, I myself contended as a Senator for equal voting power on the part of the United States with any nation in the world. With her dominions members of the League Assembly, the British Empire will have six votes in that branch of the court electorate, but it has only one in the electorate of the Council. In view of the fact that no nation can have more than one judge, it is a less formidable objection than when applied to the League as a superpower, dealing with problems likely to abridge a member's national rights. I appraise the objection as one who voted against this disparity of power in the League's Assembly, but in an appraisal now I do not hesitate to say that if other great powers can accept without fear the voting strength of the British dominions, when they are without ties of race to minimize international rivalries and suspicions, we ought, in view of the natural ties of English-speaking kinship, to feel ourselves free from danger.

The perfected court must be a matter of development. I earnestly commend it because it is a great step in the right direction toward the peaceful settlement of justiciable questions, toward the elimination of frictions which lead to war, and a surer agency of international justice through the application of law than can be hoped for in arbitration which is influenced by the prejudices of men and the expediency of politics.

We can do vastly more to perfect it in the capacity of an adherent than in an aloofness in which we arrogate to ourselves the right to say to the world we dictate but never comply. I would yield none of our rights, none of our nationality, but would gladly give of our influence and co-operation to move forward and upward toward world peace and that reign of justice which is infinitely more secure in the rule of national honor than in national or international force.

I have indulged the dream—nay, a justified hope—that out of the encouraged and sustained court might come the fulfillment of larger aspirations. In the proof of its utility and a spirit of concord among nations might come that voluntary conference of nations out of which could be expected a clarified and codified international law to further assure peace under the law and bring nations that understanding which is ever the first and best guarantor of peace.

I would not have it thought that I hold this question

paramount to all others confronting our government. I do not hold it a menace to the unity of any political party. It is not to be classed as a party question, but if any party, repeatedly advocating a world court, is to be rendered by the suggestion of an effort to perform in accordance with its pledges, it needs a new appraisal of its asserts.

Our problems at home invariably call for first consideration. Our own house must be kept in order; our own good fortune must be assured before we can be large contributors to world progress or measurably helpful to humanity. I have little patience with the contention of those who believe large commercial advantages will attend our larger assumption of world responsibility. Nations are not engaged in bartering their trade advantages for larger fellowships. We do not do it ourselves, and we need not ask what we do not give. Commerce is the very life blood of every people's existence, and a nation's commercial opportunities are valued little less than the security of its citizenship.

A restored Europe, with less consumption in conflict and more production and consumption in hopeful peace and banished hate, would add to the volume of world commerce. We would gladly acclaim such a restoration. Our influence and helpfulness are ready when they will avail, but we cannot intrude where we ourselves would resist intrusion.

Our position commercially is gaining in strength, because we are free from political entanglements and can be charged with no selfish designs. In the making of new pacts and the remaking of old, we ask no more and accept no less than the equal opportunity we are ever ready to grant others, and the position is unassailable.

The nation which grants justice may confidently ask it, and the world—social, political, or commercial—which would promote justice through association or judgment of its court must practice justice in its daily transactions.

II

SECRETARY HUGHES

(Address Delivered Before the American Society of International Law, Washington, April 27)

It is my purpose to discuss in the simplest manner the proposal made by the President that the United States should participate, upon stated conditions, in the support of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In making this proposal, the President has been animated by the desire to promote world peace and stabilization; he has sought to give effect to a long-cherished American aspiration, and to pursue in the projected course the clear line of our traditional policy. With full appreciation of the intensity of feeling aroused by the controversy of recent years, we cannot fail to realize the importance of having the subject considered upon its merits, and the supreme need is an understanding of the facts which should remove uncertainty and quiet apprehension.

Let it first be noted exactly what the proposal is and what it is not. As the President has explicitly stated, it is proposed to support the Permanent Court of International Justice; it is not proposed to enter the

League of Nations. Those who desire that by this method the United States shall become a member of the League are indulging vain hopes, and those who are alarmed at such a possibility are entertaining vain fears. The test is a clear one. If the Senate should approve the President's recommendation, the United States would still be outside the League. Acceptance of the President's proposal as to the International Court will not obtain for the United States a single right or subject it to a single obligation under the covenant of the League.

These are the questions in which I assume the citizens of the United States are interested:

Is it a good thing to have an international court?

Why should we have a permanent court instead of temporary arbitral tribunals?

Is the Permanent Court of International Justice established on a sound basis?

Is there any good reason why the United States should not support it?

First. Why should there be an international court? The manifest answer is that there are controversies between nations which should be decided by a court. There are controversies calling for the examination of facts and the application of principles of law. There are international contracts or treaties, now more numerous than ever, to be interpreted. Recognizing the distinction between questions of a legal nature and questions of policy, there has emerged from the discussions of jurists an agreement defining justiciable disputes as those which relate to the interpretation of a treaty, to any question of international law, to the existence of facts which would constitute a breach of an international obligation or to the reparation to be made for such breaches. Other questions may be submitted for decision, but questions of the sort above described are manifestly of the same character as those which in all civilized countries are recognized as matters for determination by judicial tribunals whose impartial judgment affords the nearest human approach to absolute justice.

It is to the direct interest of the United States, with respect to the disposition of its own controversies, that the best practicable method of judicial settlement should be provided. We have rights and duties under international law. We are parties to treaties under which we have rights and obligations. As we cannot be the final judge in our own cases, we need the best possible international tribunal to decide them. This is to the interest of every American citizen. It is also to the interest of the United States that controversies between other nations to which the United States is not a party should be appropriately determined. Suppose a citizen of New York should say that he was interested only in having a judicial tribunal to determine controversies between States to which New York was a party, but that it made no difference to him what happened if the question was between Missouri and Kansas. Every citizen knows that it is in the interest of domestic peace that we should maintain a tribunal by which controversies arising between any two States can be determined. It is equally

essential to world peace that controversies not our own should be peacefully and impartially determined wherever that is possible. As President McKinley said, "It has been recognized as the leading feature of our foreign policy throughout our entire national history" that there should be "the adjustment of difficulties by judicial methods rather than by force of arms."

How are controversies between nations to be determined? If the nations are able to agree, the question does not arise. But what shall be done if they cannot agree? Is their controversy to remain a festering sore? Ultimately, the alternative to peaceful settlement is the arbitrament of force. The only way to prevent war is to dispose of the causes of war, and the desire for peace must be supported by the institutions of peace.

Because a court may not be able to deal with every sort of controversy, but only with controversies that are appropriate for a court to decide, is no reason for dispensing with it. There is no immediate access to the millennium and a demand for the millennium will not prevent war. If the plain path of progress in dealing with those controversies which all countries recognize to be susceptible of settlement through judicial tribunals is not to be followed, then no progress is possible.

Second. Why should there be a permanent court instead of temporary arbitral tribunals?

The principle of judicial settlement of international disputes has been applied from early times through arbitrators. It is a method of great value, and I have no desire to underestimate it. We have been parties to more than 70 arbitrations and we have concluded a score of general arbitration conventions. Throughout its history, the United States has consistently supported this sort of judicial process, but we have long recognized that it leaves much to be desired.

Arbitrators are selected to determine a particular controversy, and after the controversy has arisen. When the decision has been made the arbitral tribunal ceases to exist. There is unnecessary expense in the creation of a separate tribunal for every case, and there is a regrettable loss in the experience of judges because of the lack of continuity in service. For the same reason, the development of the law suffers, as, instead of a series of decisions with appropriate relation to each other by a permanent bench of judges, thus gradually establishing a body of law, there are sporadic utterances by temporary bodies disconnected with each other, acting under different conditions, and having a widely different capacity.

There is a still more serious defect in this process. The arbitral tribunal is composed of those specially selected by the parties to the dispute. In legal matters of minor consequence, where national interest is relatively small, judicial standards are more readily maintained. But where the controversy is a serious one and success is highly important, the constitution of a tribunal after the controversy has arisen is not favorable to the selection of those who will act solely as impartial judges. And those members of the tribunal who are the separate choice of each party tend to become advocates rather than judges; if this is not always the case in fact, it is generally so in public estimation.

There need be no illusion as to this matter. The

question finally comes to the selection of the umpire, or third or fifth arbitrator, as the case may be, who is likely to have the deciding vote. The smaller powers have the less difficulty in making such a choice. They have a range of selection that is generally satisfactory from the standpoint of national interest, and they often are able to agree upon a tribunal composed of a single arbitrator. When there is a serious controversy between great powers, however, the choice of an umpire or third arbitrator is far from easy. National interests are far-reaching, and a selection satisfactory to one power is for the same reason the subject of objection by the other. The difficulty has been vastly increased by the feelings engendered and the alignment of sympathies in the World War. It has become the practice to provide that, in case of a failure of the parties, or of the arbitrators respectively selected by them, to agree upon an umpire or third arbitrator, he shall be selected by some designated power or powers. This is because some means of choice must be provided if the parties cannot agree; but this course places with the designated power or powers the virtual control of the final constitution of the tribunal. The alternative is to have the selection determined by lot, and certainly this is not a satisfactory method.

Even where the parties are able to agree upon the arbitrators, there still remains the danger that considerations of political expediency will usurp the place of judicial standards. I would not disparage the motives of arbitrators or the importance of their service, but, as Mr. Root has well said, they too often "consider themselves as belonging to diplomacy rather than to jurisprudence; they measure their responsibility and their duty by the traditions, the sentiments, and the sense of honorable obligation which has grown up in centuries of diplomatic intercourse, rather than by the traditions, the sentiments, and the sense of honorable obligation which characterizes the judicial department of civilized nations." The process tends to the intrusion of political interest and to a solution by compromise instead of a proper judicial determination. Questions of right come to be determined as questions of policy.

The problem in the improvement of the judicial process in international relations is to secure immunity, so far as is humanly possible, from considerations of political interest and policy, and to have the rights and obligations of nations determined upon their merits. The United States has taken the lead in the endeavor to secure this result by the most appropriate method—that is, by the establishment of a permanent international court.

Secretary Hay instructed the American delegates to the First Hague Conference, in 1899, to present a plan for an international tribunal of a permanent character. While this project was not adopted, the conference did make a decided improvement in existing practice by providing a code of arbitral procedure and an eligible list of arbitrators from which tribunals might be constituted for the determination of such controversies as the parties concerned might agree to submit to them. This was called a Permanent Court of Arbitration, but it was not in fact a permanent court; it was a panel of arbiters. This government still cherished its ideal and hence,

at the Second Hague Conference, our delegates were instructed by Secretary Root to bring about "a development of The Hague Tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility."

Mr. Choate, as the first delegate of the United States, in presenting to the conference the American plan for a permanent court, quoted the words of President Roosevelt, that he hoped "to see The Hague court greatly increased in power and permanency, and the judges, in particular, made permanent and given adequate salaries, so as to make it increasingly probable that in each case that may come before them they will decide between the nations, great or small, exactly as a judge within our own limits decides between the individuals, great or small, who come before him."

Mr. Choate observed that the work of the First Conference, noble and far-reaching as it was, had not proved entirely adequate to meet the progressive demands of the nations, and to draw to The Hague Tribunal for decision any great part of the arbitrations that had been agreed upon; and that in the eight years of its existence only four cases had been submitted to it, and of the 60 judges, more or less, who were named as members of the court at least two-thirds had not as yet been called upon for any service. He found the reasons to lie in undue expense; in the fact that there was "nothing permanent or continuous or connected in the sessions of the court"; that it had "thus far been a court only in name—a framework for the selection of referees for each particular case, never consisting of the same judges." "Let us then," said he, "seek to develop out of it a permanent court, which shall hold regular and continuous sessions, which shall consist of the same judges, which shall pay due heed to its own decisions, which shall speak with the authority of the united voice of the nations, and gradually build up a system of international law, definite and precise, which shall command the approval and regulate the conduct of the nations."

Mr. Choate added that the plan proposed by the American delegates did not "in the least depart from the voluntary character of the court already established. No nation can be compelled or constrained to come before it, but it will be open for all who desire to settle their differences by peaceful methods and to avoid the terrible consequences and chances of war." With solemn emphasis, disclaiming any pride of opinion as to any point or feature of the American plan, he warned the great gathering of the representatives of all the nations that it "would be false to its trust and would deserve that the seal of condemnation should be set upon its work" if it did not "strain every nerve to bring about the establishment of some such great and permanent tribunal."

While the Second Hague Conference discussed a project and recommended a draft convention for the establishment of a permanent court, it was unable to find a satisfactory method of selecting the judges, and for this reason the project failed. Still the American delegates reported to their government that in the proposed project

the foundations of a permanent court had been broadly and firmly laid, and added: "A little time, a little patience, and the great work is accomplished." Echoing the same sentiment, President Roosevelt said in his next message to the Congress: "Substantial progress was also made toward the creation of a permanent judicial tribunal for the determination of international causes." He regarded the unsettled question as to the method of selecting judges as "plainly one which time and good temper will solve."

The establishment of a permanent court of international justice continued to be a cardinal feature of American policy.

Third. Is the present Permanent Court of International Justice, to which the President's recommendation refers, established on a sound basis?

This question invites consideration of its organization; of the extent to which the court has the support of the nations; of the jurisdiction and standards of the court; and of the qualifications, tenure, method of selection, and independence of the judges composing it.

The Permanent Court of International Justice has been established under what is called a statute, or constitution, which defines its organization, jurisdiction, and procedure. In the preparation of this statute the Council of the League called to its aid an international committee of the most distinguished jurists, among whom was Mr. Root. This Advisory Committee of Jurists formulated a plan for a permanent court. The plan was considered and amended in the Council and Assembly of the League, but its main structure was retained. While the amended plan was adopted by the Assembly of the League, it could not be put into effect by action of the League. In view of the scope of the plan, it was necessary to have a special international agreement on the part of the States which were willing to accept it. Accordingly, a special protocol or agreement, with the statute of the court annexed, was drawn up and sent to the nations for approval. I understand that about forty-six States have signed this special agreement, and of these about thirty-four States have already ratified it.

The permanent court is thus an establishment separate from the League, having a distinct legal status created by an independent organic act.

The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force.

Careful provision has been made to secure the independence of the court and to safeguard the appropriate discharge of its functions as a judicial body in accordance with accepted judicial standards. The statute of the court provides that it shall be composed "of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from amongst persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law." The court consists of 15 members—11 ordinary judges and 4 deputy judges. The 11 judges constitute the full court, but if they cannot all be present, the deputy judges may be called on. Nine

constitute a quorum. The court is thus large enough to be appropriately representative and at the same time is not so large that it cannot effectively transact its business.

The judges are elected for nine years and are eligible for re-election. Every judge before taking up his duties must make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously. The ordinary members of the court may not exercise any political or administrative function. This provision applies to the deputy judges during the time that they are performing their duties on the court.

No judge can be removed by the League of Nations. A judge cannot be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members of the court, he has ceased to fulfill the required conditions. This gives the judges absolute security in the impartial performance of their duties.

The statute provides that in deciding cases the court shall apply international conventions establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States; international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law; the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; and the judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law. All questions are decided by a majority of the judges present, and in the event of an equality of votes, the President or his deputy, who are elected by the court itself, shall have a casting vote.

The judgment of the court is to be final and without appeal. It is expressly provided, however, that the decision of the court shall have no binding force except between the parties and in respect of the particular case decided.

As already observed, the Hague project of 1907 for the establishment of a permanent court failed because it was found to be impossible to agree upon the method of selecting the judges. Manifestly, if the nations are to participate in maintaining an international court they must have suitable opportunity to participate in the election of those who compose it. Still, to have every nation represented upon such a court, or to have a selection of a permanent body of judges according to nationality, would be wholly impracticable, and insistence upon such a course would make impossible the establishment of a permanent court. The fundamental postulate of international law is the equality of States, but if this principle alone is observed and all States should join in the election of judges precisely upon the same footing, the small powers would have a great majority and would control the election. Even though the jurisdiction of the court was not compulsory, a court thus constituted would not be likely to enjoy the confidence of the great powers. At least, the fear of such an arrangement has been until now an insuperable obstacle in establishing an international court.

This difficulty has been surmounted by providing that the two groups of powers in the Council and Assembly of the League shall act concurrently in the election of judges. The council is a small body, of ten members, and the great powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, and

Japan—are permanent members, the others being non-permanent members. The Assembly, on the other hand, embraces all the members of the League, fifty-two in number. The statute of the court provides that in electing the judges each of these bodies shall proceed independently, and the successful candidate must have a majority of the votes in each. The result is that the great powers are able to vote in a small group, of which they are permanent members, while all the smaller powers can vote in the other group. In this way the great powers and the smaller powers have a check upon each other, and it is as certain as anything human can be that their concurrent action will result in the election of impartial judges.

It should be noted that the Council and Assembly, in electing judges, do not act under the covenant of the League of Nations. That covenant, which determines the rights and obligations of members of the League, invests them with no authority whatever for such action. The election is held under the provisions of the statute of the court, which rests, as I have said, upon a special international agreement. For this purpose the Council and Assembly are electoral bodies which are utilized because they are groups of States and through provision for their concurrent action the difficulty of finding a satisfactory basis of selection has been overcome.

This suggestion was brought forward by Mr. Root in the Advisory Committee of Jurists. Analogy was found in the plan which made possible our organic Union, by providing for the representation of sovereign States in the Senate and of the people in the House of Representatives and requiring in the enactment of laws the action of both groups. The method of electing judges for the permanent court is thus a practical solution, and I think it may be said that without a solution of this sort, which will enable great powers to have a check upon the smaller powers, and the latter to have a check upon the former, a permanent court cannot be established. We are generally in danger, in all efforts at progress, of being balked by an impractical idealism; in this case it is fortunate that a wise practicality has enabled the nations to attain the ideal of an impartial court.

It should be added that candidates for election are nominated by national groups of arbitrators, who are on the panel established by The Hague Convention, and the election is made from the candidates presented by these groups, except that, in case of inability otherwise to agree, a joint conference of representatives of the Council and Assembly may unanimously present another name to each body. These national groups who thus have the privilege of nominating candidates for the Permanent Court of International Justice are selected by the governments, respectively, under The Hague Convention as men of known competency in questions of international law and of the highest moral reputation. Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended by the statute of the court to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Thus the participating nations have the opportunity to submit the names of their leading jurists.

The plan gives every assurance against a successful attempt by any *bloc* to manipulate or control the elections. Any such attempt in the assembly would meet with the greatest difficulty, in view of its 52 members and their diverse interests, while any effort on the part of the Council to elect a judge partial to particular interests would be wrecked in the Assembly. It is wholly improbable that, acting in this way, the participating nations would be able to agree upon judges unless they were men of acknowledged merit, with a public reputation affording the best possible guaranty of competence and impartiality.

The judges chosen through the concurrent action of these groups will be in all probability, as in the case of those already elected, men of mature years, who have won high distinction. They are elected for nine years and will most probably be re-elected if they give faithful service. This means that men of exceptional experience and recognized fitness for these most important posts are chosen at a time of life and for a term of service which leaves them no motive but to devote the rest of their career to making efficient the administration of international justice to the full extent of their ability. If there is any practicable plan better safeguarding the essentials of an international court, it has never been suggested.

In considering the question of the relation of the court to the League, it must be remembered that if there were no League, you would still have to deal with the States composing the League. If you are to have a permanent court, these States should participate in establishing it and maintaining it and in electing its judges. The question would still remain—whether all these States in choosing judges should act in one body or group, whatever you might call it, or not. If it were insisted that they should act in one body upon precisely the same footing, we should return to the old difficulty and get no court at all. If, on the other hand, you say that the participating States should act in two bodies or groups, so that the great powers may have a check upon smaller powers and the latter upon the former, then the question is, What should the second body or group be? Whatever you call it, it would be a body or group in which the great powers would presumably be permanent members.

The fundamental question is whether the League of Nations controls the court. To this there is a ready answer. The League does not control the court; that is an independent judicial body. The League is composed of States; they, of course, continue to exist as States. When the League acts, it acts under the covenant which creates the rights and obligations pertaining to the League. But when these 52 members act in separate groups to elect judges, they are, as I have said, not acting under the covenant, but are following a course of procedure defined by a special international agreement in order to secure the independent and impartial judicial body for which the world has been waiting.

There are certain other provisions of the statute of the court which have been adopted to meet obvious prac-

tical exigencies. Only one national of a participant in the election can be chosen as a judge. Judges of the nationality of each contesting party retain their right to sit in the case before the court. If the court includes upon the bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties only, the other party may select from among the deputy judges a judge of its nationality if there be one, or, if not, the party may choose a judge. If the court includes upon the bench no judge of the nationality of the contesting parties, each may choose a judge. If there are several parties in the same interest, they are to be reckoned, for the purpose of these provisions, as one party only.

The court recognizes that it may be called upon by the Council or Assembly of the League for advisory opinions. This is a practice similar to that which has obtained in most of the States of New England from colonial days. It now obtains in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Florida, Colorado, and South Dakota. The Permanent Court of International Justice has adopted rules upon this subject so as to assimilate the process so far as possible to a judicial proceeding and especially so as to exclude any supposition that advisory opinions may be rendered in a diplomatic sense and without publicity. (See article by Judge John Bassett Moore on the Organization of the Permanent Court of International Justice, *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 6, June, 1922, pages 11 and 12.)

The conclusion is that while the United States should have the right to participate in the election of judges if it is to support the Permanent Court, that court is established on a sound basis. It is already functioning. The judges have been elected—a most distinguished American jurist being one of them—and they are as representative a body of independent and qualified jurists as could be chosen.

Fourth. I come, then, to the final question: Is there any good reason why the United States should not support the Permanent Court? This support has been proposed by the President upon four explicit conditions. These conditions are:

I. That such adhesion shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the covenant of the League of Nations constituting Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

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

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

IV. That the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

The acceptance of these conditions will establish that the support of the court will not involve entry by the United States into the League of Nations; the participation of the United States in the election of judges; the bearing by the United States of its proper share of the expenses of the court; and, finally, a safeguard against any change in the statute of the court without the assent of the United States.

What, then, are the objections to support of the court upon this basis?

(1) It is objected that it is not a world court. But in what sense is it not a world court? Is reference made to the number of nations which support it? The answer is, as I have already said, that about 46 nations have already signed the protocol, and if the United States adheres, there is every reason to suppose that participation by the other nations will be brought about. This should be our aim. It is not too much to say that there will be no world court if this court cannot be made one, and whether or not it is to be in the fullest sense a world court depends upon our own action.

Suppose we should now undertake to establish another world court? What should we do? We could not establish it by ourselves; we should have to prepare a plan and submit it to the other nations. We should need the approval of the nations who have already approved the present plan.

What differences should we propose, so far as the structure of the court is concerned? With respect to the choice of judges, would we endeavor to have a practicable plan or one that had been demonstrated to be impracticable? Should we insist that all nations be represented on the court by their nationals, or that all nations, great and small, should act together in the choice of judges upon precisely the same footing and without any division into groups which could form a check upon each other? If so, we should have a plan which would most probably fail of acceptance, and at the same time would not safeguard the interests of the United States nearly as well as the existing plan. Should we recommend concurrent action by groups of nations, in order to have a practical arrangement for selecting judges? If so, what groups should we propose, and how would they differ essentially from the present electoral bodies? The more the matter is examined, the more clearly I think it will appear that the suggested changes would be purely formal, and not at all vital to our interests, or of a character which would disclose any just reason for refusing support to the existing court and for entering upon the difficult, if not vain, endeavor of establishing another judicial institution.

(2) Another objection is that the court has been established through the action of the League of Nations. This is not an entirely accurate statement, for the action of the League could not have established the court. It was necessary to have a special agreement signed or adhered to by the nations which support the court, and the court rests upon that agreement. The substantial point, however, is not the source of the plan but its character. Any nation, or any group of nations, might have suggested the plan and it might be none the worse or

none the better for that. The question still remains—What is the court that has thus been established, and is it in its essential attributes worthy of support?

This question I have examined, and I think it is demonstrable that the court is an independent judicial body with appropriate judicial functions and abundant safeguards for their proper discharge. It is not a servant of the League; and its decisions are not supervised or controlled by the League.

It is said that the salaries and expenses, or budget of the court, are fixed by the Assembly of the League upon the proposal of the Council. But the action of the Assembly is the action of the 52 members composing the Assembly, and the recommendation of the Council is the recommendation of the States composing the Council, in each case the action being taken under the statute of the court. If the nations are to support a court, they must, of course, have some practical means of dealing with the budget. Under the present plan, by which both these groups act, there is abundant protection against extravagance. We properly reserve the right of Congress to determine by its appropriation the amount which the United States shall pay as its share. I find nothing which can be regarded as inimical to the interests of the United States in the provisions as to procedure.

(3) But it is said that support of the court, although it manifestly does not involve entrance into the League, or the assumption of any obligation under the covenant of the League, constitutes an entanglement. But in what do we become entangled? Are we to abandon the effort to dispose of international controversies by judicial settlement, which has been a feature of American policy since the foundation of the government? We cannot have an ordinary arbitration unless we have an international agreement and an international tribunal for the purpose of the arbitration. We have never considered this to be an entanglement. We have manifested our desire for such judicial settlements by numerous treaties and special conventions.

Certainly we do not object that the disputes of others should be settled peacefully by similar methods. Then, as I have shown, the establishment of a permanent court has been an American policy because we have desired this essential improvement in judicial process in international relations. Political platforms have treated this as an American policy and not as a forbidden entanglement. If you are to treat participation in a permanent court of international justice as an entanglement foreign to our institutions, you must rewrite American history. If you are not, then the question is as to this particular permanent court and we return to the consideration of its organization and functions, and these justify the conclusion that it is an independent judicial body of the highest character and deserves our confidence.

(4) Again, it is objected that a world court should have compulsory jurisdiction, and that the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice is not compulsory. It may be noted that provision is made in the statute of the court for the acceptance by States, through a special agreement, of compulsory jurisdiction

of legal disputes as defined in the statute. I understand that of the 46 States that have signed the protocol about 15 have ratified this optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction, but among the majority of the States which have not assented to the optional clause are Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. It is apparent that the greater nations are not yet ready to accept compulsory jurisdiction, even of the limited class of questions above described. Certainly, it does not appear that the United States is ready to accept it.

The American plan for a permanent court, which was submitted to the Second Hague Conference, was, as Mr. Choate pointed out, for a jurisdiction of a voluntary character. The Senate repeatedly, from the days of President Cleveland, has refused to sanction an arbitration treaty providing for compulsory arbitration. It has been required that, even under our general arbitration treaties relating to legal disputes, there should be a limitation relating to questions which affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States, and the Senate has insisted that a special agreement for each particular arbitration should be submitted for its assent.

Shall we postpone the plan for a world court because we cannot have compulsory jurisdiction? Can we not make substantial progress in the judicial process by the creating of a tribunal which in the highest degree will command confidence and to which the nations may present their cases for the most impartial and expert consideration that is obtainable? Why should impossibilities be demanded if we are really interested in judicial settlement? It is said that the court is substantially an arbitral tribunal because of the absence of compulsory jurisdiction. But this is not an effective argument, for even if the court could be so described, the question would remain; why should we not have the great advantage of this improvement in the judicial mechanism? This brings us back to the question whether or not we desire a permanent court with the continuous service of judges with appropriate judicial standards instead of temporary arbitral tribunals—a question to the affirmative answer of which we have long been committed.

(5) Further, it is objected that no provision is made for the enforcement of the decisions of the court. There are those who desire to see an international armed force to compel the carrying out of decisions. Those who make this demand generally assume that there will be substantial unity among those furnishing the armed force so that it can be used. But when there is such international unity the power of public opinion is at its maximum and there is the least need for force, while in the absence of such unity the armed force is likely to remain unused.

The truth is that the decisions of the court will have the most solemn sanction that it is practicable to obtain. When nations agree to submit a dispute to a tribunal and to abide by the decision, its observance is a point of international honor of the highest sort. You can really have no better sanction than this, and the obligation is one which will be all the more keenly felt when the decision is not simply that of a temporary arbitral tri-

bunal but of a permanent court supported by practically all the nations of the world. If you desire to improve the authority of judicial determinations of international disputes, you can best effect this object by improving the reputation for impartiality, and for disinterested judicial consideration, of the tribunal that decides them.

(6) An objection of a different character is that the United States should unconditionally support the court, and therefore, apparently, that the suggested conditions should be withdrawn. This objection simply means that the United States should enter the League of Nations, as the objection assumes, in accordance with the fact, that the proposed support of the court does not involve entry into the League. But why, in supporting an institution which embodies a cherished ideal of the American people, should we revive the controversy over the League? Why should we not support the court as a judicial body? In giving this support, however, it is important that we should reserve the right to participate in the election of judges, that we should protect ourselves against amendment of the statute without our consent, and that we should provide for the determination by Congress of the amount to be paid as our share of the expenses. The stipulated conditions are appropriate to the purpose.

(7) Another objection is that the British Empire has six votes in the Assembly of the League in the election of judges, because the dominions and other constituent parts of the Empire are members of the Assembly. It must be remembered, however, that there are 52 votes in the Assembly. The admission to membership of these parts of the British Empire has been a recognition of the aspiration of the peoples composing them, and this has not been found an insuperable obstacle to the support of the court by other powers. And it would be difficult to find a sound reason for objection on the part of the United States to this increase on natural grounds in the voting strength of the peoples who have been developed under the influence of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

Moreover, under the proposed condition the United States will not only participate in the election by the Assembly, but also in the election by the Council, and in the Council the British Empire has but one vote. We are far better protected by this arrangement than by one which would have all States vote together on exactly the same footing and where the smallest nation would cast the same vote as the United States. The arrangement for our participation in the voting for the judges by the Council is really a stronger protection to the interests of the United States than has hitherto been suggested in any plan for a permanent court. The question should also be considered in the light of the nature of the action that is involved. It is practically impossible, under the scheme that has been adopted, for the British Empire, or for any combination, to secure an election of judges in aid of a particular political interest. Such an effort would die stillborn, because of the necessity for a concurrent choice by both groups of nations in the manner that has been devised.

Finally, it is hardly necessary to say that I am in entire sympathy with efforts to codify international law

and to provide conventions for its improvement. I believe in conferences for that purpose. We have already made some progress in this direction through the recent Commission of Jurists which sat at The Hague to suggest modifications in the laws of war which are made necessary by new agencies of warfare—a commission established under a resolution adopted at the Conference on Limitation of Armament. However, the process of codifying, clarifying, and improving international law is necessarily a slow one, and if we wait for a satisfactory body of law before we have a permanent court, a generation will pass before it is established. Meanwhile let us supply appropriate means for the application of the law we have. The two projects are not inconsistent; the one can exist along with the other.

But we have an acute world need. We shall make no progress toward the prevention of war if we adopt a perfectionist policy. Whatever else we should have, we need at once a permanent court of international justice. No plan to promote peace can dispense with it. Why should we wait for the solution of difficult problems of policy and the settlement of the most acute international controversies of a political nature before we meet the obvious necessity of providing for the appropriate disposition of those controversies with which an international court is competent to deal?

Any successful effort to settle controversies aids in the cultivation of good will and the desire for the adjustments of amity. The support of a permanent court as an institution of peace will be a powerful influence in the development of the will to peace. I hope that the United States, in deference to its own interests and in justice to its ideals, will do its part.

III

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE

(Letter to Governor Arthur M. Hyde, of Missouri, April 23)

It has always been the policy of the United States, and very emphatically the policy of the Republican Party, to promote in every way possible the settlement of international differences by arbitration and through the medium of arbitral tribunals. We have advocated in the past the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration. If it had been proposed to establish a permanent international court for the settlement of international disputes, selected as is proposed in the League Court, from the panel created by groups under the terms of The Hague Convention. If it had been proposed to make the judges thus selected appointed by the nations severally and independently and not by a majority of the Council and Assembly of the League and with long terms and sufficient salaries, in my judgment such a court would have received practically universal approval, not only in the Senate of the United States, but by the people of the United States.

In his speech in New York on Tuesday, April 2, the President said: "I have no unseemly comment to offer on the League. If it is serving the Old World helpfully, more power to it. But it is not for us. The Senate has so declared, the Executive has so declared, the people

times and places. All the conclusions reached are reached by diplomatic agreement, just as truly as if those conclusions resulted from diplomatic correspondence or from conversation in a foreign office, or from a conference *ad hoc*, like the Arms Conference.

To these stated conferences is furnished a secretariat rather more elaborately equipped to carry into effect conclusions that may be agreed upon than the ordinary secretariat which every international conference has to have.

The Court of International Justice, on the other hand, completely excludes the essential characteristics of the League organization and procedure.

No diplomatic agreement is sought or attained. No member of court represents or is at liberty to represent any State whatever.

Their duty is not to deal with policies or agreements, but to decide questions of fact and law in cases brought before them. Each judge's obligation is not to represent his country or any country, not to execute the orders of any foreign office, not to reflect the policy of any government, but upon his own conscience to hear and decide upon the evidence and the law in accordance with his own personal judgment.

The court is absolutely independent and is subject to no control by the League of Nations or by any other political authority.

It is plain that there is a line of cleavage between this court on the one hand and the political organization of the League on the other, which is the same as the line drawn by the Supreme Court of the United States between its own functions in dealing with judicial questions and the functions of the legislative and executive branches of our government in dealing with political questions. This is not arbitrary, but exists in the nature of things, because it is plain that States acting in the League organization could not really decide judicial questions, while a court organized for the decision of such questions could not decide questions of governmental policy without abandoning its function of a court and assuming the entirely different function of a political agent.

There is sometimes a failure to appreciate the different offices of these two distinct methods of international procedure.

The diplomatic method is the necessary method of dealing with immediate exigencies and dangerous crises in affairs. Under such circumstances there is no other way to prevent disaster. Argument and persuasion and explanation, the removal of misapprehensions, the suggestion of obstacles and advantages, conciliation, concession, stipulations for the future, and the still more serious considerations to which diplomacy may finally resort—all these are employed to deal with immediate and acute situations. The slow processes of judicial procedure are not adapted to deal with such exigencies.

It should be observed, however, that these diplomatic processes have been going on from the beginning of history, and especially for the last three centuries, since the Thirty Years' War, and each diplomatic effort begins just where similar efforts began centuries ago. Maps change, trade changes, dominant powers change, means of attack and defense and of benefit and injury change; but the nature of man does not change and the

appeal of the expediency of the moment to human passions and desires is always the same. The achievements of diplomacy dealing with successive international crises are reprieves of civilization, not steps in the progress of civilization.

On the other hand, consider the entirely different office of an international court. The least of the benefits which such an institution can furnish is in its decision of particular cases. That is frequently of high importance because, however unimportant in itself the question decided may appear to be, such questions are frequently the origins of general ill-feeling. They frequently halt the whole progress of diplomatic effort toward a good understanding. One of the curious human features of international affairs is that two peoples will accept without irritation an impartial decision upon a question between their two countries when if the foreign minister of either country had agreed to the same thing voluntarily he would have been hung in effigy.

You will recall that in 1898 a Joint High Commission was created by Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of disposing of a great number of pending controversies between the United States and Canada. The Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Herschell, came over to head the British section and Vice-President Fairbanks headed the American section. They met alternately in Ottawa and Washington; they appointed committees; they discussed the numerous questions at issue, and they separated without being able to settle anything whatever, because neither party could yield upon the Alaskan boundary question. The Alaskan boundary question was determined by the decision of the tribunal which sat in London in 1903, and thereupon progress toward settlement of controversies began all along the line, and before the World War came, in 1914, every question had been settled; so that no controversies remained on the diplomatic calendar to hinder alliance between all the English-speaking peoples. It frequently happens in this way that a judicial question upon which neither side can yield without a sense of humiliation is like a key log of a jam, the removal of which sets free the whole mass to follow its natural course down the stream. In such a case it may be of vast importance to both countries to have a question decided, while it may be quite unimportant which way it is decided.

More important is the part that the existence of adequate machinery for judicial settlement plays as a necessary feature of any process toward the outlawry of war. No one can expect a world free from controversy. Disputes will constantly arise so long as human nature remains the same. They must be settled in some way. If not settled peaceably, then from time to time, when they are important and exciting, they will lead to force. That cannot be prevented by mere negatives. The only practical recourse is by furnishing some adequate means of peaceable settlement; and, throughout the entire field of disputes arising upon claims of right, human experience has devised no means of peaceable settlement so effectual as the opportunity to secure the judgment of a competent and upright court of justice.

More important also is the value of an international court as an agency in the development of international law, for there lies the path of progress. It is only by

advance in the establishment of law that the peace-loving peoples of the world can move forward toward the permanent establishment of the rule of public right in lieu of impulse and selfishness and brutal force.

Consider the underlying conditions which make it difficult to maintain peace. Chief among these are the essential differences of temperament and character, and traditions and preconceived ideas, and inherited modes of thought and feeling and action, and differing conceptions of what is just and right and permissible in conduct. Out of these arise inevitable misunderstandings and opposing views of national rights and national duties. In this field interested motives find fertile soil for the cultivation of prejudice and passion and the determination of patriotism on both sides to insist on one country's supposed rights at all hazards, while one side or the other is surely mistaken. This process goes on among civilized peoples, the vast majority of whom on both sides are sincerely in favor of peace.

The one force which civilization possesses capable of checking this process toward conflict is this public opinion in favor of peace. How can that opinion be made effective? Why has it not been more effective in the past? The plain answer is that public opinion, when called upon to address itself to the living questions of the moment, is uninformed. It is ill-informed. It is frequently misinformed. It is differently informed in different countries, and if required to argue out in the heat of controversy, from first principles, the right and wrong of national action, or proposed action, it becomes confused and ineffective; it has no adequate force of crystallization. The plain remedy is to secure general agreement upon rules of right conduct between nations upon which the public of all civilized countries may base their judgment, so that universal opinion may be clear and potent. The rules must conform to the common conceptions of morality, but they must not be mere moral truths. They must translate moral truths into terms of action. They must be definite and certain, to be effective tests of conduct. Their formulation and acceptance must inevitably be a long, slow process; but all advances in civilization have been by long, slow processes. It has been by such a process that the law of nations in its present extent has been built up. For centuries governments have been gradually discussing with each other the ways in which nations ought to act under such and such conditions, and rescuing from the great mass of temperamental differences certain matters of international relation upon which all nations could agree, and formulating rules which all nations could accept; and thus very gradually the field of difference has been narrowing and the field of agreement has been enlarging. These rules constitute the law of nations.

We sometimes hear the remark that the World War has destroyed international law. The future would be dark indeed if that were so. But it is not so. It is true that many of the rules of international law designed to regulate the conduct of war were grossly violated. Upon this two observations suggest themselves: One is that the whole field of international law to regulate the relations of nations in peace is unaffected. The other is that you cannot destroy a law by breaking it. The whole community of individuals or of nations can destroy a law by acquiescing in the breaking of it, but no law-

breaker can destroy the law he breaks. There has certainly been no acquiescence in the wholesale violation by Germany of the law relating to war. On the contrary, it was the testing of Germany's conduct by these rules of international law which led the civilized world outside of the Central Powers to condemn Germany and was the chief element in forming the clear and definite public opinion which ranged against her the forces that led to her final defeat; and the essential basis of the reparations by the infliction of which Germany is being punished now is the German violations of law in beginning and carrying on the war by land and sea. The public opinion of the civilized world found in the clear rules of the law which it had established a certain basis for its judgment, and it has reasserted and re-enthroned the law which was apparently overwhelmed for the moment.

Democracies cannot live without law. Autocrats can issue commands, but democracies must govern themselves by public opinion, and there can be no effective public opinion without established rules of conduct. A world of democracies must be governed by public opinion in support of law or it will be a world of anarchy.

In this modern world of rapid change, the development of international law by the old processes of diplomatic correspondence has not kept pace with the changing conditions calling for the application of law. Within our lifetimes two new methods of expediting the process have been devised. The first is the holding of conferences for the purpose of discussing and agreeing upon additional and more effective rules—a process which ought to be resumed without any avoidable delay. The other is the establishment of this permanent court to pass upon questions of international law in dispute between nations and which, according to all human experience with courts of justice, will inevitably develop the law as it decides cases under the law.

Dangerous as analogies are, when I hear expressions of little esteem for the slow processes of international law because they do not prevent excited peoples from the use of force, I cannot help thinking of the relation between curative and preventive medicine. When a patient is laid low by an acute disease, it does not help him for the physician to talk about sanitary science. Medicine and surgery must deal with that case as best they can at the moment. Nevertheless, if future cases of disease are to be prevented, if the community is to be more healthful, if the death rate is to be lower, if there is to be less tuberculosis, less yellow fever, less typhoid, rules of sanitary conduct of life must be established and understood and followed and enforced by public opinion. The place to begin is in the beginning, before disease has taken possession and become acute.

The question now presented is whether the United States shall take part with the other civilized nations in supporting the International Court of Justice, which the United States has so long urged those same nations to join her in creating.

Manifestly, the presumption is in favor of the United States supporting the court. Both self-respect and self-interest require that the United States should stand by its own policy. We cannot decently urge the creation of such a court as this upon the rest of the world through a long series of years and then repudiate the court when

they consent to it, unless we offer some adequate reason. Is there any such reason?

Several suggestions have been made:

(1) It is said that the court originated in the League of Nations and should therefore be avoided.

The court did not originate in the League of Nations. It originated in the proposal of the United States to the First Hague Conference of 1899. Upon the urgency of the United States in The Hague Conference of 1907, the project was worked out and agreed upon in its essential features, except the method of selecting the judges, and that conference adopted a resolution in these words:

"The conference recommends to the signatory powers the adoption of the annexed draft convention for the creation of a court of arbitral justice and the bringing it into force as soon as an agreement has been reached respecting the selection of the judges and the constitution of the court."

The difficulty which prevented a complete agreement upon the court in 1907 was very simple but very stubborn. The community of nations which was represented in the Second Hague Conference consisted of a small number of large and powerful States and a large number of small and physically weak States. Upon any question to be determined by a vote of States, the small States would have complete control. Yet the large States had greater population, greater interests to be affected by the court, and, as compared with the majority of the small States, greater experience and familiarity with the kind of questions the court would have to pass upon. The small States were jealous of their equal sovereign rights and would not concede superior rights of sovereignty to any other State, however great and powerful, and so they insisted upon each sovereign State having one equal vote in the selection of judges to make up the court. On the other hand, the great States were wholly unwilling to submit themselves to the control of the small States. That was the difficulty upon which the court project stuck fast in the Conference of 1907 and the solution of which was referred to the governments of the nations by the conference. During most of the time between the Conference of 1907 and the World War the Government of the United States was engaged in trying to work out with the other principal powers some solution of this question. Several plans were proposed and draft treaties were made and passed around from foreign office to foreign office without reaching any satisfactory conclusion up to the time of the war. During all this time America was urging the court upon the other powers under the administration of Mr. Taft, as it had urged it under the administrations of Mr. Roosevelt and of Mr. McKinley.

At the close of the war, when the League of Nations came to be made, no power either to act as a court or to create a court was vested in the League, but the duty of finding a way of solving this old unsettled question, which already rested upon the foreign offices of the different powers, was imposed upon the Council of the League by the 14th Article of the Covenant, which provided:

"The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice."

The Council was charged to submit a plan to the several States just as the projects of The Hague conventions were submitted to the several States and became effective only through the several treaty ratifications.

For the purpose of performing this duty of devising a plan to be submitted, the Council invited ten gentlemen from different parts of the world, supposed to be specially familiar with the subject, to meet as a commission to discuss and recommend a plan. In this commission there was one member from each of the following countries: France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, Holland, Norway, Spain, and the United States. Nobody represented any country. They were all there purely as experts, as if physicians were called together to consult about a case or engineers to consult about a bridge.

This commission found and recommended what seemed to them to be a reasonable solution of the critical question. The solution was that as there were already in existence two organized bodies, one of which (viz., the Assembly of the League of Nations) was dominated by the smaller powers, and the other of which (viz., the Council of the League of Nations) was dominated by the larger powers, the judges of the court should be elected by the separate concurrent votes of these two bodies, a majority vote in each being necessary to an election, and that this election should be from an eligible list of persons nominated by the members of the old Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, from each country represented in that organization. In this way each class of nations—the small class of large nations and the larger class of small nations—would have power to prevent unjust or unreasonable conduct by the other class.

This plan, with the details of which I will not detain you, was approved and was submitted to all the States who were members of the League of Nations, and was accepted by those States by signing and ratifying the protocol of December 16, 1920. After the ratification of the protocol by the greater part of the civilized nations, an election was held, and the plan worked admirably and resulted in the selection of a court of the highest quality, both of character and ability, which has organized and entered upon the discharge of its duties and has already disposed of a number of important and difficult questions.

It should be observed that the protocol or treaty constituting this court makes it a world court and not a League court; and especially it should be noted (1) that all States, including the United States, are made competent suitors before the court; (2) that the citizens of all States, including the United States, are made eligible for election to be judges of the court, as the election and membership of a distinguished American indicates; (3) that all States which were members of the old Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, including the United States, are entitled to make nominations which shall form a part of the eligible list from which judges are to be elected. In the summer of 1921 the American group of members of the old Hague Court of Arbitration were formally invited, pursuant to the protocol of December, 1920, to make nominations for judges. The American group did not deem it advisable to act officially

upon that invitation at that time without some authoritative expression of the policy of the United States regarding the court. The members of the American group, however, other than Mr. Moore, did not hesitate to express their unanimous personal opinion that the wisest possible choice among the citizens of the United States for membership in the court would be Mr. Moore himself. (4) That in electing a judge the members of the Assembly and of the Council of the League of Nations are not exercising any power vested in them by the League or by the Covenant. They are executing a special power vested in them by the treaty which creates the court and which authorizes them to act as special electoral bodies under the authority of the treaty. (5) That the protocol contains an express invitation to States not members of the League, including the United States, to become parties to the treaty by adherence.

Only two things appear to remain to complete the full participation of the United States: One is that the United States shall undertake to pay its reasonable portion of the very moderate cost of maintaining the court. The other is that the United States shall have the right to be represented in the election of judges on the same footing as other powers. The President has proposed, in a message to the Senate, that by adherence to the protocol the United States shall agree to contribute to the expenses upon condition that it is accorded the right to share in the election.

(2) It is said that by adhering to the protocol the United States would in some way become entangled in the League of Nations, to which it does not wish to belong.

This apprehension can result only from a lack of clear understanding of what is proposed. The protocol recognizes two distinct classes of States—one, the States that are members of the League of Nations, and the other, States that are not members of the League of Nations. It is proposed that we adhere to the protocol expressly as a State which is not a member of the League of Nations. The only obligation we assume is to pay a sum of money toward the support of the court, the amount to be determined by our own Congress. The only right we acquire is to have a voice in the selection of judges. We may or we may not choose to litigate before the court. If we do choose to litigate, we establish no relation to anyone except the perfectly definite and well-understood relations of a litigant in any court.

(3) It is said that by reason of the fact that not only the British Empire, but the self-governing dominions of that Empire, have votes in the Assembly of the League of Nations, Great Britain would have six votes to our one upon the election of judges.

Whatever agency that argument may have had as bearing upon the question whether the United States should enter the League of Nations, in which the Assembly had important functions to discharge, it has no practical bearing upon the present question, for the reason that the vote in the Assembly in the election of judges is a matter of no practical concern to the United States and it is a matter of no practical advantage to the British Empire.

By the express terms of the protocol of December 16, 1920, no power can have more than one of its nationals in the court. The selection of that one national from

each of the five great powers is secured by their votes in the Council, sitting as an electoral body under the authority of the protocol. One of these will be the British Empire. Another will be the United States, each having one vote and only one vote. The difficult task of the Assembly is to distribute the remaining six judges and four deputy judges, ten in all, among between forty and fifty smaller or weaker powers. The very essence of the arrangement for a separate vote by the Assembly is that in that distribution there shall be no domination by the great powers, but the smaller powers shall have an opportunity to arrange the distribution among themselves. The United States has no business to interfere with it and ought not to wish to interfere. She could neither gain nor lose a member of the court by interfering. The British Empire could neither gain nor lose a member of the court by interfering. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire cannot gain a member of the court by their votes, because their citizens are all nationals of the British Empire, and there can be but one national of that Empire in the court. The objection is purely theoretical and formal, affecting no real interest of the United States, not worthy of consideration in view of the tremendous issues which depend upon securing universal support of the civilized world for this great world court of justice, any more than the special relations which exist, or have existed, between the United States and Liberia, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Panama are entitled to consideration. The only real interest we have in the votes of the Assembly is our interest, in common with all good and decent people in the world, that the best possible judges shall be elected; and if Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, Poland, the Balkan States, the West Indies, and Central America are willing that these highly civilized self-governing nations confederated with the United Kingdom in the British Empire should take part with them in making the selections in which the great powers have no concern, we ought to be content, just as France, and Italy, and Japan are content, and be gratified, because we all know that it will make for the selection of a better court.

(4) It is said that the jurisdiction of the court ought to be compulsory. To that I personally agree. The commission which formulated and reported the plan for the court recommended that jurisdiction should be compulsory; but some nations were unwilling to go to that extent.

No one can say with reasonable confidence that the United States would not have been one of those unwilling nations if the question had been put to it. The uniform attitude of the Senate upon a long series of arbitration treaties has been an attitude of refusal to give to any tribunal whatever compulsory jurisdiction affecting the interests of the United States upon any class of questions. At all events, some nations were unwilling to consent to compulsory jurisdiction. Was the project to be abandoned for that reason? That is not the way to make progress toward the adoption of any idea in this world of widely differing opinions and prejudices. The way to make progress is to secure agreement just as far as possible, get it recorded, get it acted upon so far as it permits action, commit the whole world to it as irrevocably as possible, and then upon the next

occasion start on the basis of that agreement and try for a further step; and when that has been accomplished, try for a still further step. Patience and persistency and faith are the conditions of success in getting ideas adopted in a world composed of States in all stages of social and political development. If you exercise these qualities and your idea is right, you will win through. If you insist upon all or nothing at the outset, you fail. One should always remember that the only international agreement that is worth anything is a real agreement; that opinion and feeling cannot be changed by force; that such a change is an internal process which naturally requires time.

The protocol of December 16, 1920, secures the court upon the character and constitution of which the nations were ready to agree. It secures the jurisdiction of the court so far as the nations are ready to agree, and in two ways it opens the door for enlarging the jurisdiction of the court by making it compulsory just as soon as the nations become ready to agree.

First. It confers jurisdiction not merely upon matters specially submitted, but in the case of general treaties for judicial settlement, so that if any two nations are willing to have all juridical questions as between them judicially settled as of course, they can make a treaty to that effect, and thereupon the court would have compulsory jurisdiction as between these two nations.

Second. The door is kept open by the inclusion in the protocol of a provision under which nations who are willing to give the court compulsory jurisdiction may assent to such jurisdiction and thereby create it. Some twenty, mostly of the smaller powers, have signed that optional clause, so that as between them the court has compulsory jurisdiction. If the United States wishes the court now to have compulsory jurisdiction, the natural course would be for the Senate to advise the President, in response to his message, that the Senate is ready to approve the signing not merely of the protocol, but of the optional clause in the protocol which affords compulsory jurisdiction.

I wish to express my warm agreement with what Senator Borah has recently said about outlawry of war. To that end I sincerely hope that the approval of the United States may be given to this international court, which represents the highest point yet reached by agreement of the nations in affording the same substitute for war by judicial decision of international cases that has been so effective in doing away with private war among individuals.

I hope also that, following upon that approval, the influence of the United States will be employed to bring about a new conference of all the nations entitled to take part in the making of international law, to formulate and agree upon the amendments and additions which should now be made to reconcile divergent views, and to extend the law to subjects not now adequately regulated, but as to which the interests of international justice require that rules of law shall be declared and accepted.

I look forward with confidence to the time when the rules so formulated and accepted as universal law will declare all wars of aggression to be criminal violations of the law of nations. I look forward to the time when the refusal of any nation proposing war to submit to an

impartial court the decision of the question whether facts exist to justify it in war upon defensive grounds will be deemed a confession of guilt, and I look forward to the time when the universal opinion of civilization, having such a clear and certain basis for the formation of judgment, will visit upon the aggressor its swift and heavy condemnation, against which no nation may prevail.

War cannot be outlawed by proclamation, or by resolution, or by mere agreement, or by mere force. War can be outlawed only by arraying the moral force of the civilized world in support of definite rules of conduct which exclude war, and by giving to that moral force institutions through which that force may be applied to specific cases of attempted violation. One of those necessary institutions is a court by whose judgment the great multitude who desire the peace of justice may know what is just.

The question presented by the President's message is really only a question of moral support. The amount of contribution toward the support of the court to be determined by our own Congress would be negligible. We undertake to do nothing and to give nobody authority or power to do anything to us. The question is merely whether we shall give our moral approval to the establishment of the same kind of court which our government has been urging for a generation. It is less than three years since both political parties in the United States practically agreed upon the American attitude, expressed by one of those parties in its platform in these words:

" . . . stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts."

Since that time the only proposal of any practical step toward giving effect to the belief expressed in the words which I have just quoted is the proposal contained in this message of the President. No one has proposed any alternative method to give effect to that belief.

Can it be that the people of the United States do not care whether or not anything is done to make it possible to outlaw war?

PROTOCOL AND STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

I. Resolution Concerning the Establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Passed Unanimously by the Assembly of the League of Nations

DECEMBER 13, 1920

1. The Assembly unanimously declares its approval of the draft statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as amended by the Assembly, which was prepared by the Council under Article 14 of the Covenant and submitted to the Assembly for its approval.

2. In view of the special wording of Article 14, the statute

of the court shall be submitted within the shortest possible time to the members of the League of Nations for adoption in the form of a protocol duly ratified and declaring their recognition of this statute. It shall be the duty of the Council to submit the statute to the members.

3. As soon as this protocol has been ratified by the majority of the members of the League, the statute of the court shall come into force and the court shall be called upon to sit in conformity with the said statute in all disputes between the members or States which have ratified as well as between the other States to which the court is open under Article 35, paragraph 2, of the said statute.

4. The said protocol shall likewise remain open for signature by the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

II. Protocol of Signature Relating to the Permanent Court of International Justice¹

DECEMBER 16, 1920

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

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

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

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

The statute of the court shall come into force as provided in the above-mentioned decision.

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

OPTIONAL CLAUSE

The undersigned, being duly authorized thereto, further declare, on behalf of their government, that, from this date, they accept as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special convention, the jurisdiction of the court in conformity with Article 36, paragraph 2, of the statute of the court, under the following conditions:

[The signatures and ratifications of the protocol and of the optional clause were as follows up to September, 1922.]

States which have signed and ratified the protocol:

Albania	Japan
Australia	Lithuania
Austria	Netherlands
Belgium	New Zealand
Brazil	Norway
Bulgaria	Poland
Canada	Portugal
China	Rumania

Cuba	Serb-Croat-Slovene State
Czecho-Slovakia	Siam
Denmark	South Africa
Finland	Spain
France	Sweden
Greece	Switzerland
Haiti	United Kingdom
India	Uruguay
Italy	Venezuela

States which have signed but not ratified the protocol:

Bolivia	Liberia
Chile	Luxemburg
Colombia	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Esthonia	Persia
Latvia	Salvador

States which have signed and ratified the optional clause:

Austria	Lithuania
Brazil ²	Netherlands ⁴
Bulgaria	Norway
China	Portugal
Denmark ³	Sweden ³
Finland ³	Switzerland ³
Haiti	Uruguay

States which have signed but not ratified the optional clause:

Costa Rica	Panama
Liberia	Salvador
Luxemburg ³	

III. Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice Provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations

Article 1

A Permanent Court of International Justice is hereby established, in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This court shall be in addition to the Court of Arbitration organized by the conventions of The Hague of 1899 and 1907, and to the special tribunals of arbitration to which States are always at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement.

CHAPTER I

Organization of the Court

Article 2

The Permanent Court of International Justice shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality, from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

² Brazil signed the optional clause for a period of five years and with the reserve that its signature shall be considered invalid unless the clause is signed by at least two powers permanently represented on the Council of the League of Nations.

³ For a period of five years only.

⁴ For a period of five years only, in respect of any future dispute in regard to which the parties have not agreed to have recourse to some other means of friendly settlement.

¹ Official text issued by the League of Nations.

Article 3

The court shall consist of fifteen members: eleven judges and four deputy judges. The number of judges and deputy judges may hereafter be increased by the Assembly, upon the proposal of the Council of the League of Nations, to a total of fifteen judges and six deputy judges.

Article 4

The members of the court shall be elected by the Assembly and by the Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions:

In the case of members of the League of Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the lists of candidates shall be drawn up by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.⁵

Article 5

At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall address a written request to the members of the Court of Arbitration belonging to the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant or to the States which join the League subsequently, and to the persons appointed under paragraph 2 of Article 4, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the court.

No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case must the number of candidates nominated be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

Article 6

Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

The Secretary General of the League of Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated. Save as provided in Article 12, paragraph 2, these shall be the only persons eligible for appointment.

⁵ Article 44 of the convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes reads as follows:

"Each signatory power shall select four persons at the most, of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators.

"The persons thus selected are inscribed, as members of the court, in a list which shall be notified by the bureau to all the contracting powers.

"Any alteration in the list of arbitrators is brought by the bureau to the knowledge of the contracting powers.

"Two or more powers may agree on the selection in common of one or more members.

"The same person can be selected by different powers.

"The members of the court are appointed for a term of six years. Their appointments can be renewed.

"In case of the death or retirement of a member of the court, his place shall be filled in accordance with the method of his appointment, for a new term of six years." (*Supplement to this Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 60.)

Article 7

The Secretary General shall submit this list to the Assembly and to the Council.

Article 8

The Assembly and the Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect, firstly the judges, then the deputy judges.

Article 9

At every election, the electors shall bear in mind that not only should all the persons appointed as members of the court possess the qualifications required, but the whole body also should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.

Article 10

Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the Assembly and in the Council shall be considered as elected.

In the event of more than one national of the same member of the League being elected by the votes of both the Assembly and the Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

Article 11

If, after the first meeting held for the purpose of the election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and, if necessary, a third meeting shall take place.

Article 12

If, after the third meeting, one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the Assembly and three by the Council, may be formed, at any time, at the request of either the Assembly or the Council, for the purpose of choosing one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the Assembly and the Council for their respective acceptance.

If the conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfils the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations referred to in Articles 4 and 5.

If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the court who have already been appointed shall, within a period to be fixed by the Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from amongst those candidates who have obtained votes either in the Assembly or in the Council.

In the event of an equality of votes among the judges, the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Article 13

The members of the court shall be elected for nine years. They may be re-elected.

They shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

Article 14

Vacancies which may occur shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election. A member of the court elected to replace a member whose period of appointment had not expired will hold the appointment for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article 15

Deputy judges shall be called upon to sit in the order laid down in a list.

This list shall be prepared by the court and shall have regard, first, to priority of election and, secondly, to age.

Article 16

The ordinary members of the court may not exercise any political or administrative function. This provision does not apply to the deputy judges except when performing their duties on the court.

Any doubt on this point is settled by the decision of the court.

Article 17

No member of the court can act as agent, counsel, or advocate in any case of an international nature. This provision only applies to the deputy judges as regards cases in which they are called upon to exercise their functions on the court.

No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken an active part as agent, counsel, or advocate for one of the contesting parties, or as a member of a national or international court, or of a commission of inquiry, or in any other capacity.

Any doubt on this point is settled by the decision of the court.

Article 18

A member of the court cannot be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, he has ceased to fulfill the required conditions.

Formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary General of the League of Nations by the registrar.

This notification makes the place vacant.

Article 19

The members of the court, when engaged on the business of the court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article 20

Every member of the court shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article 21

The court shall elect its president and vice-president for three years; they may be re-elected.

It shall appoint its registrar.

The duties of registrar of the court shall not be deemed incompatible with those of Secretary General of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

Article 22

The seat of the court shall be established at The Hague. The president and registrar shall reside at the seat of the court.

Article 23

A session of the court shall be held every year.

Unless otherwise provided by rules of court, this session shall begin on the 15th of June, and shall continue for so long as may be deemed necessary to finish the cases on the list.

The president may summon an extraordinary session of the court whenever necessary.

Article 24

If, for some special reason, a member of the court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the president.

If the president considers that for some special reason one of the members of the court should not sit on a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly.

If in any such case the member of the court and the president disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court.

Article 25

The full court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise.

If eleven judges cannot be present, the number shall be made up by calling on deputy judges to sit.

If, however, eleven judges are not available, a quorum of nine judges shall suffice to constitute the court.

Article 26

Labor cases, particularly cases referred to in Part XIII (Labor) of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding portions of the other treaties of peace, shall be heard and determined by the court under the following conditions:

The court will appoint every three years a special chamber of five judges, selected so far as possible with due regard to the provisions of Article 9. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing a judge who finds it impossible to sit. If the parties so demand, cases will be heard and determined by this chamber. In the absence of any such demand, the court will sit with the number of judges provided for in Article 25. On all occasions the judges will be assisted by four technical assessors sitting with them, but without the right to vote, and chosen with a view to insuring a just representation of the competing interests.

If there is a national of one only of the parties sitting as a judge in the chamber referred to in the preceding paragraph, the president will invite one of the other judges to retire in favor of a judge chosen by the other party in accordance with Article 31.

The technical assessors shall be chosen for each particular case, in accordance with rules of procedure under Article 30, from a list of "Assessors for labor cases," composed of two persons nominated by each member of the League of Nations and an equivalent number nominated by the governing body of the labor office. The governing body will nominate, as to one-half, representatives of the workers, and as to one-half, representatives of employers from the list referred to in Article 412 of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding articles of the other treaties of peace.

In labor cases the International Labor Office shall be at liberty to furnish the court with all relevant information, and for this purpose the director of that office shall receive copies of all the written proceedings.

Article 27

Cases relating to transit and communications, particularly cases referred to in Part XII (Ports, Waterways, and Railways) of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding portions of the other treaties of peace shall be heard and determined by the court under the following conditions:

The court will appoint every three years a special chamber of five judges, selected so far as possible with due re-

gard to the provisions of Article 9. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing a judge who finds it impossible to sit. If the parties so demand, cases will be heard and determined by this chamber. In the absence of any such demand, the court will sit with the number of judges provided for in Article 25. When desired by the parties or decided by the court, the judges will be assisted by four technical assessors sitting with them, but without the right to vote.

If there is a national of one only of the parties sitting as a judge in the chamber referred to in the preceding paragraph, the president will invite one of the other judges to retire in favor of a judge chosen by the other party in accordance with Article 31.

The technical assessors shall be chosen for each particular case, in accordance with rules of procedure under Article 30, from a list of "Assessors for transit and communications cases," composed of two persons nominated by each member of the League of Nations.

Article 28

The special chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 27 may, with the consent of the parties to the dispute, sit elsewhere than at The Hague.

Article 29

With a view to the speedy dispatch of business, the court shall form annually a chamber composed of three judges, who, at the request of the contesting parties, may hear and determine cases by summary procedure.

Article 30

The court shall frame rules for regulating its procedure. In particular, it shall lay down rules for summary procedure.

Article 31

Judges of the nationality of each contesting party shall retain their right to sit in the case before the court.

If the court includes upon the bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties only, the other party may select from among the deputy judges a judge of its nationality, if there be one. If there should not be one, the party may choose a judge, preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in Articles 4 and 5.

If the court includes upon the bench no judges of the nationality of the contesting parties, each of these may proceed to select or choose a judge as provided in the preceding paragraph.

Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only. Any doubt upon this point is settled by the decision of the court.

Judges selected or chosen as laid down in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article shall fulfill the conditions required by Articles 2, 16, 17, 20, 24 of this statute. They shall take part in the decision on an equal footing with their colleagues.

Article 32

The judges shall receive an annual indemnity to be determined by the Assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the Council. This indemnity must not be decreased during the period of a judge's appointment.

The president shall receive a special grant for his period of office, to be fixed in the same way.

The vice-president, judges, and deputy judges shall receive a grant for the actual performance of their duties, to be fixed in the same way.

Traveling expenses incurred in the performance of their duties shall be refunded to judges and deputy judges who do not reside at the seat of the court.

Grants due to judges selected or chosen as provided in Article 31 shall be determined in the same way.

The salary of the registrar shall be decided by the Council upon the proposal of the court.

The Assembly of the League of Nations shall lay down, on the proposal of the Council, a special regulation fixing the conditions under which retiring pensions may be given to the personnel of the court.

Article 33

The expenses of the court shall be borne by the League of Nations, in such a manner as shall be decided by the Assembly upon the proposal of the Council.

CHAPTER II

Competence of the Court

Article 34

Only States or members of the League of Nations can be parties in cases before the court.

Article 35

The court shall be open to the members of the League and also to States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

The conditions under which the court shall be open to other States shall, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the Council, but in no case shall such provisions place the parties in a position of inequality before the court.

When a State which is not a member of the League of Nations is a party to a dispute, the court will fix the amount which that party is to contribute toward the expenses of the court.

Article 36

The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force.

The members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present statute is adjoined or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:

(a) The interpretation of a treaty.

(b) Any question of international law.

(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.

(d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or States, or for a certain time.

In the event of a dispute as to whether the court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court.

Article 37

When a treaty or convention in force provides for the reference of a matter to a tribunal to be instituted by the League of Nations, the court will be such tribunal.

Article 38

The court shall apply:

1. International conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States;

2. International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

4. Subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

This provision shall not prejudice the power of the court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, if the parties agree thereto.

CHAPTER III

Procedure

Article 39

The official languages of the court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment will be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment will be delivered in English.

In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the court will be given in French and English. In this case the court will at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

The court may, at the request of the parties, authorize a language other than French or English to be used.

Article 40

Cases are brought before the court, as the case may be, either by the notification of the special agreement or by a written application addressed to the registrar. In either case the subject of the dispute and the contesting parties must be indicated.

The registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

He shall also notify the members of the League of Nations through the Secretary General.

Article 41

The court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to reserve the respective rights of either party.

Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and the Council.

Article 42

The parties shall be represented by agents. They may have the assistance of counsel or advocates before the court.

Article 43

The procedure shall consist of two parts, written and oral. The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the judges and to the parties of cases, counter-cases, and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

These communications shall be made through the registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the court.

A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel, and advocates.

Article 44

For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel, and advocates, the court shall apply direct to the government of the State upon whose territory the notice has to be served.

The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

Article 45

The hearing shall be under the control of the president or, in his absence, of the vice-president; if both are absent, the senior judge shall preside.

Article 46

The hearing in court shall be public, unless the court shall decide otherwise, or unless the parties demand that the public be not admitted.

Article 47

Minutes shall be made at each hearing and signed by the registrar and the president.

These minutes shall be the only authentic record.

Article 48

The court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

Article 49

The court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon the agents to produce any document or to supply any explanations. Formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

Article 50

The court may, at any time, intrust any individual, body, bureau, commission, or other organization that it may select, with the task of carrying out an inquiry or giving an expert opinion.

Article 51

During the hearing any relevant questions are to be put to the witnesses and experts under the conditions laid down by the court in the rules of procedure referred to in Article 30.

Article 52

After the court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose, it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

Article 53

Whenever one of the parties shall not appear before the court, or shall fail to defend his case, the other party may call upon the court to decide in favor of his claim.

The court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 36 and 37, but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law.

Article 54

When, subject to the control of the court, the agents, advocates, and counsel have completed their presentation of the case, the president shall declare the hearing closed.

The court shall withdraw to consider the judgment.

The deliberations of the court shall take place in private and remain secret.

Article 55

All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present at the hearing.

In the event of an equality of votes, the president or his deputy shall have a casting vote.

Article 56

The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based. It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

Article 57

If the judgment does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, dissenting judges are entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

Article 58

The judgment shall be signed by the president and by the registrar. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

Article 59

The decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

Article 60

The judgment is final and without appeal. In the event of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgment, the court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

Article 61

An application for revision of a judgment can be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some fact of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgment was given, unknown to the court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

The proceedings for revision will be opened by a judgment of the court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

The court may require previous compliance with the terms

of the judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

The application for revision must be made at latest within six months of the discovery of the new fact.

No application for revision may be made after the lapse of ten years from the date of the sentence.

Article 62

Should a State consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the court to be permitted to intervene as a third party.

It will be for the court to decide upon this request.

Article 63

Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the registrar shall notify all such States forthwith.

Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgment will be equally binding upon it.

Article 64

Unless otherwise decided by the court, each party shall bear its own costs.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN GERMANY

By DR. BERGER, Oberregierungsrat of Berlin

(NOTE.—The following article was originally published in the *Oesterreichische Volkswirtschaft*.)

THE WASHINGTON AGREEMENT of 1919 for the universal application of the eight-hour day to industry, including mining, but excluding trade and agriculture, has borne little fruit, seeing that, in the three years which have elapsed, it has been ratified by five countries only, namely, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, India, and Czechoslovakia, the only really industrial country to do so. Moreover, Great Britain has clearly announced that it cannot accept the agreement in its present form. At all the international labor conferences held in Geneva have repeated complaints been raised of the neglect to ratify the agreement, and this circumstance has already brought about attempts to seek to amend schemes of international agreements, so that its original, not altogether well considered, form should not prejudice its development.

As a matter of fact, the eight-hour day, quite independently of the Washington scheme, and indeed to some extent in direct contradiction to it, was adopted in many more countries than ratified the agreement. Thus in Germany two so-called demobilization ordinances (November 23, 1918, amended by order of December 7, 1918, and March 18, 1919) applied, immediately after the revolution, the eight-hour day to industry, commerce, technical workers, and clerks. These ordinances introduced the eight-hour day "as the rule for all adult industrial workers, male and female, and for specified classes of clerks." The enactments include workmen in the industrial branches of agriculture, but not agricultural laborers and officials, domestic servants, chemists' assistants, and clerks in positions of authority. Rests are not included. On Saturdays and the eve of festivals, work may be curtailed and the time lost dis-

tributed over the other working days. Exceptions in special cases are allowed. Clerks, shop assistants, etc., may during 20 days in the year, at the choice of the employer, be kept at work for 10 hours a day, but not later than 10 p. m. Overtime may, within certain limits by special labor contract and under clearly defined conditions, be allowed by permission of the authorities. State supervision is exercised by inspectors of industry.

On the above basis the eight-hour day is practiced today in Germany. In 1920 overtime permits were granted to only 116,000 persons out of 7 million workmen employed in the 300,000 works under government control, and it is estimated that for the whole year the average overtime per workman did not exceed one hour. On the other hand, in many industries, notably in the mines, the working week was less than 48 hours, apart from short-time work due to the unfavorable condition of the market.

The ordinances above referred to and the legal position based thereon are only provisional. The government is meanwhile engaged on the preparation of draft bills which will legally regulate the whole question as regards both workmen and employers. On this subject and in connection with the political and economic situation of the whole Reich, the fight for the eight-hour day has again broken out all along the whole line. This time, however, the employers and employed have not shown a united front, the one against and the other for the system, but on both sides there are dissentient minorities, and expert opinion is completely divided. Neither can it be affirmed that the struggle is being conducted on quite objective principles. It must be observed that the problem has been to some extent unfairly stated. For instance, the dispute over the suitability and necessity of the eight-hour day was confounded with the question as to how far, if at all, conditions at present existing in Germany and likely to arise in the near future, are adapted to restrictions of labor. It was also not universally understood that the problem has three aspects, the economic-political, the socio-political, and the politico-psychological.

The economic-political side of the problem lies in the question whether the introduction of the eight-hour day is compatible with the complete development of economic possibilities—that is to say, to the highest possible output and profits, especially in the long run and having regard to the human aspect of economics. This question of human economics at once brings us to the socio-political side of the problem, with which the economic side stands so far in conjunction that a measure of economic prosperity is essential to the conduct of a social policy. The socio-political problem, as such, depends on the question whether the eight-hour day is required for the maintenance of labor power and of the social classes upon which labor power depends, and whether it is essential to the physical, mental, and moral upkeep and development of the working community. The politico-psychological side must be examined in two ways, from the point of view of internal and external politics. As regards the first, the question arises if a practical abolition of the eight-hour day after decades of political struggle is worthy of consideration; and as to the second, the question is to what extent the pressure of reparation obligations and the need of increased output will work

against the eight-hour day, and how far discontent in international labor circles at its abandonment will tell in its favor.

The Socio-Political Committee which drafted the report of the National Economic Council on the Industrial Working Day Bill took the opinions of a number of experts selected from all classes of business life and from all political parties on the following questions:

1. Do you think that, in view of the special situation produced by the war and its consequences, the German nation can continue to exist with a maximum working day of eight hours? On what economic facts do you base your reply, whether in the affirmative or in the negative?

2. What particular circumstance can you cite in support of your opinion as regards your own particular trade or industry?

The individual opinions do not deal with the problem exhaustively, and they are naturally influenced by the economic and political surroundings of their authors. Nevertheless, the views expressed convey on the whole a comprehensive impression. The opinions obtained by the committee were the following:

Herr Gothein, an ex-Minister of the Reich, dealt with the regulation of working hours in the mines—which, as is well known, even including overtime, do not amount to eight hours a day—and its effects. This authority considered that the deficient output of coal and coke hampers the supply of the necessary fuel to industry and by reducing the delivery of phosphates and nitrogen for the manufacture of artificial fertilizers threatens the people's food supply. Any further reduction of output will seriously restrict Germany's capacity of competing with foreign countries. To increase production is absolutely essential. Working hours in the mines must therefore be increased to eight, at least. Where the work is arduous, this limit should, as a general rule, not be exceeded.

Herr Leipart, President of the General German Labor Confederation, took the view that conclusions as to the extent of the reduction of output due to the introduction of the eight-hour day were based on erroneous premises. Already in 1907 in the timber trade, 20.7 per cent of the men were then working eight hours, and 40.2 nine hours and more, and in 1914 only 30 per cent were working more than nine hours. Arguments used at the time in favor of the reduction of working hours were the same as today, but the fears expressed had proved unfounded. There was no question of a hard and fast application of the system. Overtime was admitted both in enactments and in labor contracts. To the question as to whether the nation could continue to exist under the system of the eight-hour day, he replied decidedly in the affirmative. Exceptions must certainly be maintained. Existing difficulties could be disposed of by means of cordial agreements.

Dr. Bosch, of the Bosch Works, Stuttgart, engineer, affirmed that in 1904 he had introduced the eight-hour day with highly satisfactory results, and deemed a working day of this length to be amply sufficient. In his experience a longer working day caused the yield from work to fall off. He deemed the eight-hour day to be absolutely essential in high-class mechanical work, but here he referred to piece-work. In the case of certain classes of labor, such as carpenters and masons, longer

hours might be introduced; but it would be decidedly better to improve the system of work in these not too well managed industries.

Herr Bucher, Geheimrat (member of the Association of German Industries), declared that the debit trade balance could only be wiped out by increased production. This aim need not necessarily be attained by extension of working hours alone, but by a better yield from labor and improved methods. There was no hard and fast rule, but each industry must be judged on its merits. He considered the regulation of overtime pay by private contract as the best solution of the difficulty. Under this procedure the exception proved the rule, with the result that a legal settlement of the eight-hour day was without object.

Herr Baltrush, member of the Committee of the German Confederation of Industrial Unions (Christian Labor Unions), was of opinion that the country could continue to exist under the system of the eight-hour day, but that in order to accomplish this it was necessary that employers should so organize their business as to avoid waste, and that employed should give the utmost of their working capacity.

Professor Herkner expressed agreement with the views of Dr. Bosch.

Herr Wissell, an ex-Minister, considered that a sudden increase of working hours would meet with such resistance from the working classes as appreciably to reduce the yield from labor. It made all the difference whether a man worked more than eight hours voluntarily or on compulsion.

The opinions of the experts, which filled 80 columns of the government's *Labor Gazette*, take relatively little account of the political side (both as regards home and foreign politics) of the question as it affects Germany at the present time, and it could scarcely be otherwise, as this aspect of the question has not now the same importance as in the immediate past. Meanwhile, in conjunction with reconstruction and the reparations question, the idea of increased production has become more and more prominent. On the side of the workmen, the increase of working hours, considered from this point of view, has been described as indispensable.

In this connection, the declarations of the representatives of the four leading Labor Associations made to the Minister of Labor, on November 4, merit mention. The representatives of industrial labor declared that the one-sided treatment of the whole question on the part of the employers had necessitated a clear statement of their own position. They emphatically denied that the increase of production was solely a question of hours of work. It was rather determined by other factors of the most conflicting kind.

The existing policy of "cartells" and trusts was actually prejudicial to the employment of productive forces and to the standard of living of the German people. It was much to be deplored that the technical possibilities of increased production were not sufficiently employed. The trade unions were convinced that for the increase of production no departure from the principle of the eight-hour day was necessary. On this ground the labor unions were fully prepared to co-operate in a simultaneous application of all other measures to increase production in employment of working hours

for the utmost yield possible, and in their adaptation to peculiar needs of the business community arising from time and circumstances. The trade unions desired that the impending labor legislation should be based on principle on the eight-hour day, subject to exceptions in special cases, and for the rest to leave it to labor contracts to deal with special cases in the interests of the community. In this connection, the unions deemed a simultaneous discussion and revision of the Hours of Labor Act, the Wages Act, the Labor Arbitration Act, and the Adjustment Order essential.

LAUSANNE AND THE CHESTER CONCESSION

With the granting of the so-called "Chester concession" and the resuming of the Lausanne Conference, Turkish affairs once more loom threateningly upon the European horizon. France finds herself unable to consent to the wholesale nature of the concessions granted to Rear-Admiral Chester, U. S. N. (retired), and the diplomatic interchanges between the Quai d'Orsay and Angora have been of such a nature that, in response to a reported massing of Turkish troops on the Anatolian border of Syria, General Weygand has been sent post haste to the latter country with orders to take over the command of the French forces from General Gouraud, who is retiring.

THE CHESTER CONCESSION

The basis of the Chester concession is the construction of the following railroad lines in Turkey:

(a) A line leaving Sivas, passing Karpout, Arghana, Diarbekir and Bitlis, and terminating at Van.

(b) A line from the vicinity of Karpout to Youmourtalik, via the Valley of Djelhoun.

(c) A line from a point on line a, passing by Mosul and Kerkut, terminating at Suleymanie.

The construction of these lines is to be followed by an extensive program of exploitation of mineral resources in Anatolia over a period of ninety-nine years.

It so happens, however, that in some of its important features this concession is interpreted as encroaching on previously secured French rights, as well as on certain British rights under various mandate agreements. The French reaction to this maneuver was expressed by M. Poincaré in an interview given to the English and American press correspondents on April 19, when he is reported to have stated that the French Government quite understood that the Angora Government considered it was good policy to provoke some sort of conflict between America and France in order to draw advantage therefrom at Lausanne, but the French Government considered that the Chester concession was only an affair of private interests, and consequently would make no demarche at Washington in the matter, but would confine itself to showing that France had obtained previous concessions for which she had already advanced almost half a milliard of francs.

The special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (April 20) publishes a statement by the head of the Turkish Railway Commission, Mouktar Bey, who gives the Turkish angle of the question, as follows:

I find the project highly profitable to our country. For

the construction of 4,000 kilometers (2,500 miles) of railway, hundreds of thousands of Turkish laborers will be utilized. When the project is completed, the whole of Anatolia will be united by a network of railways. Three large ports will be constructed—Samsun, Trebizond, and Yumurtalik, near Adana.

Regarding the company's right to exploit mines within 20 kilometers (12 and a half miles) distance on both sides of the lines, the Turkish Government has not given any guarantee; besides, the government will receive mining dues and taxes and one-third of the profits of exploitation. The concessionaires are bound to notify the government within six months whether they are ready to begin the construction of the Samsun-Sivas and Angora-Sivas Railways. If they are not commenced within six months, the company's rights to these lines will become null and it will risk losing the whole concession.

Regarding the Samsun-Sivas Railway, for which a concession was given in 1914 to the French and which is the cause of the French protest, only 22 miles out of 250 are completed. However, the principal works, the bridges and tunnels, have also been completed, chiefly by Turkish army labor. The Chester project has now taken in the whole of this work. Under the French concession, the line was to be completed in nine years. Nothing has been done and, owing to the lapse of time and the changed circumstances, the French concession could not be carried out without modification. Proposals for modification were made to us and carefully examined, but were found unsatisfactory. Then came other and better offers, and we considered ourselves free to choose, looking solely to the interests of our country.

SECOND CONFERENCE AT LAUSANNE

The Lausanne Conference reopened on April 23, somewhat overshadowed by the Chester concession. After the usual preliminaries, it split into three commissions, the first dealing with political clauses and the juridical régime for foreigners, the second with financial and sanitary questions, and the third with commercial matters and the fiscal and economic régime for foreigners. These commissions were placed under the presidency of Sir Horace Rumboldt (Great Britain), General Pelle (France), and Signor Montagna (Italy), respectively.

The first day's deliberations were marked by the adjudication to Turkey of sovereignty over the islands adjacent to Tenedos, and the refusal to accede to the Turkish request for the Thalweg, and the deepest channel of the Maritza as Turkey's European frontier.

By the beginning of May the Lausanne Conference reached a deadlock over the question of the rights of foreigners in Turkey. As reported by the Associated Press, the United States has been dragged into this controversy, which is a part of the whole problem of capitulations. The report from Lausanne, dated May 4, reads as follows:

The controversy hinges on the authority to be granted the foreign legal advisers Turkey agreed to employ and also upon the possible obligations incurred by the Allies in their feverish activities at the last conference, when the French and Italians, aided by the American representative, intervened at the last minute in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the collapse of the conference.

Ismet Pasha refused to discuss any proposal except the Italian formula, which was accepted then, but which the Allies have now withdrawn, the British not having ratified it. He said the Turks were willing to sign this accord, and that if the Allies repudiated it and it were again found that a peace agreement was impossible, the world would know that the rupture had been caused by the uncompromising attitude of the Allies.

Joseph C. Grew, American Minister to Switzerland, intervened in the discussion, saying that the United States wished to see the functions of the legal advisers clearly defined, so that foreigners could be absolutely safeguarded.

Ismet Pasha then caused some surprise by turning to the American representative and declaring that Ambassador Child, Rear-Admiral Bristol, and Mr. Grew had, on February 4, during the previous session of the conference, approved the text which the Allies now repudiated. To this Mr. Grew replied that the Americans had merely used their good offices and had made no commitments either for their government or the Allies. An Allied spokesman later described the American minister's remark as timely intervention in support of the Allied position.

Sir Horace Rumbold, the British High Commissioner at Constantinople, said the compromise had been effected after Lord Curzon left Lausanne. Therefore it was after the close of the conference and was not blinding. He read a somewhat revised version of the original demands under which arrests, searches, and seizures of foreigners in Constantinople and Smyrna could be made only with the consent of the legal advisers, but arrests elsewhere in Turkey should simply be brought to the attention of the advisers.

Sir Horace was supported by General Pelle, the French High Commissioner at Constantinople, and others of the Allies, who said it was only reasonable that foreigners should ask for special guarantees for some years after the abolition of the capitulations.

Ismet then accused the Allies of bad faith. He declared vigorously that Turkey regarded the legal adviser question as closed and said she must refuse to discuss it again. Sir Horace Rumbold retorted that if there could be no discussion, then it was impossible to continue the Lausanne negotiations.

THE SITUATION IN TURKEY

In the meantime the situation in Turkey herself appears highly confused. While the concentration of Turkish troops on the boundaries of Syria, which is under French control, has caused France to take hasty military measures there, including the appointment of General Maxime Weygand as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, reports from Anatolia state that, notwithstanding the existing uncertain political conditions in the Near East, there are every day increasing indications of the impatience of the Turkish peasant of Anatolia to get back to the land.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha, in his recent speeches, has been urging the necessity for work and of the study of modern methods on the part of agriculturists, and in this connection it should be noted that already there is a considerable demand from Anatolia for agricultural machinery. A special commission, it is reported, has recently been appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the needs of the population in the matter of machinery and farming implements. It is stated that, as a result of negotiations with the Commissariat of National Economy, an agreement has been arrived at and since ratified by the Council of Commissaries, authorizing a Turco-American company to import, within a period of three months of signing the contract, a definite quantity of agricultural implements. The company itself is to be locally registered and 70 per cent of the shares are to be reserved for Turks. Assembling and repair shops are to be installed at different points.

THE RUHR SITUATION AND SOVIET RUSSIA

The Ruhr situation, according to reports from Soviet Russia, is of great interest to the Moscow leaders. The press devotes a great deal of space to articles on this problem, and on every hand one sees expressions like: "We are on guard!" "We must be prepared!" etc. In the rural districts

special meetings have been called, at which the official agitators have been instructed to enlighten the peasants, after disposing of the various economic and educational questions to be discussed at these meetings, about the political situation in western Europe.

News has already been received from several localities stating that these meetings have turned out more or less of a failure for the Soviet authorities. All the efforts of the speakers were intended simply to prepare their audiences for the possibility of war, the watchwords of the speakers being "War against War!" and "War against the Disturbers of Peace!" These slogans, however, aroused no enthusiasm. On the contrary, there could be heard from the ranks of the audiences exclamations like: "To the devil with war!" "Enough fighting!" "Haven't you had enough people killed yet?" "We won't go to war, go yourselves!" and similar exclamations.

The possibility of war is now being discussed by every peasant. The very first thing one is asked upon arrival in a rural village is how things stand with war, and the unpopularity of this possibility at once becomes apparent. The peasants generally say, "We have scarcely commenced to get on our feet when these fellows are again trying to start a war, as we hear!" When they are asked whether they would go to war, they usually answer evasively, "Who can tell?" and, after some pause, "If they will drive us by force how are we going to refuse?"

In the cities, on the other hand, there is more indifference to be observed. Generally speaking, the cities are showing less and less interest in passing events, having become rather apathetic. Nevertheless there are certain elements of the urban population who seem to be in favor of the idea of a new war, for the simple reason that this holds out some hope that the inevitable unpopularity of any war is liable to stir up the disaffection of the armed masses and perhaps lead to the downfall of the Soviet Government, for the common people would never understand the objects of a new war.

It is idle to judge of real popular sentiment from such things as demonstrations and manifestations on account of the Ruhr which may be held in the larger towns, as these affairs are organized by the authorities, and the participants are Soviet employees ordered out for these occasions. This is why the dispatches of many foreign newspaper correspondents telling about popular sentiment deserve no credence.

For the present, the Soviet authorities have announced only at a few places a mobilization of Communists, and they are carrying out some troop movements in Karelia and at the Polish frontier, but these movements are thus far regarded merely as of a demonstrative character. Always attentive to popular sentiment, the Soviet Government, it is believed, will scarcely dare get itself entangled in a war. And under existing financial and economic conditions in Russia any considerable mobilization is hardly possible, anyway.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

A NEW ELECTORAL LAW has been introduced by the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Scipel, for the parliamentary elections which are to be held next autumn. Among the most important changes proposed are the reduction of the number of deputies from 183 to 165 and a provision making it compulsory for voters to go to the polls.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of the Baltic States has resulted in the appointment of three commissions, namely, one for trade and exchange of information, one for ports and communications, and one for the prevention of smuggling. Resolutions were passed by one conference in favor of the signing of economic treaties between the Baltic States; the entry into relations with the most important credit institutions for facilitating trade; the organization of mutual information concerning the valutas of the Baltic States on world exchanges; the improving of all passport formalities, and the summoning of a conference of financial experts in order to execute the above resolutions as soon as possible. The necessity of unification and simplification of Baltic port administration, especially as regards tariffs, loading facilities, and the improvement of railway communication between the States, has been voiced by the second commission, and at the invitation of Finland a committee of experts in these matters is to be called.

THE CALLING OF AN IMPERIAL CONFERENCE for next autumn has been announced by Great Britain. The conference is to be held for the purpose of considering the economic conditions of the nations of the British Commonwealth, the problem of assisting immigration from the old lands to the new, and certain aspects of foreign policy. In connection with the immigration problem, it is worthy of note that there are still 1,250,000 people unemployed in Great Britain, while Canada, Australasia, and South Africa need settlers. In the case of Canada special efforts are being directed toward securing immigration from Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. South Africa, on the other hand, specifies the need of capital on the part of would-be settlers.

BRITISH EMIGRATION DECREASED IN 1922, according to the recent figures published in London by the British Board of Trade. The number of British subjects who were recorded in 1922 as leaving permanent residence in the United Kingdom to take up permanent residence in non-European countries was 174,096. Against this total must be placed 68,026 persons of British nationality returning from permanent residence abroad, leaving a balance of 106,070 as the number by which the British population was reduced last year. The United States absorbed the largest number of British emigrants, the figure for 1922, however, being considerably less than that for 1913, namely, 49,902, as compared with nearly 130,000. Some 12,611 former emigrants, British subjects, returned from the United States in 1922 to take up residence in England, leaving a total of 37,291, or less than half the annual quota for the British Isles. Canada took 29,641 emigrants, as against 46,852 in 1921. Australia, however, gained some 12,000 over last year, the figure for 1922 being 30,789. Men outnumbered women by 6,257.

CONCERN IS MANIFESTED IN CHINA over the situation of Manchuria, where the Japanese are stated to be strengthening their hold in the south. Baron Okura, director of the South Manchurian Railway, who is reported to be in charge of the political work for that holding of Japan in China, has recently established his residence in Harbin. From this location it is consid-

ered that he can keep better track of events on the Chinese Eastern Railroad, which is now the principal feeder to the south Manchurian line. From Peking two of the foreign advisers of the president have been instructed to go to Manchuria for the purpose of studying the economic and political situation. Chang Tsao Lin has announced his intention of visiting north Manchuria immediately after the Chinese New Year, this being his first visit since he was made Governor General of that region. Observers of the situation state that the prevention of an understanding between China and Soviet Russia will assist the absorption of the economic interests of north Manchuria by the Japanese. Pressure for the repayment of the loans made by the South Manchuria Railway to the Chinese Eastern, the rigid construction of the contract entered into at Changchun last July, the crux of which was basing the rate on soy-beans on Kobe instead of the natural termini of the Russian-owned line, will have its bearing on the struggle for the future disposition of the railroad now going on between Russia and China.

OLD FORMS OF BARTER AND EXCHANGE are being revived and modernized in Germany, in an effort to arrive at some constant basis of calculation which will be affected as little as possible by the wild antics of the German mark. Rye and coal so far are the mediums by which German business hopes to escape the assaults of the mark system. The great depreciation of German currency has had a demoralizing economic effect, and the lack of a stable currency has destroyed thrift and made speculation rife. It is uneconomical for a German to save paper money when its purchasing value will probably be cut in two in a few weeks' time, and the whole credit system of the country has been turned upside down. Co-operative farm loan societies have seen their operating capital dwindle daily. Farmers were able to pay off heavy mortgages, contracted in gold marks, from the sale of a few head of live stock, paying in paper marks. Such conditions have led agricultural interests to seek a currency standard of their own. State banks have started to issue rye and coal bonds—bonds in terms of 50 bushels of rye or a ton or five tons of coal. Insurance companies have also begun to utilize the principle of commodity exchange.

SUEZ CANAL TRAFFIC IN 1922 broke all records, reaching a total of 20,743,000 net tons, of which 668,000 was American. The tonnage of American vessels going through the canal in 1913 was only 7,000.

JAPAN'S IMPORTS FOR MARCH, amounting to 197,000,000 yen, were 43,000,000 larger than in February and exceeded exports by 76,000,000 yen. The excess of imports is not, however, especially discouraging, as under normal conditions Japan's imports show an import excess during the first months of the year, when basic raw materials are being brought in for the use of the various industries.

COAL SHORTAGE IN GERMANY has led the government to direct special efforts toward a development of electrification. By demonstrating the superiority in service and economic efficiency of electricity over steam, it is hoped to offset the handicap to German railway trans-

portation resulting from the occupation of the Ruhr coal fields and the deliveries previously made under the Versailles Treaty. Not only railways, but factories, will be compelled to use electric power. Lack of coal has forced the German State Railway Administration to withdraw a large number of trains. Even now the remaining trains run principally on imported (English) bituminous coal; also the limits in the measurement of locomotive boilers, influenced by the requirements of bridge and tunnel profiles, necessitate the exclusive use of high-grade fuel. Leipzig is already the terminus of several electrified lines.

POLISH EXPORTS OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS during the first half of 1922 represented nearly 30 per cent of the value of all Polish exports. With the incorporation into Poland of Polish Silesia in June, 1922, and the greatly increased volume of Polish commerce resulting, the proportion of the value of petroleum exports as compared with total exports declined, but the industry remains, nevertheless, as a primary source of Polish wealth.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT is considering a project for a 2,000-mile waterway across Central Europe, from the North Sea to the Black Sea, giving this progressive new Republic an outlet to the sea at the north and the southeast. Actual construction may begin by next year.

The project contemplates the digging of about 200 miles of canals in Czechoslovakia, linking up the River Elbe with the Danube. Plans have already been completed by government engineers, and all that now delays the project is sufficient money to carry it through. This, it is believed, will be available beginning with the 1924 budget.

For this great waterway across Europe all that is necessary is to canalize the headwaters of the Elbe for about 100 miles to Pardubice and then extend the canal about 100 more miles to Preral, where there is already a canal going direct to Pressburg on the Danube. Some dredging at the "Iron Gates" of the Danube would also be necessary, but this would be a simple and inexpensive task. Canalization of the upper waters of the Elbe is under way now, and more than fifty miles between Ausig and Noratovich have already been completed.

It is estimated that the project will take five years to put through from the time work on it is actually started. It will provide a year-round route and will cut costs of transportation from Hamburg either by rail or by ship around the Atlantic and through the Mediterranean. Both the Elbe and the Danube have been internationalized by the treaties following the World War and are now controlled by international commissions, and thus no diplomatic complications are expected.

Hamburg is now the principal outlet of Czechoslovakia. It is 482 miles from Prague and four or five days on the fastest river ships. The normal annual tonnage down the Elbe from Czechoslovakia is 4,000,000 tons, while that down the Danube is 2,000,000 tons. The Danube forms part of the southern frontier of Czechoslovakia, and on it is the Port of Pressburg.

Czechoslovakia is also considering a similar project to connect the Oder with the Danube.

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BOOK REVIEWS

FALSIFICATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN ORANGE BOOK. By B. W. Huebsch. New York. Pp. 77. \$1.00.

Probably the next hundred years will be clouded by accusations and counter-accusations concerning the late war hinging on the tendency of governments to keep their private papers private. With the approval of the German Foreign Office, Baron G. von Romberg has set out to prove that the late Imperial Government of Russia deliberately falsified the official Russian Orange Book, dealing with the circumstances attending the outbreak of the war, in order to escape the responsibility of causing the war. This the editor attempts to do by publishing what he alleges are suppressed portions of the telegrams passing between Paris and St. Petersburg at that time.

Publications of this nature, however, always appear to partake, to some extent, of the nature of the boomerang. While it may be perfectly true that certain portions of the telegrams in question were omitted, the fact that one government may have sinned in the *suppressio vero* does not make a rival government automatically truthful. All we have presented to us is the word of the German Government against the word of the late Russian Government. One pays one's penny and takes one's choice, so to speak.

At the same time it is worthy of remark that nothing in the alleged suppressions really alters the situation to an appreciable degree. Those of us who have survived the war realize today that the system, not the actual incidents, really caused the outbreak. In the sense that the Imperial German Government had for years swung the sword, encouraged an overwhelming military establishment, and on more than one occasion (1905 and 1911) blustered and threatened internationally, to an alarming degree, it is responsible for bringing the international temperature to fever heat and causing a general nervousness which very easily led various governments to the point of losing their heads when a further and greater crisis arose. It is quite incredible that any one nation should deliberately engineer a war of world dimensions, but it is not incredible that a nation should play the part of agent provocateur with a reckless disregard of the consequences.

Meanwhile it is interesting to note that, in spite of the so-called suppressions, the order of national mobilizations remains the same, namely, Austria; then Serbia; then Russia, followed immediately by Germany; then, after a lapse of three or four days, France, followed four days later by England. This order tells its own story.

SUSANNE AND THE PACIFIC. By Jean Girardoux. Translated by Ben Ray Redman. New York, Putnam & Sons. Pp. 286. \$2.00.

We are afflicted with movie censorships, voluntary theatrical censorships (under another name they cut as sharply), and threatened with book censorships. Would it not be possible, in the interests of peace and International understanding, to set up a translation censorship?

Here, for instance, is a charming work of art, a delightfully written narrative with a touch of symbolism, and a quaint, unexpected, but infinitely Gallic wit. At the same time, here is the world's worst translation.

There are two elements necessary to a bad translation: one is ignorance of the language from which the translation is made; the other is ignorance of the language into which the translation is made. Both of these exist in this unfortunate rendition. Thus, for example, we find (pp. 30, 44, et al.) the word "dog-tooth" repeatedly used. As a literal translation from the French, it is admirable. As a translation with pretensions to the literary, it is very sad. In the same way the translator inserts into the text such horrors (the word was invented for the occasion) as *quai* (p. 33) for quay; Normand woman (p. 33), which is neither French nor English, for Norman woman; blushlessly, for unblushingly (p. 46); sacred vases (p. 59) for chalices; while such sheer illiteracies as "Sweedish," "Portugeese,"

"to never know him," "Harve," "Sherbert," "troubador," "lightening," and so forth and so on, abound and are repeated, page after page. The reader is finally brought to the point of wishing that, instead of kindly providing footnotes of an explanatory nature concerning Nausicca, Sakumtala, and even Guerlain, the translator had provided a few concerning his own difficulties and why he chose to insert such words as "gallardes" and "ressaut" into the text without italics or other warning, while providing a footnote for "mariyaudage."

Translation is a very fine art. Such people as Gilbert Cannan and Constance Garnett have proved to us that it is possible to retain the atmosphere and peculiar trend of mind of a people while, at the same time, using beautiful English. There are translations of Tolstoi and of Turgenieff into French which are gems. But, on the whole, translation is not taken seriously and is very poorly paid, and because of that fact books are often badly translated by people who could not find anything better to do, and in turn the illiteracy and general obscurity of the resulting publication puts the reader to sleep, so to speak, and makes translations unpopular and slow sellers. There are times, however, when even the hard-hearted reviewer winces at the sight of a delicately lovely chef d'œuvre brutally mutilated.

THE FAMILY AND ITS MEMBERS. By Anna Garlin Spencer. Lippincott's Family Life Series. J. P. Lippincott, New York. Pp. 322. Price, \$2.00.

In our boiling social cross-currents, seething over rocks, seen and unseen, Mrs. Spencer's book on the family stands like a buoy marking a clear course between the dangers.

Neither pessimism nor recklessness is the key to the new social order of the home. Without revolt against the new freedom for women or for youth, but with a definite recognition of the realities which should survive from the old type of home, Mrs. Spencer discusses in an attractive manner, albeit in text-book form, the working out of an effective social idealism.

As in the Peace Movement, so in the old institution of the family, it is only on a basis of equality, justice, and goodwill that the race can permanently be served.

With its discussion of the normal family and the broken one; of the talented child, the handicapped one and the prodigal, closing with the study of the relationship of each member of the group to the state, Mrs. Spencer's book touches inspiringly a large number of the home problems of the day.

A serviceable bibliography completes the usefulness of this very helpful text.

AUTOCRACY AND REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA. By Baron Sergius A. Korff. Macmillan Co., New York. 155 pages and index. \$1.50.

In this book the author has illustrated the benefits to modern thought due to "foundations" for the stimulation of scientific research. This book is a series of six lectures given under the Norman Wait Harris foundation at Northwestern University in the spring of 1922.

The chapter headings are as follows: Autocracy; the Russian Peasant; the Russo-Japanese War; the Events of the Revolution; Germany and the Russian Revolution; Some Lessons of the Russian Revolution.

Since if one were to name the two outstanding problems facing our modern world, one would have to name Russia, and since the author of this book has been Professor of Russian Law and History in the University of Helsingfors, Finland, and in the Women's University, Petrograd, Russia, this series of lectures will be of more than passing interest to the student of present world affairs and of value without. Baron Korff is now Professor of Political Science in the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and a lecturer on many platforms, especially among our American colleges. This book, therefore, will be expected to express views and history of more than a passing interest. It does that.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable. In their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective: and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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 utter-
ances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.*

THIS SOCIETY

ORGANIZATIONS interested in obtaining a speaker from
this Society will be glad to know that Mrs. Lucia Pym
Branch, of our Editorial Staff, is now available for a
limited number of engagements.

Mrs. Branch, who was born in London, England, is the
daughter of William E. Pym, portrait painter, and member
of a well-known English family. By her marriage to Cap-
tain Newton Branch, of the U. S. Medical Corps, in 1919, she
became an American citizen, and has been active, since her
arrival in this country, in public life.

During the late war Mrs. Branch was successively a pris-
oner in German hands in Belgium, a military nurse in the
British Red Cross service in England and France, and in the
service of the Quartermaster Corps (Graves Registration
and Finance) of the American Expeditionary Forces in Eng-
land and France. She was stationed in Paris during the
Peace Conference, and had the unique experience of circling
over Versailles in an aeroplane piloted by Navarre, the fa-
mous French ace, during the actual signing of the Versailles
Treaty.

Educated at the City of London School for Girls, the Pen-
sionnat de Meisole, Belgium; the University of London, and
the Sorbonne, France, Mrs. Branch has turned her intimate
knowledge of international affairs to account in articles pub-
lished in the *London Morning Post*, the *Daily Chronicle*,
L'Independance Belge of Brussels, the *Milwaukee Journal*,
the Detroit Free Press, the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, the *New
York Annalist*, the *New Republic*, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, etc.

Mrs. Branch is now on the Editorial Staff of the *ADVOCATE
OF PEACE*, and is available for a limited number of addresses
under the auspices of the *AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY*. Her
themes relate to the principles at the basis of a world gov-
erned by law.

Groups interested to engage Mrs. Branch for addresses
should communicate at once with our main office.

SPEAKING OUT OF NINETY-FIVE YEARS

THE PROCEEDINGS of the ninety-fifth annual meeting
of the Board of Directors of the American Peace
Society are set forth elsewhere in these columns. It
will repay our readers to peruse the reports, for they
are not without interest. Looking up from its ninety-
five years of constant effort, the American Peace Society
views the movement in behalf of international peace
with an experienced, if not a discerning eye.

The peace movement of the world is far too ineffect-
ive. One reason undoubtedly is that it is altogether too
theoretical. Theories there must be. In a democracy
theories there will be. Differences of opinion beget
theories, particularly in a democracy. The visible re-
sult of these differences of opinion is politics. In a
sense, politics becomes the safety-valve of democracy.
We should not, therefore, be afraid of politics;
we should cultivate politics. The peace move-
ment is at this moment in politics, particularly
the American peace movement. This is not a mis-
fortune; it is a wholesome thing. It is, however, but
one more step in the progress of the movement. The
hope just now is that these differences of opinion as to
what international policies should prevail, our politics,
may produce not only a greater meeting of minds, but
a more adequate method of execution.

Perhaps the best illustration of the importance of
this argument is found in the development of govern-
ment in the American city, particularly since the estab-
lishment of a commission form of government for the
city of Galveston, Texas, following the Galveston flood.
From the time of the first city mayor, in 1822, down to
1895, the tendency throughout our American cities was
toward a more and more complicated form of govern-
ment. Patterning their cities after the National Gov-
ernment, they developed the highly complicated ma-
chinery known as the mayor and council plan. This
plan was theoretically perfectly sound. It broke down,
however. The reason for its failure was not that it did
violence to any American principle; rather to the fact
that as a system it failed to execute the will of the
people. So the commission form of city government,
beginning in Galveston, has also broken down. With
its multiheaded executive, it, too, has failed to execute
the people's wishes. Because of these failures, Staun-
ton, Virginia, set up a city-manager plan, with the
result that it has now been adopted by some 250 of our

American cities. It is claimed for the city-manager plan that it diminishes partisanship and gives expression to the will of the voters. In any event, city democracies are insisting that their theories and desires shall be put into effect. Democracy will some day turn upon the peace movement and demand that our theories shall be put into execution.

That is now the challenge facing the peace movement. The peace movement has not failed on the theoretical side. It has ridden successfully the whirlwind of war, and, as Charles E. Jefferson wrote of Lloyd George, it has "achieved the far greater triumph of riding for four years the hurricane of the wildest peace which the world has ever known." The trouble with the peace movement now is the condition that caused the mayor and council plan of city government and the commission plan as well, to break down. It fails to provide for the execution of the will of the people.

The League of Nations does not fill the gap. Mr. Harding says that the League "is not for us." We believe that Mr. Harding is right. No international organization based upon the inequality of States and advertised as a league to force the other fellow to keep the peace, planned to function as a government of men and not of laws, calculated to line up the United States for or against this or that special interest in Europe, can be expected to win the approval of the United States. The League of Nations may change its charter and become an international agency for conference and the establishment of international law. In this happy event the United States ought to join it. Because the United States were glad to participate in the first and second Hague conferences, and because, when the war broke out, the United States were planning to take their part in a third Hague conference, and all this with practically the unanimous advice and consent of the American people, we believe that the United States would join. The people of the United States, like the peoples everywhere, crave the means of giving expression to their desire for the abolition of the war system. Everybody is against war. The war itself has accomplished that state of mind. The question, therefore, is the question which faced the American cities for nearly a century, namely, how can the will of the people be executed?

As a result of its ninety-five years, the American Peace Society believes that the League of Nations should do one of two things: either radically modify its Covenant in terms consonant with the well-known processes of constitutional government; or disband. In case the League of Nations does neither of these things, then the people of the United States should demand the establishment of a system of recurring international conferences quite as if the League of Nations were not in existence. There is no reason why the will of the

people should be thwarted in this most serious of all matters.

This suggests that there is another trouble with the peace movement. It is that it is uniformly too serious, if not cantankerous. We peacemakers need a Mark Twain, a Mr. Dooley, or a Ding to keep us sane and balanced. We have words, words, words, "with a plentiful lack of wit." We probably feel too much and think too little. Horace Walpole once made the distinction that, "The world is a comedy to those that think, a tragedy to those who feel." There is some truth in that. We believe it was the third Earl of Shaftesbury who held that any subject which will not bear raillery is suspicious, just as a jest which will not bear a serious examination is certainly false wit.

Our social workers have the idea. During their national conference recently held in the city of Washington, most weighty consideration was given to well-nigh every conceivable social problem. And yet, beginning at 10 o'clock one night, they gave in one of Washington's leading theaters what they called "Conference Follies of 1923." It was a clever performance. There was "The Health Fairy," consisting of a travesty of a dance by one of the workers from the National Tuberculosis Association, a serious-minded gentleman dressed in his upper parts like unto a fairy, the lower half of him accoutered in his regular trousers and boots. There was a "Kitchen Cabinet Orchestra," made up of men and women, social workers of the State of Ohio, under the direction of their chief, one playing a washtub for a base drum, another blowing a teakettle, another an elongated funnel, and so on throughout the list of kitchen utensils. There was "The Workhouse Ward," with the Executive Secretary of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, the Commissioner of Probation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Executive Secretary of the Boston Children's Friend Society as "stars." There was a skit entitled "Going Up," a series of pictures of social workers "as seen by the scrub team," with two clever girls, one from the Charity Organization Society of New York City and the other from the New York State Consumers' League, which, from the point of view of libretto, costume, acting, was as laughable as anything one finds on the professional stage. It was all funny. It was highly entertaining. The audience, with great good humor, joined in the choruses. It was altogether wholesome and sane. One came away with the feeling that these social workers, capable of laughing at themselves, can't, for that reason, get far from the right track.

War is a terrible thing. It is uncertain, devastating, and subversive of justice. International co-operation, law, judicial settlement of disputes, rational and acceptable ways for the settlement of international contro-

versies, all must be established and made use of. The resolutions adopted at the ninety-fifth annual meeting of the American Peace Society, appearing on page 220 of this magazine, are consonant with the history and aspirations of our American people. All political parties will agree to that. Our problem is to get the things for which these resolutions stand executed. This calls for serious work. If we can bring sufficient intelligence, good humor, and consecration to bear upon it, we shall accomplish it.

GREAT BRITAIN'S NEW PREMIER

WHEN the famous meeting of the British Conservative Party at the Carlton Club sealed the doom of the Lloyd George coalition and placed the conduct of Great Britain's affairs in the hands of Bonar Law, a cloud of uncertainty was plainly palpable in the atmosphere surrounding the immediate future of British politics. This uncertainty was not due to political apprehensions. The national election which immediately followed returned a safe Conservative majority to the House of Commons. Rather was it due to the widely known fact that the new Premier's health was failing—faster even than it was realized at the time.

Only a few months later the uncertainty translated itself into a tragic reality. The Premier found himself forced to resign, and grave doubts are entertained as to his eventual recovery. The suddenness with which this took place precipitated a crisis in British affairs, in the course of which the future course of these affairs hung in the balance.

The crisis has now resolved itself into the appointment of Mr. Stanley Baldwin to the premiership. Mr. Baldwin was brought into prominence by his leadership of the Carlton Club revolt, which had unseated Lloyd George, and his present appointment is a further repudiation of the War Premier's policies. Aside from the spectacular features involved in the personality of the new head of the British Government, the choice of the former Chancellor of the Exchequer to that high post carries with it international implications of far-reaching importance.

Mr. Baldwin's rise in the national politics of Great Britain has been truly meteoric. Like his immediate predecessor, he comes to politics through an extensive business experience. He has been in Parliament since 1908, but it was not until 1917 that he took any office in the government. It was then that he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury, a post which he held until 1921, when he was made President of the Board of Trade. When Mr. Bonar Law came into power, Mr. Baldwin was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was in that capacity that he made his

recent visit to the United States and concluded the successful negotiations, carried on in Washington, for the funding of the British debt to the United States. So swift a rise to power is almost unprecedented in British politics.

The new Premier inherits from his predecessor three problems of outstanding importance: the Ruhr, Russia, and the internal economic situation. On the question of the Ruhr Mr. Baldwin appears to be in entire accord with the policies that had been pursued by Mr. Bonar Law. In his utterances on the floor of the House, he has made it sufficiently clear that he is strongly out of sympathy with the French tactics of playing a lone hand in the handling of the reparation problem. He has not committed himself on the question of the last German offer, but he has expressed with sufficient lucidity the British Government's dissatisfaction with the fact that the Franco-Belgian reply to the German note was dispatched without due consultation with the other Allies. In a statement made in the House of Commons on May 8, he "regretted the unnecessary precipitancy" with which France has handled the matter. There is every reason to expect that his policy with regard to France will be even firmer than was Mr. Law's along the lines of insisting that the problem of the reparation settlement is a common interest of all the Allies, and that Great Britain does not propose to be forced into a choice between following France's lead or finding herself isolated.

In the British relations with Soviet Russia a serious crisis was precipitated during the last two weeks of the Law government by the Curzon note. Couched in terms of an ultimatum, this note brought about a situation in which the relations established between Great Britain and Moscow by the Anglo-Russian trade agreement of 1920 may be broken off at any moment. There is no reason to expect that Mr. Baldwin is likely to change or reverse his predecessor's policy on this question, any more than on the question of the Ruhr.

The internal economic situation in Great Britain, coupled with the imperial matters that are to come up before the imperial conference next fall, are a serious problem indeed. Its handling is likely to tax to the utmost the new Premier's wide experience in national and international financial and business affairs.

In connection with all these problems that confront the new British ministry, Mr. Baldwin will undoubtedly face powerful opposition from the Labor benches of the House. His appointment to the Premiership in preference to Lord Curzon was, to some extent, influenced by the necessity for the new Premier to face in person the inevitable criticism and attack of the Labor party. It is very significant, too, that members of the "Coalition" group of the Conservative faction, barred from partici-

pation in the Government by the Carlton Club meeting, are invited to the Baldwin ministry. Under its new leader, the Conservative Party is apparently preparing to present a solid front in the handling of the problems that are before it. It is more than eager to protect itself in advance from the kind of criticism that had done so much to discredit the Law ministry when Lord Birkenhead, for example, upon being asked what he thought of the new cabinet, replied by quoting the following remark made by the Duke of Wellington after reviewing some new troops: "I don't know what the enemy will think of them, but they frighten me."

There is one more important implication in Mr. Baldwin's appointment to the premiership. Judging by his remarks he made upon his return from the United States, he does not consider the question of the inter-Allied war debts closed by the outcome of the conference for the funding of the British debt to the United States. In common with some American statesmen, he is of the belief that this question cannot be settled piecemeal or apart from the reparation problem. It is to be expected, therefore, that he will urge a general discussion of all these problems at some conference and will work for our full participation in such a conference.

THE MEXICAN NEGOTIATIONS

TO SAY that a successful conclusion of the negotiations which are now in progress for the establishment of normal relations between the United States and Mexico would be welcomed by the American people is to repeat a truism. For years now the relations between the two republics that front each other on the Rio Grande have been in so chaotic a state as to cause irritation and discomfort on both sides of the dividing river. A great step forward in the affairs of the North American continent would be taken if these relations could be brought speedily to the status of normal international intercourse.

The present Administration has repeatedly made efforts to establish a basis upon which negotiations could be inaugurated with the Mexican Government, looking toward the latter's recognition by the Government of the United States. Hitherto these efforts proved futile. While they were being made, radical groups in this country were most vociferous in their demands upon the Government at Washington for the extension of recognition to the Obregon régime. It is very curious that now, when an apparently workable basis of negotiations has been found, these same radical groups have changed their position completely.

A former editor of the *New York Nation*, writing from Mexico City on the eve of the opening of the Mexican-American Conference, says:

"I came to Mexico four months ago believing firmly in the recognition of that country by the United States. Today I think otherwise. After a still incomplete study of Mexican conditions, I am glad that the various efforts in the United States to bring about the recognition of the Obregon Government by the Harding Administration have hitherto been unsuccessful. I now believe that the Hughes policy of non-recognition has to date been best for both Mexico and the United States."

He contends that Mexico has made tremendous forward strides during the three years that recognition has been refused to General Obregon. He characterizes Mexico as developing into a country, "brave, self-reliant, culturally different, and hence stimulating, working out new social forms, experimenting with new cultural ideas, attacking without prejudice or inhibitions the problems of backward and hitherto oppressed races in its midst, a neighbor whose relative strength and complete political independence can and will be of incalculable benefit to the future of the United States." In his opinion, the acceptance by Mexico of the terms laid down by Secretary Hughes as prerequisite to recognition would be equivalent to giving up "human rights" for "property rights."

This distinction made by the ultra-radical editor is too subtle for our understanding. Since when have property rights ceased to be human rights?

The American delegates to the Mexico City Conference have laid down, as the basis of recognition, the acceptance by Mexico of "the fundamental principles essential to international business." What these fundamental principles are, as applicable to the Mexican situation, has been stated over and over again by the spokesmen for the United States Government. On June 7, 1921, the Department of State issued an official statement, in which our Mexican policy was stated in the following terms:

"The fundamental question which confronts the Government of the United States in considering its relations with Mexico is the safeguarding of property rights against confiscation. Mexico is free to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands, but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws. A confiscatory policy strikes not only at the interests of particular individuals, but at the foundations of international intercourse, for it is only on the basis of the security of property validly possessed under the laws existing at the time of its acquisition, that commercial transactions between the peoples of two countries and the conduct of activities in helpful cooperation are possible.

"This question should not be confused with any matter of personalities or of the recognition of any particular administration. Whenever Mexico is ready to give assurances that she will perform her fundamental obligation in the protection both of persons and of rights of property validly acquired, there will be no obstacles to

the most advantageous relations between the two peoples."

This policy is at the basis of the present negotiations. Surely it violates no "human rights" of the Mexican people.

Whatever "rights" the Government of General Obregon is anxious to safeguard for the people of Mexico, the very first duty of that government is to give its people stability and an opportunity for progress and economic prosperity. The *Nation* editor qualifies his glowing description of Mexican progress by saying that there is in Mexico today "colossal illiteracy, great poverty, human misery, widespread corruption." This is much nearer to the impression we have of Mexican affairs. All these conditions can be eliminated, or at least minimized, only with a general peaceful development of the country. And to make such a development possible, Mexico must accept and apply the commonly accepted usages of civilized intercourse. Without that the Mexican people can have no rights—human or otherwise.

We hope sincerely that the negotiations now in progress may be brought to a successful issue. The demands made by our Government are neither excessive nor derogatory to Mexico's sovereignty and national dignity. Short of their acceptance, there can be no peace and no international standing for Mexico, and no security on our southern frontier.

BANDITS, DEAD OR ALIVE!

THE SENSATIONAL capture in China of a score or more Americans and other foreigners on May 6 was not a matter of pure banditry, of conventional ransom proceedings for the release of the captives. Rather was it a manifestation of a phenomenon which has become common in the national life of the vast Asiatic Republic. Prominent foreigners are captured, presumably by bandits, and their release is put forth as the price of obtaining from the constituted authorities the satisfaction of whatever demands the captors choose to present. Political factions have used this method to embarrass the Government at Peking when hostile factions are in control at the capital. Men seeking political preferment have embarked upon such adventures, at times with signal success, as in the case of Chang-Tso-Ling, who has risen from the position of a bandit chief to the rank of a marshal in the regular Chinese army and is now the all-powerful ruler of northern Manchuria. Which of these two aims the Soochow bandits are pursuing it is difficult to tell; most probably both.

If it is China's way to reward bandit chiefs by giving them positions of power and prominence, that is her

affair. But the present incident and its implications are of great importance to the world at large, since China and her doings are and have been for years of international concern. As recently as last year, the great powers of the world announced at the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armament their determination to assist China toward sovereignty and stability. In pursuance of the decisions made in Washington, an international commission is even now preparing to go to China for the purpose of determining whether or not foreign courts should be abolished. These courts were set up for the purpose of protecting foreigners from the peculiar processes of law which existed in China at the time when she came into the sphere of influence of the western civilization. Similar limitations of China's sovereignty were fastened upon her as a condition of her intercourse with the western world. Their removal has been continuously urged by the Chinese leaders, but events of the kind of the latest bandit incident are scarcely conducive to the acceptance of the claim that China is sufficiently capable of governing herself to provide the rest of the world with the safeguards of personal liberty that are the very essence of civilization.

The Soochow bandit incident is thus a matter of civilization itself—of the very foundations of the social order under which we live. It is the hope of all of China's well-wishers that she is sufficiently advanced in the ways of the commonly accepted social order for the tutelage of the foreign powers, which has been in existence ever since the Boxer revolt of two decades ago, to cease. The whole question is whether or not China really is ready to take her own affairs fully into her own hands.

In the present situation there are two distinct phases: The first is the problem of saving the lives of the Americans held captive in the filth and muck of the mountain retreat to which they had been carried by the bandits. No efforts should be spared to obtain their release. If necessary, the terms laid down by the bandits should be accepted.

Yet, wholly desirable as is the saving of American lives, the second problem appears more important. It is the need of stamping out once and for all the anti-social activities of ambitious individuals masking themselves as bandits. The cause of stability and progress in China depends upon a speedy elimination of this disturbing element from her national life.

The Peking Government does not appear strong enough to handle the situation, though the reports at this writing speak of a vigorous offensive against the bandit stronghold undertaken by the Chinese troops. If the Central Government in China, under pressure from foreign powers, should find strength enough to handle

this particular situation, well and good; but if it should not, every interest of humanity demands that an international force should go into China for the purpose of eradicating the system of real and pseudo-banditry.

Bandits, dead or alive!

This should be the policy of the Chinese Government itself and of all the powers interested in the Far East. The region of the Pacific has become too important a section of the world to permit life there to be constantly ruffled by the disturbed condition of so significant a portion of it as China.

AS TO THE SINCERITY OF EUROPEAN STATES

IT is a pleasure to agree with anybody. When one can agree with Lord Robert Cecil it is a special gratification, for Lord Robert is an agreeable and high-minded gentleman. At a luncheon in London, May 15, given in his honor, Lord Robert paid a glowing tribute to American hospitality and depicted for his listeners the growing interest of the American people in foreign affairs. During his address he remarked that "America doubts the sincerity of Europe's peaceful protestations," and he felt bound to say he thought "its doubts well founded." The Right Honorable Lord Robert is, we believe, quite correct.

The distinguished Englishman said other things with which Americans will agree. He has found that the people of America recognize the economic, political, and spiritual unity of mankind, even though mankind itself seems quite unmindful of such a unity. He believes in public opinion for peace, and that it is necessary to get the largest possible volume of public opinion behind the peace movement. As an example of what public opinion can do to promote peaceful relations between two countries, he referred to the United States and Canada, between which countries there is a stretch of international boundary thousands of miles long without a battalion or a fortification. Because public opinion emphatically rejects war, no display of force along the boundary is necessary. Few such boundaries can be found in Europe. America has little confidence in European States.

Lord Robert told us while here that "Europe is eager to avoid war," and that European States are earnestly endeavoring to set up an instrument "that will make war impossible." We are sorry, but this does not seem to be the fact. There are people in Europe who wish to avoid war, but European governments for the most part ignore these people. The leading men in the governments of Europe seem to spend the major part of their time in substituting secret cabals for free and representative governments, intrigue for honesty,

greed and inhumanity for good-will, bribery, treachery, and pure selfishness for generosity and justice. The peoples are probably not to blame. Most of them detest war, but the governments deceive and mislead them. We believe the outstanding illustration of this to have been the pollution and domination by the German Kaiser's government of an innocent people. There is a prevailing notion in America that the systems of government in Europe are rotten. As one leading editorial writer of America has recently said:

"The principle of equality of men before the law—a simple principle that is taken in by the American with his mother's milk—is practically unknown in Europe. The similar principle, that independent nations are inherently equal is also foreign to the European mind. So when all Europe is plunged into disaster as a result of government intrigues playing upon public ignorance, the governments and peoples do not grasp the simple truth that would rescue them from wars. Instead, they resort to the fallacy that is embodied in the League of Nations—the old, wicked fallacy which presumes that nations are not equals, and that some of them must set themselves up to regulate the destinies of the others."

If European States are concerned to know the condition of public opinion in the United States, there is a fair sample. The people of Germany are too supine, the government of France is too bureaucratic, and so on down the line. Nowhere does there seem to be an attempt in Europe to secure government of the people, by the people, for the people. Free peoples do not go forth to destroy free peoples. There can be no peace between European States until European governments are run by the people. There can be no peace between European States except the peace of justice. The European States are in need of a moral reawakening. They need a more perfect union to the end that they may establish a more prevailing justice, insure a greater domestic tranquillity, provide in reality for their common defense, promote their general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and to their posterity. They know well enough what ought to be done. Europeans are not ignorant. It was Matthew Arnold, a distinguished European, who once reminded us in America of "the inexhaustibly fruitful truth that moral causes govern the standing and the falling of States." The governments of Europe must let up on their intrigues, do away with their inner rings, and go about the business of spreading representative government, where men and nations can transfer their allegiance from cliques to laws. Until that time, we must continue to agree with Lord Robert Cecil, that America doubts the sincerity of Europe's peaceful protestations. This feeling is the stronger within us since our recent distinguished guest himself says that he feels bound to say that he thinks our doubts "are well founded."

DE SENECTUTE

AFUNDAMENTAL question in our serious moments is, How best can we prepare for old age? Nothing is more pathetic than a sight of an old man solitary and vacuous. With a background of years filled with nothing but the humdrum of routine, he finds himself at last with no soul-satisfying occupation. There seems to be nothing but the pain of loneliness. Is this the inevitable result of life? When Rochefoucauld remarked that "Old age is a tyrant which forbids the pleasures of youth on pain of death," did he tell the truth? We think not. And yet if old age is to find any recompense it must be prepared for long in advance. This can be done. Here is a man seventy-seven years of age who writes:

"I am all right. Have just passed my seventy-seventh birthday and am still working my garden, cutting my own wood in Florida, winters, and last year gave a course of lectures on The Life and Times of Dante, and it was great fun. The fun was in playing around with the schoolmen and saints of Dante's age, just as, long, *long* ago, it was fun for me to march along a parasang or two, or stretch upon the sands of the Euxine with Zenophon and his 10,000, and mount a charger and ride with Cyrus, a boy, over into Media and tarry with the youth in the home of Astyages, his grandfather."

Surely this is a man who has discovered the secret of life itself. The spirit of this genuine letter breathes the breath of an immortal hope. Because of it the possible infirmities of after years threaten with little effect. The writer is a kind friend, for he has lifted from the brow of age its crown of thorns.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL of the Churches of Christ in America reports a "gratifying expression during the past year" of co-operation in their work. Some thirty constituent bodies are reported by the Council. Efforts are continued to bring about "the greatest possible solidarity among all the forces that bear the name of Christ." The importance of all this to the peacemaker is the emphasis upon unity not only within the body of churches reported but throughout the world. This effort in behalf of unity within the Christian church and between the peoples of the world is not only praiseworthy; it is hopeful. The Christian church is never more noble than when it declares that in Jesus Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free." To express determination, as it does, to promote co-operation in evangelism, in securing Christian international life, in Near East and Far East, in relief, in social service, in Christian racial

relations, in the local community, in publicity for the church, in many other tasks, to aim at co-operation in these fields is most worthy. In proportion as the Federal Council achieves this co-operation it will prove the value of its existence.

THE MANAGERS of European States arouse our every emotion. One of these emotions is the emotion of pathos. Take, for example, Russia's reply under date of May 12 to the British note of May 8. Here are seventeen paragraphs, the first gently informing Great Britain that her method of writing letters is quite wrong, the second rather cooingly reminding her of the mutual benefits to be derived from continued trade relations. The spirit of the entire communication alternates between scolding and beseeching. Indeed, M. Litvinou, author of the note, Assistant People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, coolly reminds Britain on more than one occasion that she is a liar, but in the fifteenth section of the note he asserts that in spite of repeated misunderstandings the Soviet Republic places high value on her present relations with Great Britain and seeks to maintain and develop them "in the interest of universal peace," in the interest of the economic restoration of devastated Europe, and in the "interests of the peoples both of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain." He adds, "They therefore are ready for the most friendly and peaceful settlement of existing disputes." The note reveals a nation affectionately tickling another under the chin while at the same time kicking it with asperity on the shins.

REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS sends to us a letter under date of May 15 in which he says: "Referring to your editorial in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* I wish to say that this is based upon a sweeping statement which I never made. Please be so kind as to read my article on submarines that will appear in the June issue of the *Current History Magazine*." The editorial note referred to dealt with a special dispatch to the *New York Tribune* from Los Angeles under date of April 3, in which the Admiral was quoted as saying that there is no authentic record of an atrocity ever having been perpetrated by the commander and crew of a German submarine. We concluded our note by saying, "In the light of what the world knows of the facts, sinking of hospital ships for example, we hope that our Admiral has been misquoted." The Admiral's article to which he referred is now before us. It is clear that he was misquoted. The Admiral does not intend "to justify in any degree the German submarine policy or any instances of brutality on the part of any of her officers

in carrying out that policy." All the Admiral says is that "most of the accounts of atrocities popularly attributed to them (the German submarine commanders) were untrue."

ANOTHER EVIDENCE of managerial mismanagement is Germany's effort to split the Entente and to win the war. One would think that Germany's failure to shift the burden of responsibility for the continuance of the war from her own shoulders to those of France and Great Britain in 1916 would have taught her the futility of such an effort. True, the gesture at that time cemented the support of the German people, and the gesture now may be made for a similar purpose. But what is needed in Germany is not a gesture but a sincere and magnanimous act. The German people should now be made aware of the fact that Great Britain, Italy, the United States, Japan, cannot be won directly or indirectly to the support of a policy that will spell the ruin

of France. The German statesmen know, and the German people should be informed, that resistance in the Ruhr to French and Belgian occupation will be futile as long as Germany's voluntary default in reparations shall remain unsatisfied. The task of German statesmen is to convince the world that they are "seeking peace" honestly and that their purpose is not to widen the breach between the French and the British, to alienate American sympathy from France, or to turn Germany's defeat into victory. It renders no service for Germany to forget that she crushed industrial France with the deliberate purpose of bankrupting that nation. It is impossible to think clearly upon this situation unless we keep clearly in mind that France has spent enormous sums in restoring the devastated area and that Germany has paid toward the restoration, to quote from Mr. Frank H. Simonds, "less than the amount she has taken from the world by selling its marks and then depressing their value by inflation."

NINETY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 18, 1923

(From the Stenographic Report)

The ninety-fifth annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society was held at the Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C.

A quorum being present, the meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. Andrew J. Montague, at 1.20 o'clock p. m.

Beside the Directors, there was also present, as guest of Dr. Thomas E. Green, The Right Reverend James Henry Darlington, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Harrisburg.

The PRESIDENT: The Board of Directors will be in order. Let us call upon Bishop Darlington to open this meeting by asking Divine blessing. [Following Grace.] The first order of business is the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

Mr. SLEMAN: Mr. President, the minutes having been distributed, I move that their reading be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT: I understand the minutes have been printed and sent out. If there is no objection, it is so ordered.

The next in order is announcements and communications.

THE EIGHTEENTH OF MAY

Secretary CALL: Mr. President, it is fitting at this time to call special attention to the fact that this is the 18th day of May. You will remember that the Czar's rescript was written in the month of August, 1898, as

a result of which, in Orange Hall, in the *House in The Wood*, at the Hague, the first Hague Conference was convened in 1899, on the 18th of May. That letter of the Czar aroused no little interest throughout the world. The result was that there were many mass meetings in this country, in Great Britain, and elsewhere. W. T. Stead, of England, called for a "Peace Crusade." The Baroness von Suttner, in Austria, organized great demonstrations for it; and Frau Professor Selenka, of Munich, organized extensive propaganda in Germany in its behalf. It was this woman who first proposed an annual universal public demonstration on the 18th of May. Women in this country organized propaganda in sympathy with the proposal. The American Peace Society lent its aid; indeed, in 1902 the Society voted that the annual meetings should occur thereafter as near as possible to the 18th of May. This Society prevailed upon the Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts to recommend the observance of the day throughout the schools of that State.

While Massachusetts was the first State to take such action, it was followed by Ohio, Kansas, and other States, until Elmer Ellsworth Brown, who was then our United States Commissioner of Education, called upon all the schools of the country to observe the 18th of May as Peace Day. The Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association in 1907 officially adopted a resolution recommending the observance of

the 18th of May each year by the schools of the United States. At the outbreak of the war there was an effort being made to make the 18th of May an international holiday.

You will agree, gentlemen, therefore, that it is proper to call attention to the fact that this is the 18th of May.

Dr. GREEN: As a result of that first 18th of May, sir, Mr. Andrew Carnegie became interested in peace work, built the Peace Palace at The Hague, and devoted a very large portion of his fortune to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The PRESIDENT: The next order of business is New Work in the Field.

Secretary CALL: It is a pleasure to report the fact that Mrs. Lucia Pym Branch is in Pittsburgh. I have received reports of her work there which lead me to feel that we have made no mistake in sending her to that field. She is in consultation with a number of the women's groups in that city, and is delivering addresses almost daily.

The PRESIDENT: The President's report. Do you desire to have that read? I think I should state that this report is made possible because of the aid from Mr. Call; the contributions by myself are very slight.

Report of the President

To the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society:

Under the provisions of the Society's Constitution, your President respectfully submits the following report for the fiscal year 1922-1923:

YOUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Your Executive Committee has held nine regular meetings and three special meetings during the year. During this period the number of paid officials has not changed. Mr. Arthur Deerin Call has continued as Secretary of the American Peace Society and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Mr. John W. Owens retired from the Work as Associate Editor of the *ADVOCATE* in the month of November last and Mr. Leo Pasvolsky was elected to fill the vacancy thereby occurring. Mr. W. I. Smalley has served during the year as Assistant Secretary. The names of all our officials will appear elsewhere in the official report. Mr. George A. Finch, because of his official relations with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Hon. Charles Cheney Hyde, because of his appointment as Solicitor of the Department of State, have, we all regret to say, found it necessary to resign as members of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee during the year. Under date of January 26, 1923, the Executive Committee elected the Hon. Henry W. Temple, member of Congress from Pennsylvania and of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Finch.

A friend of the Society, a qualified librarian, has during the year classified, marked, and catalogued the books of our invaluable library. Our equally invaluable pamphlets, however, still remain unclassified.

The Executive Committee has voted to change the time of its regular meeting from the last Friday to the third Friday of each month.

The year just closed is the first period of the Society's life under the Constitution as revised and adopted at the ninety-fourth annual meeting of the Society, May 26, 1922. While it has been impossible to complete the Board of Directors as provided in Article IV, there is every reason to believe that this will be accomplished in due course. The Constitution as a whole seems to meet satisfactorily the aims and methods of the Society.

CERTAIN ENCOURAGEMENTS

The work of the Society during the year has not been without its encouragements. The demand for the Society's pamphlets has increased. The circulation of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been kept up. The income from the Permanent Peace Fund in Boston has increased. The \$15,000 necessary to meet the offer from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has been raised. The income from reserve fund investments and from interest on bank deposits has increased. Expenses for salaries have been within \$200 of the year before. Office supplies have been greatly reduced. Printing and mailing of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* represent a saving of nearly \$1,000 over the previous year.

The following persons, each having paid the fee of \$100, have been elected life members of the American Peace Society during the year: Andrew Ten Eyck, A. E. Gottshall, Samuel B. Pack, Emma W. Cook, Henry C. Morris, and S. H. Thorndike.

Since the last annual meeting fifty-six persons have contributed \$5.00 or over to the work of the Society. These contributors were:

Eunice W. Albertson	Miss Anna G. Matson
Katherine Allen	Mrs. J. A. McArthur
F. E. Barrows	James McGrath
A. T. Bell	Robert S. Morison
H. C. Bierwirth	Henry C. Morris
C. P. Blackburn	Adolph S. Ochs
Miss B. G. Brooks	L. H. Pillsbury
A. Brylawski	Rev. Rockwell H. Potter
David S. Carll	Jackson H. Ralston
Robert Cluett	Alice A. Razee
Myra E. Davey	Edw. L. Richards
Everett O. Fisk	G. W. Sherman
Jos. M. Fox	E. J. Siller
John B. Garrett	C. Louise Smith
William P. Gest	Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Sprague
J. C. Harper	Theodore Stanfield
The Misses Hersey	William O. Stoddard
Mrs. Juliet W. Hill	Fannie T. Sturgis
Mrs. Frances Holsinger	W. W. Thomason
Mrs. Helen G. Howard	S. H. Thorndike
Richard C. Jenkinson	William Thum
Miss Kate Kelsey	William O. Tufts
Miss Georgiana Kendall	Wm. H. Tuthill
Miss Cordelia Kirkland	Geo. G. Waite
George M. Kober	Mrs. Elizabeth L. Watson
Mrs. Della S. Laird	George W. White
John R. Lapham	David Wilmot
Mary W. Lippincott	Jullana Wood

The United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue has during the year handed down a decision in which he holds that the American Peace Society is organized and

operated exclusively for educational purposes, and that for that reason it is exempt from taxation, and therefore contributions by individuals to the American Peace Society are deductible from the gross income of such donors and free from tax.

THE PERMANENT PEACE FUND

Thomas H. Russell, Esq., Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund, wrote to us under date of May 16 as follows:

At the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund held today it was voted to send to the American Peace Society the balance of income for the year, which is \$5,663.63, making, together with the \$1,000 forwarded to your Society on June 26, 1922, \$6,663.63. I am therefore inclosing herewith check for \$5,663.63 to cover said balance. . . .

The Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund submits the following annual report for the period May 1, 1922, to May 1, 1923:

Gross income received by the Trustees from real estate, bonds, stocks, and all other investments.	\$9,667.83
Gross expenses paid for repairs and taxes on real estate, salary of bookkeeper and agent, telephone, office rent, supplies, stationery, safe-deposit box, insurance, services of trustees attending meetings and expenses, etc.....	3,004.20
Net income from the fund for the year....	\$6,663.63
Paid to the American Peace Society on general account of income on June 26, 1922.....	1,000.00
Balance of net income for the year to be paid to the American Peace Society.....	\$5,663.53

Check herewith, to the order of the American Peace Society, in full payment for balance of income to date.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

THOMAS H. RUSSELL,
Treasurer.

DEATH OF ARTHUR H. RUSSELL, ESQ.

While the officers of the American Peace Society are gratified that the Permanent Peace Fund continues to be efficiently managed, they regret to record that Arthur H. Russell, Esq., senior member of the firm of Russell, Moore & Russell, counsellors-at-law, 27 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts, and for many years Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund, suddenly died February 22, 1923. We are gratified that Mr. Russell's nephew, Mr. Thomas H. Russell, is to be continued as treasurer of this fund.

A PERMANENT HOME FOR THE SOCIETY

During the year no little attention has been given to the possibility of purchasing suitable headquarters for our Society. Since we are paying \$1,530 a year for our present offices, and since our library, files, and equipment have outgrown our present quarters, it has been natural to inquire if it would not be an advantage to the work of the Society at the nation's capital to be permanently housed. A special committee, composed of Mr. White, Mr. Sleman, and Mr. Call, have examined a number of houses, some of them with considerable attention. It is the hope of the committee, as it is of all

the officers, that a home adaptable to our work and economically advantageous to the future of the Society may yet be found.

SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

By a special arrangement with a fellow-member of our Executive Committee, Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, the Society has been able to supply 169 requests for his recently published book, "Democracy's International Law."

Messrs. Ralston, Sleman, and Stanfield have served as a committee to investigate the matter of offering a prize for the best essay on some theme relating to the causes, remedies, or prevention of war. Because prizes are already offered in this field by other organizations, because of the peculiarly unsettled condition of all international thinking, and because of a measure of uncertainty as to the Society's immediate financial future, it has not been thought wise to launch the prize contest just at this time. It is the hope of the Executive Committee, however, that such a time may soon be at hand.

Under date of May 15, the Secretary received from Frederic J. Haskin, correspondent, a self-explanatory letter which reads:

DEAR SIR:

I am pleased to hand you herewith a dozen tear sheets showing the last ad. we used for the Constitution Booklet.

This is the sixth advertisement we have used since the booklets were delivered. The value of each advertisement is now placed at \$1,000.

We have received 38,000 letters asking for this booklet and have 62,000 copies on hand.

We will aim to run light on this offering through the summer, on account of the recess of schools, and hope to make the balance on hand run us until about the first of the year.

This little booklet is very popular. The only criticism that has been offered is that we have crowded it too much. Quite a number of people have suggested that next time we should break the reading into two columns, because the long line is so hard to follow across the page. I hope that you will agree with this suggestion when the time comes for considering another edition.

I am sure that you will share my pleasure in the fine showing we have made with this offering.

Thanking you for your co-operation, we are,

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

A CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY FOUNDATION

Steps have been taken during the year to establish for the Society a *Centennial Anniversary Foundation* with the view that by 1928, when our corporation will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary, the American Peace Society may be self-sustaining. Toward the establishment of such a foundation the Society already has in hand approximately \$27,000.

Undoubtedly the war system is now more universally condemned than before in history. Men and women everywhere seek to find some method for the settlement of international disputes in ways more acceptable, rational, and effective. The teachings of the American Peace Society are no longer confined to academic dis-

cussions. They are expressed in formal utterances of official persons, including members of the United States Senate, the Secretary of State, and the President himself. But the work of our Society is not done. It has probably just begun. Now, of all periods, is the time for extraordinary effort in behalf of that governed world where international controversies may be settled in accord with the principles of law and justice. In the work of general education, without which nothing adequate of this nature can be achieved, the American Peace Society will continue to play its part. The *Centennial Anniversary Foundation* will, of course, enable the Society to play that part more worthily.

That is respectfully submitted, gentlemen.

Dr. GREEN: I move that it be received, filed, and printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

The PRESIDENT: Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The next order of business is the Secretary's Report.

Secretary CALL:

Report of the Secretary

To the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

DEAR SIR: Governor Montague, as President of our Society, has told you of the work of our Executive Committee, of certain encouragements in connection with that work, of our efforts to establish a permanent home for the Society, of certain special activities, and of our plans for a *Centennial Anniversary Foundation*. Your Secretary, therefore, does not need to dilate upon any of these matters. Among the things, however, which he may fittingly incorporate in his report for the year are something of his duties as Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, as special pleader for our Society from chair and platform, as Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

THE "ADVOCATE OF PEACE"

The work of the Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, oldest and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world, includes the writing of editorials, the solicitation of general articles, the editing, with the assistance of Mr. Leo Pasvolsky, of the magazine as a whole, including the departments of "World Problems in Review," "International Notes," "Book Reviews," and the like. The circulation of the magazine is, of course, a constant problem. For a number of years the schedule of publication for the month of issue has been as follows: The first copy sent to the printers on the seventh and the last copy on the tenth of the month; proof is read by the twelfth; the makeup is pasted on the fourteenth; the page proof is read on the fifteenth and O. K.'d on the sixteenth; the first mail is on the nineteenth and the final mail is on the twentieth. The situation in international affairs, our own local political situation or other exigency has sometimes interfered with the schedule. In any event, the magazine is invariably delivered late in the month. The theory of the Editor has been that this is the logical method of magazine distribution; but he is practically alone in this contention. For some psychological reason difficult to explain, magazine publishers have concluded that the June magazine should

appear in May, the July number in June, etc. It seems to be good business. Arrangements have therefore been made with Judd & Detweiler, Inc., printers of our magazine, to adopt the following schedule: The first copy for a given month of issue shall be in on the seventeenth and the last copy on the twentieth of the previous month; the proof shall be out on the twenty-second; the makeup pasted on the twenty-fourth; page proof read on the twenty-fifth and returned on the twenty-sixth; the first mail on the twenty-ninth and the final mail on the thirtieth. This will put our magazine down on our eastern seaboard not later than the first, and in San Francisco not later than the second or third of the month.

The aim of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is to employ clarity of style and sound reasoning, to the end that public opinion may be more effectively influenced toward the rational settlement of international disputes.

It is still true that tons of literature are asked for and delivered from our office yearly—letters, pamphlets, reports, magazines.

FIELD-WORK

Calls upon the Secretary for public addresses, except in his capacity as a "four-minute man," fell off appreciably during the war. During the year just closed there has been something of a renewal of interest in this expression of our work. Indeed, we have a representative working at this moment among various organizations in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The hope is that this service may be extended. Other evidences of our field-work have appeared from time to time in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Your Secretary's services, wholly without pay, as Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, has been a joy. The nature of that work has been set forth in the columns of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and reprinted during the year in two pamphlets—one entitled "*The Twentieth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, Vienna, Austria, August, 1922*"; and the other, "*American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting, Saturday, February 24, 1923, Caucus Room, House Office Building*." It may be added that this latter report was printed in the *Congressional Record*, March 3, 1923. Your Secretary, accompanied by his wife, attended the conference in Vienna. It is a pleasure to add that our President, Vice-President of the American Group, his wife and daughter, were also present, accompanying our Group as far as Budapest. Your Secretary greatly prizes a photograph which he was able to obtain, showing the Governor and his party, amid beautiful surroundings in the capital of Hungary, in front of an heroic statue of George Washington.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

Besides your Secretary, Baron Sergius A. Korff, and Theodore Stanfield attended the Twenty-second International Peace Congress in London, July 25-29, 1922. Your Secretary reported upon this Congress in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for November, 1922.

EVENTS AT THE BASIS OF A WORLD OUTLOOK

In his report of a year ago your Secretary took occasion to analyze briefly the failure of the movement for international peace, pointing out that, unless something of very fundamental importance happens, the forces of tomorrow will, as always heretofore, push the nations into another war. During the year a great thing did happen, namely, the convening of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament. The importance of that conference consisted not so much in the limitation of armament as in the readjustment of the world's outlook upon international policies, an outlook which is the hope of the international peace movement.

During the year just closed, also, events have happened—occurrences filled with meaning for every worker for international peace.

At the time of our annual meeting a year ago a conference of thirty-four States, called upon the initiative of the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, was being held for the purpose of remedying the economic ills of Europe. This conference, held in Genoa, including representatives from Germany and Russia, was the first of its kind in history. Under the terms of the call of the conference, questions of reparations and of the Treaty of Versailles were excluded from consideration. The United States was represented by an official observer only. So conspicuously absent was the spirit of justice, fairness, equality, sincerity, and so hot was "the seething racial lava seeking a level," that even a proposal for a ten-year non-aggression agreement failed. Indeed, the conference dissolved on the seventeenth of May. The attempt to salvage something from the wreck at a subsequent conference, convened at The Hague June 15, twenty-nine nations being represented, also failed, it proving to be impossible to come to any agreement upon debts, the restoration of private property, or the extension of credits in Russia. All of this effort proved to be futile because of the militant and defiant mood of the European States. For all who aim to achieve a greater peace among the nations, these two conferences stand forth as a vivid expression of the fact that there can be no international peace except it be sought in sincerity and good will.

The League of Nations, with headquarters at Geneva, has through its Council and various committees, continued its efforts to promote the peaceable settlement of international disputes and difficulties. Under its direction, questions relating to the reduction of armaments, public health, economics and finance, the protection of minorities, various political questions relating to the administration of Dantzig, the Saar Basin, mandates, have been studied; but perhaps the most important of its services has been its effort to save the Republic of Austria. Upon the initiative of the League, provision has been made for an external loan of \$170,000,000 to Austria, 93 per cent of which is guaranteed by a number of European nations, with every prospect now that it will soon be all guaranteed. All this effort to save Austria is a tardy fulfillment of promises made at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germain, September 10, 1919. Austria has issued no new paper currency since November last. Her budget is greatly improved. Her invaluable industries are developing again.

Thus we have an illustration here of what can be accomplished by nations when once they permit themselves to co-operate in the spirit of good will.

With reference to the problems of the Near East, one conference was held at Lausanne, Switzerland, beginning November 20, 1922, with the result that while Great Britain, France, Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Russia were able to agree upon 80 per cent of the problems involved, the congress finally broke down February 4, 1923, because of the refusal by the Turks to accept certain economic and financial demands "infringing on Turkish sovereignty." Another conference is now being held at Lausanne for the purpose of taking up the work of the previous conference with the hope of accomplishing something toward the pacification of the conditions existing in that highly inflamed section of the world.

Under the auspices of the Pan Pacific Union, there was held during the fall a Pan Pacific Commercial Conference at Honolulu. The Pan Pacific Union itself, without mentioning the word peace, is undoubtedly an agency of first importance in the creation and maintenance of friendly relations between States bordering upon the Pacific.

The Central American Conference opened in Washington December 4, and closed February 7, with important results granted to its credit.

The Fifth Pan-American Conference was held in Santiago during March and April of the present year, closing May 3.

The International Chamber of Commerce held its second conference at Rome from the 18th to the 24th of March, 1923, at which conference there were 544 persons, representing thirty-six countries. In the name of finance, industry, trade, and transportation, we have here another organization whose work means international understanding, world restoration, and bases of a more permanent peace.

Following the declaration of Germany's default, France, on January 11, 1923, occupied Essen. In the name of reparations and security the occupation has gradually spread. Of course, this entire movement, being in fact a continuation of the war, adds immeasurably to the difficulties in the way of clear thinking.

On February 24 President Harding asked the United States Senate to consent to these United States adhering to the protocol under which the Permanent Court of International Justice, now sitting at The Hague, was established. This step on the part of the Administration is the outstanding event of the year, so far as the participation of the United States in a constructive movement for international peace is concerned.

THE TASK OF THE PEACEMAKER

The political conditions in Europe are far from happy. Statesmen find it easy still to threaten war. It is probably only the war weariness among the peoples which prevents the outbreak of new armed conflicts.

Since wars are still possible if not probable, and since statesmen cannot wholly be relied upon to give expression to the aspirations of their respective peoples, the work of the peacemaker is still needed. There is a prevailing will to end war, but this will is divided, uncertain, and often misdirected. If the ways of peace are to

supplant the modes of war, there must be now, before it is too late, a clarification in the realm of ideas.

Current ideas about the ways to peace are strangely befogged. It is probably generally felt that the peace societies are aiming simply at an absence of war. Of course, that is not the fact. The accredited peace worker aims to substitute the coercion of law for the coercion of arms, co-operative effort for compulsion, enlightened self-interest for unenlightened willfulness, efficiency for waste, food for starvation, shelter for squalor, clothing for nakedness, education for ignorance, organization for disorganization, art and beauty for ugliness and despair, friendship for hatred, achievement for the common weal in the place of destruction and death. The peacemaker seeks the protection of rights and the prevention of wrong by the substitution of the ways of law and order for the unreasoning methods of blood. Our work is not directed against force, but against the tawdry and devastating forms of brute force. There may be too little unity among the peace organizations, each reflecting its own personnel, principles, religion, science, politics; yet all begin in an honest opposition to the war system and all aim to supplant or overthrow that system. This work should not be looked upon as unpatriotic; on the contrary, it should be welcomed as the highest expression of the greatest patriotism.

Problems peculiar to international relations may require sentimental and emotional aids to their just interpretation. Sentiments and emotions cannot be ignored. But too little of the work in the behalf of international peace is based upon facts. It has been remarked that "society is not made by will, but by facts." Achievement, particularly in international relations, needs something besides "wishful thinking." In his introduction to his new book, "International Society," Prof. Philip Marshall Brown says: "Emotional appeals have been made to the natural idealism of men without at the same time furnishing them with the solid facts concerning international society. Great hopes and visions of a new world order have been awakened, to be followed inevitably by disillusionment and discouragement." This is undoubtedly so. To act with intelligence in international affairs, it is necessary to know something of the State, of its rights and duties, and of laws which will more adequately regulate these rights and duties. If anywhere in all the realm of human experience, study, observation, experience, humility, and consecration are needed, it is in the peace movement. Without these things one can never find the unity amid the differences of nations.

There is authority for believing that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." There is still a higher authority, who once said: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith."

(Applause.)

Dr. GREEN: Mr. President, I move that the Secretary's Report be received, filed, and printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Dr. RAMSAY: I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT: You have heard the motion. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Bishop DARLINGTON: Mr. President and gentlemen, may I ask one or two questions at this point? I know something about this Society, but I see there are two sorts of names here, and I want to ask about them. I see the names of gentlemen who hold to absolutely different ideals of peace. When I have been approached with reference to joining the peace leagues, I have always held back; I feared it was all one-sided. Now, what is your position? I am for peace, but there are things worse than war. I am for any association that is for a patriotic peace; but there is more than a suspicion that some men would give up everything for the sake of peace. People of that class were the cause of no little embarrassment to the government in the late war, and even in the Civil War, I believe, there were questions of that kind that had to be threshed out. I want to know what your position is as a society. Are you pledged to any particular method? If it is the right kind of thing, I want to join; if not, I do not want to.

Secretary CALL: Perhaps the best answer to that question would be to state the fact that when the United States entered the war we put on the front cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and kept it there throughout the war, this declaration: "The clarion unmistakable call to every one of us now is, We must end this war by winning it."

Dr. GREEN: I think that is all that is necessary.

Bishop DARLINGTON: You will understand, I am not what you might call a pacifist. With your permission, however, I may say that I have recently visited the countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea and investigated social and religious conditions in some of the countries of the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. I can only say in brief that all these peoples seem looking to the United States for assistance and direction. The seventy million dollars given to the Near East relief and the large sum contributed by our government to starving Russia, famine-swept China, to the rebuilding of war-destroyed sections of France and Belgium, to the Smyrna refugees, and to the Russians, Armenians and Greeks through the Red Cross and Friends' Relief Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Patriarch Meletios have encouraged these war-disturbed sufferers to consider the United States as a nation with a heart and a conscience, who can be a friend who will aid without using its influence to acquire their property or exploit their resources. United States money is most in demand and American people are most welcome. These small weak nations have been deceived so often by pretended friendship in the past that they refuse to accept European leadership, and look to America as alone altruistic and unselfish. They hope and pray that the United States will deem it her privilege to extend to them her good offices as mediator in boundary disputes, and in their own state internal improvements, such as canals, railroads, hospitals, and public schools. They will pay for these advantages themselves, but they wish to keep their own governments and not lose their independence. Accepting our aid and advice commercial opportunities will doubtless follow, with sales for agricultural implements, automobiles and manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, steel, grain, gasoline, prepared foods, and clothing.

The building up of stable, law-abiding governments will not only give us millions by the purchase of our goods, but it is our bounden duty as Christian men. Here we have almost a continent with forty-eight State governments, each larger than most European nations, with no customs duties interfering with the free flow of trade, while there every little principality with warfare and jealousy is preventing its neighbor from selling its products where they are needed. "The war to prevent war," of which we have heard so much, must be carried on by peaceful means, by lessening and explaining away of hatreds and the gradual reduction of armies to a size sufficient to act as a police force to protect against robbery and crime. One-fourth of the manhood of Europe is under arms or under drill, we are told, and these nations are kept poor paying for such immense military establishments. Could France, Italy, Russia, and Great Britain take the upkeep of their armies and navies for a year the cruel taxes on land and business would all be paid and poverty would almost cease. What is wanted is not soldiers but school teachers, physicians, instructors in agriculture, like graduates of our State college, who will help them to make the most of their cattle, their land, and their water power. They want more railroads and canals and better houses in which to live.

It is therefore the part of our land as a sister to take her share in some world-wide association and by advice when requested aid in bringing order out of chaos. It should not be a party matter but a national movement like that inaugurated by Secretary Hughes last year in Washington for the withdrawal of Japan from China and the lessening of armaments which has already done so much good and promises more.

What we did for Cuba and the Philippine Islands must be repeated in showing the war-destroyed and hostile nations of the old world that "peace hath more victories than war." This we cannot do by standing aloof. We seem to have won the world's confidence, and now in the conference of nations must we do our part not to make war but to end war by suggesting kindly adjustments and compensations so that all may feel fairly and justly treated. This means not submarines, guns, and murderous gases to destroy life but more food and better raiment, juster laws, common schools, church and State separated, telephone, telegraph, and wireless communication established to unite far-away nations as friends and neighbors in the reasonable rivalries of friendship. "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

The great outstanding lesson which remains in my mind and from conversation I find in the thought of the nearly five hundred Americans who journeyed with us, is that we of the new world must send back the dove of peace to the old world sailing on an angry deluge of hostility, suspicion, and warfare, and that it remains for us to teach these eastern nations to dwell in amity with their neighbors where God has placed them. Swords are not being beaten into pruning hooks and civilization in the East is retrograding unless we can give them the open Bible and the pure gospel, sanitation and education and brotherly love.

When President Washington urged that this nation should not entangle itself in European feuds, he certainly did not mean that we should not act the good Samaritan and help heal the world's sores and sicknesses. The Christian faith demands not joining a league of nations so much as giving help to the nations who are physically and mentally starving, by any means, public or private, which may be presented, whether it be by the Red Cross, the Near East relief, or the Young Men's or Young Women's Christian associations.

The Patriarch Meletios said dramatically that the seven churches of Asia had been wiped out in 1922. The first three chapters of the Book of Revelations have been changed into past history rather than present. When our American excursionists passed close to the rocky island of Patmos, in the Mediterranean Sea, with Europe on the north and Africa on the south, I saw its mountain top surrounded by clouds, and recalled that it was in the latter part of the first century that the apostle St. John penned the wonderful message to the seven churches of Asia Minor, and when we recalled the fact that the city of Smyrna had recently been cleared of its Christian people to the last believer, we all felt as Americans that the remnants of the seven churches, now many of them refugees in America, have brought us the communications first given to them. These churches are called by St. John the seven candlesticks of the Lord, the seven stars in His right hand. The summons to them are now passed on to us. As I leaned on the rail and looked up to Patmos I could almost hear Christ say, as to the ancient church of Smyrna, "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee the crown of life." With forty-eight stars on our flag, nearly seven times seven, let us take the torches dropped by the seven devoted churches of Asia and make ours the message to carry on by living and teaching the pure gospel as delivered to them. This is the message: Let us relight the candlesticks of our Lord and tell the seventy times seven churches of America to "love God with all their heart and soul and mind and their neighbors as themselves."

"God is not unrighteous, that He will forget your works, and labor that proceedeth of love." (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT: Of course, there are men of many minds in this Society. We make no shibboleth of a creed, albeit we believe in the suggestions set forth regularly on the inside of the front cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. You will have to judge our work by the practical results. You will probably recall that Secretary Weeks recently had occasion to denounce certain pacifists in the country. I imagine that is the class you have in mind. Really, they are more or less of the class that we commonly speak of as "Red."

Bishop DARLINGTON: Yes.

The PRESIDENT: I doubt that the government had any more sincere supporters during the late war than members of this organization, in the main.

Bishop DARLINGTON: Please make me a member at once.

The PRESIDENT: We shall be glad to do so.

We shall now listen to the Treasurer's report.

Treasurer's Report

Cash Audit for the Year Ended April 30, 1923

EXHIBIT "A"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Cash Account for the Year Ended April 30, 1923.

Balance of cash on hand and on deposit May 1, 1922 \$514.66

RECEIPTS

Memberships, including subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	\$1,565.50
Special subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE	64.72
Sale of pamphlets.....	344.01
Contributions	2,020.50
Legacy from James Callanan.....	1,000.00
Subvention from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	14,999.53
Permanent Peace Fund Trustees.....	6,637.90
Income from Reserve Fund Investments U. S. Treasury certificates of indebtedness, June, 1922, matured.....	1,645.51
20,000.00	
Sale of 17 American Telephone & Telegraph subscription rights.....	66.92
Interest on bank deposits.....	86.59
Miscellaneous income.....	34.16
	<u>48,465.34</u>
	48,980.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Department of Home Office:

Salaries—Secretary, Editor, Assistant Editor, office secretary	\$10,485.00
Salaries—clerks	266.87
Office rent.....	1,530.00
Postage, express, telegrams, etc.	543.83
Office supplies.....	193.08
Office equipment.....	65.65
Telephone	103.22
Library	579.35
Annual banquet.....	633.10
Legal and travel expense in connection with estate of Caroline Thayer Mead...	78.08
National Tax Service Bureau	250.00
Miscellaneous	439.26
	<u>15,167.44</u>

Department of Field Work:

Subvention to New Hampshire Peace Society.....	\$50.00
Travel expense (including Mr. Call's trip to Europe)	934.15
	<u>984.15</u>

Department of Publications:

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	\$6,551.78
Printing and distribution of pamphlets	5,420.66
Miscellaneous printing expense	633.75
	<u>12,606.19</u>

Investments:

U. S. Treasury certificates of indebtedness, 3¾, June 15, 1923 (par, \$20,000)	20,000.00
	<u>48,757.78</u>
Balance of cash on hand and on deposit April 30, 1923	\$222.22

Represented by—

National Metropolitan Bank—checking account	\$91.70
National Metropolitan Bank—savings account	102.08
Petty cash on hand in office.....	28.44
	<u>\$222.22</u>

SCHEDULE "1"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Reserve Fund Investments as at April 30, 1923.

	Par value.	Market value.
\$200 American Tel. & Tel. Co. Conv. 6's, 1925.....	\$200.00	\$231.00
\$100 U. S. Liberty 1st 4¼ Conv.....	100.00	97.12
\$100 U. S. Liberty 2d 4¼ Conv.....	100.00	97.80
\$100 U. S. Liberty 4th 4¼ Conv.....	100.00	97.11
\$20,000 U. S. certificate of indebtedness, 3¾, June 15, 1923.....	20,000.00	19,660.00
17 shares American Tel. & Tel. Co....	1,700.00	2,088.78
24 shares Boston Elevated Rwy. Co..	2,400.00	1,914.00
12 shares Pullman Co.....	1,200.00	1,441.50
1 share Puget Sound Power & Light Co. Com.....	100.00	47.00
12 shares Puget Sound Power & Light Co. Com., 6 per cent, Pfd.....	1,200.00	960.00
	<u>\$27,100.00</u>	<u>\$26,634.31</u>

R. G. RANKIN & Co., ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS

NEW YORK, May 14, 1923.

Mr. GEORGE W. WHITE, Treasurer,
The American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As the result of our examination of the accounts of the American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1923, we submit herewith the following: EXHIBIT "A"—Cash account for the year ended April 30, 1923.

SCHEDULE "1"—Reserve fund investments as at April 30, 1923.

In addition to the income as shown by cash receipts in Exhibit "A," the following coupons had not been clipped and credited to the income account at the close of the period under audit, but were credited on the date of inspection, May 8, 1923:

\$100 U. S. Liberty 2d 4¼ per cent Bond Coupon, due November 15, 1922.....	\$2.12
\$100 U. S. Liberty 4th 4¼ per cent Bond Coupon, due April 15, 1923.....	2.13
\$200 American Telephone & Telegraph 6 per cent Convertible Bond of 1925 Coupon, due February 1, 1923.	6.00
	<u>\$10.25</u>

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the attached statements accurately account for the cash receipts and disbursements of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1923, and the Reserve Fund investments as at April 30, 1923.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.,
Members American Institute of Accountants.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. WHITE,
Treasurer.

Dr. GREEN: Mr. President, the Treasurer's report having been printed and having been placed in our hands, together with the report of the certified public accountants and auditors, I move that it be received, approved, and filed.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, you have heard the request of Dr. Green. Without objection, it is so ordered. The next order of business is the reports of committees.

Secretary CALL: We have no committees to report today.

The PRESIDENT: Then we shall proceed to the election of Officers, Directors, and members of the Executive Committee.

Secretary CALL: Gentlemen, there has been passed around to you a list of the officers as follows:

President:

Hon. Andrew J. Montague, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

Arthur Deerin Call, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

George W. White, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Miami, Florida.

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, former President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Lawyer, Washington, D. C.

Hon. James L. Slayden, Member Council Interparliamentary Union, San Antonio, Texas.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. Andrew J. Montague, *ex officio*.

Arthur Deerin Call, *ex officio*.

George W. White, *ex officio*.

Hon. P. P. Claxton, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, University, Alabama.

Dr. Thomas E. Green, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Walter A. Morgan, D. D., 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

George Maurice Morris, Esq., 808 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

Henry C. Morris, Esq., Chicago, Ill.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Evans Building, Washington, D. C.

Prof. Arthur Ramsay, President Fairmont Seminary, Washington, D. C.

Paul Sleman, Esq., Secretary American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

Theodore Stanfield, 126 West 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

Jay T. Stocking, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. Henry Temple, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Winthrop Center, Me.

A. T. Bell, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

Gilbert Bowles, Esq., 30 Koun Machi, Mita Shiba, Tokyo, Japan.

Dean Charles R. Brown, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. Brown, New York University, New York.

Pres. William Lowe Bryan, Bloomington, Ind.

George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Francis E. Clark, Boston, Mass.

Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

George A. Finch, Esq., Washington, D. C.

Everett O. Fiske, Esq., Boston, Mass.

William P. Gest, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Charles Cheney Hyde, Washington, D. C.

Charles E. Jefferson, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. David Starr Jordan, Stanford University, Calif.

Bishop William Lawrence, Boston, Mass.

Joseph Lee, Boston, Mass.

William H. Luden, Reading, Pa.

Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester, Mass.

Mrs. Philip N. Moore, St. Louis, Mo.

Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.

L. H. Pillsbury, Derry, N. H.

Judge Henry Wade Rogers, New York, N. Y.

Hon. Elihu Root, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Frederic Schoff, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. James Brown Scott, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Ruth H. Spray, Salida, Colo.

Senator Thomas Sterling, Washington, D. C.

Edward Stevens, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. Thwing, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. Mary E. Woolley, South Hadley, Mass.

* Emeritus.

The only changes here are for the purpose of filling vacancies. We have three vacancies in the Executive Committee, and for those vacancies it is respectfully suggested that we elect the following persons, members of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee:

Walter A. Morgan, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C. I might say that Dr. Morgan, though a very young man, was very seriously considered as a possible president of Dartmouth College. He is the author of various works. He has spoken here in the city on our problems—before the City Club recently, for example. He is a frequent visitor at our office and is in hearty sympathy with our aims and methods.

Henry C. Morris, Esq., of Chicago, should also be elected member of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee. As Dr. Green very well knows, he was for many years president of our Chicago branch and, of course, knows our work thoroughly. He used to be a member of our Board of Directors and usually came from Chicago to attend the meetings. He has recently decided to live a part of each year in the city of Washington.

The third is George Maurice Morris, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington. George Maurice Morris was until recently a law partner of Charles Cheney Hyde, now Solicitor of the State Department, who was until recently a member of our Board of Directors and of our Executive Committee. He was not only a law partner of Mr. Hyde, but he was in sympathy with Mr. Hyde's views. He knows our work also, has written for the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, and is in sympathy with our purposes.

Mr. SLEMAN: If it be in order, I move that, with these additions, the list of officers be elected as named.

The PRESIDENT: You refer now only to members of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee?

Dr. GREEN: Why cannot the entire tableau be elected at once?

The PRESIDENT: They could be.

Dr. GREEN: I move the Secretary be instructed to cast one vote for the names as submitted.

The PRESIDENT: Since I have a word to say about my

own re-election, I shall take the liberty of putting the motion as follows: It is moved and seconded that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the names which have just been read as members for the Board of Directors and Executive Committee respectively. All in favor of that motion say aye; opposed, no. It is carried. The Secretary will cast the unanimous ballot.

The PRESIDENT: Now, Mr. Secretary, we are not continuing officers, as I understand it. Do we have to be elected?

Secretary CALL: Yes.

The PRESIDENT: As I have heretofore indicated, I had hoped we would have the full membership of the Board here today. I do not want to do anything to embarrass the Society and I do not want you to think that by my separation from the executive function I would embarrass the Society, but I think it is very much better to elect a President who can give the Society far more time than I have been able to give. I have indicated to Mr. Call that I hoped the Society would not see fit to elect me this time, and if they did I doubted if I could see my way to serve. If, however, you are not prepared to elect a President today, I should be very glad to hold over temporarily until you can.

Dr. GREEN: I fail to see, sir, in what way we have suffered any loss or inconvenience during the past year from any lack of attention on the part of the distinguished President of this Association. The routine work is effectively done through Mr. Call's office, and it seems to me that we would simply be doing ourselves an honor to continue you at the head of the organization for another year.

The PRESIDENT: I believe I have served three years.

Dr. RAMSAY: I should like very cordially to endorse the words of Dr. Green and to say that the Society, we feel, has been and can continue to be served helpfully by Governor Montague. I personally hope he will consent to serve for four years, and then, shall we say, seven years longer. Seven years, Governor, is a good round number to think about.

The PRESIDENT: You see, I have been unable to attend the meetings with that frequency that a member of the organization should attend them. I have been a member of the House for about ten years. Our meetings always occur in the afternoon, and therefore it is almost impossible for me to attend. The House meets at 12. That is the active period of my work and I cannot leave it. I have felt that I had not been sufficiently in touch with the active administration of the organization as I should, and that somebody ought to be selected who could do that. If the members of the committee have nobody in their minds to suggest today, I am perfectly willing to hold over until you can select somebody. I appreciate very much the expressions which have been given and I hope the gentlemen will understand I am very grateful.

Dr. GREEN: Suppose, for the sake of filling the other offices, the Governor consents that this election shall go on, and that the tableau of regular officers—President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and Honorary Vice-Presidents—be elected at this time with the understanding that if after having taking further counsel with himself, in view of what has been said, when we come together again in the autumn he really feels that

he must lay down the duties of the office, he may withdraw at that time if he chooses.

The PRESIDENT: You mean that my election would be with the potential right of resignation?

Dr. GREEN: Yes, with the hope that we may reason you out of it.

Dr. RAMSAY: With the earnest wish now that you may not have the desire to ask us to relieve you.

The PRESIDENT: I am not losing my interest in the organization at all, Dr. Ramsay, but I feel that the American Peace Society has perhaps more to do now than it has ever done, and I think we have some concrete things to do. We have to take some positions other than mere academic expressions. My own view is that we should back this World Court plan, if you may call it a court. Something may come of it after awhile.

Dr. RAMSAY: It is looking in the right direction.

The PRESIDENT: It is looking in the right direction. Fundamentally, there is nothing known to society or to civilization that is effective to settle disputes between nations in the same way as the administration of justice between man and man. If we can do it between man and man, we ought to be able to do it between States.

That is, perhaps, the most important thing before us in America today. It is for us to see that we do not lose our courts of justice. The Supreme Court is, in the last analysis, the interpreter and savior of American institutions. Of course, the justices are human; they make mistakes; but if we take away from the Supreme Court the right to declare laws unconstitutional, then we should do away with our Constitution—if we are going to leave it to the members of the legislative branches, the House and the Senate, to determine whether they have a right to ravish it or not.

We know as a practical matter that the legislatures of the States and of the nation are more and more having to contend with the fact that legislators absolve themselves from their oath to support the Constitution. They say, "Oh, well, it is up to the courts." That was not the view of Kent, or of Mr. Cooley, nor of any of the great lawyers of the past. But that is coming to be the view of the legislators of today. If you talk with them in the cloak-rooms, they will tell you, "We will not determine the constitutional question; we will leave it to the courts." And so our courts have these constitutional questions to pass upon that they never should be obliged to pass upon. (Applause.)

Dr. GREEN: Bishop Darlington and I are compelled to leave now. I take great pleasure in making the motion that the entire list of officers submitted be elected for the ensuing year, with the understanding that when we meet in the autumn it shall be Governor Montague's privilege, if he still is so inclined, to insist upon his resignation, which I hope he will not have to do. I make that motion, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the election of these officers.

The CHAIRMAN: Those in favor will signify by saying aye; contrary, no. It is a vote. They are elected.

Secretary CALL: May I have just a minute? I do not expect that there will be any difference of opinion about this, for you will agree there should be some official action in the direction of a concrete expression of the aggregate opinion of the Board at this stage. I therefore submit the following resolutions (reading):

THE BALANCE SHEET OF EUROPE

By EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN

Professor of Economics at Columbia University

The following article, which is the text of an address delivered by Professor Seligman before the Economic Club of New York, is reprinted here with the author's consent.—
THE EDITOR.

IN WHAT sense is the present balance sheet of Europe the aftermath of war? Do we always recognize what is meant by that statement? We have had wars before, and we shall have wars again, but never in the history of this world has there been a war which has caused such a devastation, such a havoc, such a destruction. In former years we had wars where people were killed and where, mayhap, cities were destroyed. But never until the advent of this epoch have we had in time of war the application of what we have long since come to know in peace as the factory system. This war was the first illustration in the history of the world of the factory system in warfare.

When, in addition to the loss of lives, and to the devastation of town and country, you fire away every second thousands of dollars of previously accumulated capital, you cannot expect the world to be afterwards as it was before. With guns that cost well nigh a million, with men-of-war that cost \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000, the expenditures of all previous wars, whether with bow or javelin, whether with cross-sword or with horse, sink into insignificance. All our troubles today arise from this fact, from this riotous and profligate waste of accumulated capital. That is the problem with which we have to deal.

It is sometimes said that nations recover quickly from wars. It is true that after a few years the soil recovers its original or primitive fertility. It is true that in France and in Belgium, as in the other devastated countries, after the wires have been swept away and the land has been cleaned and plowed, we may again, within a measurable time, secure our former productivity. It is true that after every great war the birth rate, for some occult reason, increases, until before long the gap made in the population is again filled. Those things are indeed true. But what takes time, what is not so easy to repair, is that accumulation of capital on which alone civilization rests.

Even in former times, see how long it took to repair the ravages of war. Take the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the devastation connected with which it took Germany over a century to repair. Take the situation in England after the Napoleonic wars. How long did it take England to pay the Napoleonic debt? How much did England pay off in the period of comparative prosperity after 1816? Not 10 per cent of her debt was she able to pay in those forty years. What happened to the South after our Civil War? It took a generation before the South was again put on its feet. Yet all these events are as nothing compared to the last war, where civilization itself was almost made to totter in large parts of Europe.

I marvel at the rashness of those who, in the smug complacency of our own comparative prosperity, speak so easily of the recuperative powers of Europe. Let

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 unco-ordinated 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:

(1) To bring about at the earliest practicable moment a conference of all the nations for the restatement, amendment, reconciliation, and declaration of International law.

(2) 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.

(3) 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.

Since some of the gentlemen are necessarily in a hurry, for the purpose of expedition I move the adoption of these resolutions as the expression of the views of the Board of Directors.

Dr. GREEN: I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT: Is there any discussion? All in favor of the resolutions will indicate by saying aye; all opposed, no. The resolution is agreed to.

Dr. RAMSAY: Mr. President, if it is in order, I should like to nominate Bishop Darlington, of Pennsylvania, as one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents of the American Peace Society.

Secretary CALL: I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I am sure we shall be very glad to have Bishop Darlington to act in that capacity. I do not say that, however, for the purpose of influencing the Board in its vote. (Laughter.)

The PRESIDENT: All in favor of the motion to elect Bishop Darlington an Honorary Vice-President of the American Peace Society, say aye. It is unanimously carried.

Dr. GREEN: You must excuse us now, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT: Is that all, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary CALL: It is all.

Dr. GREEN: I move we adjourn, sir.

The President put the vote.

(Whereupon, at 2.10 o'clock p. m., the meeting adjourned.)

those who have gone through the countries, whether devastated or not, who have learned to appreciate not alone the burdens which rest upon the subjects of Great Britain with the necessity, so keenly felt, of pulling in the belt tighter and tighter during the past few years, let them go to Italy, let them go to France, let them go to Austria, let them go to any part of Europe and attempt to realize what the situation really is among the middle class, among the laboring class, among any class except those of the profiteers.

The first point, then, is that we are dealing with unheard-of conditions, with a destruction of accumulated capital which it will take long and weary years to re-establish. It is not an inviting prospect. It is not an easy task. It will need the efforts not alone of one, but of all, to reconstruct a shattered world.

That brings me to my second point, our dependence on other nations. The time was when we could safely preach the policy of political isolation, because we were economically isolated, because we were self-dependent. But what was true a century or more ago is becoming daily less true. Do you know that for every ten bushels of wheat that are produced in this country, we are dependent on the foreign market for three or four? Do you know that for every ten bales of cotton that are produced in this country we are dependent on the foreign market for six or seven? It is true that if we take our trade as an entirety, perhaps not more than 10 per cent of our actual products are represented by the foreign demand. But it is precisely that 10 per cent which are the marginal 10 per cent which affect the entire product and protect the profits on that which is left.

How blind are they who would expect our prosperity to return or, when once it will have returned, to remain, without retaining and increasing the foreign market which is at the present time, and which is becoming more and more every year, the very nerve center of our economic activity. How dare we to think that we can afford to practice a policy of economic isolation in the face of these facts? What business man is there of sanity who does not feel that his prosperity depends upon the prosperity of his customers? Who can get rich by dealing with poor people? How can any one think that we are so independent of what is going on today in Italy, in France, in Belgium, in Germany, in all the continental countries as well as in Great Britain, without realizing, not indeed, perhaps, as an eloquent Senator said the other day, that we and they are Siamese twins—the connection, perhaps, is not quite so close as that—but at best without realizing our mutual interdependence. Of the two propositions, the one of economic and political isolation and the other that of the inextricable intertwining of our very life blood with theirs, I should say that the latter proposition is the more correct one.

Well, then, if we are dealing with these results of the most cataclysmic episode that the world has seen, if we are inevitably and inextricably intertwined with the prosperity of abroad, do you not see that the problem of our debts, of the foreign debts, is inevitably mixed up with, enmeshed with, the problem of reparations? Here we are, ready to give good advice to France. Who had the good fortune among us to listen to that soul-stirring and eloquent address of Clemenceau the other

night? Who could have heard that and not realized how absurd it is for us to say to France, "Give up part of your claims against Germany," and then, in our smugness, demand every cent of our claims against France?

The man to whom you have loaned money and who refuses to pay is one thing. The man who has stolen from you or who has burned your house and then refused to pay is no less signally a malefactor. To France, whose house was burned, we say, "Give up your claims against Germany. Reduce it from 132,000,000,000 to ten or fifteen billions." But to France and to Italy, to whom we stand in the relation of creditor, not of miscreant, we say, "Give us every penny of the money that we loaned you." In fact we say more, because when we loaned Italy the two billions that she owes us, we loaned her the money in dollars which were then equivalent to a certain sum of lire. Today, with lire at four cents instead of twenty cents, those two billion dollars represent, so far as Italy is concerned, five times as much. We ask Italy to give back to us not what she gave up in the way of energy and effort and work, but five times as much. From Germany, France cannot get what was taken from her; to us she is expected to pay far more than we gave her. Is that fair? Is that honest?

Moreover, do not forget that when we speak of the allied debt it is not alone that Great Britain has loaned to the other Allies almost as much as we have done. We have loaned ten billions, of which some four and a half billions went to Great Britain. Great Britain loaned some eight billions, of which two billions went to France and almost as much to Italy. Do not forget that France loaned to the other and still more needy Allies almost as much as she received from Great Britain. Is France demanding back those two billions? Is England demanding back her eight billions? When we say that we have loaned half of this sum to Great Britain, we forget that Great Britain was only the conduit through which the advances were made to the more needy nations of Europe, the nations that are the most impecunious, the most embarrassed nations of the world.

And that brings me, then, to the real point. I do not demand—I never did demand—that we should entirely cancel the debts. It would not do much good to forego those debts out of hand. There are two extremes which are possible. Both of them are being discussed and neither of them is advisable. The one is complete cancellation of the debt. The other is immediate repayment of the debt. The latter is as unwise as the other.

Why would the demand for immediate repayment of the debt be unwise? For three reasons:

First, because there is, at the very least, a doubt connected with its moral basis, with the ethical implications of that debt. The money was loaned, of course; but are we quite so sure that we are morally justified, not legally, but morally, justified in demanding back every penny? Do we not recognize the fact that when we went into the war it was a common effort? For purposes of economy and convenience, indeed, it was agreed upon, with the other nations, that each should look after the payments of the expenditure separately.

Any other plan would have meant delay and inconvenience. But if the truth is told, and if we look upon the situation as a whole, there is no doubt that while France and Italy were primarily responsible for the man-power, despite the two millions of men that we sent abroad, despite the millions of men that England sent, that France and Italy and Belgium were primarily responsible for the man-power; that England was primarily responsible for the materials, and that we were primarily responsible for the food. If it was a common effort, and if the results were the results of a common enterprise, is it fair, is it entirely just, to say that that nation which suffered the least from the war should now cause all the other partners to suffer the most?

Do not forget for a moment that while indeed we entered into and emerged from the war with clean hands, we emerged with full hands. In the period before we entered the war we made untold profits, five or six billions, which converted us from the debtor nation of the world to the greatest creditor nation. It is true that the awful havoc of the war itself largely dissipated this gain, so that in the ultimate result the wealth of this country today is only just what it would normally have been without the war. But look at what happened to all the rest. Look at what happened to England. We have heard that England has balanced her budget. But how has England been able to balance her budget? First, by increasing her taxation to a point unheard of and unthought of in this country; and, second, by abandoning all hope of paying her own debt. As a matter of fact, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that it would be impossible to put aside a single penny for the amortization of the debt. England is able to balance her budget because, if the truth be told, England is today living upon her capital. If you go across the channel to France and to Italy, where the lire is worth four cents instead of twenty cents, where the situation has been such that you have got the Fascisti revolution, which really meant the frantic effort of a nation to get on its feet again; if you look at the situation in France and know, as I know, of the efforts that are being made to show a brave front to the world in the face of the most serious situation; if you face all these things, you will have to realize that the situation is by no means as promising as it is so often represented to us.

They are the real sufferers; Italy and France and the other sixteen debtors of this country. They are the real sufferers. We are the real gainers. We did not get colonies, it is true. We did not get reparations, even on paper, but we got what was a great deal better than that, we retained the capital which enables us to move forward and to look to the future with a fairly complacent satisfaction, whereas in every other former belligerent, with the possible exception of Japan, the situation today is, on the whole, worse than it was three years ago, and the outlook is dismal indeed.

If, then, there is this question of taint, this question of doubt, attaching to the moral basis of our debt, must it not lead us, at all events, to go a little slow in demanding every jot and tittle of the obligation? And, in the second place, if we did demand it, could they pay it?

Can a bankrupt Europe pay its debts when it took England forty years to pay off 75,000,000 pounds of her Napoleonic debt; when she is still struggling with a debt of one hundred years ago? Is it sensible to expect that countries like Italy and France—not to mention the others, who are not even within measurable distance of being able to balance their own integral budgets, where there is a margin of billions between the outgo and income—is it possible to think that you can extract from them the wherewithal to pay the debt? Can you squeeze water out of a stone?

And if we could, would it avail us anything? Did it avail England much to get the German fleet and the merchant marine? What seemed an advantage has now turned out, as we all know, through the cataclysmic destruction of the shipping industry of the Clyde and elsewhere, to be a disaster, not a blessing. Do we think that we shall fare any better if the whole of Europe, which can ultimately only pay its debts in goods, not in gold or in other things—do we think that if Europe is able to pay its debts in these billions of goods it will not interfere with our market for our goods which otherwise we should have sent abroad? How blind are those who do not see. Do not act like the proverbial ostrich, which puts his head in the sand, oblivious of what is passing on about him.

I should say, in conclusion, we do not want entire cancellation of the debts, because it would not help anybody; but we do not want immediate payment of the debts, because it would harm us as much as, if not more than, the European countries. But the solution, as exemplified in the principles underlying the Debt Commission law, is unacceptable. The law requires us after a few years to demand interest on the whole amount and to fund the whole amount for a period not to exceed twenty-five years. That law ties our hands. It makes it impossible for us, whether we will or not—and sooner or later public opinion in this country will, I am sure, come to the point where it will say that we should—it renders it impossible for us to make any compromise of accommodation with Europe, with England, with France, with Italy, looking toward some general plan which will not put all the burdens upon France and Italy, as the present law does, but which will enable us to share to some small extent the burdens which, as Clemenceau has so eloquently put it, we have no right to shirk.

There are obligations as well as rights in this Allied debt problem. Let us not simply emphasize the rights. Let us regard also the obligations.

And thus, I say, in conclusion, honesty is indeed the best policy. But it is also the right policy. In the same way generosity is also usually the best policy and always the right policy. We can afford to be generous because we alone have emerged from the wreck of the storm with our heads high and our efforts unabated. Let us be generous as well as have an eye upon our interests. Let us, in fine, decide to envisage this problem of the Allied debts as a part of a much larger problem. Let us act so that we shall not only fatten our pockets but at the same time save our soul.

THE WORLD OF BUSINESS AT ROME

By JULIUS H. BARNES

(NOTE.—Statement on the second meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce, prepared for the National Chamber of Commerce of the United States by its President.)

AT ROME during the week of March 17 there assembled business leaders from twenty countries. These men were drawn together through the International Chamber of Commerce in an earnest effort to contribute business experience and business conviction toward the solution of problems which affect world-wide recovery of trade and industry.

It is significant and heartening that a congress of business men, in which the major note struck was the necessity of stimulating individual initiative and private enterprise, should have had its welcome extended by the Italian Premier, whose spectacular rise to power rests on his declared convictions against the efficiency of State ventures.

On the opening day of the Congress, Premier Mussolini, addressing the delegates, declared that the State must renounce its economic functions, especially those of a monopolistic character. "I am convinced," said the Premier, "that a government which wants quickly to uplift its own people from the after-war crisis must give free play to private enterprise and forego any measure of State control or State paternalism, which, as shown by experience, will in the long run turn out to be fatal to the economic development of a country."

Strong words these and especially significant from this strong personality and in a country of such extended experiments in government operation.

The resolutions of the Congress expressing business conviction on the important problems of after-war settlements and on the stimulation of production were framed in the American manner of laying down the essential principles that must be observed, leaving the application of those principles in detail for later adaptation.

Organized business was represented by an unusually strong delegation of more than one hundred Americans, among the total attendance of half a thousand.

The expressions of the Congress on the important subjects of after-war problems, and on principles of production, had been discussed and formulated in advance by the American delegation. And it is nationally gratifying that the proposed expressions, submitted for several days' earnest consideration by delegates from countries of conflicting interests and different opinions, were finally unanimously adopted with no change of principle and only such change in phraseology as avoided any possible offense to individual sensibilities.

America had one clear conviction for its guidance. This was, that transcending in importance all the details of plans of settlement was the requirement that a settlement, when made, should recognize and incorporate certain fundamentals establishing the conditions under which industry was made secure, investments and loans were made safe, and the processes of human earnings and human savings could be stimulated toward the ultimate redemption of these war burdens.

America knows that national prosperity and national wealth, as also individual, depend in the last analysis

on earning and production which exceeds consumption.

America knows that increased aggregate production is not alone sufficient, but that by increased human effort and by aid of science and invention, production per individual must be maintained and increased.

America knows, besides, that earning and production per individual is steadily increasing and that, if conditions could be created in Europe, by which the processes of industry were set in motion, this great law of increasing earnings would liquidate war burdens with less distress than now seems possible.

The work of the Congress, therefore, fell naturally into three divisions:

First: Essential principles which must be incorporated in any lasting and effective settlement of after-war problems.

Second: The principles of individual production which create individual and national earnings and savings.

Third: The practical facilities for encouraging and stimulating trade processes.

AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS

It is a sincere test of any formula to submit it to the requirements of national interests so vital and so conflicting as, for instance, France and Germany.

It is a great encouragement that the formulas of simple requirements framed by the American delegation were neither curtailed nor extended.

It is a further encouragement that these principles are recognized as not only comprehensive but so fair that they must eventually come into play in whatever final and effective settlement is made of these vast and intricate problems.

The prime essential in such an effective settlement is one of good faith; that there shall be no concealed purposes nor undeclared reservations by those who must participate in the ultimate agreements.

If, for instance, Germany through its responsible representatives was today ready, as it declares itself to be, to recognize its moral obligation to repair great wrongs by supreme efforts made in good faith, then it would seem that human judgment is capable of ascertaining amounts and details and of prescribing certainties and guaranties for performance and for security against future aggression, without burdening the productive power of Germany with its first charge of one hundred million dollars for military occupation.

If, on the other hand, there is grudging acceptance of terms forced upon it; if there are reservations against a day of revenge; then the basic requirement of security against recurring war alarms is defeated and the processes of healing clearly obstructed.

Assuming that there is entire good faith; that there is a recognition that the future welfare of peoples rests rather on conditions which promote opportunity and employment than on the nursing of real or fancied national injuries, then, there comes into play the formula of essential requirements outlined in the Rome resolutions.

There are in such a settlement five areas which demand both economic and political wisdom. The business men of the world appreciate the problems of administrators and statesmen. They are desirous of

recording their judgment of the economic aspects which must be incorporated in a lasting settlement. In these five fields, then, the business judgment of the world has recorded as essential these principles:

First. As to Reparations: The aggregate must definitely be fixed within the resources and earning power of Germany devoted to the utmost in good faith.

That there must be certainty of payments under such determination.

That there must be, besides, security against similar future aggression.

Second. As to the Allied Debts: No general principle of cancellation or remission must undermine a high standard of integrity in international obligations, but individual cases may be surveyed in the light of the ability of the debtor to pay and that ability weighed as affected by any recasting of expected reparations payments.

Third. As to National Budgets: That income and outgo must bear some proper relation. That current expenses should not be met by issuing paper currency pledges.

Fourth. As to International Credits: That governmental loans are objectionable because of their political complexion. And, that adequate private loans for development will be defeated without sound budgets and the elimination of inflation.

Fifth. As to Exchanges: That artificial stabilization is dangerous and undesirable, and that the ultimate goal should be the gold parity attained under natural influences.

The International Chamber of Commerce directed that a special committee actively endeavor to have these principles made effective at the earliest possible moment.

The Chamber elected as its new president, an American, Mr. Willis H. Booth, of New York, and immediately set up an international committee to further the adoption of these principles, composed as follows:

Mr. Willis H. Booth, of America, Chairman *ex-officio*; Mr. Fred I. Kent, of America; M. Maurice Despret, of Belgium; M. Maurice Lewandowski, of France; Sir Felix Shuster, of Great Britain; Sig. Alberto Pirelli, of Italy; Mr. W. Westermann, of The Netherlands; Mr. K. A. Wallenberg, of Sweden.

No man can say at present what the next step will be in making these principles of settlement effective by agreement and adoption. But, every man who studies the foundation of reviving industry in Europe, appreciating the vast quickening of human activity which would follow the establishment of such a foundation for industry and trade, and every man who recognizes the fairness and justice of these declarations, will feel confident that the day must come, and soon, when their influence will be felt.

STIMULATED PRODUCTION

As to the principles of Production, on which European recovery would be made secure: This declaration also rests on the conviction of actual test and experience in America.

Briefly; this declaration is a challenge between two theories of Production; theories so fundamentally opposed that a conflict is inevitable. There is, first, the American theory that individual production, stimulated

and increased by individual human effort and by mechanical aid, does, by its economy of cost and by the earning power which it, itself, enlarges, makes more secure the standard of common living and widens the circle of common possession.

The philosophy which it thus opposes is that deadening theory of production and employment as a known quantity which can be spread among more workers by a restriction on individual performance.

The Rome declaration on production declares these things as social injuries to every man, woman and child, with a far wider significance than any possible effect upon the welfare and earnings of industry alone:

First. To refuse to expand human production by the economical use of invention and mechanical appliances.

Second. To lower the effectiveness of nominal hours of labor by prescribing limitations of output or effort.

Third. To establish rules which require two or more workers to do work which may well be performed by one.

Fourth. To maintain in non-production, such as military service, men who can possibly be restored to productive industry.

The Rome resolution also declared in favor of such methods of payment in industry as shall reward superior individual effort.

It declared also for such governmental policies, especially through taxation, as shall not stifle incentive to enterprise and shall secure the enjoyment of the rewards of unusual productive effort.

It also declared for private enterprise as against State ownership and State operation, and justified this conviction by citing the record of relative failure of State experiments.

This declaration of principles will be cited with increasing frequency as time passes and undoubtedly will be increasingly used in industrial decisions.

FACILITIES IN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE

In the area of facilitating trade and commerce, the Rome Congress and its preliminary committee preparation made many recommendations which, put in effect, will greatly quicken the trade currents on which national and individual prosperity depend. In this field, summarized briefly, the Congress declared:

That the different countries should publish all changes in tariff rates, nomenclature and regulations prior to the application of such changes, and that a general index and explanatory notes be published in connection with customs tariffs by countries which have not already done so.

That the simplification of conditions governing the delivery of certificates of origin be examined, especially with a view to reducing and unifying, as far as possible, the fees collected by consulates on their delivery.

That the various countries examine the possibility of adopting the rule that in case of changes in customs tariffs the benefit of the old tariff, when more favorable to trade, be enjoyed by goods proven to have been directly shipped before the application of the new tariff.

That all necessary measures be taken to spare trade and industry any unjust discrimination in respect of customs or other similar regulations or procedure concerning the grant of licenses and methods of verification or analysis.

That import and export prohibitions or restrictions only constitute exceptional cases and that measures be taken promptly to reduce them to the smallest possible number in all countries where they still exist; that the system under which licenses can be obtained be publicly announced, and clearly stated.

That the different countries take the most appropriate measures to prevent arbitrary and unjust application of laws and regulations with regard to customs, and to insure redress for such abuses, and that customs litigations be settled by a majority of persons independent of the customs administration of the importing countries.

That agreements be concluded under which importing countries will accept the certificate of inspection and guarantees of purity issued by the exporting countries, in connection with plant imports and other commodities subject to sanitary and similar inspection requirements.

That customs and other authorities should not have the right to confiscate goods on the grounds that it is prohibited to import them into the country or send them through in transit, and that reconignment be allowed.

That the customs administrations of the different countries introduce in their internal regulations all necessary measures to simplify and accelerate customs operations as regards declarations and the passage of goods and travelers' luggage; that the system of international customs stations be developed.

That the system of temporary admission as regards materials to be further manufactured be established in all countries on liberal bases corresponding to the requirements of commerce and industry.

That the system of goods in bond be established in all countries and that it be as broad as possible.

That return goods be admitted free of duty, provided necessary proof is furnished.

That the elements used in applying ad valorem duty be determined in accordance with a uniform basis.

That the foregoing proposals regarding customs be submitted to the customs conference to be held by the League of Nations next October and that the conference take what steps are deemed necessary to put the proposals into operation.

The trade and industry group also gave attention to commercial arbitration, declaring it to be of the highest importance to the commerce of the world that the practice of international arbitration should be facilitated and extended. A resolution considered by this section and later approved by the entire Congress declares that all States should give the greatest possible encouragement to arbitration agreements and protection to parties to such agreements. National committees were urged in the resolution to press their respective governments to take immediate and practical action in this direction.

The Transportation group of the Congress dealt with a number of questions having to do with the transportation of goods in international commerce.

One of the most important of the declarations of this group, as approved by the Congress, condemns "a growing tendency on the part of some nations to view the exports from and the imports to their countries as national commerce and so claim the right to discriminate in favor of the vessels of the national flag against ves-

sels of an alien flag. This declaration admits the right of the individual nations to subsidize its shipping and to regulate and restrict exports and imports, but denounces attempts to claim exclusive rights for the commerce of any country."

In this connection the Congress also took occasion to say a word against proposals that have been made which would restrict the passage of immigrants to the ships of a particular nation.

Other declarations of the transportation group dealing with marine transport call for:

Adherence to the general practices existing before the war with regard to the settlement of general average.

Immediate application of "The Hague Rules, 1922" to ocean bills of lading through adoption of the draft convention agreed upon at Brussels.

Removal of difficulties which at present attend the use of shipping documents known as "received for shipment," B/L, etc.

Air navigation was covered in a resolution which recommends that national funds spent on aviation should be devoted in part at least to developing civil aviation, thereby creating a permanent and eventually self-supporting form of transportation, which at the same time would be available for national defense. The Congress recommended further that the International Chamber create a permanent international advisory committee, to include financial, industrial, legal and aviation experts, which would examine into the steps necessary to promote the international development of civil aviation for commercial purposes.

RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION

Railway transportation was dealt with in a resolution carrying a number of recommendations, the most important of which are as follows:

That the management of railways under normal conditions should rest on private initiative.

That uniform gauge and interchangeable equipment be adopted as widely and as effectively as possible.

That delays at frontiers be reduced to a minimum by means of improved transport facilities, by free exchange of rolling stock and a liberal use of unbroken shipments and through bills of lading.

That a permanent committee on railway transport be created to study methods of making effective, in co-operation with other organizations, the foregoing recommendations.

The Congress came out strongly for simplification of passport regulations, declaring for an abolition of compulsory passports wherever possible, for discontinuance of all visa requirements except in special cases, for a reduction in fees for visas where visas may be required and for a general simplification of procedure.

Motor transport was taken up by the Congress, which brought forth a resolution declaring for a fostering of construction of national highways; for attention to the construction of international highway trunk lines; for simplification of laws and regulations applying to international motor transport, and for unification of regulations governing the type, equipment and operation of motor vehicles.

The Congress commended the work of the International Chamber's committee on trade terms and

recommended distribution of a publication recently issued by the committee defining trade terms as now used in the important commercial countries.

While the Congress gave little time to speech-making a number of important addresses were made on the subjects before the meeting. These addresses were informative and showed that business men have been giving the most careful study to the underlying causes of the economic distress which now exists so widely throughout the world. There was evident a note of confidence in the progress toward recovery already made and a great desire to facilitate that recovery by helpful business experience and conviction.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF INDUSTRY

By GEORGE E. ROBERTS

NOTE.—The following article appeared originally in *The Nation's Business*, but is reprinted here with the author's consent.—EDITOR.

AS POPULATION increases, society inevitably becomes more complex. People must live more closely together, have more to do with each other, and be more dependent upon each other.

I remember reading some years ago the autobiography of the late Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and I recall his statement that in his boyhood years in Massachusetts industrial and social conditions were not very different from what they were in the village communities of Italy in the days of the Roman Empire. That is to say, he dated back to the time of hand tools and the household industries, before the general introduction of steam-power and power-driven machinery. Every local community was in large degree self-sufficient and independent, and industrial relations were easily understood. It is a far cry from the industries of that time to the industries of today, interlocked as they are in the industrial system of the world.

We have developed an intricate, highly specialized industrial system, in which each of us does some one thing, which often has little direct relation to his own wants, and depends upon satisfying his wants by exchanging products and services with others. It is a wonderfully effective system when all in balance and running in order, but it is an interdependent system. It is like a great machine in which every part is dependent upon all the other parts.

Moreover, it is a great voluntary system, and its efficiency is largely dependent upon good understanding, good feeling and co-operation among all the groups and members that compose it, and that is not easily maintained. Emerson said that the real test of civilization was in "Facility of Association"—the ability of people to understand each other, get along together and work together for common purposes.

Most of our troubles, it seems to me, are due to the fact that we have developed the industrial organization beyond the comprehension of the average. He doesn't see the full workings of the system; he doesn't fully appreciate his own part in it or the benefits that he derives from it. And so we have a tendency for society to break up into groups and blocs and unions, of one kind and another, each striving to advance the interests

of a few at the expense of the many, until the benefits of the system are impaired and to a great extent lost. Organization has developed until it defeats its own purposes, for the warring groups expend their energies in fighting each other. We have tied so many knots in the channels of circulation that society is threatened with strangulation.

The railroads are a great convenience for the interchange of products, but if either of the relatively small groups of people who happen to own or be employed upon them has a right to paralyze traffic at will, society is in a precarious situation. Our entire industrial and transportation system is dependent upon coal, and about 600,000 men have voluntarily undertaken the task of mining coal. Certainly they are entitled to considerate treatment at the hands of the public, but certainly, also, the great public is entitled to considerate treatment at the hands of the miners, and where interests come into conflict neither side should ask alone to judge the case.

Now we cannot get along without the modern system of industry. The population of this country could not be supported in the state of comfort to which it is accustomed without it, not to speak of improving social conditions. In many respects the conditions of life tend to grow harder as population increases and the original stores of natural wealth are impaired.

We have been exploiting the natural resources of a continent, a wealth of soil, of timber, and of minerals that had been in preparation for thousands of years. We are feeling the pinch of scarcity and rising prices in many of these materials. We must make constant improvements in the methods of industry to offset this impairment of natural resources, or we shall have simply exploited this country and left nothing to those who come after us to compensate them for the harder task of making a livelihood, which will confront them.

The truth is that it requires a higher order of intelligence, a higher sense of social responsibility to be a citizen in modern society than it did to be a citizen in a primitive society. The modern industrial system will break down, the system under which men devote their lives to research, or to acquiring skill in specialized industry, is impracticable, unless the spirit of co-operation prevails.

H. G. Wells, the English writer, returning from Russia, is profoundly pessimistic about civilization in Western Europe and the United States. He says that it is in a race between education and catastrophe. Certain it is that the possibilities of this highly organized society cannot be realized without a broader understanding of its mutual advantages. Since we all owe benefits to it, we all owe loyalty to it. We must exalt the interests of society as a whole against the claims of any part of it, for that in the long run is for the good of every part. We must bring everybody to know that there is a Unity of Modern Society, that the interests we all have in common are vastly more important than the interests that seem to be in conflict, and that there are economic laws and forces that safeguard the common welfare.

There is a widespread belief held by many excellent people that, in the past, labor has not had its fair share of the benefits of industrial progress. But how does anybody know that the condition of the wage-earning class would be better today if more of the industrial

product had been distributed in wages and less had been devoted to the development of industry? You cannot eat your cake and have it too.

The industrial development of this country has been accomplished mainly by means of the industrial profits of the past. The industrial equipment of this country is superior to that of any other country, and as a result the production of our industries is higher per unit of labor than that of the countries of Europe, and wages are higher than in those countries. If industrial profits had been lower, the industrial development would have been lower, production would have been lower and the amount available for distribution as wages would be lower than it now is. These accumulations of capital can do nothing without labor; capital cannot dig a ditch, or lay a wall or turn a furrow without labor. They must be used together.

Wherever there are two factors that must be used together, the one that is relatively scarce has an advantage over the other. I remember that when I lived out in the corn country there used to be something like a competitive situation between corn on the one hand and live stock on the other. If there was a good supply of stock to be fattened and a short crop of corn, feeders would be relatively cheap and corn dear, while if there was a big crop of corn and feeders were scarce, the owners of the latter held the whip hand. We have seen this situation in the last two years, with corn selling on the market at 30 to 50 cents a bushel and worth 75 cents to \$1.00 to the owner of hogs.

And so it is that since capital cannot be employed without labor, every dollar of new capital means an increased demand for labor; and since capital is always increasing in this country faster than population, labor comes inevitably into a constantly stronger position.

And then bear in mind that, taking the industries as a whole, the products must be sold back to the workers who make them.

The great investments of capital which we see going on are all for the purpose of serving in some manner the masses of the population. There is practically no other use for capital. The demands of the rich are of small consequence; it is the wants of the millions that keep the wheels of business moving; and with all the investments of new capital and all the improvements in industry we have a constant increase in the output of commodities per head of population; and the only way these commodities possibly can be distributed is by such a continual readjustment of wages and prices as will enable the masses of the people to buy them. Industry would choke down and come to a standstill if the buying power of the people did not constantly increase.

Suppose you knew that the supply of wheat per head of the population would steadily increase from year to year, say from 5 bushels per head in 1922 to 5½ in 1923, 6 in 1924 and so on; do you think that any possible combination of capital could prevent the benefits of that abundance from reaching the masses? Something like that is going on normally all over the industrial world, and under such conditions you can no more prevent the benefits from reaching the masses than you can prevent the rivers from reaching the sea.

The security and rise of the masses happily does not depend upon the forbearance, the generosity, or the con-

siderate favor of those who rank above them on the social or industrial scale. They come up because there are resistless and everlasting forces that make for equality among men.

There is an abundance of evidence of this, and it accords with the most treasured belief of mankind: That in the long run that which is right will prevail; that there is an integrity at the heart of things to which the universe is true.

You say that these natural laws are not known? No; and that constitutes a challenge to the leadership of the time.—Ignorance is the limiting factor in social progress, and most of all, ignorance of mutual interests. It doesn't do much good to blame people for what they don't know. None of us like to be held closely responsible for what we don't know. The only real remedy for ignorance is knowledge, and the only remedy for the misunderstandings that affect society is in the gradual spread of enlightenment—as the morning dawn steals over the world.

And, after all, is it not a provision of Providence, wholesome and beneficent, that prevents any part of the community from getting very far in advance of the rest, without finding reason for exerting itself to bring the others up? You cannot protect the health of any part of this city without protecting the health of the whole city, and so you cannot provide for the security or advancement of any part of the community without providing for the security, the advancement, and the enlightenment of all.

We have seen in the last two years a demonstration of the interdependence of the industries. There is a normal equilibrium in industry which must be maintained in order to have prosperity. All business in the last analysis consists of an exchange of products and services, and you cannot have full and free circulation of goods or full employment for the people unless the relations between the various branches of industry are such that the products of each are taken by the people in the others.

Our relations with Europe are mainly through our exports of farm products, and in the fall of 1920, owing to the break in the European demand, farm products suffered a rapid and heavy decline. It affected the buying power of the agricultural population, and that in turn reacted upon all the other industries of the country.

The average value of the ten principal farm crops in 1913 was about \$16 per acre, in 1919 it was about \$35 per acre, and in 1921 it fell to about \$14 per acre, or about 12 per cent below the average of 1913. In the last year a substantial recovery has taken place, not yet complete, and I do not believe we can have full and sustained prosperity unless the farmer has his fair share.

For, with all the criticism aimed at the modern industrial system, the fact is that it is founded in equity; it functions in reciprocity and it doesn't work freely except on a basis of fair play.

When I lived out in this farming country, I used to read a good deal about the "balanced ration." A balanced ration is one in which all the elements of nutrition required for a growing animal are present in the proper proportions; and it is a scientific fact that if

any of the elements are in any degree deficient, only that portion of the ration in which all are present in the required proportions will be assimilated. All the remainder will be ineffective and wasted, and the same law holds good throughout the economic organization.

It might be expected that the disappearance of Russia as an exporter of foodstuffs to Western Europe would be of great benefit to the United States, as a competitor. It has caused the prices of some farm products to rule above the pre-war level, but we know that on the whole the American farmer is not as well off as before the war. Western Europe was able to pay for Russian products with exports of manufactures and cannot pay us in the same way.

A curious reaction from the collapse of Russia is seen in the relations between that country and India. India is a great tea-producing country and Russia formerly was a great tea-consuming country. India did not trade directly with Russia. She took her pay for the tea in cotton goods and other exports from Great Britain, and Great Britain took pay from Russia for the tea in food-stuffs and raw products. It was three-corned trade. The inability of Russia to take the Indian tea affected the ability of India to take cotton goods from England, the falling off in the demand for cotton goods made 1921 the worst year the British cotton goods industry had experienced since the American Civil War, and the inability of England to sell cotton goods sent the price of raw cotton in the United States from 43 cents a pound in 1920 to 11 cents in 1921, and that decline in the principal product of our southern States affected all the industries of this country.

Economic law is always seeking to maintain the equilibrium. Witness the influence of exchange rates upon trade. Perhaps some who read this had experience doing business with Canada when exchange on the United States commanded a premium of 15 to 18 per cent in Canada.

The balance of trade between this country and Canada for several years was around \$300,000,000 per year in favor of this country, and our trade relations elsewhere were such that Canada could not shift credits to settle the account. The sum was so great that Canada could not give gold in settlement, and the Canadian Government put an embargo upon exports of gold. The demand in Canada for means of payment in the United States so greatly exceeded the supply that exchange commanded premiums ranging up to 18 per cent.

That situation had several curious reactions. Some of our Canadian friends regarded it as a reflection on their credit. One distinguished public man declared that for his part he would not buy five cents' worth of goods of a country that did not treat the Canadian dollar fairly. But the premium was not caused by anything done in this country. It was caused by the competition among the Canadians themselves for the means of making payments in the United States. The Canadian gold dollar is the own brother of our gold dollar, and it never has been discounted in this country. The Canadian paper money never was intended to circulate outside of Canada. It could not be used in this country. You could not pay debts with it, you could not buy goods with it, you could not pay labor with it, you couldn't pay taxes with it—and that is one of the principal uses of money nowadays!

The situation was not to our advantage; it penalized exports from this country to Canada and put a premium upon exports from Canada to this country. It was a beautiful example of the efforts of economic law to maintain the equilibrium, and a demonstration that no situation is enduring unless the advantages are mutual.

And speaking of Canada, surely there is no country with whom we should be more desirous of good relations than with this neighbor, with whom we have 4,000 miles of boundary without a fortress or a gun. What can be the gain to us from the new barriers that we have placed against the sale of Canadian products in our markets? Western Canada grows young cattle, but does not grow corn to fatten them. They have been coming down to the St. Paul and Chicago markets, from whence they have been sold as feeders to our farmers. Eventually they have come back to these markets, been slaughtered in our packing houses, made freight for our railroads and have either been shipped to foreign markets or released cattle of our own growing for such shipments. Now we have put a duty of 1½ cents per pound on such cattle. They probably will continue to be fattened upon our corn, but in Canada, and move over Canadian railroads, and through Canadian packing establishments to foreign markets, where they will compete as truly as before.

What is to be gained by the duty on wheat, when Canadian and American wheat moving out daily over parallel routes are finally sold in foreign markets in open competition and at prices which are reflected back over every stage of the journey from the local markets and farms on both sides of the line? Why should we attempt to maintain the fiction of an independent and protected market for wheat, when a rainstorm in Argentina or Australia will affect prices in Chicago!

We know from experience that practically every dollar's worth of products that Canada sells in this country is used here for the purchase of our products. Is there any reason why such a relationship should not be as beneficial as a similar relationship between our own States?

I would reaffirm that the fundamental fact in world relationships and in all economic relationships is this mutuality of interests. Unfortunately, there is only a faint comprehension of it, and because this is so we have a world of rivalries and antagonisms which from time to time break out in war.

The responsibility for war does not always belong to the nation that fires the first gun. The spirit of war may be developed in mistaken ideas about national interests. If nations believe that their fundamental interests are in conflict, that there is an irreconcilable rivalry and struggle for existence, if people believe that the future of their country and of their children is at stake, of course they will fight; nothing else is to be expected; war is inevitable.

But that view is all wrong. It over-emphasizes the idea of competition. It has its origin in a chronic fear of over-production, and there can be no such thing as general over-production. Unbalanced production there can be; we have been suffering from it; but general over-production there cannot be, so long as human wants are unsatisfied.

One of the grievances we have against the labor or-

ganizations is that they sometimes restrict the output, acting upon the theory that there is only a given amount of work to be done, and the longer they can make it last and the more they can make it pay in wages the better.

That is a mistaken theory, but it is no different from the theory of statesmen and business men in their exaggerated anxiety that there will not be business enough to go around. The truth is that there is no limit to the amount of work to be done in the world, or to the amount of business to be had, or to the amount of wealth that may be created from the resources of nature. The purchasing power of every country is in its own powers of production, and the greatest prosperity that can be attained by any country under the modern industrial organization is found in connection with the highest state of prosperity in every other country.

The problem of society is so to organize, co-ordinate, integrate, and balance, the industries of all countries as to obtain the greatest possible production of all the things that minister to the common welfare. That is the great appeal to the enlightened and constructive forces of the world.

EUROPE BETWEEN TWO WARS

By DR. HEINRICH MATAJA

President of the Austrian Group of the Interparliamentary Union

WHATEVER may be said, the late war found at least the peoples of Europe unprepared. To our generation peace was a natural condition. Since 1871 Europe had seen no great conflict within her own frontiers. The Boer War, the Spanish-American and the Russo-Japanese wars were fought overseas and made little impression on any European nation, save, perhaps, those directly involved. The Russo-Turkish War of 1878 and the occupation of Bosnia were an old story. It was with the Balkan wars and the Lybian campaign that Europe first heard her own bugles again. But the peoples did not believe that these were the precursors of a European war.

Now we are awake, shocked out of our guileless dreams of the year 1913. We are now familiar with war and we know that always and everywhere we have to reckon with the possibility of war. Had we realized as much before 1914, had we not been quite so naive, perhaps we should have discovered strength to ward off the catastrophe? Perhaps. At any rate, the impending war does not find us so unprepared in spirit as did the one scarcely ended. And if there is in us any power to surmount our fate, let that power show itself now.

It was a Russian, Ivan Turgenev, who pictured for us the Russian people as Sphynx. In the light of Russia's history during the last five years, that nation may well remain for us an insoluble riddle. The liberal revolution of February, 1917, was succeeded by the proletarian revolution of October, and the giant empire bent the knee to new masters. In unexampled idolotry of Karl Marx, the Marxist principles were proclaimed as the foundation of the new State and all opposition was overwhelmed in the fury of the Red Terror, which counted its victims by the hundred thousands. The system proved unworkable. Production stopped, famine swept

away millions. The Bolshevik rulers recognize that the system is impossible. They declare Communism, the complete programme of Karl Marx, meanwhile impracticable. "NEP" is now the word, the new economic policy or orientation, naught else being realizable but the old capitalism—with certain limitations. But for how long? Capitalism without the capitalists, and only the land system changed in principle, the "Chorny pieriediel" put through, an agrarian reform more radical than Stolypin's. Thus the Bolsheviks, as they themselves point out, are their own counter-revolution.

Practically at the same time as the NEP reform, though without special connection therewith, a change took place in the leading nationalist circles. Many Czarist officers had already accepted service in the Soviet army, which gradually lost its character as the Red army and became the Russian army. More and more it became clear to the Russians that for the present Russia had no prospect outside Bolshevism, and within and beyond Russia there developed a movement among the antibolsheviks to join forces with the Soviet Government. The formation of a united All-Russian front in fact is well on the way.

And already we see this united Russia entering upon the path which Russia has followed since ever it emerged from Tartar dominion. The first step now is to recover the lost border provinces. Russia does not think for a moment of acknowledging the existing position. But far beyond this, no Russian Czar or general could have turned toward the Mediterranean with more energy of purpose than the present rulers of Russia. One step has already been taken: the reconquest of Georgia. The Russian Colossus, shut off from the sea, must force a road for itself, and a Russian Empire extending from Kamchatka to the Adriatic is no less an ideal to the Russians of today than to those of 1914, 1829, or the eighteenth century.

In the Russian question Europe has committed tremendous mistakes. But what is Europe? What Kleist's Aristan asked of Germany can with greater truth be asked of Europe: Where and when has it existed, "in the moon? in the days of the giants?" If the European peoples cannot see themselves as a whole, they must take the consequences, especially in face of such a nation as Russia, which for its part is inclined to lump them all together. Europe has also failed to realize the immense importance of Russia for her own economic existence. The reconstruction of Russia ought to have been the real basis for a reconstruction of Europe. Multifarious motives prevented this, and thus an irrevocable opportunity has been missed to bind Russia closer to Europe. The only one who recognized the situation and acted with decision was Pope Pius XI.

Relations between those two States, however, on which Europe's sole hope rests and from which, alas, the greatest danger threatens, the relations between France and Germany, are inspired by a hate deeper than any our generation has known. The war which broke out in 1914 really consisted of several simultaneous wars: the Russo-German, the Anglo-German, the Austro-Russian. France saw only the war with Germany, and saw that only as an attack, as unexpected as it was formidable, of an overpowering foe. Horror and rage possessed the nation. For France did not will the war, did not be-

lieve in it. To what an extent the French governments had pursued a policy which had created the war atmosphere the French people were absolutely unaware. In their conviction the French were fortified by the opening tactics of German general staff (I offer no opinion as to whether these were a military necessity or not), of remaining on the defensive against Russia and launching with the utmost energy an aggressive against France. The idea of the German leaders was at that time to defeat the weaker enemy in the west in order to be able to turn with their whole strength against the more powerful enemy in the East. Thus, the first weeks of the war brought precisely what the French on the first day had feared: German armies, invading France from all sides, menaced Paris. When, therefore, the Germans were hurled back and the first battle of the Marne and the defense of Verdun were decided against the Germans, panic was transformed into national enthusiasm, against which all the air attacks on Paris were futile. The devastation of Northern France by the German army was decisive. One must remember all that today in order to understand the French mentality.

And this people, in this mentality, are the victors. The heroism of the French on the battlefields was indescribable, their losses frightful. Indeed, it was French troops which had to endure the most terrific assaults, and in political life, too, it was a Frenchman, Clemenceau, who held fast to the policy of *jusqu' au boutisme*. The French were the backbone of the victorious armies. Gradually they came to regard themselves as the real victors, and this belief grew stronger the more the British and Americans withdrew militarily after the war. Ultimately there was only one great army at war strength—the French. They saw themselves as the military masters of Europe.

Now, this mentality in France had not endured up to the occupation of the Ruhr, at least not throughout the country and not in its entirety. That the Germans were to blame for the war, that they must therefore make good the reparation claims, remained, of course, the universal conviction. Germany's extraordinary difficulties were realized by practically every one, with the reservation in most cases that the Germans were creating those difficulties on purpose—indeed, that the German government itself was organizing the flight of capital or at least winked at it. Yet there were many who thought more and more of the French budget and of practical reparation possibilities, and believed that with the *main au collet* little could be achieved. The French Chamber elected in 1919 was strongly nationalist; but whoever reads the debates of December 15 last must admit that the Chamber was not in favor of the Ruhr occupation. Poincaré submitted at this sitting that he was on the eve of important negotiations with other powers (the Paris Conference of December 2) and must have a free hand. This conference collapsed so quickly that the failure can hardly have taken the French Government by surprise. Then followed the advance into the Ruhr, which, contrary to all previous assurances, proved to be of a military character. But the French Parliament is patriotic; in face of the enemy and of the Allies, it would never leave the government in the lurch. It approved Poincaré's policy and his speech was posted in public.

And now the conflict with Germany is a fact, a conflict which fires the imagination and the passions. Trumpets sound, battalions are on the march, guns rumble at the trot through the streets of German towns, cavalry detachments ride with drawn saber, and even if there are no battles still there are arrests, occupations, even collisions. The French nation has a strong sense of nationality and a lively instinct of citizenship. The conflict being a fact, national solidarity is restored, the nationalist elements triumph. But whither can this lead? France is spending immense sums and Germany is becoming still poorer. Common sense knows that the occupation of the Ruhr cannot achieve the aim intended: increased German payments. And so shrewd a head as Poincaré is certainly awake to that fact.

And those on the other side of the *barricade* are also human beings and not clods. There is a mentality in Germany as well as in France. And it must be reiterated that irreparable harm has been done. For four years Germany has adhered to the "policy of fulfilment" (*Erfüllungspolitik*), under the greatest home, foreign, and financial difficulties. This policy has found no response in France, and the other powers have at least let things take their course. Thus the opponents of the policy of fulfilment in Germany are necessarily strengthened in their conviction and attract ever greater support. Now those who declared that France wanted not peace, but the annihilation of Germany, appear to be right. The occupation of the Ruhr has hammered this into every head.

What policy is open to Germany if the German people come to the conviction that France does not want peace. Can it set its hopes on Britain, on America? Experience answers that question. Germany sees only one way: Russia. The German-Russian rapprochement was intended as an important step toward the reconstruction of Europe. In the popular mind this rapprochement now assumes quite a different character. If France desires Germany's destruction, if Britain and America stand aloof, then nothing remains for Germany but the move toward Russia, which country may well count on using Germany temporarily for its own purposes, just as it once made use of Britain in order to march against Germany. Russia is now at heart done with Europe, and Europe has itself to blame. But this is a fact which must be faced by the German statesman who in this decisive hour directs the policy of his country.

There are two ways of achieving world peace, or rather two schools of thought. The one aims at abolishing war as an admissible method of settling international differences. This way certainly does not achieve the purpose. True, this path must also be followed that the nations and their leaders may not continue, without irresistible cause, to think of war as a resort in emergency. The other way aims at the removal of the causes of war. This incomparably more laborious way will lead mankind much farther. It is also the thought which is at the bottom of the League of Nations. No "Never Again" demonstrations will evoke so strong a feeling that war, when the reasons are compelling, will not take place. Whoever would avoid the impending war, which will drag us all into its fiery vortex, must resolve to rid the world of the fundamental causes of war.

THE RUHR DEADLOCK

The outstanding developments of the Ruhr deadlock during the past month appear to be a certain tendency to sudden outbreaks of violence on the part of the French troops, such as that which resulted in the death of several German workmen at the Krupp factories, and various statements and counter-statements of position on the part of Germany, France, and England.

CHANCELLOR CUNO'S SPEECH

Chancellor Cuno delivered a speech in the Reichstag on April 11, which was the occasion of services in honor of the thirteen workmen killed in Essen. He said:

We have repeatedly stated that we are ready for negotiations on terms of freedom, honor, and equality. We have pointed out the practical way of solving the reparations problem, which the invasion of the Ruhr made almost insoluble. We have expressed assent to the proposal of Mr. Hughes, who guides the foreign policy of the United States. But we were not heard.

Everything was done to avoid the invasion of the Ruhr, or to end it as soon as possible. Nor shall we, in future, omit to do anything that can restore peace and freedom to our country. And even now that we are standing before the graves of these heroes we are ready to enter upon negotiations on terms of equality and free from all compulsion. But peace and freedom must be guaranteed, or else the sacrifices made in the Ruhr and the Rhineland will have been made in vain.

Reparations must be limited to what can be fulfilled. The soil in which the eleven heroes are being buried today must be liberated from the hands and feet of the enemy; those who are languishing in prison or in exile must be able to return to their homes and to freedom; and no settlement can be accepted that lays hands on the Ruhr or the Rhineland in a territorial sense.

Commenting on this speech, the *Manchester Guardian* (April 13) remarks that, in other words, the German Government agrees to submit unconditionally to the decision of an impartial international committee which will decide the maximum reparations Germany is able to pay. It also agrees to sound the international money market with a view to obtaining a loan, the proceeds of which would be handed over to France or the Allies as an immediate advance payment in cash.

Furthermore, the German Government agrees to provide all the guarantees the loan syndicate may consider necessary. It agrees to enforce the co-operation of business and industry by special legislation and to submit to interallied financial control. This declaration of the Chancellor is considered by the English paper to be the most important step toward peace made, so far, in Germany. A three days' debate on the situation in the Reichstag, which took place on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of April, left this situation unchanged.

LORD CURZON'S STATEMENT

Following the debate, on April 20th, the Marquis Curzon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, appeared in the House of Lords for the purpose of defending British foreign policy, in reply to a speech made by Lord Buckmaster, demanding that the Ruhr problem be referred to the League of Nations.

Lord Curzon pointed out that Great Britain could not side with France, because she was unable to participate in an undertaking the wisdom of which she had disputed from the

outset. On the other hand, to favor Germany would entail disloyalty to the Allies. The British Government was convinced that the maintenance of the Entente was the basis of European peace and European recovery. Without it the continent would be plunged into chaos. Hence, stated Lord Curzon, the attitude of benevolent neutrality which had been acceptable to both parties. In the opinion of Lord Curzon, this attitude responded to the general desires and convictions of the British people and left them in a position where, at any day or hour, they could intervene with effect.

The Foreign Secretary then referred to Mr. Bonar Law's proposals at the January conference in Paris, which had been declined by the French, and stated that Great Britain had not receded from that position, and that those proposals remained as a basis for discussion.

The British foreign policy was then summed up by Lord Curzon as follows:

1. The maintenance of the Entente as a basis of European peace.
2. The preservation of a watchful and friendly neutrality in the Ruhr, and no encouragement to Germany to evade her liabilities.
3. The adherence to Mr. Bonar Law's January proposals as a basis of settlement.
4. Security for France but not at the cost of the dismemberment of Germany or the creation of new causes of international friction. Any guarantees to be reciprocal.
5. No abandonment of British reparations claims or cancellation of allied debts beyond the generous offers already made.
6. The problem to be regarded as an international problem only to be decided by common action not by the isolated agreement of any individual powers.

Nevertheless, Lord Curzon admitted that a deadlock had never been reached. In his view, the situation was almost hopelessly complex and difficult. He reminded France, however, that her expectations from the occupation had not been realized, and at the same time made it apparent that he thought German resistance hopeless. Under these circumstances he felt that some move should be made, and he therefore advised Germany to make an offer of willingness to pay, and have the payment fixed by the authorities properly charged with that duty.

This speech was received in Germany with a certain amount of disappointment and some bewilderment.

HOW MUCH HAS GERMANY PAID?

An article published by Mr. Charles H. Grasty, special European correspondent of the *New York Times*, in a recent issue of that newspaper, makes a comprehensive effort to show from official figures just what Germany has paid in the way of reparations. The figures presented by Mr. Grasty are made, by his analysis, to show that the total German payments up to the end of 1922 were between 15 and 16 billion gold marks, or about \$3,850,000,000. Of this sum, however, Mr. Grasty states that only about \$1,200,000,000 was paid in cash or in deliveries in kind, though he indicates that deliveries in kind have been greater than Germany has been credited with. He notes that the value of the Saar mines has not been taken into account, though returns to the French from that source may amount to between four and eight hundred million gold marks. Other material taken over for which no credit has been given includes military, naval, and aeronautical supplies, and the German navy itself. On the other hand, the Allies realized

little out of these and Germany was not thereby deprived of much productive wealth. The *New York Times*, however, compiled the following table from Mr. Grasty's figures, showing what Germany has paid up to January 1, 1923, estimated in gold marks at, roughly, four to the dollar.

Cash (payments under treaty).....	\$1,905,665,995
Deliveries in kind (real value probably greater)	3,483,342,000
State properties (in ceded territories).....	2,504,342,000
Restitutions (property found in Germany)..	2,700,000,000
Allied expenses in Germany.....	1,206,650,005
Sequestered property.....	4,000,000,000
Total.....	15,800,000,000
Deduct loans made by Allies to Germany....	390,000,000
Total in gold marks.....	15,410,000,000
Total in dollars (approximately).....	\$3,850,000,000

Indefiniteness in many valuations, states Mr. Grasty, makes it possible to present a good showing, as regards reparation payment figures, for either side. Aside from payments made in cash and deliveries in kind, the chief credits are restitutions, which can hardly be regarded as reparation, according to the *New York Times*, as they comprise property taken over by the German army and since returned, and sequestered property, much of which consists of German holdings in the United States and which will eventually be returned to its owners.

NEW GERMAN OFFER

On May 2 Germany made a new offer to France with regard to the problem of reparations. This offer, contained in a note delivered to the French Government, involves the following proposals:

Payment of 30,000,000,000 gold marks to France proposed. Money will be raised by loans, 20,000,000,000 marks by July 1, 1927; 5,000,000,000 by July 1, 1929, and last 5,000,000,000 by July 1, 1931.

Payments in kind to be continued.

Question of interest left to arbitration.

In event of rejection, Germany proposes Secretary Hughes' plan.

The new German offer was met in Paris with a great deal of skepticism. A high government official, in discussing it, said:

The scheme amounts to the reopening of the whole question of reparations as settled by the Treaty of Versailles. The plan is aggravated by the suggestion that in case of failure of a loan, which no one here thinks can be floated successfully, the question of payment by Germany would be referred to a commission, on which would be represented neutrals who are loaded up with marks and have every interest of boosting them by getting Germany off as easily as possible.

While this offer is regarded as inadequate in both Belgium and Great Britain, the attitude there does not appear to be as unequivocal as in France. It is believed that the new German offer may serve as the basis for discussions which may eventually lead to a solution of the problem.

PUBLIC MEETINGS IN STOCKHOLM

Two public meetings were organized in Stockholm on February 15 for the discussion of the Ruhr situation. These meetings, called jointly by fourteen Swedish organizations, were addressed by the mayor of Stockholm, members of

Parliament, and other speakers. The following resolutions were adopted at the meetings:

These days are witnessing the working of fresh havoc upon humanity. The French action in the Ruhr is threatening the vanquished and impoverished German people with a complete collapse; the action carries within it the seeds of revenge and of future destruction to be wreaked upon France and Belgium, countries that have already had their full share of tribulations. The action foretokens, as does the failure to reach an agreement in the Near East question, a fresh world-wide war and misery for us all.

This meeting emphasizes the imperative duty incumbent upon governments and peoples to do their utmost to ward off the outbreak of a fresh world-wide catastrophe.

This meeting urges that the League of Nations, which, as at present constituted, is not capable of fulfilling its task as a peacemaker, be transformed into an association of all nations, embracing consequently also Germany, Russia, and the United States of America, which shall be broad-based upon the principles of right and justice and be no longer fettered by the leading-strings of a peace treaty drawn up between belligerents.

This meeting appeals to the peoples of Great Britain and America to combine forces immediately, with a view to discovering some peaceful solution of the present acute world crisis.

This meeting demands international disarmament, and that the victorious powers who disarmed Germany shall themselves do their part to see that the disarmament question is adopted as one of the items on the agenda papers of international conferences.

This meeting presses upon everybody the necessity for persistent strenuous endeavor to bring about such an economic and intellectual transformation in the world as shall remove the causes of war and shall pave the way for a real fraternity among nations.

COMMUNISM IN TURKEY

In the midst of the international complications that confront his government, Mustapha Kemal has found it necessary to inaugurate a vigorous campaign against the spread of a communist movement in Turkey. Up to the summer of 1922, communism was outlawed in Anatolia, in spite of the fact that apparently friendly relations existed between Ankara and Moscow. Then, under pressure from the Russian Soviet Government, Kemal permitted the communist groups, which had existed as secret organizations, to come out into the open and set up a Turkish Communist Party. Several weeks ago, however, this Communist Party was broken up by order of the Turkish Government and its leaders were arrested.

So drastic have been the measures taken by Kemal against radical groups in Turkey that the executive committee of the Communist Internationale in Moscow found itself constrained to issue a manifesto protesting against this policy on the part of the Turkish Government.

THE MOSCOW MANIFESTO

This manifesto of the Communist Internationale, addressed to the "revolutionary proletariat and peasantry of the world," reads as follows:

At the price of poverty and suffering for millions of workers in capitalist countries, at the price of the most ruthless exploitation of labor, England, France, and other imperialist robbers created their world power. But they have still further strengthened their wealth and power by the enslavement and shameless plundering of the many millions of working people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries;

and, at the same time, the Imperialistic World War and the post-war years have demonstrated the total inability of capitalism to control the forces which it has itself generated.

After the war there began the epoch of the decay of capitalism.

The world slaughter has opened the eyes of millions of colonial proletarians and peasants to the unendurable conditions of their existence; a powerful, but still unorganized, wave of revolutionary outbreaks attended the close of the bloody war. This elemental force, eager for the battle for a better future, was led and organized by the native bourgeois. Grown up and strengthened during the war, it did not want any longer to remain in the clutches of imperialism and hand over to it the lion's share of the exploitation of their "own workers and peasants." The struggle for national emancipation, slogan of the young colonial bourgeois, was eagerly joined in and carried into effect by the laboring masses of India, Egypt, Turkey, etc.

The Communist Internationale is unswervingly fighting against capitalist robbers in all the countries of the world. Could it sanctimoniously turn away from the national liberators in the struggle of colonial and semi-colonial countries?

The Communist Internationale has openly proclaimed its support and assistance to this struggle and it unswervingly keeps lending this assistance to this very day.

With particular sympathy did the Communist Internationale watch the heroic struggle of the Turkish people against the whole pack of Entente stranglers. Unceasingly directing the attention of the advanced proletariat throughout the world, and of Soviet Russia especially, to the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish workers and peasants, the Communist Internationale has unflinchingly urged world-wide assistance to this struggle. The Entente Imperialists, accustomed as they are to measure forces in terms of pounds and dollars, dreadnoughts and machine-guns, are just beginning to grasp the significance of the unweighable, and on the exchange unquotable, sympathy of the revolutionary world proletariat. The Communist Internationale, however, fully appreciates the powerful part of this support, without which the attack of the Imperialist robbers would long ago have ended in the ruin of little Turkey.

The Angora National Government, which leads the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the Turkish people, must not lose sight of this. The revolutionary success of Turkey will be lasting and enduring only if it will make sure of the continued support of the world proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Internationale.

But what is it that enlists proletarian sympathies for the struggle of the Angora National Government? It is the firm conviction that without the breaking of the Imperialist yoke the emancipation of the Turkish workers and peasants is inconceivable. In the struggle of the Angora National Government the world proletariat sees not only prospects of national emancipation, but a preparation for the complete emancipation of Turkish labor. This is why the news of persecutions started in Turkey against revolutionary workers and peasants and their Communist Party has filled the hearts of the advanced proletarians throughout the world with alarm. The Angora National Government is taking a dangerous road, which leads to its isolation from the only sincere friends of struggling Turkey—the revolutionary world proletariat and the Communist Internationale.

Trade unions are being dissolved and labor organizations persecuted in Turkey. The Turkish Communist Party has been broken up. Arrested Communists are being tried by extraordinary tribunals. They are charged with treason. The Angora Government threatens them with the harshest penalties. At the price of persecution of revolutionary workers and peasants, the Turkish Government is trying to secure the sympathy and favor of the Entente robbers at Lausanne.

The Communist Internationale, representing the will and the strength of the advanced proletarians and peasants throughout the world, addresses in their name a stern warning to the Angora Government. Do not follow the path of Poincaré and Mussolini. World imperialists still exist. Your struggle is far from finished. Without international proletarian aid you shall not win this fight.

The Communist Internationale calls upon the revolutionary proletarians of all countries—and above all, those of England, France, Russia, and Switzerland—to give warnings to the representatives of the Angora National Government in these countries.

To us the struggle and the first victories of Turkish labor are dear. The Communist Internationale watches with unflinching sympathy the further progress of this struggle; but against all that counteracts the consolidation and progress of the victories of the Turkish workers and peasants the international proletariat will proclaim ruthless and uncompromising war.

COMMUNISTS "ON GOOD BEHAVIOR"

At the time when Kemal permitted the Turkish communists to work in the open, these communists were instructed from Moscow to be on "good behavior." In discussing Kemal's change of policy, Carl Radek, the secretary of the executive committee of the Communist Internationale, said:

The Turkish communists are not proletarians. Their party consists of peasants who want to defend their own interests and of the educated classes, which realize that there is no return to the past. *The peasantry and the educated classes of Turkey should not attempt an overthrow of the existing order.* They must remember that their aim in their country's present situation should be in supporting Turkey's national movement for liberation.

How long this "good behavior" has lasted is quite apparent from the fact that, less than a year later, Kemal found it necessary to reverse his policy once more and to inaugurate so drastic a program of prosecution against his own communists as to cause the Communist Internationale to issue its solemn manifesto.

U. S. CAPITAL IN LATIN AMERICA

Prior to the war, Europe held an almost pre-eminent position in the economic life of Latin America; but during the last few years the capital, ingenuity, and engineering skill originating from the United States have gained ground tremendously in the countries of Latin America. Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in an address delivered before the National Foreign Trade Council, which held its sessions in New Orleans, sketched the story of this interesting and significant development.

Shortly after the Armistice the lowered cost of production in Europe threatened seriously to regain for European manufacturers the Latin American markets, to which the United States had naturally fallen heir during the period of the war. Every weapon of commerce known to the centuries-experienced merchants of the old world was employed to support this advantage. Salesmen's palaver of the "cultivated in Europe" brand broadcasted from thousands of trained tongues promised prices, deliveries, and qualities which seemed certain to chase the American and his goods from the southern avenues of trade.

The vigorous onslaught did for a time seriously affect our trade relations. Some of the smaller American houses were even forced to close their doors. Now, however, the tide has turned.

Throughout Latin America, with the single exception of Mexico, our exports for the last quarter of 1922 showed an increase, and frequently a very material increase, over those of the corresponding period of 1921.

The outlook for the near and distant future from an American sales standpoint is more than hopeful. Latin America is selling her staple products, cacao, coffee, copper, hides, meats, nitrates, sugar, and other commodities, once more in the world's markets at increasingly satisfactory prices, and the United States is certain to enjoy more than a fair share of this revival of trade.

The part which American capital, engineering skill, and business ability have played in the development of the natural resources of Latin America does not seem to be so well recognized as it should be. Credit for a large share of our present success in overcoming European competition is due the judicious investment of American capital in that region and to the pioneer work of American engineers. Long before the United States was in a position to export capital, its citizens were applying their skill and ingenuity in building railroads, establishing steamship lines, in opening coal and other mines, and similar work in South America.

William Wheelwright, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, seventy years ago laid plans for the first railway in South America and subsequently projected the first trans-Andine railroad and established the first steamship line on the west coast of South America. Just twenty years later Henry Meiggs performed the tremendous feat of constructing the highest standard-gauge railway in the world, the marvelous Central Railroad of Peru, and other railroad lines. In more recent times the construction of the Panama Canal has been the outstanding achievement of American engineering enterprise. There have been many other striking evidences of our ability and our interest in the development of the resources of Latin America.

The contention that trade follows investment seems illustrated by the heavy export of American machinery to Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, where American companies are in operation. These financial transactions now amount to from \$2,500,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000. After the Armistice, as a natural consequence of its newly acquired position as a creditor nation, the United States took the place of Great Britain, France, and other European countries as the chief market for Latin American loans. These flotations reached their height in the first half of last year, when a total of about \$150,000,000 was issued.

THE XXI CONFERENCE OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

The President of the Interparliamentary Union has issued a circular invitation to the member groups to attend the XXI Conference of the Union, to be held at Copenhagen, Denmark, on August 15, 16, and 17. The meetings will be held at the building of the Danish Parliament.

AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

Following are the agenda of the conference:

1. Election of the president and bureau of the conference.
2. Parliamentary control of foreign policy.
Report by Dr. Mataja, former Secretary of State, president of the Austrian group.
3. Colonial mandates and the League of Nations.
Report by M. H. van Kol, former member of the Upper House of the States General (Holland).
4. Disarmament.
(a) Confirmation of the resolutions of the Stockholm and Vienna conferences (1921 and 1922).

(b) A treaty of disarmament and of mutual guarantee.

Report by the Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil (Great Britain).

(c) Regional agreements for a reduction of armaments.

Report by Dr. Munch, former Minister of Defense (Denmark).

5. Report from the Commission on Racial and Colonial Questions on the rights and duties of national minorities.

Report by Dr. Usteri, former Conseiller aux Etats (Switzerland).

6. Economic and financial questions.

Report from the Permanent Study Commission.

7. Institution of an international organization of mutual aid for assistance to peoples stricken by calamities.

Report by M. Giovanni Ciralo, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy.

8. Amendment to Article 14, section 4, of the statutes.

Report by M. H. La Fontaine, Belgian Senator.

9. Report from the bureau on the activities of the Council since the XXth Conference, and from the Secretary General on the administration of the bureau during the first half of the year 1923.

10. Communication of the names of the delegates from the groups to the Interparliamentary Council to hold office from the XXIst to the XXIIInd Conference.

According to Article 12 of the statutes of the Union, two delegates must be nominated by each group at least a month before the opening of the conference. Nominations are to be sent to the Interparliamentary Bureau, and through the latter submitted to the conference.

11. Election of a member of the Executive Committee to take the place of M. Scherrer-Füllemann (Switzerland), retiring member.

According to Article 16 of the statutes, the retiring member cannot be re-elected, and his place must be taken by a member of another group.

AMENDMENTS TO THE STATUTES

Attention of the member groups is called especially to paragraph 7 of the agenda:

A small drafting committee of three members of the Organization Commission met at Bale on April 8. This committee decided to propose an amendment to Article 14, section 4, of the statutes, concerning the competence of the Council with regard to the texts of draft resolutions to be submitted to the conferences.

The text now in force runs as follows:

"It (the Council) decides upon the agenda of the conference and upon the text of the draft resolutions other than those submitted by a special study commission."

The text proposed by the drafting committee is as follows:

"It (the Council) decides upon the agenda of the conference. All the draft resolutions to be submitted to the conference are laid before the Council. Any one of its members may move that the Council should propose to the conference the acceptance, amendment or rejection of a draft resolution not submitted by a study commission."

At its sitting on April 9 the Council declared itself in favor of the above proposal, which will be submitted to the conference by M. H. La Fontaine, Belgian Senator.

Article 18 of the statutes reads:

"Proposals to alter the statutes must be made formally in writing and sent to the Interparliamentary Bureau at least three months before the meetings of the conference. The bureau shall communicate them immediately to the various national groups. The bureau shall also, if necessary, communicate to them the proposals of amendments at least one month before the meeting of the conference."

If, therefore, any group or one of its members wishes to present a different text from the one submitted by the drafting committee, or has any other amendment to the statutes to propose, the bureau should be informed of it without delay, in order that it may communicate the proposal to the

other groups. According to Article 18, quoted above, the latest date for the communication of such proposals will be July 15, or a month before the opening of the conference.

DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN GROUP

The American group of the Interparliamentary Union will be represented at the Copenhagen Conference, according to the present schedule, by the following members:

Senators: William B. McKinley, of Illinois; Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona; Charles Curtis, of Kansas; John W. Harrell, of Oklahoma; Pat Harrison, of Mississippi; Frank R. Gooding, of Idaho; Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas; Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota; Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia.

Representatives: Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio; Carl R. Chindblom, of Illinois; Robert Crosser, of Ohio; John J. McSwain, of South Carolina; Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia; Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania; Henry W. Watson, of Pennsylvania.

Included in the delegation also will be former Representative James J. Slayden, of Texas, and the Executive Secretary of the American Group, Arthur Deerin Call.

THE PROVISIONAL PROGRAM

As Furnished by the Danish Group

- Sunday, August 12, 1 p. m.—Opening of the secretariat of the conference at the Houses of Parliament.
- Monday, August 13.—Meetings of committees and of the Executive Committee.
- Tuesday, August 14, 10 a. m.—Meeting of the Interparliamentary Council.
- 8 p. m.—Great reception and soiree at the townhall of Copenhagen in honor of the conference, arranged by the municipality.
- Wednesday, August 15, 11.30 a. m.—Opening meeting of conference.
- 1 p. m.—Meeting of Council.
- 3 p. m.—General session.
- Thursday, August 16, 9 a. m.—General session.
- 12 noon.—Lunch of the Presidents of the Rigsdag at the Houses of Parliament.
- 1.30 p. m.—General session.
- 4 p. m.—Reception of the delegates and the ladies accompanying them by the His Majesty the King at Amallemborg.
- 8 p. m.—Great festival for the members of the conference at the Tivoli of Copenhagen.
- Friday, August 17, 10 a. m. to 1 p. m.—General session.
- 3 to 6 p. m.—Final general session.
- 8 p. m.—Great banquet of the Danish group at the "Paladstetret."
- Saturday, August 18.—Meetings of committees.

Possible visits to various agricultural institutions at the invitation of the Ministry of Agriculture.

A committee of ladies will prepare a program for the ladies accompanying the delegates (visits to museums, receptions, excursions, etc.).

CHURCH TRIALS IN RUSSIA

The recent trial in Moscow of the high officials of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, which had resulted in the execution of Vicar-General Butkevich and the imprison-

ment of a number of priests, including the head of the Church, Archbishop Zepliak, has aroused a storm of protest all over the world. Considerable interest was aroused by the claim, made in certain quarters, to the effect that the charges against the accused priests were political in character, rather than matters concerned with purely religious affairs. The following text of the verdict handed down by the Supreme Court in the trial throws interesting light upon this important point.

VERDICT IN THE ZEPLIAK-BUTKEVICH CASE

The Supreme Court has established that the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in Petrograd, under the guidance of the Metropolitan Ropp and the Archbishop Zepliak, while admitting the beneficial influence of the decree on the separation of the Church from the State in so far as this decree gave to the Catholics, as to all other citizens, complete liberty of conscience in their religious beliefs and complete freedom to the religious to worship in any way they pleased, nevertheless opposed clauses 8, 9, 12, and 13 of this decree. These clauses provided that all transactions and rights relating to civil property were to be in the sole hands of the civil authorities, that the schools were to be separated from the Church, that the Church was to have no property or juridical rights, and that all Church property was henceforth to be regarded as the property of the people of the Russian Republic.

However, in the period when this law, promulgated in the early days of the revolution, was only partially applied, the Catholic clergy remained quiet. But as the policy of nationalizing property in the Republic began to be applied more and more thoroughly, and after the expropriation (in accordance with the above decree) of the important income yielding estates of the Holy Catherine Church in Petrograd, and also after the expropriation had been extended to apply to the church buildings themselves and to the movable property and church plate contained in them—these buildings, plate, etc., being transferred to the congregation of worshippers to be used by them free of charge on certain agreed conditions—the Catholic clergy started to work out a series of measures for struggling against the Soviet authorities, in order to regain for the Church its lost property and juridical rights. Being, however, convinced at first of the instability of the Soviet authority, and expecting its downfall daily, the leaders of the Catholic clergy in Russia were ready to permit their parishioners to conclude the above-mentioned agreements with regard to Church property, regarding such agreements as being of no importance and merely temporary and fictitious. They continued to regard such property as belonging to the Churches, and the prelate Butkevich, with the permission of Ropp, even mortgaged the estates of the Holy Catherine Church to private individuals in Petrograd for 600,000 roubles, the loan to be redeemed after the downfall of the Soviet Government and the return to the churches of their property.

When, however, Zepliak, Butkevich, Ropp and other Church adherents lost all hope of the overthrow of the Soviet Government, they began to organize mass resistance to the application of the law of January 23, 1918, on the separation of the Church from the State, and having held a series of preliminary meetings for the purpose of working out a plan of action, they instigated deliberately, in the hope of securing the return of their properties and rights, a struggle for the weakening of the dictatorship of the working class and against the conquests of the November revolution. This struggle assumed the following forms:

The Archbishop Zepliak, having substituted Ropp, and recognizing (as he admitted at the trial) in the church councils¹ formed in accordance with the Government proposals a danger to the Church hierarchy, in that they might

¹ These were councils of twenty parishioners of the particular faith who collectively signed an agreement with the authorities whereby they obtained the church, plate, etc., for their religious use free of charge.

weaken the discipline of their congregations and hinder the uncontrolled administration of Church affairs by the head of the Church, issued instructions to the lower clergy forbidding them to form, or to permit the formation of, any such church councils, or to sign any agreement with the authorities regarding Church property.

As a result of persistent agitation against the Soviet Government by the priests Maletsky, Butkevich, and others, religious Catholics, influenced by the instructions of their bishops, rejected the agreements in question, in consequence of which there followed the closing of Catholic churches in Petrograd in December, 1922, since these no longer had any guarantors for the preservation of their property. This closing down of the Churches was used deliberately by the above-named individuals to provoke rank and file Catholics against the Government.

When, just before Christmas, these Petrograd Catholics sent a delegation to Moscow to request permission to open their churches for Christmas, and when this delegation returned with permission to do so, on condition that the Church Council signed not an agreement but only a simplified statement, the Bishop Zepliak, having obtained these documents, concealed them from his parishioners and from the Soviet authorities in Petrograd, declaring falsely that the Government had refused permission for the opening of the churches at Christmas, thereby still further provoking the parishioners to open revolt against the Soviet authorities.

In addition, Zepliak, foreseeing the publication of the decree on the expropriation of church treasures for relieving the famine-stricken, issued in his turn, in January, 1922, a circular to the whole of the Catholic clergy in Russia stating that such expropriation must not be permitted; and in reply to a request from the Yaroslavl priest Ruthovsky forbade him by telegraph to give up any valuables or to give a list of such valuables to the local authorities.

Simultaneously, this same group of priests, with Zepliak at their head, organized in Petrograd frequent meetings at which were discussed questions of a purely political nature, such as the nature of Communism, the program of the Communist party, and plans were worked out for further resistance to the Soviet Government and for dragging their parishioners into this struggle. For this purpose they published by their joint efforts and at their own expense the illegal journal, *Mogilcv Khronika*, in Polish, directed entirely against the Soviet Government. Resolutions were also adopted which they subsequently proceeded to put into operation.

The inspirer of all these meetings was the prelate Butkevich, who presented written political reports, lectures, and plans on the struggle of the Catholic clergy against the Soviet authorities and indicating various possible methods to be pursued in this struggle.

Thus, at the beginning, while waiting for instructions from Rome and for help from Warsaw, and in order to gain time, it was decided, on the recommendation of Butkevich, to adopt dilatory tactics in negotiating with the Soviet Government. Subsequently, it was decided to take the offensive, and as far as possible to provoke the parishioners to action. The result of these activities was the resistance, under the direction of the above-named priests, of the parishioners to the closing of the Petrograd Catholic churches. Thus, in a whole series of churches (enumerated by the judge), under the direction of the above-named priests, there was violent resistance to the carrying out of the orders of the authorities. Besides this the prelate Butkevich, at the celebration in Moscow of the opening of the first Polish mission, sent, together with others, a telegram to the Polish Government expressing his loyalty to this Government, although he himself was and is a Russian and not a Polish citizen.

In addition, all the accused priests declared at the trial that they considered themselves responsible and subject to the decisions of the Roman Pope, not only as regards their religious practices, but also as regards the expropriated and nationalized Church property, in spite of the fact that the Papal instructions were in direct opposition to the Soviet decrees. Similarly, these same priests declared at the trial that in spite of clause 121 of the Criminal

Code—read at the trial—they taught and would continue to give children (in groups or classes) religious instruction, and that they refused to recognize or to carry out the law forbidding such teaching. In view of all that has been said above, the Supreme Court has found guilty:

1. Ian Giatzintovitch Zepliak and Constantine Tulianovitch Butkevich of deliberate direction of the counter-revolutionary activities described above, by organizing the Petrograd Catholic clergy to resist the Soviet authority, to weaken the proletarian dictatorship, to restore the former property rights of the Church; and of the instigation of the parishioners to rise against the Soviet authorities, which, as a result of the religious prejudices of these parishioners, led to revolts and the refusal to carry out the Soviet laws—the penalties for which crimes are provided in paragraphs 69, 119, and 121 of the Criminal Code.

CONFIRMATION OF THE SENTENCE

The following was the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee with regard to the sentences on Zepliak and Butkevich:

(1) The trial of Zepliak has proved that Zepliak's actions were clearly and intentionally detrimental to the interests of the working class and to the fundamental conquests of the proletarian revolution. His action, having been carried out by the wilful exploitation of the law on the liberty of conscience for all forms of religion, forms a serious crime, for which, in a revolutionary republic still surrounded by numerous enemies, there can be no other punishment than that promulgated by the court which tried Zepliak. But, taking into account the fact that Zepliak was the head of a church that had been persecuted in Tsarist days and in the bourgeois Republic, and seeing that the carrying out of the sentence which he fully deserved might appear to the uncultured sections of R. S. F. S. R. Catholics, whose religious superstitions had been exploited by Zepliak and his subordinates, as an act of persecution directed towards the head of their religion, the A. R. C. E. C. decides to substitute for the death sentence ten years imprisonment with strict isolation.

(2) As regards Butkevich, who combined his criminal activities based on religion with direct and evident counter-revolutionary activities, which he pursued in direct contact with foreign bourgeois governments hostile to the Soviet Republic, and who utilized his position as priest for definite acts of treachery against the State, no mitigation of sentence can be permitted.

President of the A. R. C. E. C., M. KALININ.

Secretary, T. SAPRANOV.

Kremlin, Moscow, March 29, 1923.

FREE TRADE AND PEACE

PRIZE COMPETITION OF THE NORWEGIAN NOBEL INSTITUTE

The Norwegian Nobel Institute at Christiania announced in 1919 an international competition for books on the following subject: *An Account of the History of the Free-Trade Movement in the Nineteenth Century and Its Bearings on the International Peace Movement*. The essays could be written in English, French, German, or in one of the Scandinavian languages. The author of the eventual prize essay was to receive a prize of 5,000 Norwegian crowns. The essays were to be sent in to the Nobel Institute not later than August 1, 1922.

Nine manuscripts were submitted from Europe and America. A jury composed of Thv. Aarum, Professor of Economy in the University of Christiania; Dr. A. Ræstad, former Minister of Foreign Affairs; R. Moe, Secretary to the Nobel Committee; and J. Worm-Müller, Councilor of the Nobel Institute, lecturer in the university, have now rendered the following decision:

Of the nine works submitted, some are very short and cannot be taken seriously into consideration. Two can be regarded as essays on the subject, and only three may be regarded as more significant works.

Four of the manuscripts submitted deserve no further consideration. The fifth, a work by an American author, E. L. W., 149 pages, with bibliography, presents in popular form a history of the more important phases of free trade. The author makes, however, no efforts to discuss the real problems. There is no scientific grasp of the subject. The whole work has a quite general character. In some short chapters the progress of the peace societies and the peace movement, particularly in America and England, are sketched, but these sections would have found a better place in a popular sketch of the history of the peace movement. The point of view claimed by the subject, viz., the free-trade principles seen in relation with the peace ideas in the nineteenth century, appears not to have been envisaged by the author. His work must accordingly be judged quite unsatisfactory.

A German work by A. W., 106 pages, discloses the author as evidently a scientifically trained scholar. He clearly has an understanding of the problems raised by the proposed subject and also makes efforts to go beyond the popular ideas. He looks upon the subject from a historical and philosophical point of view; he attempts to study the interplay between the politico-economic and the intellectual currents, between liberalism and cosmopolitanism, and trace the fate of the intellectual ideas in the practical politics of the nineteenth century. He goes, however, too far in this direction, the philosophical point of view being emphasized at the expense of the political and economic treatment necessary to the subject. Short as the essay is, it cannot give an adequate expression of the author's large views. He has made no really historical or scientific contribution to the matter, but has laid an incontestably interesting groundwork for a future work.

"*Pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*," a French work of 583 pages, bears evidence of considerable study. The author possesses a rather extensive literary knowledge; he has not, however, had recourse to sources as yet unexplored; nor has he succeeded in giving us an independent and novel treatment of the subject. The author is, above all, a historian. In a higher degree than the German writer mentioned below, he is capable of seeing the main lines of the economic currents. He goes, however, too far back into history and advances too near the present moment. Almost a third of the work is devoted to the history of commerce from antiquity, through the Middle Ages and the modern times up to the end of the eighteenth century; about 100 pages to recent commercial policies and the economic struggles during and after the World War. Rather than a solution of the question proposed by the Nobel Institute, the author may, perhaps, be said to have given a general history of international commerce. As such, his work no doubt possesses great merits, not least through its literary form. In point of style, this work is, perhaps, the best of the essays submitted. It is clear and readable; perhaps, however, less profound or original.

No large interest in the other side of the subject, the bearings of free trade on the peace movement, is shown by the author. In the rather few places where he touches on this matter, he treats the question in organic connection with the general history of free trade, which might, perhaps, be an

advantage. But the problem has no independent rôle in his work; it assumes a rather episodic character, and there is in it no new scientific research. Thus, this work of considerable merit offers no satisfactory treatment of the object.

"*Free Trade the Great Peacemaker*," a German work of 614 pages, is an elaborate study, consisting of three parts. Part 1, relatively short, is of a purely theoretical character, where the author discusses the justice and practicability of free-trade principles. This part suffers, however, from an absolute and abstract manner of treatment, and is in reality only a résumé of the old liberal doctrine. Part 2, the main section of the work, presents the history of the free-trade movement in the nineteenth century. Part 3 sketches the relations of free trade to the peace movement.

Much work has, no doubt, been bestowed on the historical part of this essay. The author has used the older French and German literature on the subject, but has not explored new materials. He pushes his documentation too far. The work is weakened by the fact that the author has not made use of English sources. In the places where he deals with the history of free trade and the peace movement in England, the country which has, no doubt, the greatest importance for the present subject, he only refers to the relatively few existing French translations of English literature. The historical part is very detailed, full of technicalities, but, on the whole, rather fragmentary and suffers from want of large lines. The author makes in a high measure use of the philosophical formulation of the ideas; but in return one misses a sound political and economic grasp of the matter.

The part of the work which should deal with the relations of the free-trade movement to the international peace movement is unsatisfactory. On the basis of some sentences from Cobden and other pacifist free traders, the author sets up as axioms, that the free commercial intercourse between the nations is a necessary condition for universal peace; and, *vice versa*, that peace is necessary for commerce. These maxims are not further examined. The author considers it as his principal task to sketch the peace activities of the leading free traders. A historical examination of the relations between the two movements, political and moral, is not given by the author. Although his extensive work is, in several respects, of considerable merit and must have cost much pains to its author, it cannot be recommended for the prize.

An English work of 216 pages is shorter than the preceding works and designed in a different manner, both with regard to form and to matter. Instead of presenting a detailed historical description of the progress of free trade, the author wants to pursue the causal connection between the principles of free trade and protection on one side and peace and war on the other. He is of the opinion that there exists no inevitable connection, either positive or negative, between free trade and peace. He has, therefore, as he says, preferred to set for himself the humbler task of examining the cases where the phenomena of international commerce have been more or less obviously connected with the issues of peace or war.

In an analytical exposition he further attempts to establish what effects these movements may have had on the intercourse among nations, and on the basis of the results obtained he further tries to show under what conditions a policy based on free-trade principles may promote the peaceful relationships of nations.

The author thus has limited the subject. In his laudable

efforts to free himself from any preconceived doctrinary views of the phenomena of history, he has, to a certain degree, arrived to a rather cautious view of them, and his picture of the historical progress of the intellectual currents is, therefore, not quite complete. He only discusses the more important phases of the development; in his documentation he only refers to the principal data. His sources are of a secondary character. A treatment based on the examination of the rich original materials is not here given at all. Thus, even this work, which is in some respects very meritorious, independent, and often brilliant, cannot be regarded as a wholly satisfactory answer to the proposed subject.

The committee has thus decided not to give the prize to any of the essays submitted. But the last-mentioned English essay is in several respects such an independent and meritorious work that it is recommended for publication in the series, "Publications de l'Institut Nobel norvégien."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE FRENCH COURT-MARTIAL AT WERDEN sentenced ten German leaders in the Ruhr to varying fines and terms of imprisonment. Among those sentenced was the head of the famous Krupp works at Essen. Following are the sentences passed: Herr Krupp Von Bohlen, 15 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Bruhn, 10 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Oesterle, 15 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Hartwig, 15 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Bauer (not present), 20 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Schoeffer (not present), 20 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Kuntz (not present), 20 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Schroppler, 20 years' imprisonment and 100,000,000 marks fine; Herr Gross, ten years' imprisonment and 50,000,000 marks fine; Herr Müller, a member of the Workmen's Council, six months' imprisonment. A Reuter message from Werden says:

All the accused were found guilty of the charge of conspiracy against the security of French troops and a disturbance of public order. The verdict was unanimous except in the case of Herren Krupp and Bruhn, where the verdict was given by three votes to two. The crowd in the court received the sentence in cold silence and with stupefaction.

MARSHAL FOCH HAS JUST COMPLETED his visit to the Polish capital, made on the occasion of the celebration of Poland's independence. In an interview with a representative of the *Figaro*, the Marshal summed up his impressions of Warsaw in the following words:

I am amazed at what I have seen. I have observed immense progress made in the military sphere and in that of social organization. This country has discovered in itself the elements of a new Poland, strong and prosperous.

LEPROSY CURE HAS JUST BEEN ANNOUNCED in England. It consists of an oil extracted from the seeds of an orange-like fruit that grows in Burma and Siam. It is estimated that there are at least two million lepers in the world today.

EGYPTIAN EGGS SEEM TO BE A DELICACY in the United Kingdom. Out of a total exportation of over 160 million eggs from Egypt last year, the United Kingdom took 157 million.

THE KING AND QUEEN OF ENGLAND, on their recent visit to Italy, were greeted in Rome by a tremendous popular ovation. The British sovereigns visited the Vatican and were received with a surpassing ceremony by the Pope. The official organ of the Vatican, in commenting on this visit, said:

The meetings of King George III, Queen Victoria, and King Edward VII with the Pope always produced beneficial religious and social results, because Rome and England represent in the religious and political field the same traditions of prudence, tolerance, and equity. British power which increased as a result of the war, rules big portions of the world and intertwines with Vatican interests. King George and the Pope cherish equally the desire for peace among individuals and nations.

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI AND PROFESSOR GENTILE, his Minister of Education, have drafted a program for physical exercise in the schools of Italy. Henceforth all the boys and girls in the schools will be required to spend two mornings a week in the playground. New playgrounds will be provided immediately and more added yearly until all schools have adequate facilities for out-of-door exercise and games. The Italians have always been famous fencers and horsemen; but until very lately no out-of-door games have been played from one end of Italy to the other. This introduction of play and physical training is one of the most far-reaching reforms introduced by Mussolini.

THE 35TH GERMAN MEDICAL CONGRESS, held recently in Vienna, devoted one of its principal sessions to the consideration of the "brain grippe," a disease which has attracted much attention in the last few years. It has been found to be one of the most dangerous accompaniments of influenza epidemics, which have become so common and widespread since the war. A report on the "brain grippe" was presented by Dr. Nonne, the famous Hamburg neurologist, who had just returned from Moscow, where he was one of the physicians in attendance on Lenin.

PROFESSOR WINCENCY OSIKOWSKI, of Warsaw, Poland, proposes the establishment of a "Sanatorium for Souls," in which the method of treatment would be as follows:

1. Absolute peace and entire absence of any cares.
2. The Christian religion in the original spirit of Christianity, filled with love, fraternity, and simplicity.
3. Serious religious music that soothes suffering; strengthening and ennobling the character.
4. Social hygiene: religious-social teaching on the fraternity of units and peoples, as being the sole escape from the atmosphere of present hatred.

Such a sanatorium, reads the announcement, "is particularly indispensable in Europe, where the germs of tribal hatred have developed into a raging epidemic."

IN HONOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY—March 8—the Soviet Government passed a special decree reducing the sentences on certain classes of women workers serving various terms of imprisonment.

FIGURES RECENTLY PUBLISHED show that there are 2,000,000 orphan children in Russia at the present time.

THE MANITOBA PROVINCIAL POLICE has been recognized with the view of making extensive preparations for combating the activities of rum-runners along the frontier between Canada and the United States. High-powered motor cars, carrying machine-guns, will be used by the border patrol, in addition to motor-cycles and similar means of rapid transportation. All vehicles crossing the frontier will be searched, and announcements have been posted that automobiles which fail to stop after a signal from the patrol will be fired upon.

THE SOUTHERN ILLITERACY CONFERENCE, which held its sessions in Little Rock, Arkansas, has set for itself an extensive program for the eradication of illiteracy in the Southern States. This program calls for efforts designed to effect a complete disappearance of illiteracy in the fourteen States represented at the Conference by 1930.

A MEXICAN AIRPLANE LINE has been established for service between Mexico City and Nuevo Laredo. Two planes were put into service on May 15.

TWO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS, at a Congress held in Hamburg, decided upon a program of consolidation for the furtherance of the Socialist cause on an anti-Communist basis. Delegates from the chief European countries and from the political Labor Party of the United States numbered over 600. Otto Wels, of the German party, presided. Arthur Henderson, Thomas Sidney Webb, Tom Shaw, and Mr. Wallhead, from England; Jean Longuet, M. Bracke, and M. Grumbach, from France; Emile Vandervelde, from Belgium; Victor Adler, from Austria, and Mr. Abramovitch, representing the Russian Mensheviks, were prominent among the delegates, and many noteworthy German leaders were, of course, present.

A FRONTIER DISPUTE BETWEEN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY has led to a series of sharp negotiations between the two countries. A Czechoslovak customs official was recently murdered, and the Prague Government charges the Hungarian police with the crime. The Hungarian Government, however, contends that the murder was committed by smugglers.

JULY 1 WILL BE THE BEGINNING of a new influx of immigration into the United States. On that date the new fiscal year will begin and immigration quotas will again be applied. During the twelve months from that date, 358,000 aliens will be eligible for admission into the country. It is estimated by the immigration authorities that no less than 230,000 of these aliens will be the wives, children, or other relatives of the immigrants already domiciled here.

THE PRE-WAR DEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES upon Germany for dyes has been completely destroyed by the war, in the opinion of American experts. It is claimed that the American dye industry, fostered and stimulated since 1914, has made such enormous strides, both in the quantity and the quality of its output, that practically all the dyes that were formerly imported from Germany can now be manufactured on this side of the Atlantic. This is considered especially fortunate in view of the fact that the German chemical industries are still more or less disorganized and would not have been able, in any event, to supply the American market in the same measure as before the war.

TRANSJORDANIA, AN ARAB TERRITORY lying between the river Jordan and the frontiers of Arabia, is soon to be recognized as an independent State. The League of Nations has already decided that this territory is not included in the Palestine mandate, though the decision for its complete independence still rests with the Council of the League.

THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY for the construction of a fortified naval base at Singapore has met with strong opposition in the House of Commons. The project involves an expenditure of nearly fifty million dollars, and a critic of the project in the House declared that it would be madness for the government to spend that money at the time when the city of London is still left unprotected from air attacks. In presenting the project to the House, the First Lord of the Admiralty stated that the need of the new base is largely due to the fact that Great Britain is not in a position to have a large battle fleet in the Pacific. "In all these waters," he said, "with such immense consequence to this country from a strategical point of view and for the defense of the Empire," Great Britain is "absolutely helpless and reliant upon the good will" of Japan, which he characterized as a "friendly and lately allied power."

AT THE BRITISH ECONOMIC CONFERENCE next fall Australia will demand preference for its foodstuffs on the British markets. Notice to that effect has been given by the Australian Government, which is seeking support for its program in the other British dominions. It is considered doubtful, however, that Canada will be in favor of such a policy, for her present government considers that it is against the interests of the dominions to demand the imposition of customs duties in favor of their products unless such preference is given by the British people of its own accord.

ARGENTINA IS BENEFITING BY THE INCREASED MIGRATION since the war, according to a report of Ernesto Tornquist & Company, which estimates the immigration of the year 1922 at 152,400 and the emigration at 66,973. An estimate of the immigration during 1921, published in the *Revista de Economia y Finanzas*, is 142,435.

THE FIFTIETH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORKERS was held in Washington, D. C., May 16-23. Nearly 4,000 delegates registered.

The program of subjects for discussion was large and inclusive. The evening meeting which opened the conference Wednesday, May 16, was addressed by the President of the organization, Mr. Homer Folks, and by Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State, who spoke on "Social Welfare, a Factor in International Relations."

Of the following days, Thursday was devoted to *Health*; Friday, to *Industry*; Saturday, to *Law and Government*; Sunday, *The Church*; Monday, *The Home*; Tuesday, *The School*; and Wednesday, *Public Opinion*.

On the morning of each of these days there were eight or more group meetings, discussing various phases of the subject for the day, and a general session, often with several overflow meetings. The afternoons were occupied with meetings of kindred groups, and there were each evening a general session and an overflow meeting in some of the large halls of the city.

More than thirty organizations, committees and groups of allied interests held meetings coincident with the conference.

If, as Miss Julia Lathrop, former chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of labor, asserted, poverty should be abolished in 25 years, these great meetings of alert and earnest social workers ought to be a large factor in the consummation of that, as well as of other much-desired results.

THE RUSSIANS are reported to be sending cargoes of rye for the benefit of the Ruhr population.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CHARLES MEN. By *Verner von Heidenstam*. Translated from the Swedish by Charles Wharton Stork. New York, American-Scandinavian Foundation. Two volumes.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation publishes a series of classics in the belief "that greater familiarity with the chief literary monuments of the North will help Americans to a better understanding of Scandinavians, and thus serve to stimulate their co-operation to good ends."

Quite apart from that general consideration, however, the present two volumes by Heidenstam are of special significance. Written before the World War and published in the midst of it, the work gathers up threads of historic story which are woven into tales of the people of Charles XII of Sweden.

He was a gloomy and precocious boy-king, this Charles of Sweden, with a rigid morality in private life, but a cruelly passionate obstinacy in public life. Tragic in its absolute logic, the career of this "Madman of the North" plunges down crag after crag and becomes the tragedy of all Sweden. It lends itself readily to epic treatment.

Charles was full of the martial ambition of his ancestors. In his struggle with Peter the Great of Russia and his allies, he became inflated with his own first unexpected successes. Then he obstinately carried the war on too long. He missed the point when, with a few concessions, he might have terminated it with little loss. He would retain all of the Swedish Empire or lose all. And so the struggle dragged on. Through suffering, starvation, and brutalities, all Sweden became enfeebled.

But the Swedish people were not fitted by nature to maintain a great military monarchy. They were mostly an agricultural folk, much scattered, heavily taxed, and over-ridden by a grasping aristocracy. They were essentially a brave but gentle people. To such, the callousness that comes from long deprivation and warfare is a strange hardness, an unusual bestiality.

In this work the author has not tried to give a continued narrative. He has instead given a collection of exquisitely written short stories grouped about the wars of King Charles. We have glimpses of peasant soldiers and their sweethearts or their grandmothers; of camp-followers, of captives in Turkish harems, of hardened soldiers who are afraid to go downstairs in the dark. In the midst of loyalty and stark courage comes an unexpected brutality, or a sudden gentleness, or a swift glimpse into a homesick heart.

In some way, Heidenstam has been able to make the war always horrible; but the Charles men are always human and tragic. He has seen with the vision of the poet and the artist; his technic is in harmony with the historical atmosphere. In literary quality the book compares favorably with the best of Russian and French short stories. It attains its double purpose—it helps to a better understanding of early eighteenth century Sweden; it serves to emphasize the hopeless tragedy of war.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, ITS NATURE AND INTERESTS. By *Philip Marshall Brown*. The Macmillan Co., New York. 168 pages and bibliography. \$2.00.

Here is a seasoned analysis by a careful scholar, professor of international law since 1915 at Princeton University. The book is an excellent supplement to his former work entitled "International Realities." If one wishes a brief and readable account of the rise of nationalism, the first chapter of this book will be welcomed. Elsewhere in the text the author shows the evil effects of our general ignorance of international society, and we must agree with him that the nature of the State, the interests of the State, and the laws governing and controlling these interests are for the most part a closed book, at least to the man on the street. The same thing is true of international laws. If there be a certain lack of coherence in the arrangement of the chapters, the value of the content of each chapter remains. Chapter 13, which is the last chapter of the book, entitled "Imponderables," places loyalty, patriotism, economic ambition, emotions, racial problems, public opinion, and religion before us in fresh light. Readers may not agree with the definition that religion "is the personal adjustment of man to the universe"; but in our cynical times it is an encouragement to read the words of a man who is satisfied that he has found the essence of religion, of thought, "a common platform for mystics, philosophers, scientists, statesmen, and all earnest souls who strive honestly to solve the ultimate problem of the human race."

THE FRIENDSHIP INDISPENSABLE. By *Charles Edward Jefferson*. New York, Macmillan Co. Pp. 88. Price, 75 cents.

A little book, of a size suitable to tuck in the pocket; written in the modern short-sentence style so easy to read, but above all imbued with a message of good will and information about the English, this essay of Dr. Jefferson's will be sure to have a wide reading.

First we see ourselves through English eyes, and the picture is real, it being the reasonable thing for British eyes to think they see. It is not an altogether flattering one, but Dr. Jefferson makes it clear why the British public should be led to picture it thus.

Then we see the English through kindly, appreciative eyes and we see an England which we can understand.

Possibly the most delightful chapter of the book is that in which Mr. Lloyd George is delineated.

As would be natural to a preacher in one of the large New York churches, the religious life of Great Britain is the dominant note of several chapters. A contrast between British and American ways of doing things in church and in political life is graphically drawn.

The ignorant man, the insolent jingo, the unscrupulous journalist, the greedy commercial exploiter, and the military-naval expert are the five fingers of the hand that is crushing the world, according to Dr. Jefferson. Especially do they work an evil work when they come between those closest of brothers—England and America.

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—reurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE HAGUE

THE Academy of International Law will be inaugurated at the Palace of Peace at The Hague, July 14. This will represent the results of much labor on the part of a few persons who, as far back as the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907, saw the importance of such an agency for the promotion of understanding between the schools of international law throughout the world.

The Advisory Committee of Jurists, meeting at The Hague in the summer of 1920, included in its plan for an international court of justice this article: "The Advisory Committee of Jurists, assembled at The Hague to draft a plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice, gladly avails itself of this opportunity to express the hope that the Academy of International Law, founded at The Hague in 1913, and whose operation has, owing to circumstances, been interrupted, shall, as soon as possible, enter upon its activity alongside of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice in the Peace Palace at The Hague." While the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations did not see fit to ratify this section of the plan, it is gratifying to know that the project is to be realized.

It is probable that the first to suggest the possibilities of such an academy was Professor Otfried Nippold, of Berne, for Mr. Nelidow brought before the third plenary

session of the Second Hague Peace Conference a statement in which Professor Nippold, of Berne, is credited with the recommendation that there should be created "at The Hague, near the tribunal of arbitration, a central school of international law, which would aid in spreading judicious notions on that subject and in teaching them to those who would later be called upon for their application." The rest of Mr. Nelidow's remarks upon the subject are also interesting: "This would be, I imagine, a course of law at the academy which would study and preserve its principles continually changed by the usage given them by the operation of the supreme tribunal of arbitration; something like the Asclepion, founded by Hippocrates on the Island of Cos for medical science. I consider it my duty to refer to this interesting suggestion because in my opinion it is pertinent and, were the idea carried out, capable of rendering great aid to the cause we all serve. Perhaps the mention made of it here, which I trust meets the approval of the Conference, will inspire some generous benefactor with the idea of following the example of Mr. Andrew Carnegie."

In 1910 Mr. Carnegie himself became interested in the plan. A committee of Dutch lawyers took it up. Dr. James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, perhaps more than any other man, worked for its establishment. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offered financial aid. The Institute of International Law approved. The academy was incorporated in the year 1914. It was to have had its opening session in the month of August of that year.

The inauguration of the academy will take place under the auspices of the Netherlands Government, in the presence of the representatives of all leading governments. The courses will begin Monday, July 16. Under article 2 of its constitution the academy "is constituted as a center of higher studies in international law (public and private) and cognate sciences, in order to facilitate a thorough and impartial examination of questions bearing on international juridical relations." It is aimed to make the teaching staff of the best authorities. For the first year the term will be limited to six weeks, divided into two periods, July 16 to August 3, and from August 13 to September 1. The subject-matter of the courses for the present will not include laws of war. The courses are offered to all who, "already possessing elements of international law, are prompted

by a wish to improve their knowledge of that science, whether from a professional point of view or a desire for information." But any wishing to attend the academy would apply for admission. While under the terms of the constitution fees may be charged up to twelve florins, the tuition for the present year is free. The teaching will be in French. It is the desire of the academy to avoid even the appearance of duplicating and still less of rivaling existing universities.

There is every evidence that the Academy of International Law at The Hague will render a service where a service is needed. It will be an opportunity for representatives of the different international schools to meet to discuss and to get acquainted. This will go a long way toward removing discrepancies in the theory and practice of international law. It will promote an international conception of the law; surely much to be desired. All who attend may be reasonably expected to take back to their respective lands new ideas—a new international mind—which, as runs the announcement, "in connection with the economic interdependence of the peoples, shall be the true and genuine guarantee of peace."

While we are able to furnish our readers with the program of the courses elsewhere in these columns, we are glad to call the attention of our readers also to the fact that the managing board of the academy is composed of M. van Karnebeck, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Holland, President of the Board. The present Minister of Foreign Affairs at The Hague serves as Secretary-General. The members of the Financial Committee are M. B. C. J. Loder, President of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and J. Oppenheim, Councillor of State for The Netherlands. The bureau of the "Curatorium of the Academy" is as follows:

Ch. Lyon-Caen, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Institut de France Doyen Honoraire de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, President du Curatorium.

N. Politis, Ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Grace, Professeur Honoraire a la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Vice-President du Curatorium.

Baron Alberic Rolin, Secrétaire-général de l'Institut de Droit International, Professor émérite a l'Université de Gand, Secrétaire-Général de l'Académie.

G. Gidel, Professeur a la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris et a l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques, Secrétaire de la Présidence.

Writing of the academy and its purposes, Doctor James Brown Scott has said: "Useful before, it can be more useful after this war, when the thoughts of nations are turned to peace and its preservation as never

before within the memory of man low living. The path of peace is the path of justice, and the world may look forward to a happier future with the periodic meetings of the Conferences at The Hague for the Advancement of International Law, with the Permanent Court of Arbitration installed at the Peace Palace at The Hague for the settlement of political claims which have baffled the foreign offices of nations, with a Permanent Court of International Justice for the passionless administration of rules of law to be established at the Peace Palace, and with the opening of an Academy of International Law and Political Sciences in which the labors alike of conference, of court of arbitration, and a court of justice, will be appreciated, justice expounded, rules of law defined, and the relations of nations in a regulated world be made known."

PRESERVE THE ENTENTE

UNDOUBTEDLY Franco-Belgian policies are faced with embarrassment. One hundred forty-five million francs have been spent on the occupation of the Ruhr, while only one-half that amount has been returned in the form of coal, customs, and taxes. France is paying for the occupation, and getting no money from Germany. More embarrassing still is the German resistance.

But in our judgment the situation is complicated by other factors still more serious. The attempts of the Reich to deal with the labor problem have ended in a rising of the communists, forerunners of bolshevism. The International Socialist Congress, meeting recently in Hamburg, not only made the usual charges against capitalism, but gave evidence of strength which is proving embarrassing to the French. The communist movement, however, is also embarrassing the Germans. The situation throughout Germany may be described as one of increasing turmoil and confusion. Bavaria, upon whom some of the French had counted for a certain measure of support in the campaign against Prussia, seems to be strongly in favor of the policy of non-resistance. Many European writers, particularly in Britain, show sufficient sympathy for the Germans to keep the German resistance alive; but still more unfortunate, the ill-will between France and Britain has severed the Entente at a time when co-operative effort is most needed.

This separation of France and Britain is most unfortunate. While the French and Belgians are in the Ruhr, Britain pursues the policy of watchful waiting. At the moment, Mr. Baldwin, the new Prime Minister, is looked to on all hands as the one hope in the situation.

What Europe particularly needs, now more than ever, is co-operation between France and Britain. What is to come out of the frequent meetings of the British Cabinet it is difficult at the moment to say. It would seem reasonable to infer that Britain is trying to serve as a mediator between France and Germany. If that be the case, Britain is of course anxious to get from France an exact statement of what she purposes to demand of Germany. This Britain is probably finding difficult to obtain. France and Germany are at a deadlock. France demands the end of the non-resisting resistance, but that particular kind of resistance cannot be commanded either by Paris or Berlin. If Mr. Cuno, for example, were to order the resistance to cease, he would accomplish nothing save possibly a strengthening of the monarchists. The fact seems to be that the resistance is increasing. The further fact seems also to be that the French grip is merciless. Germans are killing French soldiers and bombing the railroads, and French fines and imprisonments are increasing. Looming on the near horizon is a guerilla warfare. But until France is convinced that Germany can do her no harm, the French army will dominate the Ruhr. In such a situation there is no hope of a permanent solution until the conditions are utterly changed and an equilibrium of interests established. A prime requisite for such a condition is a perfect understanding between Paris and London. It is hopeful to note that France and England are now carrying on conversations.

If Britain had stood by France, German statesmen might have taken the attitude, spoken the words, developed the psychology which would have made a "rapprochement" across the Rhine possible. Britain did not do so. This schism in the Entente proved to be the strength of the Germans. Five months have passed since Bonar Law left Paris unwilling to co-operate with France, Belgium, and Italy. It may now be too late for the Entente to get together again. We hope not.

Of course, British industries need German markets; but the same thing is true of France—Germany and France being an economic unit. Of course, German industrialists need markets in France and England. The hope in the situation is that since Lord Curzon, and for that matter the British Government, seems to agree with France on principle, differing with her only on methods, that statesmanship, if it is not wholly defunct, should be able to come to a meeting of minds and to devise a common course which Germany could be led to accept. Our one belief is that the Entente should by means of renewing conferences go about the business of finding that course. Let France and Belgium state their demands upon Germany. Let the Entente agree

upon these demands. In any event, everything in the present European situation depends upon a rebirth of the Entente.

WAITING UPON GERMAN STATESMANSHIP

THE BREAKDOWN of the world in 1914, we still firmly believe, was due to the false political philosophy and the unpardonable methods of German statesmen. As a result of the war, the problems facing the German statesmen have undergone a change. German statesmanship has changed, we think, for the better. The arrogance and swashbuckling, the saber rattling, and the "Deutschland über alles" are no more. The note of the braggart is stilled.

But all is not yet well with German statesmanship. Its voice is a weak voice. There is a whining tone in it. Its language is not convincing. When Chancellor Cuno says that Germany is prepared to pay reparation to her fullest capacity, to do everything in her power to re-establish European peace, there is something lacking. When he made his proposal to the London conference last December it was refused. Why? Because there was something lacking. When, shortly after, he intimated to France that he wished to bring about co-operation between German and French industrialists, France refused. There was something lacking. When next he proposed a treaty between the countries of the Rhine district, pledging them not to go to war for a term of years without a plebiscite and to ask us of America to act as trustee, the French refused. There was something lacking. When he approached the Allied Prime Ministers in Paris January 2, his advances were ignored. There was something lacking. When he says that Germany is willing to negotiate and to pay reparation "to her fullest capacity," he hedges his statement about with the qualification that he can't promise more than Germany can pay, and that only when the Germans know that their promises can be fulfilled will they do their utmost to meet their obligations. Here, too, there is something lacking.

Germany ought to know what is lacking. Her first offer by way of reparations was hedged about with conditions relating to Upper Silesia and German commercial privileges throughout the world. Her second offer repeated the first, but with other evasions. In April, 1921, there came another offer, this time through President Harding, for transmission to the Allies. It was then, if not before, that Germany should have understood. Secretary Hughes informed her that the United States found itself unable to reach the conclusion that the proposal afforded the basis for discussion acceptable

to the Allies. He urged the German Government to make direct to the Allied governments "*clear, definite, and adequate proposals which in all respects meet its just obligations.*" The world has been waiting for such action on the part of German statesmanship. Since that time Germany made a gesture, in January of this year, but it had none of the qualities set forth by Mr. Hughes. Later she offered thirty billion gold marks, the amount to be liquidated by 1931 by the aid of international loans. But there was something lacking again, for all of the Allies immediately rejected the proposal. It was inadequate.

The things lacking in German statesmanship seem to be candor, a magnanimity, an understanding of other peoples.

We do not know how much Germany has actually paid. The reports vary. Some German authorities claim that she has paid in goods about forty billion gold marks. The cost to Germany of the armies of occupation has been something like 4,500,000,000 gold marks. Certain it is that Germany has lost Alsace-Lorraine, Malmedy, Eupen, Moresnet, a part of Schleswig, a large section of East Prussia including Memel, portions of Upper Silesia, not to mention her possessions in Africa and the Pacific. It is a fact that Germany has paid a great deal. And yet German statesmanship has been unable to make these payments in a way calculated to convince the world of her candor or depth of spirit.

Now, under date of June 7, she submits a memorandum or reparation appearing elsewhere in these columns.

It is announced that Britain sees hope in this note. The Prime Minister hints that the British Government may soon act. Washington is said to regard the proposal as a hopeful basis for discussion. Germany relies upon London, printing in the meantime vast additions to her store of paper money. In case the German proposal is rejected, the Cuno Government may fall.

The note, however, receives no support in Paris. The French are in no frame of mind to discuss with Germany so long as the German policy of passive resistance continues in the Ruhr. That we can understand. It is true that Germany offers no definite sum as to the total reparations. But that in itself would not be sufficient reason for rejecting the note. Chancellor Cuno, immediately following the French invasion of the Ruhr, announced in the Reichstag that Germany's reparations obligations will cease to be discharged in further direct dealings with the "treaty-breaking powers." Then began the passive resistance, very embarrassing to France.

Germany has made a variety of offers since the reparation commission originally fixed the amount due from Germany at 132 billion gold marks. But none of these has been acceptable. There is little reason for believing

that Germany's new suggestion that the present Reparation Commission be ignored, and that a new international commission be set up in its place to fix the amount Germany is able to pay, will be acceptable. It isn't reasonable to expect, furthermore, that France will seriously consider any guarantees to be administered by Germany, especially with Germany in the temper illustrated by the passive resistance.

France continues her policy of military coercion with unabated precision, demanding guarantees. She may go on until the German federation is ended and Germany is no more. The reason public world opinion does not stop France is that French statesmen have been clever. They have controlled the opinion and won the support of their own people and of peoples in Italy, Belgium, America. German statesmen have failed. They failed to win nations to their side in 1914, in 1918, in 1923. The European political mess waits upon German statesmanship.

CONGRATULATIONS TO AUSTRIA

IT HAS been customary for certain German publicists to look upon the Austrian Republic as weak, if not dead. One professor in the University of Munich, complaining of the French policy in the Ruhr, insists that French patriotism is now free "to gloat over the wreck on the Danube" and that "the same fate is now to be meted out to Germany, whose more robust constitution justifies that the agony proportionately drawn out will prove a more enlightening and dramatic spectacle than has been afforded by the uncomplaining demise of the too-patient Austrians."

It would appear that the professor is hastening with the preparations for a funeral before assured of a corpse. The Austrian Government's guaranteed loan of one hundred twenty-six million dollars, twenty-five millions of which have been allocated to the United States, was oversubscribed June 11 within fifteen minutes. These seven per cent bonds appeared to be very attractive to American investors. One firm reported it could have sold its quota "six times over." A similar disposition was made in eight other countries. It is said that no other loan in history has been placed so quietly, and few, if any, with so many individual investors. Austrian finances are not so bad off evidently as we have been given to understand. Financiers and statesmen of the new republic have been conducting themselves with no little wisdom. Austria still lives.

It would seem that Germany may properly cease thinking of Austria as dead and cultivate acquaintance with Vienna with the hope of obtaining some profitable lessons. If German statesmen and financiers had

adopted the candor of Seipel, Gruenberger, and others, they might not be in the deplorable condition in which they now find themselves.

It has meant hard work for the Austrians to convince eight European nations that they should guarantee the loan to Austria. It has meant more. It has meant candor, sincerity, and spirit which any successful business man or nation must possess before there can be any groundwork for success.

AN ANCIENT FEUD CARRIES ON

THE PECULIAR conflict between a certain class of pacifists and believers in a strong military arm persists. So far as any bearing upon the actual problem of war and peace is concerned, one may conclude that the conflict is in the main inconsequential. But recent expressions of it cannot be ignored. No one seems to believe that a country should be dominated by an exclusively militant warfare class, eager for a quarrel and keen to promote itself. The war seems to have rendered the service of eliminating all thought of the desirability or necessity for such a class. Yet we read in a Japanese paper that the "feeling is growing apparently in all countries of the world, with America in the lead, that it is suicidal not to educate and train the people as a whole to the supreme importance of knowing how to defend their country." This particular paper feels that it is somewhat paradoxical to say that the militaristic class is objectionable, while a militaristic people are not. The editorial adds: "Nor is it easy to see how a nation with a thorough military training can be anything but militaristic. However, the latter-day philosophy clearly recognizes distinctions, and so let it be."

The whole conflict is on and apparently in every land. It has been brought rather picturesquely to the fore in a Japan university. The military circles of Japan were shocked and the professors at Waseda University were enraged one day in May when a large body of students gathered in the auditorium for the inaugural meeting of the "Association for the Study of Military Science." It was intended as an imposing inauguration in the university of a system of military training. The Vice-Minister of War and a number of other distinguished military men were present. The plans had been carefully laid; but they went awry. The seventy students who had joined the association were present. Heckling began. When eighty army and navy officers arrived to participate, the hostility increased, and the professors could not quell the disturbance. The purpose of the gathering failed. Following the meeting a large number of students remained in the hall for a further demonstration against the plan.

Commenting upon the incident, the *Japan Advertiser* for May 13 says: "Without any desire to overemphasize

the significance of the conduct of an unruly student gathering, it does seem that the incident, considered in connection with related tendencies, is indicative of a spirit that is likely to have considerable influence on the future history of Japan."

Shortly after this experience some of the younger professors of the university joined the anti-militarist students, on the ground that they were opposed to any attempt to bring the university under the control of the military caste. The result was that the plan to organize the military association within the university was abandoned. Some of the agitators explained their action as in opposition to the well-known attempt to make military training compulsory in all the schools and colleges of Japan. Part of the spirit of revolt is probably due to the teachings of Tolstoi and of Gandhi; part to the arrogance of some of the military officers; part to a hatred for war. The opposition has developed to such an extent that youths are reported to have gone so far as to disfigure themselves physically that they may be immune from conscription.

It seems to be a fact that the teachings of Christianity are in no real sense at the bottom of this anti-war spirit in Japan. It seems to be due more to the teachings of Buddha. The young people of Japan read with eagerness the peace documents of Western writers and instinctively relate them to the teachings of their older religion. The feeling is developing throughout the intellectual circles of Japan, that the future of that land lies in the direction of industrial and commercial development and not in the way of military imperialism.

One of the most caustic and sarcastic revelations of Japanese thought as regards America is the following, taken from an editorial of the *Japanese Times and Mail* under date of May 5:

"Looking over the world today, no phenomenon is indeed so significant as that of a growing demand everywhere for efficiency, if not greatness of armament, far more so than before the late disastrous European War. The general cry is for less cost, but more fighting power, and nowhere more loud than in America. A cynic says: Just as Japan, carried away by the American propaganda, is growing lax in her spirit of national defense, war-preparedness is making a most wonderful progress in America, and that Japan, slumbering in her present state of unpreparedness, will some day have the rudest awakening. We by no means propose to follow that cynic, but it will not prevent us from saying that America will have no cause but to be pleased to see her former pupil and trusted friend now trying to emulate her in the effort to militarize her people and thus be prepared for any emergency that threatens peace."

The fling at America is interesting, if justified. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is evidently afraid that it may be justified. The branch with headquarters in Washington is taking steps to

counteract what appears to be a rising military spirit in America. Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis, National Chairman of the Women's International League, says of the organization that "from its inception in 1915, the Women's International League, made up of groups of women from the warring and neutral countries, all impressed with the wrongfulness and futility of war, has had a vision of a better world of understanding. This has been discussed in all our international congresses from Zurich in 1919 to The Hague in 1922, where we met to declare our firm conviction that only a new peace can save the world from the chaos into which it is rapidly sinking."

That our Japanese critics are justified in their opinion of the growth of militarism in this country is doubtful. But that that opinion exists abroad seems to be a fact. There is one aspect of the situation, however, which seems to be overlooked; that is, that a belief in a proper amount of power to defend the rights of America does not necessarily stamp a man as a militarist in any obnoxious sense.

At the World's Conference of Y. M. C. A. Workers with Boys, which ended June 10 at Pörschach, Austria, fifty-three nations being represented, resolutions were adopted urging that boys be educated to hate war and to love peace, to believe in a world brotherhood which knows no barrier of class, creed, or nationality.

There is more hope in this effort by the Y. M. C. A. than in that of Waseda, because it is international and not open to the charge of disloyalty. It can't be said often enough, evidently, that the peace movement is an international movement and, to be effective, it must be worked out by the nations collectively. No one nation can go it alone. Of course, it is each nation's duty to behave according to the rules of honorable conduct; but the question of questions is, not how strong a nation may be, but what use does it propose to make of its strength? As a matter of fact, weak nations brought on the World War. The peace job is a co-operative job. Nations must go about it together.

The demand is for ability, political, religious, engineering ability. It is to be had. Fleecy cotton in Augusta, Ga., on June 4; ten hours later in Bedford, Mass., having been transported there by army air service: woven into fabric on the morning of June 5, and three and a half hours afterward delivered by the same service in Washington. That is the story of accomplishment and quick transportation behind the souvenir aprons that are now being distributed at the Capital of the Nation. If we can only get more of that quality of brains into the peace movement, we shall make outbursts such as that at Waseda unlikely. The ancient conflicts between emotional pacifists and equally emotional rooters for the big stick would then naturally wane.

OUR RUSSIAN POLICY

THE OFFICIAL Soviet comments on our Russian policy, which appear elsewhere in this issue, are extremely characteristic utterances for the Moscow leaders, but they furnish a most unconvincing answer to the views expressed by Secretary of State Hughes in his statement, made on March 21, to the Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia. In fact, the Soviet spokesmen ignore completely Mr. Hughes' references to the economic condition of Russia, which, after all, is the crucial test of that country's eventual recovery from its abnormal international position. They seize upon the Secretary's remarks regarding the international policy of the Soviet régime and of the Communist Internationale and make most of that discussion.

Mr. Hughes in his statement emphasized the fact that the Soviet régime in Russia has not given up its policy of confiscation of property and repudiation of obligations. He said:

Here is a simple test. We have in this case no need to speculate, as of what avail are assurances when we find properties taken, without compensation or restoration, obligations repudiated—properties of all sorts, the investments of one of our great life insurance companies, for example?

Not only would it be a mistaken policy to give encouragement to repudiation and confiscation, but it is also important to remember that there should be no encouragement to those efforts of the Soviet authorities to visit upon other peoples the disasters that have overwhelmed the Russian people. I wish that I could believe that such efforts had been abandoned.

Last November Zinoviev said:

"The eternal in the Russian revolution is the fact that it is the beginning of the world revolution. Lenin, before the last congress of the Third Internationale, last fall, said that 'the revolutionists of all countries must learn the organization, the planning, the method and the substance of revolutionary work. Then, I am convinced,' he said, 'the outlook of the world revolution will not be good, but excellent.' And Trotsky, addressing the Fifth Congress of the Russian Communist youths at Moscow last October—not two years ago, but last October—said this: 'That means, comrades, that revolution is coming to Europe as well as in America, systematically, step by step, stubbornly and with gnashing of teeth in both camps. It will be long protracted, cruel, and sanguinary.'"

Now I desire to see evidences of the abandonment of that policy. I desire to see a basis for helpfulness. We want to help. We are just as anxious in this department and in every other branch of the Administration as you can possibly be to promote peace in the world, to get rid of hatred, to have a spirit of mutual understanding; but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, but one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of obligations and a sound basis of international intercourse.

The Soviet answer to this is that the Communist Internationale and the Soviet Government are two separate and distinct entities. In fact, the *Pravda* editorial assures us that the relation between the two is

on the basis of the latter merely offering asylum to the former. This has been the line of argument followed by Moscow for several years past, and this alleged distinction between the Internationale and the Soviet Government has been invoked every time a drive has been made for the recognition of the Soviet régime as the Government of Russia.

The facts in the matter, however, scarcely bear out the assertions along these lines made by the Communist leaders. The Communist Internationale has not sought asylum in Russia. On the contrary, it was created by the Soviet leaders themselves in March, 1919, for very specific purposes, which have never been disguised. From the very beginning to this day, the Communist Internationale has been financed with funds appropriated by the Treasury of the Russian Soviet State. From the very beginning to this day, its executive committee, or governing body, has counted among its members Lenin, Trotsky, and the other prominent leaders of the Soviet Government itself. It has been designated as the "General Staff of the World Revolution," and neither this designation nor its significant implications have ever been changed or repudiated.

According to its plan of action, adopted at the Second World Congress of the Communist Internationale in Moscow, in August, 1920, the object of the Internationale is the creation in each country of a Communist Party, which is to work for the seizure by it of the governmental authority in its own country. These parties, organized on the model of the Russian Communist Party, must be subordinated to the Internationale itself and controlled and guided by it. This plan of action still stands. It has never been changed officially or repudiated.

As long as this plan of action remains, and as long as the Communist Internationale is controlled by the leaders of the Soviet Government and financed with the funds of the Russian State, the arguments of Secretary Hughes remain unanswerable, and our policy of refusing to indorse this scheme of things by extending official recognition to the Soviet régime remains, for us, the only wise and justifiable approach to the Russian question.

In common with the rest of the world, the United States wants to see Russia restored to nationhood and economic prosperity. We want nothing from Russia, and through our relief work in that stricken land we have amply demonstrated our desire to help where help is possible. Our statesmen are wise in keeping their conviction that no one can help Russia until she is ready to help herself. And that time will not come until her national life becomes normal and rational.

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO FALSE PACIFISM

AT A CONFERENCE of religious welfare workers, composed of representatives of the Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic faiths, called in June by the Secretary of War, to consider the religious and moral training of soldiers, it was unanimously agreed that "the quickest way to invite war would be for America to pursue peace unarmed and undefended." We do not know whether this superlative statement is true or false. We know of no way of ascertaining its validity. We know of no reason for making such a statement, since there is no proposal before us to leave America "unarmed and undefended." We shall continue armed and defended as a nation. What the measure of arms and defense shall be will be determined by much discussion, propaganda, and inadequate, if not intemperate, science.

But the committee appointed by the conference drafted a series of pronouncements and findings which met with the approval of the Secretary of War. They were unanimously adopted by the conference. The resolutions point out that peace at home and with all nations "is a sacred mission to which America has devoted herself and her resources." They point out further that America has traditionally set herself against the "curse of militarism." The conferees agreed that militarism is absolutely foreign to the genius of American institutions. The argument supporting this statement is that the American army in time of war is a citizen army, and that in time of peace it is a voluntary army. "Civilians direct her army and navy; the existence and upkeep of both are contingent upon the will of a representative Congress." This is always theoretically true. In time of war, it is practically otherwise.

There is a sentence in the resolutions which leads us to suspect that there is opposition in some quarter to church aid to the men of our army and navy. The sentence reads: "We deprecate any attempt, made under the cloak of religion and in the name of a false pacifism, to deny the support of the churches to the well-being of our army and navy. To the churches and to the government the religious welfare of the men must be of primary concern."

There ought to be more light upon this statement. Who in America is opposed to promoting the religious welfare of our soldiers and sailors? If there be such persons, they should be advertised. If there are no such persons, why is it necessary to adopt such a resolution?

The ADVOCATE OF PEACE would do everything in its power to encourage the chaplains in our army and navy. These sacrificing and for the most part competent men aid immeasurably the morale in army and navy, not the

morale which looks upon a man as a fighting machine only, but the morale based upon the religious sanction. Men whom we employ to carry on our national defense have religious needs. They are entitled to their religious rights.

The attitude of the conference toward the chaplain in the army was expressed as follows:

"The purposes of our government in appointing chaplains and the place of religion in the army have been misunderstood, because frequently a chaplain has been used simply to promote what is known as morale. The chaplain does promote true morale in the best possible way—by religious sanction.

"But morale which looks upon a man only as an efficient fighting machine means militarism in the ascendant, a denial of the soul and an undoing of man himself. Against such a process the spirit of America protests. The chaplain has a high and holy office. He is the servant of the religious needs of the men. When he is asked to promote morale first and religion afterward, he is asked to be false to his mission.

"To stand squarely on an American platform will never fail of the support of the American people. Chaplains are commissioned to work for all the men without distinction of creed. To interpret this as meaning that all creeds are alike, or that creed is of no value, is to impose one's own religious belief upon others. This is to offend religious liberty, because religious liberty postulates religious differences. To wipe out all religious differences and then claim to be tolerant has no meaning.

"He (the chaplain) is a living example of both religious faith and religious liberty. His mission illustrates the Christian and Jewish attitude toward war. It must be that we be prepared. It may be that war will come. He exhorts men to forego those things that lead to war. He teaches that a supreme power—the Father of all—is offended by strife among His children. This spirit among men will lead them to think of fighting as a thing to be resorted to only in the face of a worse alternative. It will lead them to love the way of peace; to broaden it as the highway of all civilized people.

"Thus the government and the churches, working together in the belief that it is the soul that makes the man, will most effectively extend the blessed mission of America, both at home and abroad."

THE GOTHENBERG EXHIBITION, now under way in the three-hundred-year-old city of Gothenberg, Sweden, will appeal to Americans, particularly because of its illumination of history. Memory Hall, a very attractive building, surrounded by charming grounds, is the center of the exhibition. Spreading about this central museum of history are galleries and great buildings, in which are shown the arts and industries of Sweden; but in the building itself one finds, illustrated by appropriate groups and displays, the long centuries of grow-

ing Swedish civilization. There is also a complete and picturesque showing of Viking life. While the later Swedish culture is shown in much the same way as in other expositions, it is in its historical teachings that the Gothenberg Exhibition is peculiarly distinctive.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS may be embarrassed by the astonishing decree of the Saar Commission providing punishment with five years in prison for any one who "casts discredit" on the Treaty of Versailles. Our own judgment, however, is that the league is criticized for this procedure more severely than it deserves. We believe that a league organized as is this will inevitably get into such embarrassing situations. It is of the very nature of the league to get into trouble, for it is a political organization dealing with political situations, as a director. We confess that the action of the commission was ridiculous. But no league can be devised capable of establishing impartial bodies for the government of unwilling peoples. We have no doubt that the league has acted in good faith. Under the terms of its charter it was given the duty to govern the Saar Valley by means of a commission. It was presented with an impossible situation. It has done the best it knew how. It has failed. The failure is due not to the fact that the French Government "packed" the Saar Commission. The trouble is not due to any vicious motives on the part of the league. The trouble lies in the very theory of the league itself.

THE FRENCH occupation of the Ruhr is not so difficult to understand as some writers appear to believe. The French are there not because of anything that Charlemagne did in the Eighth century, nor because of anything that Julius Cæsar may have said about the boundary of Gaul. They are there not because of any theories held and fought for by Louis the Fourteenth, nor because of any theories of "natural boundaries" of the Eighteenth century. They are not there because Napoleon claimed the west bank of the Rhine as the proper boundary, nor because the Germans seized Alsace-Lorraine in 1870-71. They are not there because of their hatred of Prussia, nor because of any "historic Rhine policy." The French are in the Rhine for two reasons: First, because there are sixty millions of people in Germany as against thirty-eight millions in France; and second, because France thinks she knows that Germany is only waiting for a chance to attack her again. These are the simple facts. To look for deeper reasons is but to confuse the issue.

NO MORE WAR!

By PRESIDENT HARDING

(Memorial Day Address, Delivered at the Arlington Cemetery)

VETERANS OF OUR ARMIES:

This is the special day of the nation's gratitude, most genuinely felt and most gladly expressed. I do not believe republics are ungrateful. They may sometimes have the seeming of ingratitude, but since republics must be like the citizens who constitute them, we are bound to believe our Republic full of the gratitude which animates our citizenship.

Sometimes we reasonably may ask what are the most becoming expressions of genuine gratitude. I have seen it in individuals so deep and so engulfing that it could not be expressed in words. Grateful souls are sometimes silent, though inwardly vibrant with grateful appreciation.

On reflection, I believe the gratitude of action vastly surpasses that of words. It is good to have the spoken expression. The world needs more of it. I wish we might have less condemnation of error and more commendation of right. We ought to have much less of bitter criticism of errors and more of approval and appreciation for things well done. I am not thinking of government so much as of the individual. When we do a helpful thing for the individual we help the whole community. And I like to think of the individual citizen as a veteran of our contending forces in peace as well as a defender in war, who deserves likewise the gratitude of his countrymen.

It little matters what war one served in. The supreme offering of life on the altar of American patriotism was the same in every one. No man could offer more. It calls for gratitude unlimited and unending.

The span of life of the Republic is yet so limited that veterans of the Mexican War are still surviving, and widows of veterans of the War of 1812 are now on the government's pension rolls. We rejoice that so many of the Grand Army of the Republic survive to give us the very soul of the day they originated, and we honor the participants in the Spanish-American War, and, with all the honored older veterans, we gratefully include the fallen of the great World War in the offering of grateful memory.

Yes, we are met in memory of the fallen, but I cannot escape the thought that the real compensation comes to the living. The fallen do not, cannot, know of our remembrance of them, but the living may take to their breasts the consolation that the Republic does love and revere, and comfort itself in so doing. Just as sure as present day civilization endures, just so sure will the Americans of next year and the next century and the century after that be meeting gratefully on Memorial Day to pay memory's tribute to the soldier dead who have served the Republic. Veterans marching near the shadows, but with heads erect and hearts all brave; veterans of middle age, who look back on marvelous achievement and to the future for still greater; veterans of youth, with the seriousness of life mostly before them, starting with the supreme experience—all may go on, assured of a becoming and grateful remembrance, which is chief among the compensations of life.

WE MUST KEEP FAITH

I spoke a moment ago of the deeper gratitude expressed in action. My thought was not of compensations or of pensions or of the government's care for the disabled. These are obligations, and their discharge is a duty. There can be a gratitude of action, which is a still finer and nobler thing.

It was a nation grateful in action which followed the Civil War with reunion and reconstruction, and strove forward to a concord of union which did not exist prior to the war, revealed the mutuality of interest essential to the nation expanding in influence and power. It was gratitude of action to develop a union which has been proven to be worth preserving, in spite of all the cost involved.

It was gratitude of action which led the Republic to keep faith with the ideals of liberty which led the veterans of 1898 to strike at oppression. With the expanded area of the flag has attended the expanded area of liberty which we grant to others, precisely as we demand for ourselves.

It is the gratitude of action which has so zealously committed us to the preservation of the civilization for which the World War veterans fought, and the task is only a little less difficult than theirs. Civilization can never be entrenched; it must battle in the open, ever ready to march on. Entrench it and it dies. Its defense must be progressively offensive. In the inspiration of the example of you who have thrice saved the Republic, and firm in the belief of the righteousness of American intent, and strong in the faith, we mean to carry on.

There is another gratitude of action which surpasses all expressed in the others, which I hope to see recorded to glorify the last days of the Civil War veterans and to add fullness to the lives of the World War veterans, and tranquilize the lives of all America and the world. I devoutly wish the United States to do its full part toward making war unlikely if not impossible. While I would abhor a pacifist America, I would rejoice to have the United States proven to be unafraid, and yet the most peace-loving and the foremost peace-promoting nation in all the world. We have already proven that we can have less of armament. Let us strive for the assurance that we shall have none of war.

IT MUST NOT BE AGAIN!

There comes into the lives of each and every one of us, some time, a picture never to be effaced from memory. Veterans in the service have seen the suffering and sacrifices and the thrilling heroism which are never visible except to those engaged in conflict. I have tried to visualize the carnage and conflict and the horrors and suffering of war, softened by the comradeship of camp and the less perilous adventures of march and field, but I came to understand how imagination had failed me when I stood at Hoboken pier among 5,000 dead, in their flag-draped coffins, two years ago. Here was death in war's unheeding allotment, corridors of sorrow and sacrifice, so far as the eye could see, and grief that no human soul could appraise. Under the spell of the great sorrow, which gripped my heart, I said then and

repeat now, "It must not be again! It must not be again!"

But the saying is not enough. We must do the things which rational thinking leads us to believe will tend to render war less likely. If we ever have the insanity to make conflict among ourselves, we will deserve to sacrifice. But that must never be. Searching our own souls, believing in our own good intent, we can see no cloud on the horizon. We are thinking of no war for us, anywhere. But there was no cloud for us in 1914, and yet we were drawn into the very cataclysm of all wars. It is not enough to seek assurance for ourselves. I believe it a God-given duty to give of our influence to establish the ways of peace throughout the world. We cannot guarantee, but we can promote, the peaceful adjustment of disputes; we can aid in the establishment of the agencies of peace; we can be influential in committing the world to the triumphs of peace, and make hateful to human-kind the spoils of war. Americans have gloried in our part as the exemplar of representative democracy to aspiring peoples of the world. If we have been successful as the exemplar of democracy, there is a duty to perform in pointing the way and influencing the adoption of democracy's peace.

This is a world relationship which we cannot avoid, and will not avoid in the spirit of the America of which we rejoice to boast. But there is one thing which we may do among ourselves alone to make our own participation less likely and banish much of war's hateful-ness if national honor must call us to arms.

Standing amid a group of veterans of North and South in glad reunion at Gettysburg in 1913, I heard these sturdy warriors argue how they had been drawn into conflict by the wealth of North and South. That was well enough to argue, that kindred Americans had no reason to fight one another. But they were far away from the great cause. Amid the conflicting ideas and interests in the chaos of the great beginning, an ambiguity was written into the Constitution, and it had to be wiped out. The fathers had not settled the dispute in the making, and their descendants had to fight it out in the development of the nation. It has brought us the needful concord of union and the greater possibilities of the nation.

NO MORE WAR PROFITEERS

The arguing veterans, fifty years after Gettysburg, on the scene of the world-famed combat, were thinking of industrial greed in the North and slave-owning greed in the South. But in reality their prejudices had been inspired by the hateful profiteering incident to war.

In all the wars of all time the conscienceless profiteer has put the black blot of greed upon righteous sacrifice and highly purposed conflict. In our fuller understanding of today, in that exalted consciousness that every citizen has his duty to perform, and that his means, his honor, and his life are his country's in a time of national peril, in the next war, if conflict ever comes again, we will not alone call to service the youth of the land, which has, in the main, fought all our wars, but we will draft every resource, every activity, all of wealth, and make common cause of the nation's preservation. God grant that no conflict will come again, but

if it does it shall be without profit to the non-combatant participants, except as they share in the triumphs of the nation.

It will be a more grateful nation, which consecrates all to a common cause, and there will be more to share the gratitude bestowed. More, there will be a finer conscience in our war commitments, and that sublimity of spirit which makes a people invincible.

Oh, it is a glad privilege today to utter a special love and reverence for the Civil War veterans who still witness the progress of the nation they saved, and find new reason, from year to year, to glory in their achievement. Out of their example is undying inspiration, for their accomplishment is measureless gratitude.

I like to tell these aged veterans before me that long after they are gone we will be gratefully remembering them, and all succeeding generations will sing their glory. And every time we meet to memorialize and honor them, every time our successors meet to pay annual tribute, there will be a patriotic resolution in every grateful heart to be worthy of the heritage which these have left behind, each to do his part in the making of a greater and a better Republic, mindful of every obligation at home and unafraid to play our part in the world in which we live.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Executive Secretary of the American Group

THERE ARE PERSONS in America who furtively suspect that Budapest is an entomological cousin of the boll weevil. But such folk are not found among the members of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union. Our Senators and Representatives belonging to this organization—nearly 50 per cent of the total—know better. During the thirty-five years of the Interparliamentary Union, not a few of our American congressmen interested in the organization have made special studies of foreign affairs, including European geography, with the result that if any of them had been uncertain they now know that Berne has no relation to a prairie fire, and that Ukraine is not the name of a musical instrument. Membership in the Interparliamentary Union is a fructifying experience. Indeed, because of this membership not a few of our lawmakers have visited Europe, and with their eyes and ears open. They have not a little first-hand information about European conditions. In consequence there is "an international mind" in the Congress. A certain distinguished American once remarked that he did not care to go to Greece because he had "a very excellent descriptive catalog of the place." Were he alive today and a member of the Interparliamentary Union, he would not say a thing like that. The men of the United States Congress most sympathetically informed about situations in Europe are probably the members of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

These American members of the Interparliamentary Union have not only been students of international problems; they have definite ideas about the work of the

Union and about what it should be. They have expressed these ideas officially and communicated them to their brethren in Europe, during the war and since. In this day of unusual international turmoils and misgivings, it is interesting to know what these men of our Senate and House of Representatives believe can and should be done in the direction of international policy by the parliaments of the world. What they have actually said upon this matter will appear later on.

WHAT IS THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION?

Just what is the Interparliamentary Union? The answer to this question is found in the statement of purpose, as set forth in its constitution, adopted at its twentieth conference, in Vienna, 1922. That purpose is: "to unite in common action the members of all parliaments, constituted in national groups, to secure the co-operation of their respective States in the firm establishment and the democratic development of the work of international peace and co-operation between peoples, by means of an universal organization of nations. Its object is also to study all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action."

ITS BIRTH

This statement of the purposes of the Interparliamentary Union represents an evolution out of the preparatory meeting held in Paris, October 31, 1888. At that gathering the aim was to promote arbitration treaties between the United States, France, and Great Britain. At that Paris gathering, nine British and twenty-five French parliamentarians being present, it was voted that: "another meeting, to which shall be admitted, not only members of the three parliaments named above (American, British, and French), but also members of other parliaments, who have made themselves known by their devotion to the same ideas, shall take place next year, in order to complete the work begun at this first conference." This resolution marked the birth of "The Interparliamentary Conference for International Arbitration," later to be called—in 1899, to be exact—*The Interparliamentary Union*."

THE FIRST INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

The meeting called for in the resolution was held, during the World Exposition, June 29 and 30, 1889, in Paris. There were delegates from France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Liberia, Spain, and the United States. Jules Simon, former premier of France, opened the conference with an address. Frederic Passy, of the French Chamber of Deputies, was elected president. This meeting was the first of the Interparliamentary conferences.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During its generation of effort, the Interparliamentary Union has stood consistently for the principle of international arbitration. Of course, this principle has an ancient background. But the introduction of arbitration into the modern practice of nations began in 1794, when John Jay, as special envoy of the United States to Great Britain, signed the first treaty under

the Constitution of the United States. This treaty contained a plan of submitting to a mixed commission differences between Great Britain and the United States which diplomacy had failed to adjust.

It remained for William Jay, son of John Jay, to render the plan of his illustrious father more widely effective by persuading governments to include in their treaties an agreement not to resort to hostilities, but to submit a controversy arising under a treaty to the arbitration of one or more friendly powers and to abide by the award. As a result, this *clause compromissoire*, as it is called, found its way into treaty after treaty. William Jay's proposal of 1842, along with William Ladd's plea for a Congress of Nations "to settle and perfect the code of international law," and a High Court of Nations "to interpret and apply that law for the settlement of all international disputes," were presented to the first international peace conference, held in London, 1843; and both were "adopted and passed." A number of organizations, particularly the American Peace Society, had been urging international conferences since 1828. Indeed, between 1830 and 1840 the proposal of a "Congress of Nations" was known as "The American plan." This plan contemplated diplomatic congresses convening periodically for the purpose of perfecting international law, supplemented by an International Court of Justice for the interpretation of such law.

It was, however, the principle of arbitration, actually applied in the John Jay Treaty of 1794 and extended by William Jay's proposal of 1842, out of which the idea of an interparliamentary co-operation grew. The Franco-Prussian War led the Baron of Walterskirchen, a member of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, to suggest the importance of a greater co-operation between members of the different parliaments. The successful arbitration of the Alabama claims in 1872 aroused a new interest throughout the parliaments of the world in favor of permanent treaties of arbitration.

Richard Cobden had introduced in the British House of Commons a resolution favoring international arbitration as far back as 1849; but Henry Richard, on July 9, 1873, moved in the House of Commons a resolution urging that the Queen of England be asked "to enter into communication with foreign powers with a view to further improvement in international law and the establishment of a general and permanent system of arbitration." Notwithstanding the prevailing bitterness between various nations of Europe at that time, the motion was carried. In the autumn of 1875, Dr. Albert Fischhoff proposed, at a meeting of the Austrian and Hungarian delegations, that steps be taken to hold annual conferences of parliamentarians with the view of reducing "the heavy burden of standing armies."

THE LAUNCHING

But the launching of the Interparliamentary Union was due to a member of the British House of Commons, William Randal Cremer, assisted by Frederic Passy, of the French Chamber of Deputies. At the first International Peace Congress, already referred to, it had been urged that societies or associations be formed among the working classes for disseminating the principles of international peace. This was in 1843.

STATISTIQUE

De La Representation Des Differents Groupes

Pays	Réunion Prélim., Paris, 1888	I Parls, 1889	II Londres, 1890	III Rome, 1891	IV Berne, 1892	V La Haye, 1894	VI Bruxelles, 1895	VII Budapest, 1896	VIII Bruxelles, 1897	IX Kristian, 1899
Afr. du Sud.....
Allemagne	4	16	12	6	1	13	3	43
Amérique	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2
Autriche	3	12	4	1	1	20	13	14
Belgique	1	..	1?	..	2	13?	14	51	7
Bulgarie
Canada
Chili
Colombie
Danemark	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	30
Equateur
Espagne	1	1	3?	1	1	1	1	1	1
Esthonie
Finlande
France	25	54	20	17?	28	14	10	11	23	13
G. Bretagne.....	9	31	74	13	11	11	8	19	16	13
Grèce	1	2?	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hongrie	1	..	5?	..	2	5	143	10	19
Indes-Néer
Italie	5	2	71?	7	2	1	71	48	23
Japon
Libérie	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mexique
Norvège	3	4	3	3	2	5	..	40
Pays-Bas	2	2	5	100	4	6	9	4
Pologne
Portugal	4?	1	1	..	6	14	1
Roumanie	21	7	6	3	..	17	11
Russie
Serbie	3?	..	..	..	1	..	2
Suède	1	4?	..	2	2	2	1	15
Suisse	9	31	1	1	2	..	2
Tch. Slovaq.....
Turquie

William Randal Cremer, beginning his career as a carpenter, founded in 1871 the Workmen's Peace Society, later to become "The International Arbitration League." When fifty-seven years of age, Cremer was elected to Parliament. His prime ambition at that time was to bring about an arbitration treaty between England and the United States, his idea being that such a precedent would surely be followed by other nations. In 1887, encouraged by a number of friends, including Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Cremer drew up a memorial to the President and the Congress of the United States, urging the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration between Britain and the United States. This memorial was signed by 232 members of the British Parliament, including the names of such men as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Bright, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Morley, Sir Edward Grey, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Haldane. The memorial was presented to President Cleveland at the White House, Washington, by a deputation of ten members of the House of Commons, one peer, and three representatives of the Trades Union Congress.

The following year both houses of the American Congress passed a joint resolution requesting the President of the United States "to invite from time to time, as occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be re-

ferred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means."

But Cremer's plan for an Anglo-American treaty of arbitration failed. The effort, however, was not without effect. It led to the formation of the Interparliamentary Union.

It was on the 31st of August, 1888, with the co-operation of Passy, that Cremer was able to organize a group of British and French parliamentarians for the purpose of promoting arbitration treaties between the United States, France, and Great Britain, and to lay the groundwork for the first Interparliamentary Conference of 1889.

A SELF-EXPLANATORY TABLE

Since that time, with the exception of the period of the World War, the growth of the organization has been continuous. The tables on pages 254, 255, prepared by Dr. Christian L. Lange, of Geneva, General Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, shows that thirty-four parliaments have been represented at some time during the history of the twenty conferences. The year and place of meeting of each conference is also shown.

SOME MEN BEHIND THE MOVEMENT

The conferences of 1889, 1890, and 1891 were held in private rooms; but the fourth, held in Berne, met in the Swiss House of Parliament. The conferences are now held regularly in parliament buildings. Since the

STATISTIQUE

Aux Conférences Interparlementaires Successives

X Paris, 1900	XI Vienne, 1903	XII St. Louis, 1904	XIII Bruxelles, 1905	XIV Londres, 1906	XV Berlin, 1908	XVI Bruxelles, 1910	XVII Genève, 1912	XVIII La Haye, 1913	XIX Stockholm, 1921	XX Vienne, 1922	Nombre des Conférenc
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
27	29	4	6	29	86	42	25	27	9	21	19
1	1	12	20	8	8	4	4	7	8	9	14
15	45	6	4	13	50	9	6	12	1	24	19
33	19	16	85	64	75	93	22	45	..	12	16 (17)?
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	2
2	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	2	..	2	6
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	1
11	11	2	14	14	34	16	19	19	18	24	20
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
?	1	..	..	3	3	3	1	1	..	1	16 (17)?
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1
..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	5	5	3
68	29	19	12	58	15	16	17	13	..	4	20
20	14	23	20	254	53	29	15	21	12	12	21
1	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	4	5 (6)?
52	17	30	23	31	84	28	..	15	..	48	16
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
4	55	16	36	47	73	44	..	..	16	79	18
..	..	..	..	1	1	12	..	5	4	5	6
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	1	4?	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
4	4	3	5	8	19	17	12	11	14	13	18
9	8	4	15	31	53	38	6	59	6	10	19
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1
6	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	..	..	15
9	34	4	13	15	19	7	2	7	..	1	16
..	..	..	..	7	10	4	1	3	..	..	5
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	4 (5)?
1	5	3	2	5	16	19	18	21	26	14	18
5	8	5	2	5	5	1	7	4	2	3	17
..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	3	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4	4	..	1	4

head of the Norwegian Government greeted the conference in 1899 with official ceremony, the governments have invariably extended every possible courtesy to the delegations.

The Union gradually took on the form of a permanent organization. National groups were organized. Beginning in 1892 and for seventeen years thereafter, the Union was fortunate to have at its head Dr. Albert Gobat, member of the Swiss Parliament. In 1902 the Nobel peace prize was divided between MM. E. Ducommun and Dr. Gobat. Thus, worthy men have given of themselves without stint to the Interparliamentary Union. At the preliminary meeting in Paris in 1888, there was Frederic Passy, who shared with M. H. Dunant the Nobel peace prize in 1901; M. Leon Bourgeois, Jean Jaurés, Mr. Philip Stanhope, afterward Lord Weardale, for many years president of the Union; Frederik Bajer, of Denmark, destined to be honored by the Nobel peace prize in 1908. Cremer, it may be said, devoted his later life to the organization which he had founded. It should be added that he received from the President of France the decoration of the Legion of Honor; from the King of England Knighthood; and, in 1903, the Nobel peace prize of about \$45,000. Comparatively poor though he was, he forthwith gave all this money for the foundation of the International Arbitration League, which still exists, with headquarters in London.

GROWTH AND SPIRIT

The Interparliamentary Union not only survived the war, it is more largely representative than ever. While there were but two parliamentary bodies represented at the first gathering, in Paris, there are now twenty-seven parliaments represented in the Union, each with its own "group" more or less active. Twenty-four of these groups were represented at the conference at Vienna in 1922: the United States, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Dutch Indies, Esthonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, and Turkey.

The vision of the friends of the Interparliamentary Union retained international arbitration as its principal goal, but gradually included also questions of public international law. Examining the resolutions which had been passed by the various conferences prior to 1911, one finds that the Interparliamentary Union had mainly devoted its attention to the pacific settlement of international disputes; the organization of the society of nations; to problems of neutrality; to the limitation of armaments; to the laws of war, and an international prize court; to the treatment of foreigners; to private international law; to questions of the day (*questions actuelles*); and to the organization of the Union. In the discussion of these various matters, the work of the conferences had included the study of such methods as

mediation, good offices, commissions of inquiry, obligatory arbitration, a court of arbitration, and the organization of an international judiciary. Later the Union concentrated especially upon the realization of the policies adopted by the second Hague Conference, and upon a program for the third Hague Conference, which was to have taken place in 1915 or 1916. The Union has developed a literature around these questions—a literature which is set forth in reports, annuaires, documents, and books, some of which are of standard value.

The Interparliamentary Union was at first called "*The Interparliamentary Conference for International Arbitration*," and most of its work since its beginning has been in the direction indicated by that title. There gradually developed, however, the belief that, in addition to arbitration, other friendly and judicial means of settling disputes were a legitimate part of the aims of the Union. Indeed, at the Geneva Conference in 1912, it was expressly provided that the Interparliamentary Union has also for its object "the study of other questions of international law, and, in general, of problems pertaining to the development of peaceful relations between nations." It has been the fundamental policy of the Union, however, to refrain from committing itself on questions of "an acute political nature."

The Union has achieved results. There is no doubt that it had a direct influence upon the constitution of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the First Hague Conference in 1899. It was primarily responsible for the calling of the Second Hague Conference in 1907. And it had no little influence upon the model arbitration treaty presented to the Second Hague Conference. This model arbitration treaty was due to the initiative of Mr. Richard Bartholdt, member of the American Congress from 1893 to 1915 and for eleven years President of the American group. While the draft treaty was not adopted, thirty-two of the forty-four States represented voted for it, and the conference did pass unanimously a declaration in favor of the principle of obligatory arbitration. At the outbreak of the war, the Interparliamentary Union was devoting its energies to the end that the work of the Second Hague Conference and of the London Naval Conference of 1908-09 might be effective, and to the further purpose that there might be a worthy Third Hague Conference in 1915 or 1916. The outbreak of war interrupted these plans.

If it is impossible to measure all the achievements of the Union. The objects, however, have been kept clear, namely, to develop the principle of arbitration, to promote intelligent relations between peoples, to enable the parliamentarians of the world to get acquainted. Dignity has characterized the movement from the beginning. At that first annual conference, held in Paris in 1889, it was resolved:

"Since the policy of governments tends to become more and more the direct expression of ideas and sentiments voiced by the whole body of citizens, it is for the electors, by the exercise of their right of choice, to guide the policy of their country along the path of justice, right, and the brotherhood of nations."

As Senator McKinley, president of the American group, has recently said:

"The advantages of such an organization readily suggest themselves. Freed from the domination of any government, it represents a universal and democratic aspiration. Nothing in it savors of particular interest or privilege. Composed of officials, holding its conferences in houses of parliaments, it is itself only semi-official. Perhaps its main service is its opportunity for parliamentarians from all parts of the world to meet, to confer, to educate one another. . . . For parliamentarians from so many different countries just to meet, officially or unofficially, at conference, at table, at social gatherings, is in itself not without benefit."

THE AMERICAN GROUP

While, as will be seen from the chart, there was a representative of the American Congress present at the conference in Paris in 1889—it was the Honorable Justin R. Whiting—and that there were American representatives present at Brussels in 1897, at Christiania in 1899, at Paris in 1900, and at Vienna in 1903, it was not until 1904, largely upon the initiative of the Honorable Richard Bartholdt, that an American group was formed.

The American group has had three presidents: Mr. Bartholdt, from its organization to 1915; Representative James L. Slayden, of Texas, from 1915 to 1919; Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois, from 1919 to the present time.

The officers of the American group, elected February 24, 1923, for one year, are: President, Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois; Vice-Presidents—Representative Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia; Representative Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania; Representative William A. Oldfield, of Arkansas; Treasurer, Representative Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois; Secretary, Representative H. Garland Dupré, of Louisiana. Executive Committee: Senator William B. McKinley, *ex officio*, chairman; Representative Fred Britten, of Illinois; Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio; Representative Henry Allen Cooper, of Wisconsin; Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas; Senator Selden P. Spencer, of Missouri; Senator Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota; Representative James C. McLaughlin, of Michigan; Representative Merrill Moores, of Indiana; Representative John T. Raker, of California.

THE TWELFTH CONFERENCE IN ST. LOUIS

America's part in the labors of the Union has not been insignificant. As has been seen, the American Congress was represented in the first conference in 1889. Representative Samuel J. Barrows, of New York, was one of the first of our American congressmen to show interest in the work of the Union. The American group invited the Union to hold its twelfth conference in St. Louis during the World's Fair of 1904. The United States Government appropriated \$50,000 for the conference. The tour of the delegates, of whom there were 146, extended as far as Denver, the railroads co-operating with the government in the entertainment of the guests. The story of the conference and of the tour is fully set forth by Mr. Barrows, who had been a member of the Fifty-fifth Congress and was then a member of the Committee on Reception and Entertainment, in a large and beautiful volume of 281 pages, printed at

the Government Printing Office, Washington, 1905. This copiously illustrated book was presented as a souvenir to each of the visiting delegates. In this memorial volume Mr. Barrows sets forth his own views of the work of the Interparliamentary Union as follows:

"The Interparliamentary Union has not worked for something which can only be realized in the millennium; it has worked for ideals, aims, and methods which can and ought to be realized in our own age. In the evolution of society we have already reached the point in civilization when, excepting a small percentage of the lawless, the vast majority settle their disputes by judicial process or reference, without recourse to violence. So this organization has stood for the single principle that international disputes should be settled by judicial processes."

Hon. Francis B. Loomis, Assistant Secretary of State at the time, speaking before this conference, said:

"You have aroused, directed, and educated public sentiment in favor of arbitration throughout the civilized world. . . . The Interparliamentary Union deserves credit for practically forecasting, five years in advance, what proved to be the most salient work of the Peace Conference at The Hague."

Senator McKinley, in his address before the annual meeting of the American group, in February, 1923, said:

"There is no doubt that the First Hague Conference was called largely because of the work of the Interparliamentary Union. There is no doubt that its labors made possible the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Upon its initiative President Roosevelt initiated the Second Hague Conference."

EVIDENCE OF AMERICAN INTEREST

There is no doubt of American interest in this movement. The United States Government appropriates annually \$4,000 for the maintenance of the headquarters at Geneva. Furthermore, the American group had hoped to be hosts to the Interparliamentary Union in 1915. The Congress had appropriated \$50,000 for the entertainment of the visiting delegates; but the war interrupted the plan. The American group had planned to renew the invitation this year; but because of the political situation, involving the coming presidential campaign, the United States will probably not invite the conference before 1925. There is a suggestion that, since the only conference to be held in this country was at the time of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in 1904, and since the first annual meeting of the Interparliamentary Union was held in 1889 in connection with the World's Fair in Paris, it may be well to hold the next meeting in this country in connection with the Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition proposed for Philadelphia in 1926. There is little doubt that the Interparliamentary Union will hold its annual conference again in the United States before long.

AMERICAN VIEWS

As has been said at the beginning of this paper, the American group of the Interparliamentary Union, notwithstanding that it is made up of Democrats and Republicans, has certain definite and unanimously accepted ideas about the aims and methods of the Union. One expression of these views is set forth in resolutions unanimously adopted at the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, February 25, 1918. The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas it is increasingly evident that the civilization of the world is endangered by war; and

Whereas the Interparliamentary Union, an association of more than 3,300 members, representing twenty-three of the leading nations of the world, has since its organization, in 1888, steadfastly urged the adoption of arbitration as a substitute for war in the settlement of international disputes, and the establishment of a permanent court wherein questions at issue between governments may be heard and determined according to the principles of law and equity, to the end that justice may be done and wars avoided; and

Whereas responsible heads of governments, belligerent and non-belligerent alike, have agreed in principle to the program of the Interparliamentary Union for open treaties, for the reduction of armaments to "the lowest point consistent with domestic safety," and to a general arbitration treaty for the settlement of non-justiciable disputes; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Group pledges its support to its colleagues of other parliaments to co-operate in the effort to secure the adhesion of all civilized governments to this program of reason and good will. Be it further

Resolved, That the American group of the Interparliamentary Union gives its cordial approval to the recommendations of Habana, adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917, as a working basis for the society of nations to insure justice in international dealings and the maintenance of peace.

Resolved, That the American group of the Interparliamentary Union gives its cordial approval to the recommendations of Habana, adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917, as a working basis for the society of nations to insure justice in international dealings and the maintenance of peace.

The Recommendations of Habana

Whereas the independent existence of civilized nations and their solidarity of interests under the conditions of modern life has resulted in a society of nations; and

Whereas the safety of nations and the welfare of their peoples depend upon the application to them of principles of law and equity in their mutual relations as members of civilized society; and

Whereas the law of nations can best be formulated and stated by the nations assembled for this purpose in international conferences; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the society of nations that international agreements be made effective by ratification and observance on all occasions, and that some agency of the society of nations be constituted to act for it during the intervals between such conferences; and

Whereas the principles of law and equity can best be ascertained and applied to the disputes between and among the nations by a court of justice accessible to all in the midst of the independent powers forming the society of civilized nations;

Therefore the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, held in the city of Habana, in the Republic of Cuba, on the 23d day of January, 1917, adopts the following recommendations, to be known as its *Recommendations of Habana*:

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference, to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of The Hague Peace Conference, which, thus meeting at regular stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916,* which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-govern-

* The Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations referred to in paragraph V above is as follows:

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

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas, according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and

ing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

It will be noted that the above resolutions were passed while the United States were in the midst of the war. Since the close of the war, the American group has adopted another official announcement. This was set forth under date of May 24, 1921, in a letter sent to the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, as follows:

To the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, 14 Rue de l'Ecole Medicinc, Geneva, Switzerland.

SIRS: Please accept greetings from your fellow-members of the American group, all of whom are pleased to know of the plans of our Council for the Nineteenth Interparliamentary Conference at Stockholm, August 17-19 of the current year. The gracious invitation of the Swedish group, combined with the generous co-operation of the Swedish Government, leads us to feel that the resumption of our conferences will take place under circumstances as happy and propitious as could well be possible.

We have examined the "Agenda of the Conference," sub-

to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

mitted under date of April 20, 1921, and we hasten to express our earnest hope and perfect confidence that our brethren will come again to a meeting of minds with reference to questions peculiarly within the historic province of the Union, questions relating principally to international law. The time, we believe, has not arrived when our Union can profitably discuss, much less decide upon, political or even economic questions which may give rise to disputes between States. The peaceful and judicial settlement of international controversies, so wisely and constructively discussed and advanced in the First and Second Hague Conferences, remains still the supreme opportunity of the Interparliamentary Union; so much so, indeed, that we of the American group urge upon our co-workers of other nations:

1. The calling of a Third Hague Conference.
2. The extension of the principle of international conciliation, as set forth in the score and more of treaties negotiated between the United States and other powers in 1913, commonly known as the "Bryan treaties."
3. The creation of a judicial union of the nations, under which such questions as the interpretation of treaties or of international law, the breach of international obligations, the determination of reparations, and the interpretation of prior decisions passed by the court of the Union may all be decided by the court according to principles of accepted law and known equity.
4. The continuation of the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union, not only for these high purposes herein set forth, but for the additional and by no means insignificant reasons, namely, that lawmakers of the world may become more generally acquainted, more intelligently informed of each other's tasks, and more sympathetically alive to the possibilities awaiting them in the realm of practical international achievement.

We of the American group have not lost interest in such questions as the limitation of armaments, the reduction of the cruelties of war, the establishment of a prize court, the rules relating to neutrality, and the like; but we feel that these matters are dependent upon, and that they are not anterior to, the mode of international conference, the method of conciliation, and the means of judicial settlement, to which we have taken the liberty here to advert.

We believe that the Interparliamentary Union has in its traditional adherence to substantially these high matters amply proved its reason for being, and that nothing has happened since our last meeting, in 1913, to warrant any change in its independent action, in its fundamental aims, or in its methods.

SIGNIFICANCE

Of such is the Interparliamentary Union, its background, growth, and spirit. That nearly half of our Senators and Representatives are devoting no little attention to this international effort will be of interest, particularly throughout America.

Evidently there is a service which the Interparliamentary Union is peculiarly fitted to render. There are individual, national, and international interests, many of them overlapping, which cannot be left to work out themselves. There are political, economic, humanitarian problems affecting all nations, such as social and labor problems; exchange; the movements of commerce.

All such questions should be of vital interest to the lawmakers of the various nations. Naturally, mutual conference between parliamentarians will result in a wiser solution. These problems may well be considered by an unofficial body such as the Interparliamentary Union, which, in the language of Dr. Lange, "has at its disposal a wider and more elastic organization than an exclusively official institution composed of States, such as the League of Nations. The Union, therefore, still has important work to do. In the accomplishment of this work it appeals to all men of good will throughout the parliaments of the world."

Perhaps the meaning of this international body has nowhere been more accurately summed up than in the following words of Senator McKinley: "It is not without significance that, in this day of divergent interests, points of view, and policies, there exists in the world this organization of parliamentarians, each trying as best he may to understand the other fellow's job."

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD AN INTERNATIONAL COURT

By UNITED STATES SENATOR SIMEON D. FESS

IN THE PAST it has been, and it may be, in a degree, in the future that war will be, inevitable. Even our own country has been a belligerent no less than half a dozen times in less than a century and a half of national existence. A review of the causes of these wars does not give conclusive proof that they could have been avoided under controlling conditions. Many suggestions have been made to avoid wars. Total disarmament has been urged on the one hand. Self-defense, a well-recognized first law, will not permit that remedy.

Outlawing war, whatever that phrase may mean, and whatever means might be employed to do it, is another remedy frequently heard among groups today. I see no definite results from this vague pronouncement.

No war to be entered by the nation except upon a referendum vote of the people is a much-heralded method to prevent war. This view is based upon the allegation that war is more or less a pastime of rulers, politicians, or profiteers or a combination of all of them. This remedy will not appeal to the thoughtful element of the country as workable.

No one of the foregoing has ever greatly impressed any nation, especially our own.

Arbitration of the dispute to avoid war has long been urged and frequently employed with good results. It has been a favored method by the United States, which has endorsed it and often employed it successfully in the past fifty years. It cannot be a wholly satisfactory procedure, since it makes the arbitrators advocates rather than impartial judges, and requires an umpire to break the deadlock. It also must be excluded as a method when certain questions are involved. For example, while this country has been a long-standing exponent of arbitration, it would never submit the Monroe Doctrine to arbitration, which would be tantamount to surrendering it. Neither would any nation

submit a question involving its nationality. Such questions as are regarded non-justiciable are not arbitrable.

However, arbitration which is temporary, in that when applied to the specific case it dies with the adjustment, has been a great improvement over the arbitrament of the sword.

Wars grow out of disputes over rights claimed by nations, especially where a nation claims the right to the exclusion of other nations. This may be a question of territory, of trade, or other item of dispute which rests upon an allegation of facts.

A second cause of war is policy—where a nation, actuated from whatever motives of nationality, undertakes to establish her policy, it may be of aggression in territory, trade, and influence, or it may be a policy of conquest.

Still another cause is a difference that arises out of rights of nationals of one country sojourning in another, where a wrong visited upon him not infrequently lashes an entire nation into a storm of warlike fury.

So long as these causes exist, nations will arm themselves for action.

To remove these causes is the work of civilization—not of today, a year, or generation, but of the century.

This work must, as it does, enlist leaders of our times, and will operate through conventions or conferences, and treaties, with the announcement of declarations of principles, emphasized by speeches and writings, and carried out through arbitrations and mediations, and finally by adjustments through judicial process.

This body of sentiment, which will strengthen the love of peace and abhorrence of war, will be the foundation upon which will be built the structure of international law, to be the ruling guide of conduct of nations one with the other.

With this progress overdeveloped armament can be avoided, burdensome war taxation relieved, and chances of war wonderfully reduced, through the ending of foolish military and naval rivalries among nations.

Armaments had grown so powerful, taxes had become so burdensome, that nations were driven from sheer necessity to find relief.

The proposal to either disarm or limit armament presupposed an effort to both remove the causes of war between nations by a better understanding and also to provide a better way for adjustment than resort to armament. Disarmament and arbitration went hand in hand. The first real official effort to deal with disarmament was in The Hague Conference in 1899. While nothing definite in the direction of disarmament was reached, it was decided to create the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which was agreed upon. This convention was largely due to the influence of the American delegate, Dr. Andrew D. White. It was ratified by our government in September, 1900, with the following reservations:

Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the

United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

This plan was not for actual court procedure by trained jurists, but rather negotiation between nations through their diplomats.

The conference of 1899 dealt only with principles, with no effort to set up the machinery of operation.

It entered into but three conventions and made three declarations.

The subjects of conventions were:

(1) For the pacific settlement of international disputes.

(2) Respecting the laws and customs of war on land.

(3) Adoption of principles of the Geneva Convention.

The declaration covered projectiles from balloons, the use of gases, and expanding bullets.

Work of the conference was limited to the mere announcements of principles, with no pretension to provide for their operation, save the first convention on settlement of international disputes.

Here the delegates urged the following steps:

(1) On the maintenance of general peace.

(2) On good offices and mediation.

(3) On international commissions of inquiry.

(4) On international arbitration.

This latter division was discussed under three sub-heads:

(1) On the system of arbitration.

(2) On the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

(3) On arbitral procedure.

Much credit is due to Dr. White, our delegate, then Ambassador to Germany, for the final decision of this convention of international settlements.

By 1904 President Roosevelt, greatly impressed with the importance of this work, urged a second conference, which was delayed until 1907 in deference to Russia and Japan, then at war.

By the time of the second conference the inadequacy of arbitration methods for judicial settlements was apparent, and the international court idea was enlarged, so as to secure impartial judgment from trained and permanent judges rather than biased negotiations from temporary diplomats.

There was an increasing reluctance against turning over the national interests to some representative for negotiations.

This reluctance was strengthened by the necessity that the decision would be rendered by arbitrators from foreign countries trained under different laws and customs, with different ideas of national ideals, and oftentimes with different languages.

Different countries look upon international law differently, interpret it variously, and react to it accordingly. The inevitable vagueness of international codes, due to the different viewpoint upon subjects of disputes such as rights in international relations makes uniformity of interpretation difficult if not impossible. This widely differing view between nations never was more apparent than today in Europe.

By 1907 there was a well-defined conviction that the method of mere arbitration, although it had accomplished good, could and should be superseded by the institution of a real court, where, acting under the oath,

judges can pass upon the rights of countries as upon the rights of individuals. As in the case of our Supreme Court, it would be feasible to establish a court of trained judges selected not as negotiators, but great jurists, who in time would develop a body of rules and decisions as guides to international conduct, backed up by a sound and intelligent public opinion, with the force in the world that our Supreme Court now exerts in our own country.

The Second Hague Conference accordingly expanded the ideas announced by the first, and added several other conventions, instead of but three, as in 1899; it agreed upon 13.

It made an attempt to complete the World Court idea.

Our Secretary of State, Elihu Root, acting under the direction of President Roosevelt, instructed the American delegation to propose a permanent court, to be composed of judges who should act under a sense of judicial responsibility, and which court should represent the various judicial systems of the world. In accordance with this official direction, Joseph Choate, the head of the American delegation, introduced the proposition, and after weeks of consideration, a draft convention was adopted, consisting of 25 articles, covering organization, jurisdiction, and procedure of a permanent court of arbitral justice, leaving it to the nations to constitute the court through the usual diplomatic channels, after which an agreement was to be reached upon the appointment of the judges.

Failure of the nations to agree upon the method of selecting the judges was the one item to prevent the operation of this world advance toward substituting judicial process in the settlement of disputes for the brutal methods of war.

Notwithstanding this failure, the movement shows great advance. Between 1899 and 1911 one hundred and thirteen obligatory general treaties of arbitration have been agreed to between and among the signatory powers of The Hague conferences and sixteen international controversies have been decided, notwithstanding the fact that the convention was not binding on any State.

In this reform the United States has played the leading rôle. It proposed the Court of Arbitral Justice in the first conference, and after a powerful plea by Mr. White, when the conference was about to adjourn without action, a favorable decision was taken. It also proposed the World Court in the second conference.

We were the first nation to submit a controversy to the tribunal. In addition, through the lead of President Roosevelt, Germany submitted her dispute with Venezuela, because the Monroe Doctrine was involved in Germany's action in the Caribbean Sea.

Very largely through the world-wide concern over the Russian-Japanese War and President Roosevelt's relation to it, having already urged the calling of a second conference in 1904, the national platform of his party declared that year in "favor of the peaceful settlement of international disputes by arbitration." In 1908, the year following the second conference, in which this country took such conspicuous part, the platform again called attention to our part in the cause of international peace and commended The Hague Conference as

follows: "We endorse such achievements as the highest duty of a people to perform, and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all the nations of the world."

This same great political party declared in 1912 touching the World Court idea as follows: "Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican Party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth.

"It believes most earnestly in a peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all controversies between nations to an international court of justice."

In 1916 this same party repeated its pledge as follows: "We believe in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose."

This was while war was raging in the Old World and just before we entered it, but at a time when we knew we could not remain out of the vortex.

This series of pronouncements by at least one great political party in America was the definite fruitage of a sound conviction that with modern discovery and invention, with the world becoming a mere neighborhood, with interests newly developing, relations became closer, grounds for disputes multiplying, but means for adjustment also increasing, some method other than war must be inevitable if our civilization is to survive. It was the natural conclusion of specific conditions rather than theories that faced the world.

The maintenance of general peace had become vital. This can be at least advanced by a willingness to make friendly settlement of international disputes, which is made possible by the solidarity of the society of civilized nations, by the extension of the empire of law and the strengthening of the sense of international justice, which would naturally suggest the logical step of an international court. This consummation had been made possible by the slow but gradual evolution of a body of conviction stimulated by leaders of our civilization throughout the progress of the race—a belief that wars can be outlawed and peaceful methods employed to settle controversies which otherwise would produce war, with all its attendant and long-suffering horrors.

The recent great war, the world's greatest convulsion, revealed, as nothing ever did, the necessity of some substitute. The fate of civilization demanded it.

The League of Nations was a specific proposal to this end. I need not here discuss this proposal. It would be both fruitless and perhaps out of place on this occasion. Suffice it to say that the proposal was not acceptable to the United States, as it went much further than any preceding step.

Mr. Root, in an address accepting the Nobel Prize in 1912, seven years before the proposal of the League Covenant, stated the position quite accurately. "The attractive idea that we now have a parliament of men with authority to control the conduct of nations by legislation, or an international police force with power to enforce national conformity to rules of right conduct, is a council of perfection. The world is not ready for

any such thing, and it cannot be made ready except by the partial surrender of the independence of nations, which lies at the basis of the present social organization of the civilized world. Such a system would mean that each nation was liable to be controlled and coerced by a majority of alien powers. . . . Human nature must have come much nearer perfection than it is now or will be in many generations, to exclude from such control prejudice, selfishness, ambition, and injustice. An attempt to prevent war in this way would breed war, for it would destroy local self-government and drive nations to war for liberty."

Consequently, in 1920, when the League proposal was before the country, the Democratic Party, under the leadership of President Wilson, pronounced in its favor, while the Republican Party, long committed to the pacific settlement of international disputes and the concrete proposal of a World Court, resisted the League Covenant as dangerous to the independence and sovereignty of the nation, but pronounced again its adherence to the World Court idea, as follows: "We pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals, without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace."

It further declared that any international association to preserve the peace of the world must be based upon international justice and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts."

It will be noted that while the League covenant was not accepted, the court idea was. President Harding made his position very clear on that issue by openly endorsing the World Court idea, in conformity to the progress of pacific settlement of international disputes, in which our country has stood on the front line, and especially with the pronouncements of the national platform in the last thirty years.

The long-standing and consistent policy of this country in our foreign relations has ever emphasized our desire to advance world peace, but never to interfere with relations between foreign countries which do not affect us.

We did announce and still sustain the Monroe Doctrine, because it has a specific meaning to the peace of our own country. We also went to war in 1898 on behalf of the suffering people of Cuba. Our unselfish motive is displayed by our attitude toward Cuba and in the Philippines. Our service in the World War was primarily for the defense of our rights on the sea, which involved our national honor as well as existence. At the close of the war we claimed no indemnity, sought no territory, and demanded no spoils. We concluded peace with the enemy and adjusted disputes with our associates arising out of the war. Upon the representation of both our associates, as well as Germany, we permitted a portion of our army to remain on the Rhine in response to their urgent solicitation, in the interest of safety in the war-torn regions.

Our country was somewhat divided upon how far we should go into Europe's international affairs. The

people, by an astonishing vote, declined to accept the League of Nations covenant. This was not to be interpreted that we were not to offer such helpful assistance to Europe in her great economic collapse as could be effectually rendered, provided it did not involve our own national safety. Hence our willingness to permit a representative to sit with the reparation commission for such advice and counsel as he could render, which would be acceptable to Europe and which could not involve this nation in Europe's quarrels.

This also explains the calling of the Washington Arms Conference, which in three months saw agreement to end naval rivalries, the reduction of war burdens, and the lessening of the chances of war. It also saw the recognition of the political and territorial integrity of China, the open-door policy in the Orient, the quadruple treaty for the adjustment of disputes in the Pacific, the cancellation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the composure of acute differences between Japan and China—a program pronounced by European opinion as the most far-reaching for the peace of the world yet attained.

Our attitude of helpfulness is further displayed by our position in the Near East in the Lausanne Conference, where, while we are there as a spectator for such counsel, advice, and influence for peace as can be rendered, we are not entangled in the meshes of European politics and have refused to become the umpire of age-long political and racial disputes.

While not a member of the League of Nations, we do not hesitate to extend good wishes and helpful counsel in various laudable efforts put forth by the League. For example, the organized effort to regulate the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs under the guidance of the League, in the appointment of an advisory committee, appealed to this nation, which assigned Dr. Rupert Blue to act with the committee in an "unofficial and consultative" capacity.

Like action was taken in the commission on general public health to control epidemics, etc. The United States also assigned Miss Abbott, of the Children's Bureau, to attend, in an unofficial and consultative capacity, the meeting of the Committee on "Traffic in Women and Children." Of course, we could not officially take part in their economic conferences agenda, which contained subjects such as cancellation of the war debts, which we would not and could not discuss. Neither could we attend their conferences of premiers, for no American delegate could be armed with equal authority of the European premiers, discussing questions primarily European. The present situation between France and Britain is sufficient comment upon the wisdom of this decision.

We did, however, offer to take part in an international commission to make a survey of Germany's ability to pay, in the interest of clarity and definite decision, upon which to unify the world's public opinion, which must be divided so long as facts are in dispute. France's declination to accept this proposal closed the door to us for further effort.

This series of efforts is sufficient to indicate this country's policy toward the Old World.

One of the cardinal principles of American foreign

policy has been and is now to insure more cordial relations between all the American countries. The Monroe Doctrine announcement was most significant. The successive steps to confirm it as worthy of world recognition are important. The Panama Mission under Quincy Adams, the Treaty of New Grenada under Polk, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty under Fillmore, the military gesture against France in 1863, when a French Empire was attempted in Mexico, and the Venezuela disputes, first under Cleveland and secondly under Roosevelt, together show the extent to which we would go for the protection against foreign interference of the more than a score of independent countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The proposed Pan-American Congress, first in 1881 and again in 1889, out of which grew the Pan-American Union, with its important publications, are other steps.

The recent Central American Conference and the resulting agreement for a better understanding and greater unity of action is in line with this policy. The mission in conference in South America today is but one of many steps which have been taken to weld all the American nations into a co-operative group, acting for mutual welfare, in the interest of all. This has been one of the missions of our government.

This résumé is to show our leading, if not controlling, position toward peace in the world. We have pioneered in this field; have urged, step by step, mediation, arbitration, and judicial process to avert the horrors of war.

We have stood for the development of international law and are today the leading power and influence urging a codification of the same. We have consistently aided in the growth of a world public opinion to back up every agency for pacific settlement of international disputes. While we have labored to remove the causes of war, we have also given our best efforts to ameliorate its horrors and, if possible, to provide a way to avert it while the causes still persist.

In the light of this background, what should be our attitude toward the International Court recommended by Article XIV of the League Covenant, to carry out what America recommended in the Second Conference at The Hague, in 1907.

In accordance with this article, an advisory committee of jurists was appointed in 1920 to formulate the plans for the court. When this committee of ten nations—France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Spain, the Netherlands, Norway, and Brazil—met, the United States was represented by Elihu Root, the foremost international mind now living. This committee reported a draft statute to the Council, which submitted it to the member States of the League of Nations for action. Please note this was not submitted to the League for action, but to the nations which were members of the League, to act in their individual and sovereign capacity.

Thirty-five of them ratified the court protocol and 11 more signed it.

In September, 1921, the Council of the League proceeded to choose the eleven judges and four deputy judges. Among these, John Bassett Moore was chosen from the United States, and is now a judge of the

World Court, which has already heard cases, among them one involving Britain and France, and another, on the Kiel Canal, involving France, Britain, Italy, and Japan *vs.* Germany.

The president has recommended to the Senate that our government adhere to the protocol, which means we will give our influence and support to this court as a means to settle international disputes by judicial process rather than resort to war.

It is consistent with our policy of the past 50 years. It is an additional and also an advanced step, which would be taken by us without a dissenting voice were it not recommended by the League of Nations. To withhold our support would be to ignore our long-standing and well-known efforts for peace and as a party repudiate our specific party pledges of every presidential campaign since 1904, when first made, largely through the influence of President Roosevelt.

Thus far the objections heard are not convincing. Objection because it does not carry power to enforce its findings, made by those who properly objected to the League of Nations because it does provide force, has but little weight. Objection because parties are not compelled to resort to the court for adjudication is not conclusive, since we have not yet reached the stage of world understanding and interpretation of rights, obligations, and policies to submit all questions, justiciable and non-justiciable, willy nilly, to a world court. The only available plan is to provide a court to which disputes may be submitted only when both parties agree to do so.

The one and leading objection, that adherence to the protocol will put us into the League of Nations, would be sufficient ground to defeat the proposal, were it true. But, of course, this position is absurd.

The court, as has been shown, was established by a statute drafted by a committee which was submitted, not to the League of Nations, nor to delegates of the League, but to the nations members of the League, to ratify as nations individually, not as members of any covenant, open to all nations, whether in or out of the League.

The United States, adhering to the plan, would also sit as a nation, not as a member of any group of nations, in any sort of a league.

If peace is to be desired, if pacific settlements of international disputes is to be sought, if judicial process is to be preferred over war, then we should not hesitate to give our financial as well as our moral support to the plan, no matter whether the particular plan, altogether to the liking of our past efforts, emanates from us or from some other source, provided that adherence does not involve us in a plan of super-government, such as the League of Nations, which fact is too obvious for serious discussion.

To doubly assure the country that he will not ignore his past pledges to the people, nor the overwhelming verdict of the same people on the "solemn referendum," the President specifically stated, in his recommendation to the Senate that we adhere to the agreement and bear our share of the expense of the court, that such adherence must not and will not involve the nation in any sort of obligation to or under the League of Nations. He also stated that judges should be selected

with the consent of the United States, and its consent must be had to change any of the rules of the court.

The President stands today precisely where he stood in 1920 on the League issue and on the court, to which there has never been objection offered until now.

His proposal is but an added item in the program of the most brilliant foreign policy, measured by problems met and overcome, in American history. If further reservation is needed to give more assurance that this is not a step into the League, let it be submitted to the Senate, and without doubt it will be accepted by the President. His concern is what the entire nation most yearns to accomplish, to lessen the chances of war. Reservations were made to our acceptance of the recommendations of The Hague conferences, both the first and second, preserving our traditional policy against entangling alliances. Reservations were also proposed to the League of Nations for the same reason, and only the opposition of Mr. Wilson defeated them, which opposition led, and properly, to overwhelming rejection by the people.

Any necessary reservation to remove all reasonable fear that this leads into the League would doubtless be accepted by the Senate and be certainly agreeable to the President. His concern is not any pride of opinion, but he yearns with our people to accomplish something in the interest of peace. If wars cannot be wholly avoided, as they cannot, at least the chances of war can be lessened and their horrors can be mitigated by providing an agency of pacific settlement, made up of trained minds, to hear such cases as are agreeably submitted to it by the contending parties for adjustment in accordance with the demands of justice and equity.

This, it would appear to me, is the opportunity and here is the concrete proposal to serve humanity—an opportunity that should be eagerly sought, for reasons most obvious, rather than shunned, from fears not apparent. The President's purpose is well understood. The action of the Senate can easily be foreseen, and the verdict of the people, acting on available information, will be as definite as if it had already been rendered.

SECOND GENERAL MEETING, INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ROME

By LACEY C. ZAPP

Secretary American Section, International Chamber of Commerce

ABOUT ONE HUNDRED prominent business men of the United States departed from New York on February 10, this year, to attend the Second General Meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce, which was held in Rome during the week of March 18. Most of these men were accompanied by their wives and some by their sons and daughters.

Prior to arrival in Rome, the delegation spent about thirty days cruising in the Mediterranean, investigating and studying industrial and economic conditions in Mediterranean countries and the Near East.

Following the Rome meeting, some of the delegates went into Poland as guests of the Polish Government,

some into Austria, some into Germany, some into Czechoslovakia, and others visited the industrial cities of northern Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, France, and England.

Without injecting any of my personal conclusions as to conditions abroad, I shall attempt to summarize what some of the important leaders of the delegation have given out as to the impressions which they brought back from the other side. I believe I can say with respect to all of the delegates that they returned with a renewed confidence in and admiration for American methods and institutions. But they came back also with a feeling that there are great stirrings in new quarters and among new peoples in the world.

EGYPT

Impressions the delegates got out of Egypt may be briefly summarized. There is a country of 15,000,000 people. Their ancestors lived there 4,000 years ago. There has been no substantial drain by immigration; and if in 4,000 years a race of itself has grown to only 15,000,000, inhabiting a narrow, fertile strip of territory along the river, there must be a peculiar reason for this limit of population. The reason for this limit of population in Egypt is found in the statistics which have been established in the last few years. In the city of Cairo, for instance, among children up to one year of age, 75 out of every 100 die. Such an extraordinary death rate naturally causes a limitation of population in that district. The general standard of intelligence and the general level of common living in that country are low.

Yet Egypt is of itself a prosperous country today. Cotton, which is the standard staple of the country, has made the country wealthy; but the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few land-owners and persons of royalty. The general level of the people remains the same as 4,000 years ago—quite at the minimum; no household or table utensils; no farm equipment; nothing but the barest livelihood. Whether cotton is thirty cents or ten cents, living cannot be reduced any lower, and living does not rise any higher.

There is a ray of hope, however, for the future. Whereas some years ago the development of crops in this region awaited and depended upon the overflow of the Nile, irrigation has changed this period of waiting. An annual crop has been changed to three crops per year. There is a slow growth which is bound to raise the standard of living in this country.

The present market for American factory products does not seem an extensive one. Agricultural implements are of the same character as centuries ago, and labor, because of the standard of living, is so cheap that the economic pressure for mechanical substitution is quite negligible.

With 98 per cent of illiteracy in Egypt, the proposal to establish Egypt as a self-governing democracy arouses the greatest apprehension as to what will happen when the affairs of government are really in the hands of a population with universal suffrage.

TURKEY

In Turkey the delegates found a general evidence that peace would be made in definite terms and in the near

future. At that time there was no apprehension that war would be resumed in any sense. There was evidence of a beginning of a higher standard of living. There was a beginning of the use of the electric tram cars, telephones, automobiles, and the development of roads. When it is recalled that Turkey but fifteen years ago prohibited by national law the use of electricity, even in the form of push-buttons, one gets a conception of how recent, after all, is the installation of these great quickeners of modern existence, these great aids to modern earnings which are beginning to show all over Turkey.

PALESTINE

Palestine was one of the countries outstanding in evidences of development. There were good roads, plenty of automobiles, and every evidence of a fertile country, with new buildings in the towns and along the roads. We traveled over two hundred miles by automobile in Palestine with less inconvenience and greater comfort than one sometimes travels at home. From Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, to Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, and back to Haifa, a wonderful port of the eastern Mediterranean, there were evidences that Palestine is very clearly in the way of national prosperity.

GREECE

Even in Greece, where the radio communications indicated a rather precarious condition, the delegates were so hospitably received and entertained that there was no evidence of any disturbing element. Prosperity seemed to be on every hand. This in spite of a discouraging financial position and a revolutionary government in control. There is a great problem of re-absorbing one million Greek refugees from Turkey.

ALGIERS

Algiers is manifestly prospering under French direction. There a modern port is under construction for its expanding commerce, based on its own increasing production.

ITALY

In Italy there was new life and energy. One felt the general confidence in Italy's future, in the great resources of an industrious people. While there are few natural resources, there is manifest progress in realizing on the hydro-electric possibilities of the country. Italy's confidence in the future is evidenced by such ports as Palermo, where there is now in course of construction a modern harbor and modern warehouses by American contractors using American capital. An ancient city, Palermo possesses miles of asphalt streets and new residence districts. This port is planning to attract and care for the distributing trade of the Mediterranean.

In all Italy and apparently in all classes there is a great rallying to the nationalistic movement symbolized by the Fascisti. There was an extraordinarily popular enthusiasm behind the Mussolini policy. Mussolini showed his interest in advance of the meeting in Rome by sending radio messages to the American delegates during their cruise of the Mediterranean. He sent special messages to the cities of Genoa and Naples, which resulted in unusual receptions for the delegates. Awaiting the delegates at Naples were four special rail-

way cars (only four such cars in entire Italy) to convey them from the port of entry to Rome.

In Rome it was Mussolini who was first to welcome the delegates. It was Mussolini who entered a side door of the American Embassy to shake hands with the American delegates who were being received by Ambassador Child. After this general reception he led the way into a more secluded spot of the garden to speak more intimately with the leaders of the American delegation. He was so enthusiastic that at the conclusion of this informal conference he threw his arms into the air and repeatedly shouted, "Vive l'Amerique!" He was alone in this shouting until the American delegates could recover from the shock and join in his enthusiasm. This was not the last meeting with Mussolini. He invited the delegates to a reception at the palace. He learned that there were many invited guests who could not get into the reception-rooms of the palace. He therefore mingled with these delegates and walked from one end of the larger reception room to the other four different times. He appeared in the larger reception-rooms to partake of refreshments with these unfortunates. This was not all; he solicited conferences with some of our delegates.

Our business men found Mussolini unexpectedly outspoken in support of private initiative. His opening address to the International Chamber was extraordinary in its strong statement that the State must divest itself of all those functions which could be discharged by private enterprise, and in its special commendation of the operation of capital in the hands of private individuals. In a country such as Italy, which only two years ago saw its factories in control of Communistic workmen, and from the mouth of a man who five years ago was the leading socialist editor of Italy, one scarcely expected such statements. Such a change of front might itself arouse apprehension as to the sincerity of it and the conviction behind it; but, after several discussions with Mussolini, the delegates came to the conclusion that it was a conviction based upon experience and study, and therefore lasting. The man has extraordinary power to put his policies into effect in Italy. That he is succeeding is shown by the fact that without disturbance, with hardly any local criticism, he has already lowered the personnel of the State railways by 40,000; he has taken out of the postal service the parcel-post service and turned it over to private express companies; his negotiations for taking over the State telephone system were well along at the time of our visit to Rome. That this change is needed, no one who has observed the working of the telephone and mail systems in Italy can doubt. While we were in Rome he turned over the State control of insurance to private initiative.

AUSTRIA

There is new life in Austria. There is every evidence of stability and determination to "come back." There are no vacant stores, houses, or apartments in Vienna. There is a gradual revival of economic life, reducing the charity-fed children in Vienna from 300,000 to 10,000, the latter mostly orphans. It is believed that Austria will be successfully re-created through the stabilizing influences of the League of Nations.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Czechoslovakia there is a great nationalistic spirit. The country has a sound national budget and stabilized currency. There is every evidence that this country is safe unless its present progress should be interrupted by another European war.

POLAND

Poland shows distinct progress industrially. Railroad service is good. Its self-government is gratifying at present, although too young to predict success or failure.

GERMANY

The delegates found it difficult to reach any conclusions with respect to Germany. There was some building expansion. Employment in industry is shortened because of the restricted supplies from the Ruhr. Wages are made up to the full week's earnings by government contribution. The continued issuance of paper marks is having its bad effects. There is an explanation for the fact that Germans are spending as many marks as they can get. A given number of marks may purchase a pair of shoes today; tomorrow the same pair of shoes will not be available, because two or three times the number of marks would not be sufficient to procure the shoes.

FRANCE

In France the fields were fully cultivated. There were many tractors, good roads, restored railways and waterways, and busy towns. France has imported 350,000 workmen for her industries.

WAR AND PRODUCTION

I want to call your attention to one resolution passed at Rome, which sets forth principles for the settlement of after-war problems in Europe, and to a second resolution, prescribing fundamental principles for increasing production. These two resolutions were proposed by the American delegation and received the unanimous support of the other countries.

The formula prescribed in the first resolution falls naturally into five categories: reparations, interallied debts, budgets, international loans, exchange.

Reparations

Concerning reparations, the Congress declared at the outset that Germany must pay to the fullest extent of her capacity to pay; that she must not only recognize her financial responsibility, but also her moral responsibility; secondly, that the fixing of the amount of reparations was not of great importance unless the settlement carries likewise guarantees that payment could be depended upon; and, finally, a declaration of the Congress set forth the fundamental statement that the solution of these two problems was rather futile unless there was at the same time devised some better plan for guaranteeing peace in the future, the inviolability of frontiers, and the establishment of the confidence of the people of the world in a more permanent peace than has ever been known.

Interallied Debts

It was agreed, when the sensitive subject of interallied debts came up for discussion that, first of all, there could be no such thing as repudiation of national legitimate obligations; that no yardstick could be applied to their adjustment, but that they were real matters for settlement between the individual countries, and that there was no other sound basis for working them out. It was also agreed that the principle that obtains with reference to the solution of the reparations problem likewise must apply to the settlement of interallied debts, and that is the test of the ability of the debtor to pay.

National Budgets

In the matter of national budgets the conference methodically made clear its opinion that national economy was everywhere needed, and that such burdens of taxation could not be put on the backs of the people anywhere to such an extent that enterprise is discouraged and constructive effort made well-nigh impossible; that there was a definite limit of taxation that the people of any country would undertake to carry, and that waste in national expenditures must be stopped. It was recognized that a fundamental necessity for balancing national budgets must be conceded on every hand, if national credit would be restored.

International Credits

In the matter of international commercial credits it was declared that such things as international governmental loans and credits were unsound because of the political complications which they develop, and that under proper conditions there was ample opportunity for private finance to carry on the commerce of the world and restore its financial equilibrium generally, but it was not natural to expect that national credit would be available unless these other questions were in a fair way toward solution.

The conference pointed out that artificial efforts to stabilize exchange were not only futile but dangerous; that exchange would right itself in response to natural causes, as these other great questions were disposed of on a sound basis, and not until then, and that any attempt to peg it at a certain point must inevitably lead to disaster.

Indemnity

The Chamber did not attempt to tell the governments of the world what figures should be fixed for a settlement of the indemnity question. It did not undertake to say what kind of guarantee should be set up, nor did it have the assurance to declare what kind of plan should be evolved which could give proper guarantees of future security and protection to frontiers. It recognized that only by government action, by conference between the governments, could the details of these questions be worked out.

AN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Chamber volunteered to place at the disposal of the governments such financial and business expert advice as they might wish to avail themselves of when the time for settlement and conference arrives.

The Congress expressed the opinion that sooner or later there must come some type of general economic conference that would face these questions as a whole, squarely and courageously, and sit around the board long enough to find an answer. Again, in this the Chamber volunteered that when the time came for such conference it would be ready to help by every means in its power. Meanwhile the Chamber has appointed a special committee of very able men to continuously follow up efforts to bring home to the governments the significance of the action taken, the soundness of the principles for which the Chamber has declared, and of the necessity for action at the earliest possible hour.

The resolution setting forth the principles of production has occasioned much favorable comment throughout the world. There is no doubt these principles will be cited with increasing frequency as time passes and will be increasingly used in industrial decisions.

INCREASE OF PRODUCTION

The Rome resolution recommends the following formula for increasing production:

1. Enlargement of production by every invention and mechanical device which offers economy of production.
2. Elimination of all artificial restrictions and recognition of the need of maximum individual output on the part of all concerned in production.
3. Stimulation of individual effort by personal remuneration based on relative individual output.
4. Governmental policies which encourage existing industries and the creation of new industries, especially by a lowering of taxation as soon as possible.
5. Adoption of governmental policies which will permit not only taxpaying ability on the part of directors of industry and workers, but also opportunity to save and give the incentive of security in the enjoyment of the earnings of exceptional ability and effort.
6. Recognition and assurance of the advantages of private ownership and operation of business enterprise as contrasted with State ownership and operation, such State operation having been proved by experience to involve burdens of unnecessary personnel and other expense and difficulties of adjusting charges for service, all of which hamper rather than stimulate production and economy.
7. Taking immediate steps to see that men engaged in non-productive pursuits are diverted as soon and as generally as possible to productive labor.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

With a view to facilitating and stimulating trade and commerce, the Rome Congress recommended changes in customs formalities. These recommendations will form the basis of a program for the Customs Congress, which will be called by the Economic Section of the League of Nations next fall.

The Trade and Industry Group gave attention to commercial arbitration, declaring it to be of the highest importance to the commerce of the world that the practice of international commercial arbitration be facilitated and extended. The International Chamber of Commerce has set up an International Court of Arbitration. A number of very important cases have been adjusted and many others are pending.

The American Members of this Arbitration Court are: *Chairman*, Mr. Owen D. Young, Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company, New York; Hon. Newton D. Baker, President of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland, Ohio; Mr. Irving T. Bush, President of Bush Terminal Company, New York; Mr. Edgar A. Carolan, of the International General Electric Company, Paris, France; Mr. R. Goodwyn Rhett, President of the People's National Bank of Charleston, South Carolina; Mr. Henry M. Robinson, President of the First National Bank of Los Angeles, California; Mr. M. J. Sanders, Manager of the Leyland Line, New Orleans; Mr. Frederic S. Snyder, President of Batchelder and Snyder, Boston, and Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, President of Wilson and Company, Chicago.

TRANSPORTATION

Some of the resolutions passed by the Transportation Group recommend adherence to the settled practice existing before the war with regard to the settlement of general average; immediate application of "The Hague Rules, 1922," to ocean bills of lading through adoption of the Draft Convention agreed upon at Brussels last year, and the removal of difficulties which at present attend the use of shipping documents known as "received for shipment" bills of lading.

Air navigation was covered in a resolution which recommends that national funds spent on aviation should be devoted in part at least to developing civil aviation.

A number of recommendations were made with a view to improving rail transportation facilities throughout the world.

The Congress reiterated its conviction for the simplification of passport regulations, declaring for the abolition of compulsory passports wherever possible, for the discontinuance of visa requirements except in special cases, for the reduction of fees for visas, and for a general simplification of procedure.

The Motor Transport Group brought forth a resolution declaring for a policy fostering the construction of national highways; for attention to the construction of international highway trunk lines; for the simplification of laws and regulations applying to international motor transport, and for unification of regulations governing the type, equipment, and operation of motor vehicles.

The Congress approved and recommended the publication and distribution of a book containing definitions of trade terms used in international commerce.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. Willis H. Booth, Vice-President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York City, was unanimously elected President of the International Chamber of Commerce at the Rome meeting. The first President of the Chamber was Etienne Clementel, formerly Minister of Commerce for France. He is President of the Board of Directors of the National Office of French Foreign Commerce and President of the National Committee of Counselors of French Foreign Commerce.

Mr. A. C. Bedford, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, is the American Vice-President of the Chamber. The American members of the Board of Directors of the Chamber are: Mr. Joseph H. Defrees, of Chicago,

formerly President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Mr. John H. Fahey, of Boston, also formerly President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Mr. Owen D. Young, Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company, New York; Mr. William Butterworth, President of Deere and Company, Moline, Illinois; Mr. Nelson Dean Jay, of Paris, Director of Morgan-Harjes and Company, and Mr. Henry M. Robinson, President of the First National Bank of Los Angeles.

The countries represented at the meeting of the Chamber in Rome were: America (United States of), Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Indochina, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, State of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes; Siam, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden.

The International Chamber of Commerce is a world-wide federation of financial, commercial, and industrial interests, free from governmental or political control and free from motives of private gain.

It is the medium through which business men of the nations give concerted expression to their common judgment and desires. It is a national organization, similar to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, uniting the business forces in the respective countries.

Each country is represented on the directorate of the Chamber and on its numerous committees. Each country is also directly represented by an administrative commissioner, who resides at the seat of the headquarters and serves as the connecting link between the headquarters and the members in his country.

Through its permanent headquarters in Paris and its staff of experts there, it is constantly functioning in an effort to promote better international business relations, thus assuring peace and prosperity throughout the world.

The International Chamber gives to the business men of America an opportunity to confer in committee meetings and in general meetings with business men of other nations and settle with them difficult problems by the understanding which comes only through intimate knowledge of the facts of the situation. In conference lies the hope of peace, the hope of business security. But conferences are useless unless they face realities squarely, omit prejudices, and seek to adjust those problems brought before them regardless of politics and attendant jealousies.

At the first Congress of the Chamber held in London during the month of June, 1921, His Excellency M. Giacomo de Martino, the Italian Ambassador at the Court of King James, addressing the Congress, said:

"And allow me to say, gentlemen, that economic welfare is and will be the best guarantee for human progress. You are here discussing in what way it is possible to promote best the economic reconstruction of the world and how to help each other. The present crisis shows even in a clearer way one fundamental law: the economic unity of the world. Therefore the actual crisis is even greater confirmation of the utility of your work."

That was true then; it is true now.

ACADEMIE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL DE LA HAYE

établie avec le Concours

de la

Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale

PROGRAMME

De L'Enseignement pour L'Année 1923

(16 Juillet—1er Septembre)

L'inauguration solennelle de l'Académie aura lieu le Samedi 14 Juillet 1923, au Palais de la Paix.

L'enseignement commencera le Lundi 16 Juillet 1923: il est divisé en deux périodes d'égale durée et comportant chacune un même nombre de cours sur des matières différentes, mais de même importance. Les auditeurs peuvent ainsi, suivant leurs convenances et le temps dont ils disposent, suivre l'une ou l'autre des deux séries, ou bien les deux, sans s'exposer, en ce dernier cas, à des doubles emplois.

PREMIERE PERIODE : 16 Juillet = 3 Août 1923

Le développement historique du droit international depuis le XVIIe siècle. M. LE BARON KORFF, Professeur à Université Columbia. (10 leçons)

Théorie et pratique de l'arbitrage international. M. N. POLITIS, Ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères de Grèce, Professeur honoraire à la Faculté de droit de l'Université de Paris. (10 leçons)

La conduite des affaires extérieures dans les gouvernements démocratiques. M. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Secrétaire général de la Dotation Carnegie pour la paix internationale. (10 leçons)

Droit écrit, Coutume, Comitas gentium. M. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Secrétaire général de la Dotation Carnegie pour la paix internationale. (6 leçons)

Les droits et les devoirs fondamentaux des États. THE RIGHT HON. LORD PHILLMORE, Ancien Lord Justice d'appel, Président au Tribunal des prises, membre de la Chambre des lords. (6 leçons)

La liberté des mers. M. A. G. DE LAPRADELLE, Professeur de droit des gens à l'Université de Paris, codirecteur de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes internationales. (5 leçons)

Les fleuves et canaux internationaux. M. LE JONKHEER VAN EYSINGA, Professeur à l'Université de Leyde, Président de la Commission consultative des communications et du transit à la Société des Nations. (5 leçons)

Les effets des changements de souveraineté. M. ARRIGO CAVAGLIERI, Professeur à l'Université de Rome. (5 leçons)

Les rapports entre le droit interne et le droit international. M. H. TRIEPEL, Professeur à l'Université de Berlin. (3 leçons)

L'exterritorialité et ses principales applications. M. L. STRISOWER, Professeur à l'Université de Vienne. (3 leçons)

L'Union Pan-Américaine. M. A. ALVAREZ, Conseiller du Ministère des Affaires étrangères du Chili, membre de la Cour permanente d'arbitrage de La Haye, codirecteur de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales. (3 leçons)

L'organisation internationale de la Croix-Rouge. M. EUG. BOREL, Professeur à l'Université de Genève, président des tribunaux arbitraux mixtes anglo-allemand et germano-japonais. (2 leçons)

L'arbitrage et la justice internationale. M. LE DR. B. LODER, Président de la Cour permanente de justice internationale. (1 conférence)

La Cour permanente de justice internationale. M. A. S. DE BUSTAMANTE, Professeur de droit à l'Université de la Havane, sénateur de la République cubaine, juge titulaire à la Cour permanente de justice internationale. (1 conférence)

Le développement de l'esprit international. M. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, Président de l'Université Columbia. (1 conférence)

DEUXIÈME PÉRIODE : 13 Août = 1er Septembre 1923

Théorie générale de l'État. M. LE FUR, Professeur à la Faculté de droit de l'Université de Rennes. (10 leçons)

La théorie générale des traités. M. BASDEVANT, Professeur à la Faculté de droit de l'Université de Paris. (10 leçons)

La responsabilité des États. M. D. ANZILOTTI, Professeur à l'Université de Rome, juge titulaire à la Cour permanente de justice internationale. (6 leçons)

La neutralité en général. M. L. DE HAMMARSKJOLD, Gouverneur de la province d'Upsal, ancien président du Conseil des ministres de Suède. (6 leçons)

Mer territoriale, mers fermées, détroits. M. GEORGE GRANTON WILSON, Professeur à l'Université Harvard. (5 leçons)

Les Unions internationales. M. K. NEUMEYER, Professeur à l'Université de Munich. (5 leçons)

Les attributions des Consuls. M. ELLERY C. STOWELL, Docteur en droit. (5 leçons)

La Société des Nations. M. W. SCHUCKING, Professeur à l'Université de Berlin, membre du Reichstag, ancien Ministre. (4 leçons)

La Cour permanente d'arbitrage de La Haye. M. LE DR. M. ADATCI, Ambassadeur du Japon. (3 leçons)

La protection des animaux à l'étranger. M. EDWIN M. BORCHARD, Professeur à l'Université Yale. (3 leçons)

L'extradition. M. LE BARON ALBÉRIC ROLIN, Professeur émérite à l'Université de Gand, Secrétaire général de l'Institut de droit international. (3 leçons)

Questions de finances internationales. M. J. FISCHER WILLIAMS, K. C., Conseiller juridique britannique à la Commission des réparations. (3 leçons)

La protection des minorités. M. ANDRÉ MANDELSTAM, Ancien Directeur du département juridique au ministère des Affaires étrangères de Russie. (3 leçons)

La réglementation internationale de la navigation aérienne. M. JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Professeur à l'Université d'Illinois. (2 leçons)

Compétence ou incompétence des tribunaux à l'égard des États étrangers. M. ANDRÉ WEISS, Professeur à l'Université de Paris, vice-président de la Cour permanente de justice internationale. (2 leçons)

Médiation et Conciliation internationales. M. FR DE LA BARRA, Ancien Président de la République des États-Unis du Mexique, Président des tribunaux arbitraux mixtes franco-autrichien, franco-bulgare, gréco-autrichien, gréco bulgare. (1 conférence)

N. B.—Les dates et heures des Cours ci-dessus seront indiquées ultérieurement.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN STRUGGLE

The Ruhr struggle appears to have entered upon a phase of extreme bitterness and resentment, which, on the part of the populace, is expressed in a tendency to riots and disorders, and on that of the French by promiscuous firing into crowds, executions, imprisonments, confiscations, and rigid martial law, including curfew orders. Among the interesting incidents of this phase may be noted the sentencing of Herr Krupp von Bohlen to fifteen years' imprisonment on charges of incitement to disorder at the Krupp works, and the occupation of the Badische Anilin Chemical Works, as well as of the town of Limburg an der Lahn.

During the last week of May Communist rioters attempted to gain control of the Ruhr, in which they were partially successful at Gelsenkirchen and Dortmund. The growing hunger and misery of the population, coupled with lack of police and armed authority, together with French neutrality, made their task easier than it would otherwise have been. In Berlin itself, a somewhat pessimistic view of this development was taken, the opinion of the authorities being that while large numbers of the rioters were not actually Communists, the latter were doing all in their power to turn the tendency to disorder to their purposes, and their strength is being increased by the weary and suffering population. A similar tendency has been noticeable in parts of unoccupied Germany, notably Saxony, and even in Berlin, where special guards were stationed over the markets and food shops.

Repeated offers from the German Government, coupled with pressing requests for a conference, have, up to the time of writing, met with a steady refusal on the part of M. Poincaré to discuss anything until the passive resistance in the Ruhr ceases. In reply to this condition the German Government has professed its inability to control the Ruhr situation, or to reconcile the population to the French occupation. On the other hand, Belgium has made definite efforts to arrange a rapprochement between the Allies, and especially to secure British co-operation. In the hope of achieving the latter an independent plan for the solution of the question was drawn up by the Belgian Government, apparently with the approval of the British, and submitted, in the form of suggestions, to the French. These suggestions, according to the *Paris Matin*, were designed with a view to making the German debt assume a commercial character, and to discover in Germany possibilities of payment, while at the same time assuring guarantees. The Belgian view, as expressed, was that 2,400,000 gold marks a year could be drawn from Germany, by means of the formation of large organizations for the sale and exploitation of certain products, the exploitation of German property, and the administration of the railways. The monopolies could be placed in the hands of international syndicates, in which the Allies might participate considerably. Besides this a 50 per cent participation in German industries was suggested. As an indispensable condition, Germany must balance her budget and artificially stabilize the mark in order to rehabilitate her finances.

On June 7 a further offer was made by the German Government, the text of which is as follows:

MEMORANDUM

1. The German Government after careful and conscientious examination expressed its sincere opinion as to what Germany is able to pay in reparations. The German Government would not act honestly nor bring the problem nearer to its real solution, if, merely in order temporarily to alleviate the political difficulties of the day, it were to promise more than what, according to its conviction, the German nation by exerting all its powers is in a position to fulfill.

The question of Germany's capacity to pay is, however, a question of facts about which various opinions are possible. Germany does not fail to recognize that under the present circumstances it is exceedingly difficult to achieve a reliable estimate. For this reason the German Government proposed to accept the verdict of an impartial international body as regards the amount and the mode of payments to be made. A more convincing proof of Germany's will to do reparations is unthinkable. The German Government is willing to produce all material for a reliable judgment on the question of Germany's capacity to pay. The German Government will on demand grant every facility to investigate Germany's state finances and also give all information desired as regards the economic resources of Germany.

2. The German Government has contemplated the floating of large loans in order as soon as possible to pay the creditor nations large amounts of capital. As long as the floating of loans in large amounts proves to be impracticable, the German Government is also willing to agree to a system of annuities instead of sums of capital.

3. As the Allied Governments lay stress on receiving now already more detailed information as regards the choice and nature of the guarantees contemplated by Germany, the German Government suggests the following guarantees for the accomplishments of the final reparations plan:

a. The State railways with all their constructions and assets to be severed from the other capital of State and to be converted into a separate estate independent as regards its proceeds and expenditures from the general administration of finances, and to be placed under separate administration. The State railways to issue gold bonds amounting to ten billion gold marks which are to be entered as a first lien on the separate estate bearing 5 per cent interest as after July 1, 1927, thus guaranteeing an annuity of five hundred million gold marks.

b. In order to guarantee a further annuity of five hundred million gold marks as after July 1, 1927, the German Government will immediately call upon the entire German economic system, i. e., the industries, banks, commerce, traffic, and agriculture to act as a guarantee which as a first lien amounting to ten billion gold marks will be entered in the industrial, urban, rural, and forest real estate of Germany. The annuities of five hundred million gold marks will either be raised indirectly by universal taxation comprising also other property or directly only by the mortgaged objects.

c. Besides that the duties on table luxuries and the duties on tobacco, beer, wine, and sugar, as well as the proceeds of the monopoly for the sale of spirits, are to be pawned as a guarantee for the annuities. The gross receipts of these taxes and of these duties amounting during the last years before the war to an average of approximately eight hundred million marks, have, however, since, owing to the loss of people and territory as well as owing to reduced consumption, declined to one-quarter of their former value. But these receipts will, with the recuperation of German economics, rise automatically.

4. Lastly, the German Government considers itself bound to lay stress on the following:

In such a large and complicated question decisive progress cannot be made by written expositions, but only by oral intercourse at a conference. Germany's capacity to pay depends on the mode of solution of the entire problem. The method of payment can only be agreed upon in direct conversation with those entitled to receive payment. The establishment of guarantees in their details makes the co-

operation of those necessary for whom the guarantees are to be established. For a solution of these questions oral discussions are necessary.

Germany acknowledges her obligation to pay reparations. The German Government reiterates its request to call a conference in order to agree upon the best mode to fulfill this obligation.

This note met with refusal on the same grounds, namely, necessity for cessation of passive resistance in the Ruhr as before. The refusal was followed by a bitter speech on the part of the German Chancellor, Herr Cuno, in which he expressed German determination to continue resistance more markedly than ever.

At the same time the *Revue de Paris* (Paris, June 1), which has formerly been very moderate in tone, contains two articles, by the Comte de Fels, and M. Andre Chaumeix, respectively, in which it is pointed out that France's policy must include the retention of the Rhineland and the Ruhr, in one form or another, and the complete crushing of Prussia. Speaking of M. Poincaré, the Comte de Fels terms him the Man of Destiny, whose mission is to save France, and insure her future glory at the expense of her German enemy. He points out that M. Poincaré realized the mistake of the Peace Conference in dismembering Austria, and leaving Germany whole. The contrary should have been done. With Prussia reduced to helplessness, and expelled from the German Federation, it would have been easy to arrive at amicable relations with the rest of Germany, first, as a matter of obligation, then peacefully, and finally friendly (la France eut pu reprendre des relations obligatoires d'abord, paisibles ensuite, et, sans doute, amicales dans l'avenir).

M. Andre Chaumeix stresses the dual aspects of the occupation stating that France requires not only reparations, but guarantees of her future security. Speaking of the British attitude, the writer denies that British interests have been harmed by the occupation, and suggests that conversations with the British Government should hinge solely upon the basis of a prolonged occupation of the Ruhr during reparation payments, coupled with an organization of the Rhineland to insure French security. Sooner than abandon these two points, says the writer, France would abandon British collaboration.

THE FRENCH IN THE SAAR

The question of the French administration in the Saar basin has recently come into prominent attention through the interest aroused by an extraordinary decree issued by the Saar Governing Commission on March 7, 1923. Since the administration of the Saar is officially in the hands of the League of Nations, though actually in those of France, the question has claimed the attention of the Council of the League. At the 24th Council meeting, Mr. Branting, the Swedish member, called attention to this decree, which he characterized as unduly severe and promulgated, moreover, without consultation with representatives of the local population. The Council took up the discussion of the question at its next meeting, and M. Rault, President of the Governing Commission, gave detailed explanation of the origin and scope of the decree. Finally, on May 1, the question came up in the British House of Commons, when Sir John Simon called Mr. Baldwin's attention to some of the objectionable features of the decree.

THE FRENCH DECREE

The immediate occasion for the extraordinary decree issued by the French President of the Governing Commission was a strike of the entire personnel of the Saar mines, 73,000 men in all, declared on February 5, 1923. Since this strike coincided with the German passive resistance in the Ruhr, it naturally assumed something of a political character, though there seems little doubt that its primary importance was economic. The origin of the strike has been described as follows by the Saar correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

The origin of the strike is simple. The French, basing their action upon a clause of the treaty which forbids any restriction being placed on the circulation of the franc in the Saarland, commenced in 1921 to pay the miners, who with their families form almost half the population, in francs. Prices in the Saar territory were at that time reckoned in marks, and were little if at all higher than in the German reich. The miners thus found themselves in the same favored position as all persons who, residing in Germany, received their income in foreign currency. Each time the mark collapsed they were enabled to profit by the sudden fall of prices as reckoned in francs. But as little by little the franc became the general medium for reckoning, if not payment, this advantage ceased. Wages that had once been generous became exceedingly stingy. When the Ruhr exploit brought as a minor consequence the almost complete cessation of railway communication between the Saar and the rest of Germany, prices naturally rose to the French level. Food prices today are, if anything, higher than in Lorraine. It is therefore but natural that the miners of the Saar should have demanded an approximation of their wages to those of the Lorraine miners.

These demands were, however, abruptly repused, and all efforts at negotiation have since broken down. The strike naturally has produced the utmost distress among the population, half of whom are directly, and most of the rest indirectly, involved, for the cessation of coal supplies has occasioned widespread unemployment in other industries. There seems, however, little sign of the strike collapsing. Strike pay, averaging five francs a day per employee, is being regularly paid. Many of the miners have plots of land and are supporting themselves largely on the produce of these, renouncing their strike pay in favor of their less fortunate comrades.

Seizing upon the occasion of the strike, the Governing Commission issued an emergency ordinance for the preservation of public order and security. This ordinance contains, among its other provisions, one that makes it an offense, punishable by five years' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs, to "cast discredit on the Peace of Versailles, or insult or traduce the League of Nations, its members, or the States signatory to the Peace of Versailles." By this ordinance every member and every employee of the Governing Commission is rendered immune from any criticism by the imposition of extremely heavy penalties.

SAAR ORDINANCE BEFORE THE LEAGUE

In his explanation given to the Council of the League, President Rault, of the Saar Governing Commission, stated that the emergency ordinance was occasioned by "the prolongation of the strike, the political character of which was becoming more and more marked; a press campaign, which attacked not only the state of things established in the Saar by the peace treaty, but also the Council and the Governing Commission; the activities of secret societies, and the danger of disturbances." He emphasized the purely temporary nature of the measure and declared that it would be withdrawn as soon as the exceptional circumstances which had occasioned it would have disappeared. He assured the

Council that, though the situation on the whole tended to become worse, the Governing Commission would endeavor to apply the decree in a spirit of moderation.

Mr. Branting's opposition to the Saar ordinance was fully supported by Mr. Wood, the British member. Mr. Wood declared that he "viewed the decree with some little misgiving." He stated that he realizes the gravity of the situation and the need of protecting the coal mines in the Saar, which were given over to France by the Peace of Versailles, but that he is doubtful as to the efficacy of the measures adopted. In his opinion, measures of the kind of the emergency ordinance would be more apt to excite and inflame public feeling in the Saar territory, rather than allay it, thus rendering still more difficult the work of the Governing Commission.

The Council took no action on the Saar ordinance, but an explanation was asked of M. Rault of the recent increase of the French garrison in the Saar. The number of troops maintained in the basin was originally 2,000, but it has recently been doubled, the present garrison being about 4,000. The President of the Governing Commission explained that this increase was made by the commission in view of the authority granted to it to reinforce the garrison in case of necessity. In the opinion of the commission, an emergency was presented by the strike of the coal miners, but he again assured the Council that the extra troops would be withdrawn as soon as the emergency passed.

HISTORY OF THE SAAR QUESTION

The situation now existing in the Saar basin is the result of the disposition of this territory made at the Peace Conference. The following summary of the conference deliberations on the matter, taken from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, sets forth the conditions under which this disposition was made:

The French delegation at the conference transmitted a weighty memorial to the Allies on the subject of the Saar territory, which opened with the following words:

"The territory in question has belonged for centuries to France, and was only torn away from her by force."

This opening sentence is the essential part of the long and cumbersome document. Throughout the argument it is implicitly or explicitly assumed that France has a moral and historical right to the territory of the Saar basin, and, further, that a large number of the inhabitants of the territory—the specific number of 150,000 is mentioned—desire, before all things, incorporation in the French State. The economic arguments with which this political argument is backed are merely subordinate. France proposes to seize the Saar coal fields, so desirable an accessory for the Lorraine iron fields, in the name, not of economic necessity, but of political right. The essential point in the minds of the authors of the report was that the French boundary of 1814 should be restored and the 700,000 Saarlanders made subjects of the French Republic. It is an idea which French Government circles have never even pretended to abandon. If they have consented to accept for the moment a second-best solution, it is in the confident hope of being able sooner or later to return to their original plenary demands.

On March 28, 1919, the subject came up for discussion by the Big Three. President Wilson expressed his deep regret at being unable to adopt the French point of view, but stated his conviction that the Saar territory had never been mentioned among French war aims, and therefore was on quite a different footing from Alsace-Lorraine. At the same time he was prepared to allow France the use of the valuable Saar mines as compensation for the damage done to French mines in the northern departments. He did not see the necessity of, yet did not oppose finally, the assumption of the ownership of the State mines by France. Mr. Lloyd George spoke in a similar though less resolute vein.

The answer of M. Clemenceau was typical of French political pleading. He did not deny any of President Wilson's assertions, but reproached him with looking at the whole question from a cold, abstracted viewpoint. He asserted passionately that France needed moral as well as material reparations. Finally, he pleaded that "at least 150,000 Frenchmen" in the Saar should not be condemned to suffer the Prussian yoke. He further recalled France's help to America in the War of Independence, and protested that sentiment as well as principle should be considered in the decision. From the welter of notes and meetings which combined this discussion gradually emerged a new scheme, that was finally adopted in the peace treaty. France to be granted absolute ownership of the valuable mines of the Saar, while the sovereignty of the territory is transferred from Berlin to the League of Nations for fifteen years. At the end of this period a plebiscite is to settle the final fate of the disputed province.

PREPARATIONS FOR PLEBISCITE

While France continues her administration of the Saar basin under the authority of the League of Nations, the Council of the League finds it incumbent to prepare gradually the machinery for the final settlement of the Saar question by means of a plebiscite. M. Bonzon, the Provisional Records Commissioner of the Saar basin, was recently instructed by the Council to prepare a draft decree as to the measures to be taken to preserve such documents as are of importance for the future plebiscite in the Saar. This draft decree was presented to the Council at its April meeting and was approved by it. As described by the *Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*, the provisions of this draft decree are as follows:

The draft decree enumerates the documents to be specially safeguarded by the League of Nations. It explains measures to be taken for preserving these documents, the rules as to the authorities and persons responsible for them, the places where they should be preserved, the methods to be followed in order to avoid danger of destruction or deterioration, the penalties to be inflicted in case these documents be destroyed or damaged through bad faith or negligence, and so forth. The decree likewise provides that a list should be framed of all existing documents, with all necessary information as to where and in what way each particular document is being preserved. The decree stipulates that this list should be kept up to date and a copy preserved in the Secretariat of the League.

The Council instructed the Secretary-General to communicate the draft decree to the President of the Governing Commission, with a request that he should promulgate it in the Saar territory as soon as possible. The Provincial Records Commissioner was instructed to attend personally to the execution of the draft decree and to submit a final report to the Council.

SOVIET COMMENTS ON OUR RUSSIAN POLICY

Secretary Hughes' statement of our Russian policy, given in his reply to the Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia, has caused violent attacks on the Administration's position on the part of the official Soviet press. The Secretary's speech, which was reproduced in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for April, indicated the reasons for which the United States Government still refuses to accord recognition to the Soviet régime in Russia.

COMMENT BY MOSCOW "IZVESTIYA"

The official organ of the Soviet Government, the Moscow *Izvestiya*, in its issue of March 27, devoted the following editorial article to Mr. Hughes' speech:

The speech of the American Secretary of State, Hughes, delivered at a reception of delegates from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, who demanded recognition of Soviet Russia, represents an immense step backward from the general position which had been reached slowly and painfully by the ruling spheres of American society during the past few years. On reading this speech of Hughes it seems as if the past three years of foreign politics had passed without a trace, as far as the American diplomats are concerned; that they have failed entirely to consider the vast changes that have taken place in the meantime in the attitude of the bourgeois States toward Soviet Russia, and that American statesmen, or, at any rate, that group which surrounds President Harding, are less than ever prepared to take account of the successes achieved by the Soviet Republic in the political and economic fields. In 1918 this speech of Hughes would not have surprised any one; but in 1923 it sounds like a harsh dissonance and anachronism.

Essentially speaking, Hughes has returned in this speech of his to the position which the American Government held with regard to Soviet Russia about the time of the Archangel and Vladivostok expeditions, with this difference, by the way, that at present Hughes announces that he has no desire to intervene in the domestic affairs of Russia, whereas at that time the United States intervened in those affairs in an exceedingly rude and unceremonious fashion. In all other respects, however, this remains the same old policy of non-recognition, boycott, blockade, distortion of the actual reality, and perversion of the real state of affairs.

We attach very little importance to the expectations of Mr. Hughes about his "sympathy" for the Russian people. After the things he says further on about his attitude toward Soviet Russia—i. e., a state founded by this same Russian people—it will be permissible to regard with the greatest skepticism his "sympathies" and his "humanity." Moreover, he says himself that the question of the recognition of the Soviet Government is essentially an economic question, in which considerations of humanity play no part at all. That sounds better! Let us speak plainly, without interlarding considerations of an economic character with hypocritical, and therefore merely irritating, humanitarian chatter.

Noting with "satisfaction" (which we also doubt somewhat) a certain improvement of agriculture in Russia, Hughes still finds its condition far from normal, and deliberately emphasizes the bad state of our industry and transportation. We never denied our calamities, misfortunes, and mistakes. On the contrary, as everybody knows, no other government criticizes itself as candidly as the Soviet Government. And Hughes himself, to prove his contentions, refers to official documents of the Russian Government. But what is the inference? For Hughes and his likes, there is but one: Push the tottering victim to the ground altogether! Of help for Russia in the restoration of her economic life Hughes does not even think. On the contrary, he sets such conditions for this help that they preclude the possibility of an understanding at the outset, namely, in spite of his verbal renunciation of intervention in the domestic affairs of Russia, he actually demands that she reconstruct radically her internal system and become in all things like bourgeois States. In no other way can we understand the complaints of Hughes about the character of our civil code, which, forsooth, has but few changes as regards confiscation of property, etc.

Hughes and his likes want us to restore the bourgeois régime in its entirety. Only then will they consider the conditions of our existence as "normal." They will regard our policies as "of good faith" only if we will unreservedly bow to the principle of private property.

But the presentation of such demands again resurrects the old dispute as to which system is the more normal: our own, aiming at the satisfaction of the interests of the over-

whelming majority of the workers, or the bourgeois-capitalistic system, exploiting the majority of a nation in the interest of an insignificant handful of milliardaires? The violation of the privileges of individual groups of proprietors in the interest of an overwhelming majority of a people is something Hughes styles a "violation of the right." We, on the contrary, hold that the ones who violate the rights of their own and of other peoples are precisely the bourgeois governments, the imperialistic ones. In this domain all disputes are absolutely futile. And, as we are well aware by experience, such disputes are started by the statesmen precisely at those moments when they are anxious to forestall the possibility of agreement, when they are looking for ostensible motives to camouflage their deliberate attempts to prevent by every possible means the establishment of universal peace and an actual restoration of the war-impaired world economy.

That Hughes is looking precisely for such pretexts for the purpose of forestalling a possible agreement, and that his whole speech has the unmistakable character of a campaign speech against those tendencies toward a recognition of Soviet Russia which more and more commence to appeal to the American people—this may be seen from the fact that he repeats for the hundredth time the absurd argument about the alleged meddling of the Soviet Government in the domestic affairs of other peoples. You want to have proofs that "Moscow" is engaged in such reprehensible business? Here are these proofs cited by Hughes: Lenin said this and that at the Congress of the Communist Internationale, and Trotsky declared this and that at the Convention of the Communist Youths League! But such quotations will evoke nothing but derisive laughter. And, no matter what opinion we may hold of the breadth of the intellectual horizon of Mr. Hughes, we are still certain that he himself, in the bottom of his heart, attaches no significance whatever to his quotations. Of course, Lenin and Trotsky are Communists, and at their party meetings and conventions they speak as Communists. What is there surprising in this? For Hughes himself, President Harding, the statesmen of France, England, and so on—they all have occasion to come out as bourgeois liberals or conservatives, and they may express their hopes for the absolute triumph of bourgeois principles, etc. Will we ever think of making this a *casus belli*, and object to having diplomatic intercourse with bourgeois States because the political leaders of those countries hold political ideals different from ours? More than that, Hughes himself, in that official speech of his which we are here considering, and in which he spoke as Secretary of State, has criticized in the sharpest manner possible the political régime existing with us. By demanding the restoration of unrestricted private ownership and the repeal of the decrees of the Soviet Government, he not only came out as a propagandist of principles of a bourgeois order we do not approve of, but definitely meddled in our domestic affairs. Still, we do not draw from this the conclusion that the Soviet Republic must not enter into diplomatic relations with the United States.

None of this is serious. If some one were to propose to the North American Republic to "recognize" the executive committee of the Communist Internationale, that might be cause for Mr. Hughes to object. But, as far as we are aware, even such people as Senator Borah, who insist categorically upon an understanding with the Soviet Republic, propose nothing of that kind to President Harding. They speak only of an agreement with the Russian State, of a recognition of the Russian Government; hence all those quotations of Mr. Hughes are more than out of place and fall short of the mark. All this merely reminds us of that French saying, "When we want to hang the dog, we say it has gone mad."

Still less serious are the references of Mr. Hughes to the non-observance of its obligations by the Soviet Government. Here his statements border on—we do not want to say lack of good faith, of which he is trying so persistently to accuse us, but let us put it mildly—on what, for a statesman, is unpardonable forgetfulness and absent-mindedness. To begin with, *What obligations is he speaking of?* If he refers to the obligations assumed by the Soviet Government, it fulfills them more punctually than any other bourgeois

State. If, however, he means the obligations of former governments—in particular, such obligations as were aimed directly against the interests of the Russian people—then it goes without saying that the revolution made by that people (the revolution, and not the Soviet Government, or, to put it better, the Soviet Government as an organ of this revolution, in the capacity of executor of the will of the Russian people) actually did abrogate a whole series of such obligations. In particular, it repudiated the State debts. But, then, in the first place, as has more than once been pointed out to the Hugheses, the American people, too, having made its revolution, repudiated the obligations of the former governments which had oppressed it. Exactly the same thing was done by all the revolutions on earth. And, in the second place—and this is something Mr. Hughes, as Secretary of State, cannot be forgiven for not knowing—in this respect the Soviet Government has in recent years introduced important changes in its policies.

Already a year and a half ago, in its note of October 28, 1921, the Soviet Government stated that it was prepared *under certain conditions to recognize the pre-war debts* (as regards war debts, there are even many bourgeois statesmen who admit that there are many reasons for repudiating them). One such condition was recognition of our *counter-claims*, based upon the damages caused to Russia by the intervention of the bourgeois States, the United States among these. Analogous declarations were made by our diplomats at such international conferences as those of Genoa and The Hague, where Soviet delegations participated. At Genoa the Soviet Government went even farther. It agreed to withdraw the question of our counter-claims if Russia would be given *sufficient credit* to restore her war- and intervention-ruined national economy. Hence the complaints of Mr. Hughes, his talk about "good faith," and about similar lofty things, merely show that he is looking for every possible pretext to prevent a restoration of normal relations between the two republics.

We reiterate: his statements represent an immense step backward. Nevertheless, we do not believe that Hughes and the group in whose name he acts will succeed for any great length of time in retarding the process of economic rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Federation. We are aware that powerful social groups and big interests are behind this hostile tendency against us; but we are also aware that there are other social groups and not less important interests which are driving the American people toward recognition of Soviet Russia and rapprochement. *Hughes represents the yesterday of American diplomacy*, notwithstanding that his group today still holds power. That tendency which is represented by Senator Borah and his followers stands for *the morrow of American politics*. And since there are not only no serious contradictions, but none whatsoever, of interests between Soviet Russia and the United States, and since the establishment of normal political and economic relations between the two greatest republics holds advantages for one side as well as the other, we will permit ourselves to express our firm conviction that logic will finally prevail, and that the obstacles which are being deliberately placed in the way of mutual recognition of the two States will sooner or later (and we hope that it will be soon) be swept away, to the mutual benefit of both peoples.

COMMENT BY MOSCOW "PRAVDA"

An equally violent discussion of our Russian policy, as stated by the Secretary of State, is found in the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, the Moscow *Pravda*, in its issue of March 28. The *Pravda* editorial follows:

The declaration of Mr. Hughes on the "Russian problem," in his capacity of official representative and minister of the American Government, is extremely significant as an example of old-fashioned bourgeois diplomatic phraseology.

In America an ever-increasing portion of the bourgeoisie is gaining the conviction that it is indispensable for them to have trade relations with our union of Soviet republics. The root of this "conviction" lies in the fact that the absence of Soviet Russia and its federated proletarian States from

the world's trade detrimentally affects the size of the dividends of American trusts. If we will take into consideration the hard times and the instability of all social relationships in central Europe, it will not be difficult to understand the mainsprings of that "sympathy" for the Soviet federation. There must be trade! This slogan now becomes more and more *advantageous* also in the eyes of the American bourgeoisie. When the capitalistic farmer, for lack of a market, finds himself compelled to burn and sink his corn, and the industrial capitalist has to curtail production, there is easily formed a premise for humanitarian activity, charity, and so forth, especially if this activity goes hand in hand with a possibility of a thorough study of the Russian market, and accurate information on the state of our economies generally, not to mention other "profits" and "advantages."

We therefore fully appreciate the noble sentiments of Mr. Hughes and do not in the least doubt the humanity of the American Government; this humanity had extremely solid material foundations, for it was, if we may use the scientific jargon, "economically funded."

But we also fully indorse the opinion of Mr. Hughes that, for American capital, questions of humanity "cannot but make room to certain dominant factors."

The fact of our "stability" does not seem (but is it true?) to Mr. Hughes to be such a "dominant factor"; for Mr. Hughes is much dissatisfied with this stability "if it will actually manifest itself only in a policy of oppression, confiscation, and repudiation of obligations."

Here we must candidly note our disagreement with Mr. Hughes. To be sure, we also have reason to be dissatisfied with a policy of oppression and confiscation. But we do not at all discover this policy at the same geographical points of the globe. We, for instance, believe that when "triumphant plutocracy" steps with its "iron heel" in America upon the backs of millions of workers, negroes and colonial races, these backs do not experience a pleasant sensation. We also believe that if this same plutocracy confiscates every day the labor of the workers, leaving them a mere crumb for a living, this is hardly a particularly noble way of acting. We do not speak here at all about electric chairs, the twisting of hands and feet, confiscation of the labor press and strike funds, although these methods of civilization are known to all the world and have been recorded by such famous American writers as Jack London and Upton Sinclair.

Dispute on this subject is very old and absolutely futile. As regards obligations, Mr. Hughes, as a representative of the "educated classes," ought to know that "obligations" have in view one and the same *subject* of obligations, unless there has been a formal transfer of such obligations. Thus, for instance, America is not obliged to pay German debts to France. And yet Soviet Russia, for the information of Mr. Hughes, stands infinitely farther away from the Russia of Nicholas Romanoff and Alexander Kerensky than does the America of Mr. Hughes from the Germany of Mr. Ebert.

Now, this *new subject*, the Soviet federation, cannot be held responsible for his (even though vanquished) *enemy*. Nevertheless, he is prepared to *purchase*, at the price of a *partial payment*, the possibility of peaceable trade relations. This is a very prosaic viewpoint, but entirely adequate for American practicalness. Upon such a basis we propose to carry on negotiations.

As regards the point of international propaganda, we are very thankful to Mr. Hughes for acquainting the Women's International League and the world at large with those quotations from speeches of comrades Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinoviev; but we still make bold to assert that Soviet Russia, which is not engaged in propaganda outside the borders of its own territory, will never deny the right of asylum to the Communist Internationale, the only organization which saves the world from "humane" wars.

Mr. Hughes claims that he "as well as all the representatives of the (American) Government are anxious to establish peace upon earth." This is probably the reason why the American Government pays so much attention to armaments in the *air* and under *water*. Here, again, we may note a certain disagreement with Mr. Hughes. Still, these quite "decisive" factors do not prevent us from recognizing the desirability of *trade relations*.

These trade relations will come, for such is the force of economic necessity. We should therefore strongly advise Mr. Hughes to abandon the methods of a capitalist *agitator* for the *serious* offers of a capitalist business man!

GREECE AFTER TEN YEARS OF STRIFE

The resumption of the Lausanne Conference brings again to the attention of the world the problem of Greece. In a recent number of *Vienna Reconstruction*, Mr. G. Herlt gives the following highly illuminating account of the recent history of that country and of the problems which confront it now, after a whole decade of practically uninterrupted warfare and strife:

Peace negotiations at Lausanne have been resumed. While there seems to be a general spirit of conciliation, the chief participants, the Greeks and Turks, are still simmering with the inveterate hatred which they have borne each other for centuries. Neither will give way and both are prepared to draw the sword upon the slightest provocation. And yet both Greece and Turkey are desperately in need of peace. It was this necessity for peace which influenced the great National Assembly at Angora to resume negotiations.

That Turkey is already taking steps toward her economic reconstruction was demonstrated by her recent grants of concessions to American interests. Greece, on the other hand, is still struggling with adverse conditions brought about by the war. While hostilities were practically ended in the fall of 1918 Greece was still at war—with short interludes—until the fall of 1922. It must be remembered that Greece has been engaged in war almost constantly for the past ten years, and at the time she entered into the World War had only just emerged from the Balkan Wars. These continued hostilities could not but have a devastating effect even on a wealthy country, and it was particularly hard upon countries with so little economical development as Greece and Turkey. Turkey is perhaps more fortunate in this respect that her economic strength is within her own frontiers and is chiefly agricultural; she can if necessary produce the majority of her own foodstuffs. The economic interests of Greece, however, lie outside of the country itself, namely, on the sea, where ships must compete with those of other nations, and in the world markets where her products—tobacco, currants, wine, and oil—must find purchasers. Also her supplies of grain and meat must be procured from abroad. Under these conditions, when a country is dependent upon her foreign trade, the devastating effects of a war upon her economic development can readily be appreciated.

DISORDERS CREATED BY THE WAR

The war has also created many internal disorders and greatly increased the national debt. The deficit of the State budget amounts to nearly two milliards of drachmes. In order to reduce this deficit a number of new taxes were levied, and those already existing were increased. These increased taxes are, of course, a heavy burden to the nation and add greatly to the already high cost of living. As Greece maintains a big army against the event of Turkish aggression, there can be no appreciable decrease in the expenses of the State at present. The value of the drachme is continually declining in spite of the efforts of the Government toward stabilization. The Greek Government has endeavored to remedy this state of affairs by applying the favorite recipe of the Succession States, namely, restricting the imports, with practically the same negative results.

In mobilizing its army the country sacrificed the greater part of its agricultural working power, and agriculture is one of the chief sources of income. Tobacco, oil, and cotton are exported in large quantities and, as a rule, bring good prices. Currants, however, one of the principal exports, are listed as luxury articles and are shut out from the general market. Wine also comes under this head.

The Greek peasant, who has hitherto interested himself very little in politics, is now actively entering into the political field. He is highly dissatisfied with the party in power and fervently desires a peace government. Greek party politics are peculiar in that they have no specific program. Each politician arranges his program according to his own views and desires. The chief aim of the Greek politician, in fact, is to secure control of the party. The peasants are now seeking to form a party along European lines, with a definite program to which the elected candidate must pledge himself. The policy is, of course, chiefly agrarian, but with such moderate demands that even the non-agrarian will be able to conform. Venizelos' influence is now wholly discredited. Even the military powers, who owe their present position to his efforts, have refused him further allegiance, and attribute the present difficulty in concluding a peace treaty to his influence.

A SEAFARING PEOPLE

The second and most important source of income to the Greek nation is its navigation. The Greeks are the oldest seapower in the eastern Mediterranean and have always been a seafaring people, even when they were ruled by foreign powers. When Greece became an independent State she built a merchant fleet. Greek sailing ships and small steamers were to be found in every port of the Levant. There they undertook the loading of exports and the unloading of imports. They served as carriers and distributors for the large steamers. Greek trading vessels, until the outbreak of the war, played a very important part in the traffic of the eastern Mediterranean. They controlled a large portion of the Turkish coastal navigation, as the Turks themselves had very few trading vessels. Greek vessels formed the only connection between the islands of the Aegean Sea and the mainland, carrying passengers, freights, mail, and money. Greek trading vessels also regularly visited the large commercial centers of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. These were patronized chiefly by the poorest class of travelers, fares being much lower than those of the European liners. Greek ships called at the south Russian ports and were also used for traffic between south Russia (Odessa) and the Caucasus (Batumi); they carried most of the freight between Constantinople and these ports, where numerous Greek merchants and agents were located. Toward the west they touched at Trieste for sugar freights, which were very profitable, and even went as far as Marseilles. Prior to the Balkan War the Greek steamship companies operated large transatlantic steamers between New York, Piræus, and Constantinople. These steamers (the *King Alexander* and the *Acropolis*, each 30,000 tons) were designed to carry large numbers of emigrants from the Levant to America. Freight to America were not very heavy—chiefly tobacco, hides, carpets, figs, and currants; imports were grain, flour, frozen meat, machinery, and fish. Before the opening of this direct line to America, freights were shipped via the Atlantic ports, where they were transhipped. Owing to the wars, especially the recent war with Turkey, Greek shipping has received a serious setback from which an ultimate recovery seems almost hopeless. Traffic in Turkish waters has ceased altogether, and the freights from Asia Minor are restricted owing to a rigorous control by the Turkish nationalists.

The firm hold which Greek navigation has always retained in the Eastern waters is due to the fact that the Greek vessels were the only means of serving the trade of the Levant. Greeks were established along the coasts and in all the ports, and from these points penetrated far into the interior by means of the trade routes. The war, however, created abnormal conditions. Venizelos drew large numbers of Greeks from their native hills in the Caucasus for his armies, the Turks drove them from their many colonies in Turkish territory, and after the defeat of the Greek army in western Asia Minor the whole Greek population in that district became fugitives. They also fled from the terrors of the Bolshevik Government in south Russia, so that in a very short time the numerous Greek colonies all through the East have greatly decreased or entirely disappeared. Many Greek settlements penetrating

into the interior of Russia, and Asia Minor have been completely wiped out. Greeks have been cut off from Turkish and from Russian trade and have been largely replaced by Italians. Sugar freights from Trieste have ceased entirely since 1914, and while the steamship lines to America are still being operated they return but very small profits. The number of emigrants admitted into the United States has been greatly restricted and the freights have become negligible. The demand for American goods in the Levant, which assumed such importance directly after the armistice, has more or less disappeared. It is possible that the Chester concession in Asia Minor may bring increased trade to Greek navigation as the Americans will no doubt require great quantities of material and also coal from the United States.

QUESTION OF SALONICA

Even if a peace is arranged with the Turks, the Greek shipping will never regain its former prosperity as the Greeks have now almost disappeared from Turkish territory. Trade may be resumed in the Aegean archipelago for, with the exception of the Dodokanes, the whole archipelago is Greek and is not open to foreign competition.

An additional burden to the State are the numerous refugees from Turkey and Russia. The government is seeking to settle these in west Thrace and Macedonia. The procedure is very simple and quite Oriental. The Bulgarian inhabitants will be taken from their holdings and Greeks installed. Thus the Greek Government will not only be able to provide for its refugees, but at the same time convert western Thrace and Macedonia into purely Greek territory. Through this policy, however, Greece finds herself in difficulties with Bulgaria and Serbia. Since the Balkan War Greece and Serbia have been polite, but never friendly, and since last autumn relations have become highly strained. In 1914 the Greeks agreed to concede the port of Salonica as a free zone to Serbia, but have never carried out the agreement. Serbia has been urging ratification repeatedly, but the delay can be appreciated as it would mean relinquishing the control of Salonica, southern Macedonia, and all the adjoining hinterland to the Serbians. The Macedonians who now occupy the territory between Serbia and Greece are demanding autonomy for this undivided territory, and as the majority of the population is largely Slav, they would no doubt soon unite themselves to Yugoslavia. Thus the hold of Greece upon south Macedonia appears to be as uncertain as that upon western Thrace. Nor is Salonica in sympathy with Greek interests. It is, on the other hand, the natural harbor for Yugoslavia on the Aegean, hence Serbia's anxiety to acquire this port. Salonica will always remain a bone of contention between Greece and Serbia. The Greeks therefore will welcome any misunderstanding between Bulgaria and Serbia, for an agreement between these two countries would undoubtedly strengthen their hold on the northern end of the Aegean. Lately relations between these two States have become more friendly owing to the recent conference at Nice, where arrangements were made for combined action to protect the frontiers. Relations between Bulgaria and Rumania have also improved, so that Bulgaria's position today in the Balkans is not as isolated as heretofore. The Bulgarians have withdrawn their former claim to Salonica and will make no difficulties should Serbia make serious claims upon this port. Greece realizes her danger, but can do nothing to prevent it.

POSITION TODAY

Thus the economic position of Greece is now very unfavorable. Her position is rendered still more desperate by the fact that her colonies are threatened in the various countries. Although under the political control of different States, the Greek people form a cultural as well as an economic entity. They are strongly clanish, favoring their own countrymen in trade. The naturalized Greeks in Turkey were the natural intermediary, both in and with Turkey; they were the foundation and basis of the Hellenic merchant fleet and controlled the trade with Russia; and large amounts for benevolent purposes, schools, and churches were sent through the Greeks from America to Asia Minor, from

south Russia to Greece, etc. Now the war has annihilated the economic activities of naturalized Turkish and Russian Greeks. Robbed and driven out, deprived of their former great political influence, they have lost all their former greatness. The downfall of the Greek in these adopted countries naturally reacts upon the national economics of the nation.

THE FUTURE OF MOSUL

The question of the British interests in Mosul, which was so prominent a feature of the first Lausanne Conference, continues to occupy the attention of the British public opinion. The following statement of the problem, supplied by the Bagdad correspondent of the *London Times*, indicates how far-reaching and important are the implications of the Mosul question, so far as it concerns British statesmanship:

In the controversies which have occupied the British press and Parliament concerning British interests in the Mosul Vilayet, there has been a tendency to ignore serious consideration of the very important question what the Turks would do with Mosul if it were returned to them.

Economically, the question is of great importance. Like Aleppo, on the Syrian side, Mosul is the market for a wide circle of mountain hinterland, extending almost up to lakes Van and Urmia.

In their present circumstances, however, the Turks have other than economic considerations to think about. It has usually been assumed that they wish to get back Mosul in order to be in a position to threaten the new State of Iraq. Circles well acquainted with the present rulers of Anatolia, however, believe that it is not the Arab movement that troubles Angora, but the growth of Kurdish nationalism in the northern provinces of Iraq.

YOUNG TURK PROJECT

Some ten years ago the Young Turk Party began to look around for new fields for expansion. At that time they still held Syria and Iraq and hoped to be able to foster Arab nationalism within the confines of the Ottoman Empire. For further expansion they turned their eyes eastward to their Turkish-speaking relatives of Azerbaijan in north Persia and of Turkestan. The Pan-Turanian movement began hopes of a great central Asian empire, which might even include all Persia and Afghanistan and eventually threaten India.

There were, however, two serious obstacles to be overcome. In the great mountain mass south of the Caucasus, between the Taurus and the Persian frontier, the inhabitants were either Christian Armenians and Assyrians or Moslem Kurds and Circassians.

The Armenian movement was already long established; their schools and their clergy had given them a nationalist spirit that no power on earth could dispel. There was only one thing to be done and the Turks did it, deliberately massacring the last remnants of that ancient race then remaining in eastern Anatolia.

With the Kurds and Circassians the case was different. These people being Moslems, their religion would help to bind them to the Sultan-Caliph. Moreover, they possessed neither written language nor literature. The lesson of the American melting-pot was not lost upon the Young Turks. By means of a rapid spread of education in Turkish throughout these regions, they hoped to be able completely to Turkify all the Kurds and absorb them in the Pan-Turanian State.

To their intense annoyance, the Turkish leaders have realized that, as a result of the British occupation, the Kurdish movement has begun to flourish south of Lake Van. At all costs, they feel the movement must be suppressed before it grows too strong. Hence their insistence upon the handing back to them of the Mosul Vilayet, in order that they may be able to suppress whatever work we have so far done to promote the Kurdish national movement.

How far such Turkish ambitions run contrary to British interests must cause careful thought to British statesmen. They have to consider the matter from two points of view, both of vital importance to the British Commonwealth.

First, there are the British pledges to the Arabs to help in setting up an Independent Arab State. Nobody considers that the State of Iraq could survive if the Turks were to reoccupy the Mosul Vilayet. It is still too soon after the war for Arab nationalism to have become a living force inspiring all elements in the population.

AIR POWER

But, in addition to the pledges to the Arabs, there is a second and major British interest in these regions, the air trade route to the East. The future development of air power and the possibilities of hostile interference with air trade routes are still matters for speculation. One thing, however, is certain: over the wide rolling plains of Arabia there is bound to be great and growing aerial traffic. Over this region airplanes and their supporting motor transport can rove at will.

To look on Mosul as an isolated outpost is to disregard completely the new factors in the situation. British critics should take a broader view and regard it as an outlying fort, protecting the great aerial trade route, just as Gibraltar and Malta have been of value in the past to keep the Mediterranean route open. In regard to Mosul, the British interests clearly coincide with those of the Arabic-speaking world, who look upon the city as one of the oldest centers of Arabism and would bitterly resent its falling back into Turkish hands.

THE HUNGARIAN GRIEVANCE

Not least among the curiosities of the Peace Conference is the rectification of the frontiers of Hungary. The action of the Supreme Council in this regard is the cause of constant ferment among the Magyars; its results cannot, as yet, be clearly foreseen.

In 1787 Hungary was 39 per cent Magyar, 61 per cent of the population being of various other nationalities. By 1910 the Hungarian element had increased to 54.5 per cent, other nationalities having diminished to 45.5 per cent. At this date the population was made up of the following:

54.5 per cent Hungarian or Magyar.
2.9 per cent Serbs.
10.7 per cent Slovaks.
10.4 per cent Germans.
16.1 per cent Rumanians.
2.5 per cent Ruthenians.
2.9 per cent Bulgars.
1.1 per cent Croats.
1.8 per cent Divers.

A cursory study of the new map of Hungary brings to light an interesting fact, namely, the number of large towns close to the frontier, the inhabitants of which are mainly Magyar, but which have been left out of Hungary. Thus we note Arad, 9 kilometers from the frontier, with a population 70 per cent Hungarian, ceded to Rumania; Nagyvarad, 2 kilometers from the frontier, with a population 88 per cent Hungarian, ceded to Rumania; Szatmar, 2 kilometers from the frontier, with a population 95 per cent Hungarian, ceded to Rumania; Komarom, about 9 kilometers from the frontier, with a population 95 per cent Hungarian, ceded to Czechoslovakia, etc. Each of these towns is a separate grievance in the mind of the active and tenacious Magyar.

A strange problem is presented by the Hungarian territory

given to the Serbs. This is inhabited by a mixture of Magyars, Germans, and Serbs. The two latter races, it is claimed by the first, are not indigenes, having emigrated there as a consequence of the wars against Turkey. Previous to the late war, the number of Serbs dwelling on Hungarian territory about equaled the number of Hungarians now dwelling upon Serb territory. Hungarians, however, claim that the German element in this part of the country sympathizes with the Hungarian, and that together they constitute a large majority of the population.

In the case of Rumania, Hungarians resent, as an attack upon their national feelings, the cession of Transylvania, which is said to be one of the earliest settlements of the Magyar race. According to the legend, the Hungarian chief Arpad, upon sending an expeditionary force into the Transylvanian Valley, discovered, in the region now known as the comitadjs of Szekely, a population speaking the same language as his soldiers. The explanation of this strange discovery was said to be that nomad tribes of Magyars living in Bessarabia in the 7th century concluded an agreement with the Byzantine Empire as against the Bulgars. They then descended from the northeast to the plains of Hungary and a certain number wandered to the south and settled in Transylvania.

Among the other cities containing a majority of Hungarians and allotted to neighboring countries may be mentioned Kassa, in Czechoslovakia, which is said to have an 80 per cent Hungarian population, as well as the Hungarian zone between Rozsnyo and Losnes, in which was contained half the coal and iron resources of the Magyars. Pressburg, which is half a kilometer from the frontier, contains 16 per cent Slovaks, Hungarians and Germans forming 80 per cent of the inhabitants.

As a result of the war, Hungary has lost 61.6 per cent of her territory (228,286 kilometers in actual figures) and 63.6 of her population (13,291,000 souls). The territory lost contains 43.7 per cent of her wheat supply, 58 per cent of her sugar beets, and 87 per cent of her timber supply, to say nothing of the various works and factories pertaining thereto. Hungary, formerly a timber-exporting country, now imports wood.

The railway situation also affords ground for complaint by the Hungarians. Thirty-eight per cent of the lines were kept by Hungary, but only 28 per cent of baggage and mail rolling stock, 25 per cent passenger wagons, and 24 per cent freight cars. Four thousand cars are occupied by refugees, owing to the housing crisis.

Added to these losses, the increasing financial crisis in the country, owing to lack of production and the protectionist and obstructionist tactics of the neighboring new States, appears to afford the elements of serious situation. Hungarian statesmen are appealing to the League of Nations for aid on the Austrian plan. Writing in the *Revue de Paris*, the Italian Senator San Martino stresses the necessity for some action before matters reach a totally desperate stage. In particular, says the Senator, the question of reparations must be settled, and he suggests a liquidation of these in the form of commercial treaties. Restored Hungary would be in a position to furnish valuable raw materials to the rest of Europe, and the Italian statesman advises a wiser policy toward that unfortunate country, based on a knowledge of the actual situation, such as was so markedly lacking at the Peace Conference.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

A GREAT INTERCONTINENTAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL is planned at Panama for the year 1924. Impressive ceremonies had been contemplated for the opening of the canal in 1914 but were never held because of the outbreak of the Great War. Now, at the close of a decade, it is proposed to hold an international festival on the isthmus. Promoters of the plan point out that the Suez Canal was opened with the production of Verdi's *Aida*. American musicians trust that the Panama celebration may stimulate the production of something truly significant in American music.

THE FIRST PAN-PACIFIC CONSERVATION CONFERENCE is called for July, 1924, in Honolulu. Dr. L. O. Howard, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, one of the world's foremost entomologists, will preside over the meetings. The general purpose of the conference is to consider problems of agriculture, especially those relating to animal and food crops, as well as the fishery resources of the Pacific countries. The program is expected to include the following eight topics:

1. International agreements regarding fisheries.
2. Economic entomology.
3. Plant pathology.
4. International quarantine policies.
5. Methods of crop improvement.
6. Forestry and climatology.
7. Transportation and distribution of food products.
8. Topography—land and sea.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS as a means of stimulating better understanding between peoples is not a new idea. The Rhodes scholarships have been rendering their service for years. The Chinese-American scholarships in American universities, founded upon the returned Boxer indemnity, have long been America's pride.

Quite recently the Henry M. Davison Scholarship Fund has been established in America by Mr. Davison's widow. Mr. Davison, it will be remembered, was a well-known American banker and also, in 1919, chairman of the American Red Cross. The Davison fund provides two annual scholarships in each of three American universities—Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Three men from Oxford and three from Cambridge, England, chosen from among those applicants who, on the basis of character and general standing, represent the "highest type of university man," are eligible.

In Central America a similar experiment is to be tried, though on government initiative. At the Conference on Central American Affairs recently held in Washington, a convention was signed by the delegates providing for reciprocal exchange of students. By its provisions each of the governments is to place at the disposal of each of the other governments six scholarships in national educational institutions which specialize in pedagogy, agriculture, mining, or arts and crafts. The Central American republics hope that this exchange will unite the youth of the several nations in bonds of fraternity and facilitate a better understanding between them.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, with headquarters at Rue de Viex College, Geneva, Switzerland, announces that there will be an international summer school for August 16, 1929, Podegrady, Czecho-Slovakia. Podegrady is a bathing resort about an hour's ride from East Prague, surrounded by fine forests, on the bank of the River Elbe. Students from the United States will be charged \$40 for the course. It is proposed to devote the sessions to discussions of the general topic of social peace, giving the morning to economic and social problems and afternoon and evening to literature, art, education, and ethics.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE OF THE IRISH FREE STATE has laid his budget estimates for the fiscal year April 1, 1923, to March 31, 1924, before the Dail. He estimated receipts at £26,050,000, made up principally of £20,500,000 from tax revenue and £5,500,000 non-tax revenue, including British contributions during the year toward compensation for pre-truce damage to property. Expenditures were estimated at £46,500,000, the main items being £10,664,500 for army expenditure and £10,885,550 for payment of compensation awards arising from damages during military operations and other administrative expenses of the government. The estimated deficit for the fiscal year 1923-24 is £20,450,000, compared with an actual deficit of £4,000,000 during 1922-23. The deficit for 1922-23 has been covered by Dail borrowings, and it is probable that the 1923-24 deficit will be met by the flotation of an internal loan.

THREE AND A HALF MILLION ACRES of excellent farm lands in 14,300 square miles of India's Sutlej Valley will be thrown open to settlers at the completion of the most pretentious irrigation project attempted in India. During the past thirty years large tracts of waste land in the Punjab have been rendered productive to crops as a result of successful irrigation works, and for the first time in such projects the Indian Government is seeing the mistake in neglecting the construction of roads along with that of canals. The government is acquiring necessary road rights to insure adequate provision for the transportation of crops to markets and railways. The whole Sutlej project will probably take nine years for completion.

AMERICAN EYE-GLASSES of all varieties are becoming popular in Algeria. About 800,000 of the colony's population of 5,800,000 are Europeans, the remainder being mostly natives too poor and too conservative to buy optical goods. Gradually, heavier bows and rims are coming into use and French women are inclined to give up the lorgnette and other forms of glasses for more practical instruments. Meantime the market must be supplied with the narrow-rimmed glass, without bows, long so popular with the French people, who form most of the buying population.

NEARLY TWO THOUSAND VIOLATIONS in thirty days of Berlin's new regulations governing the sales of food-stuffs have been acted upon by a specially appointed

division of the Berlin police department and the names of the guilty published prominently throughout the city. The first list, covering March, includes 1,400 firms charged with asking excessive prices; 223 with omitting sale-price tickets from articles offered; 143 with trading without proper licenses, and 157 with offenses against the import and export rules. In addition to these, trading licenses were revoked in 42 cases and 182 applications for foodstuffs selling licenses were rejected.

THE GREEKS ARE A COFFEE-DRINKING PEOPLE and consume great quantities of the tropical product. Black coffee, prepared in Turkish style, is drunk at all hours. Eight, ten, or more cups are drunk daily by all classes of people. In 1921 the United States sent over 288,150 pounds of coffee and last year only 6,804 pounds. A very small quantity is now held in stock, and it is expected that upon adjustment of Near Eastern affairs large quantities of coffee will be imported. Rio, Santos, and Java are practically the only qualities favored by the Greeks.

ENOUGH CIGARETTES TO ENCIRCLE THE GLOBE 26 TIMES, if laid end to end on the equator, were manufactured in the United States in the first three months of 1923. In round figures, cigarettes made in America in January, February, and March of this year numbered fifteen billion, compared with ten billion in the same months of 1922. The destruction of vast stocks of tobacco during the Greco-Turkish war in Asia Minor has been reflected in our markets for these tobaccos, since it has been determined that our imports of the Turkish type of tobacco will be much smaller than in former years and will be replaced to a great extent by domestic tobaccos. Although a 10 per cent increase in production in 1923 is predicted by crop experts, the demand for these tobaccos continues strong at former prices.

AN APPARENTLY INEXPLICABLE INCREASE in January, 1923, imports into Mexico from Germany was recently noted in statistics published by the press of Mexico City. According to these figures, total Mexican imports for the month were valued at 23,297,903.98 pesos, of which 13,884,860.53 were from the United States, 5,345,164.52 from Germany, 1,374,150.91 from Great Britain, and 794,333.72 pesos from France. Information from unofficial sources is to the effect that preliminary and as yet unpublished figures will show that imports from Germany during the year 1922 amounted to about one-fourth of the total value of those from the United States and to almost double those of Great Britain.

THE DEMAND FOR AMERICAN RIFLE and revolver ammunition in Argentina is very strong. Large quantities of cheap shotgun shells are made in Buenos Aires, but the better qualities are largely purchased from the United States. American rifles and repeating shotguns are preferred to the exclusion of other makes. Double-barreled shotguns of the better type are obtained from Great Britain, while Germany and Belgium supply the inferior qualities.

A TEMPORARY COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT was signed at Moscow on April 23, 1923, between Denmark and Russia, to be ratified within eight weeks. This treaty provides reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment in regard to commercial rights and privileges, duties and restrictions on foreign trade, transportation and shipping. Import exceptions are, however, provided for on both sides. Denmark cannot, however, claim such special privileges as Russia might grant a country which has recognized it or might in the future recognize it *de jure*, unless Denmark is willing to allow Russia corresponding concessions. This agreement does not entitle Denmark to claim such special preferences as the Russian Soviet Government grants to the States adjoining Russia in Asia, nor can the Russian Soviet Government claim such preference as Denmark grants only to Norway or Sweden, or Iceland. The present agreement may be terminated by either of the contracting parties after six months' notice.

BY AN EXCHANGE OF NOTES on April 28 and 30, 1923, Spain and Germany have agreed to prolong until midnight of June 30 the *modus vivendi* established on January 15 last, and extended from month to month since, according to an official notice dated May 1, 1923.

SPAIN AND RUMANIA HAVE CONCLUDED a *modus vivendi* by which Rumania accords imports from Spain most-favored-nation treatment and Spain grants Rumania the rates of the second column of its import tariff, according to an official notice dated May 4, 1923. This agreement is effective from May 1 and will continue in effect until three months after denunciation by either country.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT, signed at Budapest February 8, 1922, ratified by Austria July 7, 1922, and ratified by Hungary February 20, 1923, went into effect March 2, 1923. The agreement is based on the principle of reciprocity, and guarantees to both contracting parties all rights and privileges enjoyed by any other State within the jurisdiction of either country. Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded both parties regarding nationals, ships, goods, and products of the soil or industry. The principal object of the agreement is to decrease the difficulties of frontier traffic, and to co-operate in the enforcement of customs regulations and to reduce smuggling.

THE DIFFICULTY OF SECURING WOOD products during the war in the United Kingdom led to a program of reforestation being adopted in 1919. This work of reforestation was placed in the hands of a forestry commission, who proceeded with the program as outlined until the beginning of the calendar year 1922, when the Committee on National Expenditure recommended that, owing to the necessity for economy, the entire program of reforestation should be scrapped. The Cabinet, however, did not entirely abolish the plan of reforestation, but cut down expenses very materially. The Parliamentary vote for the Forestry Fund amounted to only £20,000, but funds left over from the previous year's activity enabled the commissioner to spend during the

year the sum of £398,431. The plan originally called for the acquisition of 92,800 acres by the end of 1922. Although the amount acquired in 1922 was only 23,937 acres for reforestation, the total amount for the three years amounted to 92,426 acres, which was approximately the amount aimed at. The total area planted or sown in trees in 1922 was 10,517 acres in coniferous timber, and 176 acres in hardwoods, a total of 10,693 acres.

A CUSTOMS UNION HAS BEEN FORMED between the little principality of Liechtenstein and the Swiss Republic. One of the three smallest States in the world, Liechtenstein, with an armed strength of 12 field-watchmen, remained neutral during the World War. It is situated a short distance south of Lake Constance and lies between Austria and Switzerland. Liechtenstein has been a sovereign State since 1866, though before the war it had a union of customs, post, and currency with Austria. The population, however, are strongly anti-Hapsburg, and in 1920 joined their postal system with that of Switzerland. The Swiss franc has for some time been in circulation in place of the Austrian crown.

BOOK REVIEWS

MEN LIKE GODS. By *H. G. Wells*. Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 327. \$2.00.

After long divagations in strange places, Mr. Wells returns to his early love and unfolds for our benefit another of those pseudo-scientific fairy stories which first brought him recognition. The mark of his wanderings, however, is strong upon him. Mr. Wells is no longer content to tell an impossible story with an air of conviction. He has a mission and he needs must preach. So his tale becomes a sort of parable, a "What would Jesus do in Wall Street?" reversed, and what would our most noted politicians do in Utopia become the theme.

It must be confessed that, in his anxiety to caricature Mr. Balfour and Mr. Churchill, Mr. Wells displays a certain carelessness in the details of his Utopia. One needs details of a sort to bring conviction. Failing them, the setting of the story, important as, in this case, it is, becomes vague and nebulous, if not a trifle wearisome. Mr. Wells' Utopians are not in the least varisemblable and, in addition, are so dreadfully dull as to cause the reader's sympathies to swing immediately to the side of Rupert Catskill. Evidently Utopia, for Mr. Wells, is a sort of glorified laboratory wherein every one carries out the dearest imaginings of Cassell's Fortnightly Science Series.

Perhaps the caricatures are the most amusing items in the book, and they are amusing mainly because they afford an index to the writer's reactions. His portrait of Mr. Burchell, a thinly disguised Balfour, is the most sympathetic of the lot. Father Amerton, who appears to be meant for the late Father Vaughan, is a complete exposé of Mr. Wells' limitations. The caricature makes it perfectly evident that the writer never met the priest, nor, in all probability, any other cleric of his standing. On the other hand, Father Amerton is a deliciously truthful sketch of a Dissenting minister from the industrial sections of England. Just exactly what that means cannot easily be realized by those who know not England.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the book is by no means up to standard. But Mr. Wells' public will read it.

THE LAND OF HAUNTED CASTLES. By *Robt. J. Casey*. The Century Co. Pp. 496.

Too little attention is paid by the student and traveler to the smaller countries of Europe, which in many cases form the danger spots of the continent. One of these is the Grand

Duchy of Luxemburg. Although shorn to half its size, the Grand Duchy is still, as it has ever been, a buffer State possessing unparalleled natural fortresses. Formerly in the German *Zollverein*, the outbreak of the late war saw its neutrality violated immediately by the German troops and its capital city, Luxemburg, used as strategic headquarters by the Kaiser, as well as railhead for the dissemination of troop trains from Metz and Cologne over Belgium and France. The Grand Duchy has been the scene of innumerable wars and sieges. Its rulers have until quite recently played a most active part in European politics and it has changed hands time after time as the result of bloodshed. From the scenic and historical point of view, it is without an equal in its way.

Mr. Casey appears to be well acquainted with the Grand Duchy and its legends, and has turned out a most readable book, furnished with many attractive, if sometimes out of date, illustrations.

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT. By *Frank Dekker Watson*, Ph. D. Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 560.

It frequently happens that the most difficult persons to deal with, in any work of social importance, are the uninformed enthusiasts. Those who, brimful of eagerness, seeing afar off a lovely ideal, are yet unacquainted with the methods of attainment which have already been tried and, perhaps, found wanting. Such persons continually repeat the mistakes of past generations. They are constantly underfoot and cluttering up the path for those others who have a well-drawn chart of the way, at least by which the race has thus far advanced.

A valuable aid to the social worker who would know the past and the present before he attempts to forge his way into the future is Frank Dekker Watson's "Charity Organization in the United States."

Charity itself, as old as human misery and human sympathy, is not precisely Dr. Watson's theme. It is the organization of charity, to the end that it may be more effective, which he studies. The antecedents of the modern movement in America run back as far in European history as about 1600, when St. Vincent dePaul, a French priest, discovered that unregulated almsgiving was not reaching the core of that which it aimed to heal. Blazing his own way, like all pioneers, therefore he organized lay visitors in different parts of the country. He even employed a field secretary to travel and keep in touch with the Sisters of Charity he had organized.

Down through the time of the great plague in Hamburg and the resultant civic organization, now called the "Hamburg system of poor relief"; through the work of our American Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, in Bavaria, where he quite eliminated beggary, the author shows us the rising idea of self-help as a means of lifting those in distress.

The functions, principles, and methods of charity organization are next discussed, before we come to the beginnings in the United States. Then we are lead, step by step, up through the beginnings, extension, and nationalization of the movement in this country.

Among many enlightening sentences as to the real work of the charity organization, the following is especially illuminating, quoted from a report of the associated charities at Colorado Springs in 1911:

"It does not attempt as an organization to eliminate poverty. If that were its purpose, it would be stamped as a failure from beginning to end. It agrees with the keenest sociologists, that far-reaching and radical reforms are needed for this. What it does aim to do is to relieve distress wisely and sympathetically, and to interpret to the community the facts concerning the extent and degree of poverty, so that the community itself, knowing well the nature of the evil, may be able to apply the remedy."

MY TWO COUNTRIES. By *Lady Astor*. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co. Pp. 117. Price, \$1.25.

Lady Astor, first woman member of the British Parliament, has also the distinction of having been born in Virginia, the first English colony in this country. Her present

home is in Plymouth, England, which sent out Drake, Fro-bisher, and the first group of Puritans to go to New England. It was at Plymouth also to which the first transatlantic sea-plane flight was made from America. With all these links connecting her with various beginnings in England and America, she is especially entitled to speak for her two countries.

Only seven of the forty speeches which Lady Astor made during her recent visit of a month in America are bound up in this little volume, together with two delivered in Plymouth after her return.

Quite early in her public appearances she disclaimed any intention of trying to bring about a closer understanding between Great Britain and the United States. "No person, however keen about it, can do much in that line," she said in New York. "Things which are worth while are made by something better than missions and treaties. They are made only by great ideals in the hearts of the common people."

It soon transpired, however, that in spite of warnings from her friends, Mrs. Astor could not keep away from the topic of the League of Nations. Our attitude toward it was a very great puzzle to her. In common with many others in Europe and America, she assumed that we refused to enter the League as a method of rebuke to Mr. Wilson. "When we go for a great ideal we go for the ideal," she said before the convention of the League of Women Voters in Baltimore. "It's a principle we should follow and not be sidetracked by a personality." For some time she seemed not to understand that only an international association which is based upon real principles of freedom and equality, administered by just laws and not mere men, can be approved by the descendants of those great Virginians and others who framed the United States' Constitution—such a covenant as can really trace its genealogy back to the English Runnymede.

Somewhere in her travels, however, she did learn that all the idealism of America is not on the pro-League side. On her return to Plymouth she made this statement: "Millions of Americans seemed to favor some modified league of peace. I am sure this country has never considered the League perfect or above amending, and I believe that changes could be made which would improve the efficiency of the League and which would at the same time make international co-operation acceptable to America."

The style of the addresses is epigrammatic; they are full of quotable sayings replete with native wit and shrewdness. The charm of the speaker is easily felt in such gay admissions as the following: "It takes a good deal of prayer to keep me humble. To be born in Virginia and to represent Plymouth is enough to turn a stronger head than mine."

If, through Lady Astor's visit to her old home, the practical idealism in her two countries can be drawn a bit nearer together, we may hope that some day the world will become, as she says, "more of the sort of place one dreams of and less the kind of nightmare one dreams in."

WOMEN OF 1923. *International*; *Ida Clyde Clarke*, editor. Pp. 224. Philadelphia, John C. Winston Co., Price, \$1.00.

The Women of 1923 is an attempt to set forth a résumé of woman's share in the world's activities up to the date of issue. It is not arranged alphabetically as to names, as is "Who's Who," but by subjects, States, organizations, and facts.

The following are some of the topics, taken at random from the long table of contents: International organizations; national organizations in the United States; women's share in the United States Government; activities of women in the States; occupations of women; women and genius; statistics affecting women; little facts of big interest; two hundred women of today.

This book inaugurates a valuable series of annuals, which is bound to become more complete and useful as it grows. Even now, and in spite of small, close print, interlarded with bold-type advertisements, which distract the eye willy-nilly, it is obviously a necessary desk-book for those who deal with either national or international persons and organizations.

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THE DEMAND

THE DEMAND of the present in international affairs is not that the United States should call an international conference. Any international conference would have to deal with the problem of reparations. The problem of reparations is closely related to the whole problem of international debts. There can be no discussion of international debts without discussing European debts to the United States. The cancellation of European debts to the United States, in whole or in part, must be done, if done at all, by an act of Congress. Since the Congress of the United States is in no temper to cancel any European debts, it is futile to argue at this time for the calling of an international conference, economic or otherwise, by the United States.

The demand of the present is not to get the United States to join any League of Nations. In all matters except administrative details, there is nothing more impotent than the League of Nations. There are two reasons why this is so: In the first place, it is a cardinal principle in all acts of international diplomacy to do nothing to offend another nation. The result is that in all important matters nothing can take place in the League beyond talk, and that of an insignificant nature. But, second, in vital matters it is nothing but a recommending body. Therefore it is inconceivable that the League of Nations or any other similar body could be expected to handle, say, the problems presented by the French invasion of the Ruhr. If diplomacy has failed,

the presentation of such an issue would split the League into splinters. But, furthermore, the League being a recommending body only, if after much discussion a problem such as the problem of reparations were stated in terms of proposed legislation, and then sent by the League, for example, to the United States for ratification, it is not pleasant to contemplate what would happen in the United States Senate, or, for that matter, in the realm of public opinion of this country. Real international peace does not lie in that direction.

The demand is not that the United States should send troops into China. The situation in China is bad enough. In that stricken land banditry thrives on anarchy and on the corruption of what little government there is left. Within a year four cases of flagrant banditry have been recorded and in four foreign countries China has publicly defaulted. Opinion among her erstwhile supporters is in consequence turning toward the support of the policy pursued toward China for two decades by Japan. In consequence Japan may be more and more inclined to ignore the Chinese demand that Port Arthur and Dairen be returned to China. It is not unreasonable to expect that Japan may harden in her policy toward China. Already the Japanese are counting on a mitigation of the friendship of Britain and America for China. Let us hope Japan will not go too far. In any event, the United States will not, on the one hand, pursue a policy of allowing China to stew in her own juice or, on the other, of stepping in to restore order by force of arms. The policy of the United States toward China will continue to be a policy of co-operation; intervention if China requests it.

The demand is not that we should be more charitable toward other nations of the world. Wherever human suffering demands our aid we shall continue to give, now and in the future as throughout our past, without stint. Wherever there are industries demanding financial aid, that financial aid will be granted on a business basis. The American people are ready and willing, now as always, to co-operate with other nations in the advancement of business, in the settlement of disputes, or in the amelioration of ills. But it is an interesting international fact that the United States has not been asked to serve as mediator in any major troubles afflicting the nations to the East or to the West.

But there is a demand. The demand is that the European nations, to say nothing of the Far East, shall first settle their own outstanding difficulties. Then,

and not until then, will the United States be in a position to help in any hopeful way. France and Germany must come to a meeting of minds before our government can be of aid in the solution of the problem of reparations. All of the European States must compose their major disputes before the United States will be in any position to co-operate in any effective settlement for the avoidance of similar disputes. The European States must clearly recognize that the United States can be in no position to discuss, for example, the question of European debts to this country until the United States can know what the financial conditions of the European nations are. These conditions are for the European States to ascertain.

AN ANNIVERSARY TO CELEBRATE

THE CONSTITUTION of the United States was adopted by the Federal Convention at Philadelphia, September 17, 1787. While it did not become effective until March 4, 1789, the day of its adoption is one of the most important in the history of the world. This is a statement of fact not only because of the importance to this hemisphere, but also because the action of the men in Philadelphia laid the foundations for an international experiment, in North America, but an international experiment nevertheless, "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States." The history is of importance for every man interested in the international problems of our day. The principles which were that day announced to the world are as applicable to the Europe of the present as they were and are to us.

Not counting general election day, we have eleven legal holidays in the United States, viz: New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Good Friday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas. There is no reason why we shouldn't have a memorial day in September. There are many reasons why we should observe September 17.

The *Constitution Anniversary Association* of Chicago, without attempting to supplant any other organization, has taken upon itself the burden of calling attention to the importance of September 17 and to the service which a worthy observance of that anniversary may be made to render. We do not understand that this "Association" proposes that the day shall be made a holiday, but the promoters point out that the Constitution of the United States has played a rather conspicuous part in the cause for which most holidays are

now observed in this country. The anniversary presents an educational opportunity.

We are not alarmed about the future of this Republic. We do not believe that the "governmental tendencies are gradually undermining the foundations of this Republic"; but we do agree that the "cornerstone of this Republic" is the Constitution of the United States. We do not care to analyze this metaphor, but we are willing to go further: the Constitution is at least two cornerstones of the Republic. We agree, therefore, that the completion and signing of the Constitution of the United States on September 17, 1787, "was the greatest event in our national history." In the light of our country's experience since that day, we believe it of more importance to call attention to the fact that it is also a major achievement in the history of the world. Thus we wish the Constitution Anniversary Association success in its efforts to make September 17 of each year a special time for the study of the discussion involved in the writing, adoption, interpretation, and administration of this immortal instrument. Undoubtedly such an effort is needed by each succeeding generation, for every individual must learn for himself the plan of our government and the principles that have made us a great people. We know of no antidote for dangerous radicalism on the one hand, or for equally dangerous conservatism on the other, like a progressive familiarity with the Constitution of the United States. Each generation must familiarize itself with the discussion of those historic days, teach itself their value, if representative government is to continue with us, if rights are to be secured, if orderly progress under law is to checkmate class agitation and direct action.

Ours is a union of free, sovereign, independent States. The international meaning of that is perfectly clear. The importance of the fact increases when we recall that the Constitution of the United States of America is now the oldest constitution of the oldest continuous government in the world. Surely here is a laboratory experiment in peaceful adjustments of problems between States. To know how this has become so is an essential part of every intelligent man's education.

Bibliographies of books and documents illuminating our constitutional history, teachers and lecturers, public schools and legislative halls, clubs and societies and associations and churches and the rest may well lend their aid to the end that the Constitution shall be read and discussed as widely as possible during the week of September 17. Evidence is not lacking that the people of foreign countries understand better than we the importance of the Constitution of the United States to the solution of their own difficult problems. Be that as it may, there can today be no intelligent study of our

Constitution that does not emphasize the importance of its history to the peaceable settlement of international disputes. Here is an anniversary which the world can profitably note.

AGAIN OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE SUPREME COURT

ONE UNFORTUNATE EXPRESSION of our national psychology during the war was the enactment by twenty-one of our States of statutes prohibiting the teaching or use of foreign languages in all schools below the eighth grade. Of course, the drive was against the German tongue.

At the time these laws were being passed, we protested. We knew that France, most beset of all the nations, was passing no such laws. The argument among the French schoolmen and statesmen was that the French people needed to know the German language more than ever. We knew then as we know now that Americans also need to know more of the languages outside English, German included. And of course the best time to learn a foreign language is in the grades below the eighth. Goethe was right when he said, "He who knows but one language knows none." The silly statutes passed by some of our States reflected more upon our own good judgment than upon anything else. It was picayune business.

We are now comforted to know that the Supreme Court has declared all such laws void. Mr. Justice McReynolds, who delivered the majority opinion, set forth that the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States had been violated by such laws. This fourteenth amendment was proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1868. Its first section provides:

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

It appears, therefore, that the passage of legislation prohibiting the teaching or use of foreign languages in all schools below the eighth grade did violence to the principle that the individual has the right to contract, to engage in any common occupation of life, to acquire useful knowledge. And surely familiarity with languages other than our own is useful knowledge. The liberty to do these things, the court asserts, cannot be interfered with under the guise of protecting the public

interest by legislative action which is arbitrary or without reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the State to effect.

The court added another useful reminder, that final determination of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is with the courts and does not rest with the legislatures of the States.

The individual has certain fundamental rights which must be respected. The American people, as the court points out, have always regarded education and the acquisition of knowledge as matters of supreme importance, which should be diligently promoted. It is the right and natural duty of the parent to give his children an education suitable to their station in life. All of the States have attempted to enforce the obligation by compulsory laws. The statutes which the court has declared void, however, were arbitrary, contrary to good sense, and un-American. Poise and good judgment have been salvaged again by this decision of our Supreme Court.

THE OPPORTUNITY FACING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ELSEWHERE in these columns will be found President Harding's references to the Permanent Court of International Justice, as set forth in his speech at St. Louis, June 21. In our judgment, the President is here for the most part on solid ground. No one acquainted with the history of the United States, with its Constitution, with the United States Senate, with the vote of our people in the fall of 1920, can reasonably expect that this country will adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice, directly or indirectly, by way of the League of Nations. Evidently, before this court can be acceptable to our people, we shall have to be shown that it is in no sense an agent of the League or of any group except the nations themselves. Before the court can be accepted, therefore, by the United States, the election of judges from now on must rest without qualification with all of the nations. We are not convinced that the matter of election should rest, as suggested by Mr. Harding, with the court itself; but we are convinced that it must rest unmistakably and directly with all the nations. The elections and the financial direction of the court must be taken from the League of Nations and given to the Court of Arbitration, which is representative of all the nations, or to a commission specially chosen by the nations. The exclusive privilege of the League to seek legal guidance by the court must be abolished and extended to all nations. If the members of the League of Nations object to these changes,

the sooner that fact is known the better. The test of the League's sincerity is here palpably involved.

There can be no objection to the present Permanent Court of International Justice. Its personnel is excellent. Its organization arouses no serious criticism; but it cannot function according to the ideals of the American people until it is dissociated from any particular group. It must be universal or nothing. We can make no mistake in urging adherence to such a world court, for we can safely subscribe to it "without violating the basic principles of our national being." Does the League of Nations want such a court? If the members of that organization are sincerely desirous for it, the test is at hand. Let the League itself propose the separation of the court from all its influence, direct or indirect.

LIMITATIONS OF SYNTHETIC REFLECTION

IN A RECENT review of some books dealing with sociology, Prof. Franklin H. Giddings distinguishes between the sociologian and the sociologist by remarking that "the sociologian, like the theologian, builds up a system of thought by synthetic reflection. He does not discover and measure truth by aid of instruments of precision, nor experimentally distil it." Here surely is a distinction with a difference. When the kindly soul remarked "If only people would be good," she illustrated the type of reasoning which we may call "synthetic reflection." It is a form of mental process plentifully illustrated by reformers. It is a comfortable method of thinking because it is not burdened by details of proof.

A former Justice of the United States Supreme Court is giving us a number of interesting asseverations born of synthetic reflection. He tells us that the disturbed conditions in Europe, including the French occupation of the Ruhr, are due to the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations. He says that the women voters of this country can put this country into the League before 1924. In an address delivered recently in the city of Washington, this distinguished jurist expressed the view that "we are going Constitution crazy in this country."

It is our business to study, as carefully as we can, programs and documents relating to international affairs. It is our opinion that utterances like unto these, products of mere synthetic reflection, wholly incapable of proof, simply befog international issues and corrupt public opinion.

The League of Nations is, itself, for the most part a product of synthetic reflection. Its framers forsook the instruments of exact measurement when they went

about the business of its creation. It was inexcusable, for they had instruments of measurement at hand, namely, the historical experiences of the race.

European States have tried their leagues of nations before. One attempt was so nauseous that America took notice of it. The result was the Monroe Doctrine. European statesmen confronted with problems in the Spanish colonies of the west and the Ottoman Empire of the east, faced with the new threat of liberty and independence from across the seas, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, confronted then, as now, with war weariness and bankruptcy, met at Verona one hundred years ago last November. They had had experiences with their Holy Alliance, beginning in 1813. They had tried another alliance, with congresses meeting at Vienna in 1815, at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, at Tropeau in 1820, at Laibach in 1821. There was a league of nations indeed, assuming the right to legislate for all of Europe. It was this league of nations that met at Verona in 1822 and arrayed itself against any system of representative government and the liberty of the press. That league favored the principles of religion because they "contribute most powerfully to keep nations in the state of passive obedience which they owe to their princes." In their secret treaty they promised to help France against Spain and Portugal. This secret treaty of Verona was a veritable expression of all that was vicious in the systems of the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs, Romanovs, and Bourbons.

There is no doubt that the League of Nations is trying to function without due reference to that experience. An illustration of this fact is found in the "Governing Commission," agent of the League of Nations, controlling 700,000 Germans in the Saar Basin. The behavior of the league in that section is an illustration of what may happen under an organ set up without due reference to the successes and failures of the past. The *Manchester Guardian*, ardent advocate of the League, is now publishing a series of articles on the administration of the Saar, one of which says: "Nobody could deny that the present constitution of the Governing Commission is a crying scandal and a blot on the fair name of the League." The articles constitute a bitter indictment of the administration throughout the Saar.

Danzig, another ward of the League, is at the moment under threat of capture by Poland, herself a member of the League.

Mr. Roth Williams has just published a book entitled "The League of Nations." Mr. Williams is an Englishman and friendly to the League. He discovers, however, that the delegates to the Assembly give too much power to the governments. He thinks that all parties should be represented in the choice of delegates and

that they should represent the legislative rather than the executive branches. The author believes that the League should be made more real and that its natural tendency to become a machine manipulated by the big powers should be checked. But here too we have a book of synthetic reflection. Quite unmindful of the experience in the Saar and in Danzig, he proposes that the League be given the power to police sections of the world, such for example as Egypt.

If the friends of the League of Nations would think more upon the past, they would go about the business of revising the League to the end that it conform to the principles found practicable in the conduct of international relations. It is not encouraging for the League of Nations as it now is to find its Council defied by Lithuania, to hear this little State threaten, in a meeting of the Council, to take up arms against Poland. It cannot be encouraging for the friends of the League to read an Associated Press dispatch announcing that the Council of the League of Nations in secret session holds as temporarily necessary the maintenance of French troops in the Saar valley. A secret session is bad enough, but for the League of Nations to be operating with troops is war.

THE NEW SPIRIT IN GEORGIA

IN 1921 the Governor of Georgia, Mr. Hugh M. Dorsey, issued a statement setting forth facts relating to the lynching of Negroes; to the holding of Negroes in peonage; to the driving out of Negroes by organized lawlessness, and to individual acts of cruelty perpetrated by white persons on Negroes. Under these four headings the Governor grouped 135 examples of alleged mistreatment of Negroes in Georgia during the previous two years. Those cases had been brought to the attention of the Governor without effort on his part. He stated at the time that if an effort had been made to collect cases he believed the number could be multiplied. The Governor said that in some counties the Negro was being driven out as if he were a wild beast, and in others he was being held as a slave; while in others there were no Negroes remaining. In only two of the 135 cases cited was the "usual crime" against white women involved. Faced with such a situation, the Governor called a meeting of citizens to confer with him as to the best course to be taken. Addressing himself to the conference, he said: "To me, it seems that we stand indicted as a people before the world."

Since that time the State committee on race relations has been working to foster better relations between white and colored people in that State. The principle

upon which the committee works is that local community problems are best solved by local community leaders, and that intelligent and sympathetic action depends upon conference between white and colored leaders.

Co-operating with the State committee, there are, therefore, local race relations committees in 120 Georgia counties. These local committees furnish a meeting point for white and colored leaders in community affairs. The work has averted racial clashes and elevated the standards of the community in a number of instances. In the local committees, leaders talk to one another instead of about one another. Legal aid for deserving Negroes is furnished, with the result that there is a growing sentiment for the observance of law and order in Georgia. The article by the secretary of the State committee, appearing elsewhere in these columns, is most encouraging.

That men and women of Georgia are awakening to their responsibility in the matter of race relations within the State is apparent. Leading men and women there are recognizing more and more the necessity for exercising justice, consideration, and sympathetic co-operation with the Negro. The problems are many and varied. The protection of Negro women and girls, particularly in employment; the health of Negro children, housing and sanitation, education, transportation, are only a few of the difficulties facing the people of Georgia.

It is a wholesome thing that these men and women of vision and intelligence have discovered the importance of knowing Negro leaders in their communities, to the end that there may be sympathetic co-operation between both sides. It is apparent that modern scientific social endeavor is finding its way in Georgia. There is demand for studies of Negro community life and of the needs of Negro women and children. Recognition of the Negro's contribution to American life in industry, not to mention literature, poetry, music, and art, is becoming more apparent. Thus there is a change coming over the spirit of Georgia.

This change was illustrated June 20, in the city of Savannah. When Walter Lee, a Negro, charged with attacking a young married woman, was arrested and put in jail, and a mob attempted to seize the prisoner, the present Governor of the State issued a proclamation declaring Savannah in a state of insurrection. Troops were designated to take charge of the situation. Orders were issued prohibiting the sale of firearms. Automobiles were forbidden to use streets near the jail. Around the jail itself temporary breastworks were thrown up by the soldiers, behind which were mounted

a number of machine-guns. Persons arrested in connection with the rioting were themselves put in jail. There was no lynching.

This new spirit in the State of Georgia comes as balm to the hurt mind of the world.

A DAILY DOZEN FOR THE INTELLECT

WALTER CAMP'S "DAILY DOZEN," ten minutes physical exercise in the morning and ten minutes at night, meet a need. They are good sense, for they search out the hidden muscles and bring to them good blood. They are lengthening life for many.

There are certain hidden sinews of the mind that require daily exercise, if it is to live. The cerebrum needs good blood. We must have a daily dozen, ten minutes in the morning and ten minutes at night, for the soul.

We respectfully suggest the prayerful repetition of the following:

- (1) I believe in economy for myself and government;
- (2) I believe in the study of world affairs;
- (3) I believe in the future of America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea;
- (4) I believe in courtesy between States;
- (5) I believe in the equal rights of all nations;
- (6) I believe in avoiding needless and entangling engagements;
- (7) I believe in the friendly settlement of international disputes;
- (8) I believe in liberty under the rules;
- (9) I believe in the coercion of law;
- (10) I believe in courts of justice for men and nations;
- (11) I believe in the divinity of human nature;
- (12) I believe in the day when men shall not "learn war any more."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS Non-Partisan Association objects to Mr. Harding saying that "the League is as dead as slavery." The interesting thing about this is that Mr. Harding did not say that "the League is as dead as slavery." Mr. Harding's words were: "The issue of the League of Nations is as dead as slavery," referring, of course, to the possibilities of reviving the League as a practical issue in American politics. The telegram of protest sent by these promoters of the League, under date of June 24, is misleading in other respects. It says: "In the few weeks since our President, Justice John H. Clarke, made his New York speech in favor of joining the League, those who believe American membership still an issue have created or-

ganizations in thirty-six States and additional branches in cities and counties." The word "membership" here evidently means membership in the League of Nations. The telegram continues with these words: "Every Protestant church in America has declared for American membership." This statement must mean that every Protestant church in America has declared for American membership in the League of Nations. If one will canvass a few of one's own friends who happen to be church members, one will undoubtedly find that this statement is erroneous. The statement goes on: "The faculty and students in our higher institutions of learning are all but unanimously for the League." This statement is also open to question. In any event, it would do no harm for friends of the League to observe a bit more accurately the canons of exact statement.

WITH THE NEWS of the ratification of the Washington treaties in the French Parliament, with the cynical admission that had such treaties involved the limitation of types of armament really important to the French they would not have been considered, comes the report of a disarmament debate in the British House of Commons signalized by a note of extreme pessimism.

The leader of the opposition, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, moved a resolution in favor of convening an international conference to discuss the limitation of armaments. This was rejected by 286 votes to 169, largely on the ground that, in view of the present situation in the Ruhr, and the unpredictable attitude of France and Russia, such a conference could hardly be productive of any real result. At the same time the Government, as well as Mr. Asquith, leader of the Liberal section of the House, admitted viewing with alarm the danger of renewed competition in armament. A suggestion was made by another member to the effect that the League of Nations might be invited to obtain the desired object at a favorable moment.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's comment on this may be taken as significant of the growing attitude of the European peoples toward the League. While disavowing any intention of belittling the League of Nations, he pointed out that his reason for omitting this agency from consideration in this matter was that: "The League of Nations has not yet won the confidence of all the important nations of the world, and until it does it is no use putting all our eggs into the League of Nations basket."

Mr. MacDonald is evidently a practical person, and has no wish to see limitation of armaments go the way of the Saar, Vilna, Memel, and other vital problems which have been adjudicated upon by the League of Nations.

GERMANY'S TRADE BALANCE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

By Dr. VON GLASENAPP
Vice-President of the Reichsbank

IN ORDER to appreciate the present position of Germany's balance of foreign payments, it is essential to glance back at the period before the war. The most important factor in that balance, the visible commercial balance, has for many years, owing to the increase of population and imports, shown a deficit. The figures for the import and export of commodities for the last five years prior to the outbreak of the war were as follows, in milliards of marks, for 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, and January 1 to July 31, 1914, respectively: Imports, 8.5, 8.9, 9.7, 10.7, 10.8, 6.4; exports, 6.6, 7.5, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 6.0. The excess of imports over exports was 1.9, 1.4, 1.6, 1.7, 0.7, and 0.4 respectively. The deficit of the visible commercial balance was, however, more than adjusted by another component part of the balance of foreign payments, viz., the so-called invisible exports.

Chief among the invisible assets stands the revenue from all the German holdings of foreign property—securities and shares in undertakings abroad—which before the war were estimated by those best qualified to know (Helfferich, Sombart, Steinmann-Bucher, Ballod) at between Mk. 20 and 25 milliard. Investigations made during the war seemed to confirm this estimate. Given an average rate of interest of 5 per cent, their annual yield may be taken as between 1 and 1¼ milliards of marks. To this sum must be added the profits from international freights, especially marine freights, and banking transactions. These two items together may be estimated at about Mk. 1 milliard. The remaining assets still to be considered—*e. g.*, money paid by foreigners traveling in Germany, legacies, etc.—may be set off against corresponding items in favor of foreign countries. With regard to invisible liabilities, foreign holdings of German securities were insignificant, while foreign undertakings in Germany exercised little effect on the balance. On the other hand, some mention should be made of the numerous migratory laborers attracted to Germany, who took back considerable sums to their own countries. Since these laborers totaled about 700,000, it may be assumed that perhaps about Mk. 400 million left the country. The total yield of the invisible exports, after deducting corresponding items, may be estimated at about Mk. 1¾ milliard. Accordingly the balance of foreign payments showed a surplus which in 1913 amounted to about Mk. 1 milliard gold. Temporary changes in the international money market, involving temporary investments by one country in another induced by the varying rates of interest, have been left out of consideration. That Germany's balance of foreign payments was favorable before the war receives confirmation from the movement of the exchange rates. For many years up to 1914 the German exchange rate not only maintained the gold parity, but made it possible for the Reichsbank to procure large sums in gold. As a matter of fact, in the

last five years preceding the war the Reichsbank purchased gold to the value of Mk. 1 milliard in all.

The outbreak of war completely altered this favorable state of affairs. Exports diminished very considerably, mainly because the output, already reduced by the calling of the workers to the colors, was devoted increasingly to military requirements, while imports, in spite of drastic restrictions, remained comparatively large. Between August, 1914, and the end of December, 1918, imports totaled Mk. 22.8 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 31.8 milliard paper, and exports Mk. 11.7 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 16.5 milliard paper; the resulting deficit was Mk. 11.1 milliard gold, or Mk. 15.3 milliard paper. There was, too, the fact that Germany's allies realized a part of their imports to the value of about Mk. 4 milliard gold at Germany's expense, so that the total deficit was Mk. 15.1 milliard gold. The so-called invisible exports in the form of international freights disappeared almost entirely, banking transactions virtually ceased, and a large proportion of German claims in foreign countries could not be collected. On the other hand, the item on the debit side due to the employment of foreign workmen, of course, disappeared. The whole deficit in the payment balance could only be covered, in the absence of other possible means, by obtaining possession of German funded property and by credits. For this purpose gold to the value of about Mk. 1 milliard migrated to foreign countries; part of it was money withdrawn from circulation and part of it was taken from the reserves of the Reichsbank. The weekly reports of the Reichsbank did not, it is true, show these payments, because the amounts that reached the bank during the war from home circulation were so large that they counterbalanced the payments. In addition, securities had to be sold on a large scale. By the end of 1918 it had been proved that foreign securities to the value of at least Mk. 3 milliard gold had been sold and home securities to that of Mk. 1 milliard. The remaining deficit of about Mk. 10 milliard gold was temporarily covered by taking up credits. Germany obtained credits in foreign currency to the amount of between Mk. 3 and 4 milliard gold, while the remaining 6 or 7 milliards of gold marks she either owed or paid for in paper marks. The paper marks that have migrated to foreign countries are obviously to be regarded as German floating debt. To this floating debt arising from the commercial balance must be added the large amount in German paper marks which flowed into the occupied areas during the war, which, however, it is impossible to determine.

Accordingly, during the war period Germany's balance of foreign payments showed a loss of capital of about Mk. 5 milliard gold and a debt which, quite apart from the floating mark liabilities, may be estimated at between Mk. 3 and 4 milliard gold. That, in addition, Germany's national wealth has incurred enormous losses by the war and the cessions of territory arising out of the Peace Treaty; that innumerable goods were destroyed and the supplies existing in the country nearly all consumed; that the soil was exhausted by inadequate fertilizing; that all machinery, transport media, etc., were completely worn out, and that man power was re-

duced, hardly needs mentioning. Experts have calculated that Germany's national wealth, amounting before the war to slightly over Mk. 300 milliard gold, diminished during the war to one-third or one-half; so that its present value is probably between Mk. 100 and 150 milliard gold. Such was Germany's exhausted position when she entered the period of peace.

The first result was that imports increased to an extraordinary extent, while exports recovered only by degrees. In 1919 imports were valued at Mk. 6.6 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 32.5 milliard paper, and exports at Mk. 1.76 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 10.1 milliard paper, with a resulting deficit of nearly Mk. 5 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 22.4 milliard paper. Matters improved somewhat in 1920. Imports, it is true, increased in value to about Mk. 7 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 98.1 paper, but at the same time exports increased to Mk. 5.1 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 69.3 milliard paper; so that the deficit for the year declined to Mk. 1.9 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 28.8 milliard paper. For 1921 the import and export figures are only available for eight months. An estimate of the total figures for the whole year gives imports Mk. 4.5 milliard gold, about Mk. 118 milliard paper, and exports Mk. 3.4 milliard gold, about Mk. 96 milliard paper, with a resulting deficit of Mk. 1.1 milliard gold, equal to Mk. 21 milliard paper. In all probability the excess of imports during the last few years has actually been larger, since a certain proportion escaped control at the frontier and therefore could not be included in the statistics. (The amounts in paper marks have been computed in gold marks month by month on the basis of the exchange rate of the dollar.)

The so-called invisible exports, which were in abeyance during the war, have now been finally lost. Now that the mercantile marine has been surrendered, any remunerative participation in international marine freights is practically out of the question. German undertakings in countries formerly hostile are in liquidation. The substantial foreign securities have in part been liquidated, in part been used in payments to foreign countries, and in part have disappeared in connection with the flight of capital; the stocks still remaining of Russian, Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, etc., securities have no significance, as far as the balance of foreign payments is concerned. Foreign tourist traffic alone may be reckoned as an asset worth mentioning, but in view of the low level of the mark its gold value is small. On the other hand, the expenditure on foreign workmen ceases to appear on the debit side of the ledger. Its place, however, is taken by a new item, viz., the expenditure on interest payments on and the amortization of the credits taken up in foreign currencies and marks during and since the war. This amount has increased with the country's annually growing indebtedness and may now be estimated at Mk. $\frac{3}{4}$ milliard per annum. The deficit of the trade balance is therefore no longer, as before the war, compensated for by invisible factors, but is rendered still larger. Since the execution of the Peace Treaty, however, further large and visible debit items have come into existence, viz., the huge payments to the Allies. In so far as these pay-

ments are in kind, they need not be taken into consideration, for while they influence the payment balance very considerably, they do so indirectly only; they necessitate large exports which bring Germany no profits, and do not tend to any creation of foreign bills as with other exports. On the other hand, payments in cash to foreign countries already made and to be made under the Peace Treaty are of the greatest direct importance. Apart from the huge payments (of which the amount has not yet been finally determined and which in part find their way to foreign countries) required for meeting the expenses of the armies of occupation and the commissions of control, there had been paid up to the end of 1921 about 500 million gold marks for the discharge of pre-war foreign debts under the "clearing" scheme and 1.1 milliard of gold marks for cash payments in respect of reparations; up to the end of February, 1922, another 200 million gold marks had been paid. There results, then, for the years 1919, 1920, and 1921 a total deficit of at least Mk. 11 milliard gold from the visible and invisible commercial balance and the payments in cash due under the Peace Treaty, exclusive, that is, of the payments in kind.

How has this deficit been covered? To a small extent—slightly over Mk. 1 milliard gold—in gold which had to be paid to foreign countries in 1919 for food-stuffs and in 1920 for the reparation liabilities. For the rest, payment could in the main only be effected by disposing of German marks, by the sale of German securities, and by procuring loans. The disposal of German marks was effected in part by the sale of paper marks and in part by creating foreign credit balances in German banks. The amount of paper marks at present in foreign countries may be estimated at between 25 and 30 milliards of paper marks. It is held in part by the French and Belgian governments and in part is retained in private hands abroad. Foreign credit balances in German banks amount to about Mk. 35 milliard paper; foreign countries hold at least an equal amount of German securities. The total of the credits taken up by Germany and still current cannot be estimated, even approximately. It would not be an overestimate to assume that they amount to Mk. 30 milliard paper. In the same way only an approximate estimate is possible of the extent to which land, buildings, shares, undertakings, and other property of every kind still in Germany have been sold to foreigners. It is true that this indebtedness of Germany is set off by German credit balances in foreign countries, but their amount is frequently very much overestimated. They may well in the main be due to the fact that trade and industry are compelled to keep balances in foreign countries for the requisite purchases of raw materials for their own needs. These cannot be of very large amount, since the total export in 1920 amounted to Mk. 5.1 milliard and in 1921 to Mk. 3.4 milliard gold only, and barely one-half of these sums was invoiced in foreign currencies, the accruing foreign bills having to be employed for the most part in paying for imports and for covering in part the payments due under the Peace Treaty. This is confirmed by the course of events during the first half of 1920. The sharp fall of the exchange rate which

took place at that time most certainly drove the majority of the hoarded foreign bills to the Reichsbank, and yet the holdings of the bank at that time—*i. e.*, in February, March, April, and May—did not increase by more than Mk. 736 million gold, by far the greater part being due to legitimate export. In 1921, with the decline of export and the increasing demand on the part of the German Government for foreign bills, there was even less scope for the hoarding of such bills. To give the exact figures is obviously impossible. It is equally impossible to ascertain the amount of the sums which have reached foreign countries owing to the migration of capital. All attempts on the part of the government to ascertain the amount of these sums have proved futile, and private estimates rest on so uncertain a basis that it is not worth while to discuss them.

The future prospects of Germany's balance of foreign payments gaugeable from the foregoing data are unspeakably gloomy. That the visible commercial balance will show a surplus is not to be expected at once. It is at best possible to hope that the deficit will diminish by degrees. There is almost a total lack of invisible assets to adjust the deficit. On the other hand, the interest and amortization payments for the currency debts and for the German securities which have migrated to foreign countries increase the deficit, which can be met in no other way than by further sales of securities, by obtaining fresh credits (and these increase progressively the amount of interest owing), or by further sales of marks (which increase the depreciation of the mark). As the depreciation of the mark increases and the belief in its ultimate recovery declines, the possibility of meeting the deficit by sales of marks or securities correspondingly diminishes. The total disappearance of this possibility would be tantamount to the collapse of Germany's economic system, with disastrous results to that of the world. In these circumstances it is impossible to conceive how Germany, in addition to the clearing payments and other payments under the Peace Treaty, is to find vast sums in cash for reparation purposes. Any such payments are only likely to accelerate Germany's collapse.

THE BELGO-DUTCH CONTRO- VERSY

By LUCIA PYM

THE INCREASING TENSION between Holland and Belgium in its various political and military aspects has one basic economic cause, which may be summed up in these three words: Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine. Both Holland and Belgium are what may be termed single-port countries. In the case of Holland the chief port, Rotterdam, is situated on the North Sea, at the mouth of the Rhine, while Antwerp, in Belgium, is placed some miles up the river Scheldt. As the older port, Antwerp has long served as outlet to a vast industrial hinterland, including Alsace-Lorraine and to some extent the Rhineland. Many more great ocean lines, such as the Red Star, the Norddeutscher Lloyd, the Union Castle, the Elder-Dempster, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, serve Antwerp than serve Rotterdam, but the latter port

labors under a definite disadvantage, namely, dual river control. By the treaties of 1839, drawn as a result of the Belgian revolt against Dutch rule in 1830, the upper part of the river Scheldt remains under Belgian control, the lower reaches of the river being in possession of the Dutch.

Great canals connect Antwerp with the Meuse, Sambre, and Rhine, as well as with the cities of Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, Mechlin, Turnhout, Charleroi, Liege, etc. The Treaty of Versailles also gave Belgium a canal to Ruhrort. These canals are further supplemented by an extensive railway system.

A glance at the map shows that without free access to the sea via the port of Antwerp the economic life of Belgium must be seriously hindered, if not entirely crippled. Such free access is necessarily dependent, under present conditions, upon the good-will of the Dutch Government in permitting the free passage of ships up and down the Scheldt and in maintaining the navigability of their part of the river.

These points were thought to have been secured by the treaties of 1839, which provided for a commission, composed of two representatives of each of the nations concerned, whose duties include the study of the various technical problems presented by the river Scheldt. The Belgians point out, however, that the commission has no power to put its recommendations into effect, all its decisions having to be referred to the respective governments concerned for subsequent action as such governments may or may not desire, except when such decisions are unanimous on the part of the commission, when the two governments are obliged to act thereon. As regards the question of navigability, the Belgians charge the Dutch with contending that the latter's undertaking in this respect only obliges them to dredge and maintain the river to the extent necessitated by navigation requirements at the time the undertaking was made, which is obviously very insufficient for the present needs of the port of Antwerp.

Belgium is further alarmed by the progress of what is known as the Braekman Reclamation Project. This project includes the draining and reclaiming of Dutch lands toward the mouth of the estuary. According to Belgian claims, each hectare of fertile land thus reclaimed for Dutch use diminishes the navigability of the river, to say nothing of ruining the Belgian mussel-fishing industry of Bouchaute, which is comparatively extensive. As a result of the Braekman operations, which have barred direct Belgian access to the Rhine mouth by the closing of the river Sloe and the East Scheldt, that part of the river known as the Bath Pool is said to be silting up rapidly and costing the Belgian Government immense sums for dredging operations.

In connection with free passage rights through the lower Scheldt, Belgian national honor is also considered to be affected. As a result of the apportionment of German ships among the various Allies after the war, Belgium now has a few naval vessels of small tonnage, which she hopes to make the nucleus of her fleet. These vessels, however, are immobilized at the port of Antwerp, because the Belgian Government cannot bring itself to ask Dutch permission for their passage down the Scheldt.

Bearing in mind the famous epigram of the Abbé Sièyes, "L'Escaut 'est pour la Hollande—rien; pour la Belgique—tout!", Belgium insisted on placing before the Supreme Council at Versailles a request for complete revision of the treaties of 1839. On March 8, 1919, the Council decided benevolently, if somewhat vaguely, that the treaties in question should be wholly revised upon the common demand of the powers interested, and that this revision should aim at freeing Belgium from the limitations placed upon her sovereignty, and from the other risks and inconveniences caused by the treaties, for the sake not only of Belgium, but of the general peace (pars. 1 and 5). This decision was received with great rejoicing in Belgium. M. Paul Hymans took occasion to state publicly in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies that the pre-war neutrality of Belgium no longer existed. Throughout the country it was taken for granted that the obnoxious twenty-four articles of the Treaty of 1839 would be entirely revised and altered to Belgian advantage.

On June 4, however, the Council of Foreign Ministers, which had been considering the situation, issued a decision which somewhat clarified the nebulous wording of the Supreme Council. This decision stated that, the powers having seen the necessity for the revision of the treaties of 1839, entrusted to a commission, comprising representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, France, Japan, Holland, and Belgium, the duty of studying the measures which should result from a revision of the treaty and of submitting proposals not implying transfer of territory or international servitude. The commission was further instructed to invite from Holland and Belgium a common formula concerning navigable waterways, which formula was to be inspired by the general principles animating the Peace Conference.

The Belgian Government took this announcement as one of formal procedure, governed by the decision of March 8, and accepted it as such.

Following what Belgium considered to be an almost complete breakdown of the attempt of the Supreme Council to settle the question, representatives of the two parties to the dispute met in Paris and drew up what is known as the Segers-van Karnebeek agreement, establishing a method of procedure with regard to the waterways. Among other things, this agreement provides for a setting up of flood-control machinery, which is to be paid for and maintained by the country on whose territory the projects are situated. Given the fact that the actual situation makes it necessary for Belgium to do the paying and maintaining while Holland receives the benefit, it is understandable that this clause was not received very favorably by the former people.

A commission of three Dutch and three Belgians is appointed under the terms of the agreement to draw up plans for flood control and the regulation of traffic on the lower Scheldt. All questions, no matter how detailed, have to be decided upon separately by the commission, and, in the event of the inability to agree, the matter must be referred to the respective governments concerned, which are bound to give a decision within two months. Machinery for arbitration is also set up,

the committee for this purpose being composed of five members, two being named by each of the respective governments and the fifth by another power or group of powers, who may eventually settle the matter by lot. In the event of very urgent questions being under consideration, the committee may decide and put its decisions into effect without reference to the governments, providing not more than 100,000 florins expenditure is involved. A permanent college of arbitration is established in case of failure to agree on these conditions. This consists of three members, chosen on the same system as the larger arbitration board and obliged to sit within eight days.

The joker in this agreement, however, is provided by a clause which gives the president of the commission power to extend all these time limits indefinitely.

In addition to the right of constructing the Ruhrort-Antwerp Canal, given by the peace treaty, the Segers-van Karnebeek agreement provides for another canal from Antwerp to Moerdyck. A great deal of discontent has been aroused over the canal question. The great steel center of Liege is connected with Antwerp by the North Canal, which passes through a corner of Dutch Limbourg at Maestricht. Belgium charges the Dutch with every form of obstruction during the passage through the latter's territory, amounting to some eight kilometers. Two locks, four customs, and numerous administrative formalities cause immense delay, sometimes necessitating twelve days for a passage ordinarily occupying a day. The bitterest part of this grievance is to be found in the fact that Belgium not only pays for the entire maintenance of the canal, but also for the Dutch administration. The new Ruhrort Canal is planned to pass through forty-eight kilometers of Dutch territory and promises well, therefore, in the minds of the Belgian people, for future trouble.

At the time of the peace conference Belgium hoped to eliminate some of these grievances by means of the acquisition of territory at Holland's expense. In particular, an attempt was made to obtain Maestricht and the corner of Dutch Limbourg jutting into Belgian territory. This land, however, had been retained by Holland in 1839 in exchange for the abandonment to Belgium of the Walloon half of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which was then a dynastic possession of Holland, and that fact may have had some bearing upon the refusal of the peace conference to admit the Belgian claim.

As between a no longer neutral and increasingly bitter Belgium and a stubborn and contemptuous Holland, the possibility of trouble must necessarily be present. Writing in the Brussels *Revue Generale*, M. Charles Hervy-Cousin draws attention to this fact and offers the opinion that no strictly governmental solution avoiding recourse to arms can be found. On the other hand, he makes the very interesting suggestion that the waterways of both the Netherlands might be commercialized, capital being found by the banking groups of both countries and possibly by Switzerland, which needs an access to the sea. With government representation excluded and the entire question one of business, in which three countries would be deeply interested, M. Cousin feels that every one's rights would be respected and the proper freedom of navigation insured.

FREEDOM OF THE STRAITS—THE EMPTIEST OF PHRASES

By LEO PASVOLSKY

I

IN THE WHOLE story of European diplomacy there is scarcely another slogan of active significance that is so devoid of real and intrinsic meaning as the one which dominated the first parley at Lausanne. "Freedom of the Straits" has been heard over and over again for the past decades. European wars have been fought and widespread intrigues unfolded with that slogan as one of the center-pieces in the game. It figured prominently in the World War and in the post-war settlement. It has now again come to the fore, overshadowing everything else. Yet it always was and still is, in itself, nothing but an empty phrase, used skillfully and cunningly to conceal other purposes and other aims.

The Straits referred to in this slogan are the passages that lead from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean—the Bosphorus, connecting the Black Sea with the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, joining the Sea of Marmora with the Aegean Sea, that opens out into the Mediterranean. These Turkish Straits constitute one of the principal gateways of the world's maritime routes. In no intrinsic sense is this the most important gateway. It is one of a half-dozen of similarly situated spots on our globe. The triple strait that joins the Baltic with the North Sea; the Strait of Dover, that leads from the North Sea into the English Channel; the Strait of Gibraltar, that gives the vast Mediterranean its opening upon the Atlantic Ocean, are some of the world's natural gateways that are fully as important in this sense as the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The two artificial gateways, the Suez and the Panama canals, are, probably, even more important than any of them. Yet none of these other gateways has had so spectacular a history as the Turkish Straits; certainly, none has been the occasion of so many international complications or has fired to nearly the same extent the imagination of the world.

There are several reasons for this, though the most outstanding of these reasons is, probably, the fact that the Turkish Straits, unlike any of the other gateways of the world, have both a vertical and a horizontal importance. They constitute a key to an important north and south maritime route, but also to an equally important east and west overland one. Both as a waterway and as a bridge, they have from the very dawn of our history been regarded as an opening to the fabulous wealth of the storied East. In ancient times it was past their shores that the mythological Jason sailed in his search of the "Golden Fleece," and it was across their blue streams that Alexander the Great led his cohorts over a bridge of boats in his conquest of the world. In modern times it was through them that Russia sought an outlet to the commerce of the world, and it was across them that Germany attempted to win the wealth of the Orient as a part of her bid for world dominion. And, since everything that Russia and Germany do is of vital concern to the rest of the powers of Europe, the

attention, the thought, the cunning, and the intrigue of European diplomacy generally has been centered—at times to the exclusion of everything else—upon this peculiarly situated gateway of the world.

If we leave ancient history out of account, it is Russia's absorbing interest in the Straits that extends further back than that of any of the other of the modern great powers in Europe. Long before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Russia had her attention riveted to that imperial city, which commands the passageways from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. One of the most deeply rooted traditions of early Russian history is the exploit of Prince Oleg, who, in a war with the Greeks, sailed into the Bosphorus and, as a token of Russia's victory, nailed his shield on the gate of Constantinople. Ivan the Third, the real founder of the Russian State, took as his bride Sophia Paleologue, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, and through that a tradition grew up in Russia that the spirit of world power, which had moved from the first Rome, on the Tiber, to the second Rome, on the Bosphorus, had, through the spoliation of Constantinople by the Turks, become transferred to the third Rome, in the vast Russian plain, to Ivan's capital—Moscow. Thus, by sentimental tradition as well as by economic necessity, the Turk, who was the master of the imperial city and of the Straits, became Russia's natural enemy.

II

At the heyday of her power, Turkey nearly encircled the Black Sea, which, to all intents and purposes, was her lake. It took Russia more than a century of intermittent fighting to reduce Turkey to the status of a sufficiently weak power to recede from this proud position. These wars, begun in earnest by Peter, reached their culminating point under Catherine the Great, at the end of the eighteenth century, when she won from the Turks the rich lands that now constitute the south of Russia, including the northern littoral of the Black Sea. And it is most interesting that, in order to consolidate these victories, Catherine ordered the construction of the powerful naval fortress of Sebastopol, on the walls of which she caused to be inscribed the following words: "The road to Constantinople."

All through the eighteenth century Russia's struggle for the Straits was concerned with reducing the power of Turkey. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Turkey already ceased to be a great power. She became the "Sick Man of Europe," keeping alive for no other reason than because the rest of Europe could not agree on putting an end to her altogether.

The first two decades of the past century were overshadowed by Napoleon's stupendous attempt to gain world dominion and by the titanic struggle between him and Russia. Four years before the French Emperor invaded Russia, at a meeting between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I, the question of the control of the Straits was discussed at length between these two autocrats. Alexander then formulated Russia's attitude as considering Constantinople and the Straits a "latch-key to Russia," while Napoleon's reaction to this formulation was that the control of the Straits would mean a

world empire for the Tsar. Napoleon fell soon after that, overthrown by the massive strength of Russia and the united effort of the rest of Europe. But the question of the Straits remained.

In 1828 Alexander's successor, Nicholas I, fought a new war against Turkey. He was entirely victorious and forced a treaty on the Turks whereby Russia was to enjoy complete freedom for the passage of her commercial ships through the Straits. Five years later Nicholas carried his ambitions still further. In the general setting of the European diplomacy as it developed after the overthrow of Napoleon, it was perfectly apparent that the question of the Straits would be inextricably bound up with an influence in Turkey. The power or group of powers that dominated Turkey would control the Straits. Turkey had been weakened so much that she found herself compelled to rely on the great powers for protection whenever she would face real difficulties. Nicholas built his Turkish policy on an expectation of an opportunity when Turkey would need help. This opportunity came in 1833, when an Egyptian mutiny forced Turkey to appeal for aid to the Tsar of Russia.

The aid was rendered, the mutiny put down, and then the price was exacted. This price consisted of a defensive alliance between the Russian and the Turkish empires, by virtue of which Russia assumed a protectorate over Turkey. The alliance was supplemented with a secret agreement, which obligated Turkey to refuse passage through the Straits for the warships of any power with which Russia might find herself at war, and to allow Russian warships passage from the Black Sea at any time. Nicholas stole a march on the rest of the powers, especially England and France, and obtained a tremendous advantage for Russia. His competitors faced no alternative but to bide their time.

Their opportunity came six years after Nicholas's brilliant diplomatic victory. Another Egyptian mutiny forced Turkey to seek outside aid, and this time England, France, and Austria hastened to assist Turkey. The result of this was that the Russian protectorate over Turkey was swept away and a joint British-French-Austrian-Russian protectorate was established by the treaties of 1840-1.

Thwarted by European diplomacy, Nicholas began his series of widespread intrigues, which finally led to the creation of a European coalition against Russia and brought on the Crimean War. Russia's defeat in that war forced upon her the most humiliating set of terms in her whole history. The Straits were closed to her and she was forbidden to keep a navy in the Black Sea. This condition of affairs lasted until 1870, when by a note to the great European powers the Russian Government declared the terms of the Crimean War annulled. Although this declaration was not formally accepted by the powers until twenty years later, Russia in the meantime proceeded on the assumption that the Crimean War settlement was no longer operative. Then came the Russo-Turkish War of 1877—Russia's last effort during the nineteenth century to attain her object with regard to the Straits. But at the end of the war, in spite of her brilliant victory on the field of battle, she

found herself once more outmaneuvered by European diplomacy. The Straits were closed to the warships of all powers, but provisions were made for their being kept open at all times for the commerce of all nations. From that time and until the outbreak of the World War there were no more official changes in the status of the Straits.

III

Such is the formal diplomatic history of the question of the Straits prior to the World War. But this history is only a small and a very superficial part of the whole story, the really important part of which begins with the last decade of the nineteenth century; for it is only thirty or forty years ago that determining economic factors came into play with regard to this important question. Only in the light of the interplay of these factors does the question of the Straits assume its true significance. Regarded in this manner, the question should be approached from three different angles, each of them bearing separately upon the situation and culminating in that vital aspect of the World War which dealt with the interallied agreement for the disposition of the Straits, reached during the early stages of the war.

The first angle is Russia. Prior to the end of the nineteenth century, Russia's interest in the question of the Straits was primarily a military one; but toward the end of the century, when Russia began her economic expansion, the emphasis in the question shifted to the realm of commercial rather than diplomatic and military relations. Barring timber and precious metals, the principal wealth of European Russia is in the southern part of the country, in the basin of the Black Sea. The country's economic expansion, founded upon industrial and agricultural development, could be possible only on the basis of an ever-growing commercial intercourse with the rest of the world; and the determining economic factors of the situation imperatively dictated an outward and inward movement through the basin of the Black Sea—*i. e.*, through the Straits.

The process of this economic expansion, when stripped of its technicalities, consisted primarily in borrowing money abroad for the purposes of the development of the country's resources and in exporting as large as possible quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials in order to keep up payments on these loans and to maintain further credit. The question of facilitating this export, therefore, became one of paramount importance, and the Black Sea basin was rapidly acquiring greater and greater significance in this regard. During the five years from 1896 to 1900 Russia exported, on the average, 1,500,000 tons a year through the Baltic Sea and 4,500,000 tons through the Black Sea. Ten years later, during the five-year period from 1905 to 1910, the average exports through the Baltic Sea were only a little over a million tons, while the export through the Black Sea increased to nearly 7,500,000 tons. In 1913, the last normal year before the war, Russia exported a total of 24,000,000 tons. Of this amount, 5,500,000 tons were carried overland, 5,800,000 tons passed through the Baltic Sea, and a little over 11,000,000 tons went out through the Black Sea.

The future of Russia's economic development was, before the war, becoming more and more inextricably bound up with the use of the Black Sea for her export trade. But this period of Russia's expansion coincided with a very important development in central Europe, which brings us to the second angle in our approach to the question of the Straits—Germany.

Created and consolidated by Bismarck's efforts, the German Empire began, under her last emperor, that spectacular industrial expansion which made her so formidable a power during the World War. In this expansion she needed raw materials and markets. Both were to be found to the east of her, and Germany embarked upon her famous *Drang nach Osten*. In this eastward drive Germany had two possibilities open to her—and she utilized both. The first of these possibilities was Turkey; the second, Russia.

The Berlin-Bagdad Railroad symbolized the first of these possibilities. By consolidating under her economic sway Austria-Hungary, a certain part of the Balkans, and Turkey, Germany saw the vision of tapping for the use of her constantly growing industries the virgin natural wealth of the Near and Middle East. But a glance at the map of this projected economic empire which Germany was attempting to build up will show immediately that the weakest link in the chain of communication she was forging lay in the narrow bridge between the European and the Asiatic portions of the Empire, which passed through Constantinople and the Bosphorus. The status of the Straits, therefore, acquired for Germany a colossal economic importance horizontally.

Germany's method of securing her position in this regard consisted in dominating Turkey to such an extent that the control of this all-important bridge would be virtually in her hands, while at the same time she would be gradually forcing her economic ascendancy throughout the reaches of the East by the tried means of concessions and all the other paraphernalia of industrial and financial penetration. She brought to bear upon this ambitious plan all her characteristic energy and thoroughness and was achieving rapid and marked success.

Her work in Russia involved problems of a somewhat different character. There she was also pushing along a policy of thoroughgoing economic penetration, but her principal concern lay in keeping Russia essentially backward in the sense of modern economic development. As long as Russia would continue to be primarily a producer of raw materials and of agricultural products and a consumer of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, she would be, to all intents and purposes, an economic colony of Germany.

Keeping Russia backward was, of course, no easy task; but one of the keys to it lay in preventing her from enjoying an assured free use of the exit from the Black Sea. The more Russian economic expansion centered upon the use of the Black Sea basin for her intercourse with the rest of the world, the more imperative it became for Germany to acquire a tighter and tighter hold upon the gateway that leads from the Black Sea to the great maritime routes of the world commerce.

In this manner the Turkish Straits had a double importance, so far as Germany was concerned. Dominating Turkey, she controlled the Straits. Controlling the Straits, she assured for herself an uninterrupted continuity of the economic empire she was building up and was constantly in a position to apply very effective brakes on the developments in Russia which would be prejudicial to the unfolding of her ambitious plans. But in forcing her ascendancy in Turkey, Germany had to engage in a growing competition with those of the European powers which had long before begun their colonial expansion in the Near and Middle East. Thus we come to the third angle in our approach to the question of the Straits—Great Britain and France.

All through the nineteenth century Great Britain and France systematically blocked every effort on the part of Russia to gain control of the Straits. They feared the growing military power of Russia. With Russia locked in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean would be, to all intents and purposes, their lake. With Russia in control of the Straits, their supremacy in the Mediterranean would be seriously menaced. And the Mediterranean in the past century was a vastly more important body of water than it is today.

Again, the key to the situation was the control of the Straits, which Great Britain and France held by dominating Turkey. Through this they blocked Russia and assured for themselves an undisputed and unmenaced supremacy on the coast of Africa and in western Asia. It was Germany's projection into the Near East that challenged this supremacy seriously and alarmingly.

Germany happened to want what Great Britain and France had, or thought they had, and proceeded to take it. She dislodged them from their position of domination in Turkey and took out of their hands the key to the situation—the control of the Straits. Russia still remained bottled up in the Black Sea, even more effectively than before. But her age-long enemies in that particular corner of the globe also found themselves facing ever-growing and more alarming difficulties.

IV

The World War swept the cards of European diplomacy into a heap, and, while it was still in progress, the Allies made the first effort to shuffle them and to deal them out anew. At least as far as the question of the Straits were concerned, the deal became definite enough.

At the beginning of April, 1915, after a series of negotiations conducted simultaneously in Paris and London, a secret agreement was reached and signed between Russia, Great Britain, and France, whereby a new foundation was to be given to European diplomacy as regards the status of the Straits. After a whole century of open and secret intrigue to keep Turkey in Europe and in control of the Straits, Great Britain and France finally agreed to a program of driving Turkey out of Europe. Russia was to receive both sides of the Bosphorus, as well as of the Dardanelles, including the city of Constantinople, and thus at last acquire a complete and single-handed control of the Straits. Italy, after her entry into the war, concurred in this agreement, and the question of the Straits seemed at last

settled on entirely new lines—contingent, of course, upon the Allied victory in the war.

Whether or not this program would actually have been carried out had Russia remained in the war till the final victorious effort, and had sat as one of the great powers at the Peace Conference table, is an idle speculation. The only thing that is certain is that when the war was over and the Peace Conference did meet, the basic idea of a disposition of the Straits through an elimination of Turkey from the shores of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles still remained as the cornerstone of the Straits Settlement. This idea is embodied in the Treaty of Sèvres—but with an all-important difference of application. The control of the Straits, by the terms of this treaty, passed into the hands of the League of Nations and not into those of Russia or of any other single power.

Thus, if we look at the whole story of the Straits question prior to the Treaty of Sèvres, we cannot but be struck by the obviousness of the fact that at no time was there any question of the freedom of the Straits, but always of a control of the Straits. And it is perfectly apparent that it could not have been otherwise as long as the actual, or at least nominal, sovereignty over the shores of these passageways was in the hands of a single power—Turkey. The struggle for the Straits was really a struggle for the domination of Turkey. Russia strove to dominate Turkey in order to insure for herself, but for no one else, the use of the Straits. She achieved this purpose for a short time ninety years ago, and then lost the advantage thus gained in the shuffle of European military and diplomatic intrigue. Great Britain and France strove to dominate Turkey in order to block Russia and to secure for themselves the concessionary and colonial advantages they had won in the basin of the Mediterranean and in western Asia. They achieved their purpose after the Crimean War, and though, later on, they found themselves compelled to lose some of the completeness of their advantages back to Russia, and were forced to share what remained with Germany, they nevertheless continued in this position until the beginning of the present century.

Germany, the latest bidder in the game, sought domination over Turkey and the consequent control of the Straits for the purpose of achieving her vast plans of world dominion by triumphing, both economically and militarily, over both Russia and two great powers of western Europe. And, in front of all these changing and shifting scenes of a century-old play, Turkey occupied ostensibly the stage itself, a puppet in the hands of her successive masters. The elusive slogan, "Freedom of the Straits," remained merely a screen, behind which the struggle for the more tangible idea of the control of the Straits really unfolded itself—a euphonious, but merely an empty, phrase.

The new deal of diplomatic cards in the secret negotiations at Paris and London in the spring of 1915 changed the accouterments of the play, but did not change the essentially fundamental idea. The puppet was to be thrown into the discard. But the control of the Straits was to pass into the hands of a single power, this time once more, as was Turkey's position in the

eighteenth century, combining control of the passageways with sovereignty over their shores.

The Russian Revolution, followed by Russia's military debacle under the Bolshevik régime, led to a reshuffling of this deal. At Sèvres, freedom of the Straits appeared for the first time as an actual possibility. With Turkey still eliminated from Europe, with Russia having forfeited the long-sought advantage she obtained by virtue of the interallied agreement of 1915, the Treaty of Sèvres made the following provision for the regulation of the Straits:

"The navigation of the Straits . . . shall in future be open, both in peace and war, to every vessel of commerce or of war and to military and commercial aircraft without distinction of flag. These waters shall not be subject to blockade, nor shall any belligerent right be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within them, unless in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations."

Had a League of Nations really become established and an international control of the Straits created as a working possibility, then there might have been hope of translating the phrase "Freedom of the Straits" into some sort of an actuality. What has happened, however, is that the League itself became a mere travesty of the original idea, while the Treaty of Sèvres never emerged from the stage of being more than a dead letter.

Nor is that all. Not only has the Treaty of Sèvres failed of being ratified and applied in earnest, but the very idea which underlay it has already been scrapped. Last March, at a conference of the British, French, and Italian premiers, a program was adopted by virtue of which Turkey was to return to Europe, though an attempt was still made to salvage some of the remnants of the plan for the establishment of the freedom of the Straits under international supervision. This was to be done through the instrumentality of a Commission of the Straits, consisting of representatives of the powers interested in the question of the Straits and presided over by a Turkish chairman. The zone of the Straits was to be demilitarized and the conditions of demilitarization supervised by an Allied garrison, to be permanently stationed on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Nationalist Turkey, led by Mustapha Kemal, refused to accept this revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. She made a bid for an unconditioned and sovereign return to Europe and to her former position as full owner of the Straits. Her spectacular rout of the Greeks gave substance to this bid and placed the Allied powers before the fact of a resurgent Turkey demanding a restitution to her of her pre-war status in this important regard. Once more the cards have been shuffled, and at this writing a new deal is being attempted at Lausanne.

With Turkey once more astride the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the slogan, "Freedom of the Straits," again becomes merely an empty phrase. At least in its externals, the situation has returned to where it was one hundred years ago. The game has begun all over again. Germany has no voice in the matter, while Russia, Great Britain, and France stand exactly where they stood prior to 1833, only George Chicherin, the Soviet Com-

missary of Foreign Affairs, now speaks for Russia instead of Tsar Nicholas I. But what the Soviet Commissary says is in substance exactly what the Autocrat of all the Russias said nearly a hundred years ago. In one hand he holds a solemn assertion of a recognition of Turkey's sovereignty over the Straits, while in the other he clutches a defensive alliance with Turkey.

All the shouting about "Freedom of the Straits" again becomes merely a screen to conceal a mad scramble for their control. In spite of the fact that she is now so much in the limelight, Turkey is weaker today than she was before the war, and it is almost an axiom of European diplomacy that the Straits in the hands of a weak power represent the most fruitful source of intrigue, contention, and possible war. The great powers of Europe are today as far from a substantial agreement on the basic problems that make and unmake the peace of Europe as, perhaps, they ever were in their whole history. And from these ominous clouds of discord and maladjustment the slogan, "Freedom of the Straits," again flashes forth like the lightning that portends a future storm.

PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS IN GEORGIA

By T. J. WOOFER, JR.

Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Race Relations

ENOUGH has recently appeared in the news and editorial columns of the press to convince the average reader that there is a considerable amount of injustice to the Negro in certain localities; but more people than ever are giving serious and prayerful consideration to the grave problems caused by the presence of two races in our communities. In spite of politics and organizations which capitalize prejudice, there seems to be less violence and more of a tendency to punish violence. In spite of hard times, there has been some progress along the lines of education, public health, and better institutions. Part of this has been directly due to the efforts of the members of State and county committees on race relations, and a part is indirectly the result of efforts to create an atmosphere of co-operation and a spirit of mutual helpfulness in solving community problems. Any slight advances in the direction of law and order, made in the face of the adverse conditions of the past two years, must be accounted a great gain. Any slight increase in the expenditures for Negro education, health, or institutions, made in the face of hard times, should be greatly encouraging.

LEGAL AID CASES

In the following pages some cases of injustice, in its various forms, are detailed. They are published here not so much to prove that violence and injustice exist in some parts of the State as to show that citizens are becoming active along certain lines to correct these injustices and check the violence. No attempt has been made to collect all the cases of injustice in the State, only typical cases being detailed as examples of what may be done to check such conduct, with the hope that

the corrective principles which they embody will be put into practice all over Georgia by men who are interested in the peace, justice, and prosperity of their community.

The two fundamental principles clearly demonstrated by these cases are:

1. No force for justice is so powerful as an aroused local sentiment.

2. Many cases of injustice are not so much due to prejudice on the part of the courts as to the inability of the victim, because of ignorance or poverty, to get the true facts in the case before the officers of the law. In other words, justice is a luxury to be secured by the man who can afford a good lawyer. Color complicates this situation and makes it worse; but, as a rule, injustice in the courts is more of a question of poverty and ignorance than of color.

The results obtained in these cases offer encouragement, but indicate a crying need for still more vigorous action. The Williams murder farm case was only the opening gun to a long fight to check injustice and create the feeling throughout the State that the law of the land will be vindicated by the good citizens when it is in danger of perversion by some rich and powerful man in his efforts to exploit a weak and ignorant man. In other words, some form of legal aid is necessary and we hope to supply this in worthy cases through our local committees.

Case 1.—A colored man bought a piece of land from a white man in 1921. He contracted to pay \$4,500 in five installments, beginning January 1, 1922. He lost heavily in 1921 and could not meet the first note. He wanted to cancel the bargain by paying \$320 cash to cover interest and by giving the place back. The white man wanted to hold him to the bargain. He demanded that the Negro's wife sign a new set of notes mortgaging her place also for the debt. In this way he could have foreclosed on both places for the notes taken for one.

He visited their house at night, threatening dynamite, Ku Klux, and other vague horrors. The Negroes came to Atlanta and your secretary went down to lay the case before our committeemen. The committeemen persuaded the white man that he was very foolish not to accept the offer of \$320 cash rather than to drive the Negro off and get nothing but a canceled bargain. They also expressed hearty disapproval of his methods. The case was settled on this basis without the payment of a lawyer's fee by either party and without further terrorization. The Negro is now out of his precarious position and has made a crop on his wife's farm this summer.

Case 2.—Twelve years ago an old colored woman died without a recorded will. When she died a white man came forward and said her son owed him for a mule. He gradually increased his claims until he took the twelve acres of land. He, however, left her old husband on the place, rent free. Her daughter wanted to recover her interest in the place. She has already paid one lawyer \$40 in advance to handle this case. He did not look after her interests and will not answer her letters.

We have secured a lawyer for her for \$35 to litigate this case.

Case 3.—Upon a complaint of a white woman, it was learned that a white man had a Negro boy, aged 14, on his farm, working without wages. He had beaten the boy once until he walked on crutches for five weeks. This boy was placed with him to work out a debt which the white man alleged was owed him by the boy's grandfather. He has run away twice and been brought back. This case was turned over to the office of the Federal District Attorney as one which involved peonage or slavery. After six weeks of inaction your secretary proceeded to get affidavits to try to get him away on a *habeas corpus*.

Rather than raise money to employ a lawyer and wait on the action of the Federal court, your agent went directly to the white man and explained to him that he was violating the law, and made him promise to send the boy to Atlanta right away. This was done and the boy is now cared for by Atlanta Negroes; he is working and going to night school. (This case indicates the power of *habeas corpus* proceedings in breaking up peonage, because *habeas corpus* cannot be answered by a man who is holding another in peonage unless he comes into court and convicts himself of peonage or slavery.)

Case 4.—A colored man came to this office complaining that he had been held in peonage on a certain farm for eight months, but had run away. He stated that his wife was held by similar methods; that he had gone back to get her, but had been fired at, and that he had sent money for her to come away, and she had been taken off the train and carried back.

We were preparing to institute *habeas corpus* proceedings in this case when the people who had been holding these Negroes were called into court for trial on another peonage charge. While they were away, the woman escaped and joined her husband in Atlanta. The men were acquitted of the other peonage charge on technical grounds.

Case 5.—A colored man felt that he had been defrauded by white men of a six-acre place. We employed a lawyer to investigate with the aid of local white people. It developed that he had been sold a fraudulent deed twelve years ago by one of his own color. His case has been to the State supreme court twice. We persuaded him to drop the case and waste no more money on lawyers, as the injustice done him is now so old it is irremediable.

Case 6.—A feeble-minded Negro girl was arrested on complaint of the white woman for whom she worked that she had stolen a ring. She was given the third degree and very badly beaten. The ring was later found. It had been misplaced by the owner. On her release the girl and a companion was seized by a small mob just inside the jail yard. They were taken to the city limits in an automobile and severely beaten. She has been crippled since. This was more than two years ago, so no damage can be recovered. The case did not get to us in time. There is not enough local sentiment to lend any hope of convicting the officers of negligence and the time for filing a damage suit had expired.

Case 7.—A Negro was running a one-horse crop on shares. The white landlord was to furnish house, im-

plements, fertilizer, provisions, etc., the man to furnish labor; at the end of the year the crop was to be divided in halves.

Late in July, after most of the work on the crop was finished, the landlord came to the house of the Negro, took his food, and ordered him to get off the place in 30 minutes. His wife and family remained and worked until September, when they were ordered off also, thereby losing all the fruits of their labor. The family came to Atlanta in destitute circumstances.

Cases 8 and 9.—Exactly like case 7.

This seems to be the habit of a few unscrupulous landlords. There is no effective remedy for such treatment except the pressure of the disapproval of good citizens. A State law requiring all farm contracts to be in writing would help.

Case 10.—A little Negro about 10 years of age was accused of murder. There was a dispute as to his age, and it was held that he should be tried by the Superior Court for murder.

In playing with a little white boy, who was an inseparable companion, he discharged a shotgun, wounding the white boy so seriously that he died the next day. It was alleged that the Negro was cleaning the gun and did not know it was loaded. The coroner charged his jury that a verdict of involuntary manslaughter should be returned, but they returned a verdict for murder. There was a considerable demand for vengeance among the neighbors, and a county commissioner of the neighborhood appeared before the grand jury and demanded an indictment. The little Negro was indicted for murder.

From the time of his arrest to the time of the trial the boy was in custody four months. Thus about \$200 of the money of the county was taken up because of vindictiveness arising out of circumstances which had every earmark of an accident.

Our woman's committee endeavored to persuade the mother of the white boy to drop the prosecution on account of the extreme youth of the Negro and the feeling that the occurrence was an accident. She, however, demanded vengeance.

Another white neighbor enabled the Negro's family to employ a lawyer and our committee enabled him to secure advice from associate counsel. The boy was sentenced to one year in the penitentiary, but the judge was persuaded to commute the sentence to one year in the reformatory.

Cases 11 and 12.—All masked violence in same county. Some description of what was happening to the white people at the same time is also included.

Case 11.—A Negro preacher was whipped and driven from town, accused of preaching Catholicism and social equality. Prominent citizens say this charge cannot be substantiated. About one week later, three white men driven from town.

Case 12.—A mob of 20 masked men attacked the home of a law-abiding Negro living on his own place, one and a half miles from town. They fired thirty shots into his house, wounded him in the arm, and fled after his first return shot. He is in Atlanta. He positively identifies four of his attackers.

Cases 13, 14, and 15.—The same night the same mob went to the house of another Negro and brutally beat his wife and two daughters.

Case 16.—The next night a masked mob beat a colored farmer living about three miles from town. He was on crutches five weeks.

Case 17.—Presumably the same mob proceeded to the house of a Negro close by and beat him.

Case 18.—Presumably the same mob proceeded to the house of a Negro farmer three miles from town and beat him about the head with pistols, shooting him in the arm and in the head. Two of these men were shot. They arrived at the hospital with masks on their persons. Their claim is that they had a warrant for the Negro's brother for stealing chickens. The brother has not lived in the community for eighteen months. The two men who were shot are two of the four who were recognized among the attackers on the night previous.

Cases 19 and 20.—May 6th. This Negro's wife was dragged from bed, and, although expecting the birth of a baby, she was beaten and dragged about the floor. Her nine-year-old daughter was struck over the head with a pistol butt.

Case 21.—Several days later his father was advised to leave, as feeling was running high against him because he carried his wounded son to the train and sent him to Grady Hospital, in Atlanta. One year ago the father was shot by one of the men who were wounded at the house on May 6th.

Early in September a prominent citizen of the town who had been open in his condemnation of mob violence and who had served as jury commissioner was severely beaten upon the streets. The men who beat him openly upbraided him for keeping mob sympathizers out of the jury-box, thus demonstrating the sinister effort of the gang which had been committing these outrages to control the jury-box and keep it packed with their friends.

Several of these Negroes were in the care of a physician for weeks after they had been attacked. Two were partially dependent upon the charities of people in Atlanta for quite a while, although before they were driven away from home they were self-supporting, industrious producers. None of them were accused of any crime. The good people of the county say this unhesitatingly.

Violence assumed such vicious aspects in this county because the good people did not realize what was happening. They were silent, the outrages were not condemned in the pulpit or the press, and it was not long until this gang, with their feeling of immunity, attacked white people as well as Negroes.

After careful investigation covering several months, the facts in these cases were laid before the judge and the solicitor. The judge made a ringing charge to the grand jury and the solicitor drew true bills covering the outrages. Eight men were indicted and will be tried at the next term of court.

Case 22 (growing out of Case 12).—This Negro, who was shot in his own home, came to Atlanta. He was a prosperous man, with valuable farm operations and some \$5,000 loaned out in the community. He was hurt financially by being driven away. A damage suit was filed against four of his assailants whom he recognized. This suit has not been tried, but to date is has

accomplished the following results: Through its publicity it has focused the eyes of the State on the men accused. They have had to employ lawyers and felt that they were unsafe. It was the first of a series of moves against the perpetrators of these outrages.

This was the first case of the kind on record in Georgia, but a deputy sheriff in another county was quick to follow its procedure. This officer had been shot by a mob while defending a prisoner. He filed suit asking damages against them. This case has also not been tried yet.

Case 23 (growing out of Cases 18 and 19).—When this Negro and his wife had been shot and brutally maltreated by the mob they came to Atlanta. Because two white men were shot at his house, he was arrested for assault with intent to murder. His claim was that they shot each other, and this claim is substantiated by some material facts. Their claim was that when they knocked on his door he opened fire through the door. An Atlanta lawyer promised to take this case for the Negro, and went to his wife, while he was confined in jail, and got her to promise him a \$1,100 fee, promising that it would cost no more, and that she would have until fall to pay it. Within ten days he called her in and told her she would have to sell her farm. After some demur and futile request to consult her husband, she consented to sell the place for \$2,500 (about \$30 per acre). She received \$25 in money, had a note for \$240 canceled, and thought that the balance of about \$1,000 remaining after the fee had been deducted would be deposited to her credit. She is illiterate, being able neither to read nor write, and did not know what her bank book meant for several days. It turned out that there was only \$175 deposited to her credit.

To make matters worse, the lawyer did very little for the man, leaving him in the Fulton tower through a term of court, although his family was in distress.

This matter was placed in the hands of an attorney on the advice of your committee. He called the lawyer and the purchaser of the place in. Their stories conflicted. The lawyer claimed that the price of the place was \$2,200 over and above the \$240 note, and that he had deducted \$1,000 fee, and that the purchaser, who is a lawyer, was allowed another \$1,000 fee as local counsel. The purchaser disclaimed any fee relationship, but stated that he understood he was buying the place for the \$1,200, and was willing to return it if the \$1,200 were returned to him.

These cases, we feel, demonstrate that something can be done to check injustice in Georgia if local people will report worthy cases to us and we can secure the funds to employ legal counsel in special cases.

LYNCHING

Much progress has been made and much remains to be made in this field.

For the 37 years preceding 1922 there were over 430 lynchings in Georgia. During the four years from 1917-1920 there were 57. In these cases we have been unable to locate the record of more than one indictment. In 1922 there have been seven lynchings, and indictments have been secured in three cases. In addition, indictments were secured in one case which occurred in

1921. Twenty-two men were indicted, and to date four have been convicted and are in the penitentiary; fifteen remain to be tried.

This is a matter in which the white people have the great responsibility. About all the colored people can do to help remove this blot from our State is to do their utmost to restrain and bring to justice the criminals of their own race.

In March the white executive committee met and decided to concentrate on lynching. They instructed your secretary to study the laws and the lynching situation in other States, and submit the results to a legislative committee to embody in a bill which would help the Empire State to vindicate its majesty when attacked by lynchers.

The measures effectively employed by other States were found to be:

1. *State Constabulary or Police.*—Tennessee had had only one lynching in three years since they provided a constabulary, and Alabama has a State police force which has greatly aided in the reduction of violence. This force is useful against other forms of lawlessness. Inasmuch as this costs money and the State's present financial condition makes increase of appropriation impossible, it was deemed useless to ask for a State police at present.

2. *Rotation of Judges and Solicitors.*—Several States do not have the judge and solicitor elected by the local people whom they are to prosecute and judge. Others provide that in special cases a judge or prosecuting attorney can be shifted from another section to try the case, thereby eliminating some of the local prejudices from the court. The rotation of judges was asked for in a bill which failed to pass after a hot fight in the Senate. Our organization had nothing to do with this bill.

3. *Removal of Sheriffs.*—By far the most effective means of preventing lynchings is a provision for higher authority over sheriffs. They should be subject to removal by some higher power when they fail to do their duty. As it is now, they can be removed only by a trial before the jury which they bring into court upon accusations by private citizens who are their neighbors and constituents. We therefore have in Georgia 161 separate empires of law enforcement. The laws are State laws, but the enforcement officers are county officers.

This is not true in every Southern State. Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, and South Carolina have found that by far the most effective provision for law and order is that which makes sheriffs answerable to some superior authority.

By giving the Supreme Court the right to remove sheriffs, in 1901 Alabama reduced her average number of lynchings from 12 to 5, and by adding a State police it has been further reduced to 2. In South Carolina their annual average is reduced from 6 to 3. Georgia's average has remained at 12 per year over 37 years because we have not taken these precautions.

Your legislative committee therefore prepared a bill giving the governor power to suspend negligent sheriffs. This bill was introduced in the 1922 session of the legislature, reported favorably to pass by the judiciary committee, and choked off in the rules committee. I sug-

gest that another effort be made in the next legislature to get this provision made in Georgia.

Judges' Charges.—The Superior Court judges are also doing excellent work in the suppression of lynching. While the sheriff can do more than any one officer to prevent a lynching, the judge and solicitor can do more than any one toward punishing lynchers. The judge's influence can be exerted in two very important ways: First, in the appointment of upright jury commissioners, who will pick men opposed to mob violence for jury service. Second, in his charge to the grand jury the judge is an influential maker of public sentiment. Some high lights from the utterances of judges concerning lynching in 1922 are quoted here:

Judge Blanton Fortson, to the Barrow County grand jury:

"Who is doing this? Was it done by an organized band, who have deliberately sought to create a reign of terror, or was it started by men with more or less worthy objects, who undertook to arrogate to themselves the functions of government and have allowed the situation to get beyond their control? If it is done by men obsessed with the idea that they can serenely arrogate to themselves the administration of punishment, they are woefully lacking in the knowledge of history or understanding of human nature.

"The whole trouble is that the good citizen, the law-abiding citizen, has allowed the unthinking and vicious to commit these crimes too long, and from lynching Negroes for the one gross crime we have taken to lynching them for every other crime, or for no crime at all, and we are mobbing white men! In God's name, isn't it time to call a halt?

"It is unnecessary for me to tell you that the vast majority of your people have, in their hearts, condemned these acts with all the fervor of their righteous indignation. It is also unnecessary for me to remind you that they are confidently looking for you to show, in no uncertain or half-hearted way, that murder and anarchy cannot go unpunished.

"Get to the bottom of it, spare no time, no effort, no expense, gentlemen. Sift it thoroughly, fearlessly, and impartially. Place the responsibility where it should be placed; let no guilty man escape. For you have been challenged, gentlemen. Your institutions, constituted authorities, the law itself, every law-abiding and God-fearing citizen of your county, has been challenged. You are to accept that challenge and show the world that no man, or set of men, in Barrow County is above the law."

Needless to say that after a charge like this the grand jury returned indictments against eight alleged mob members.

Judge W. W. Shepard, to the Liberty County grand jury:

"Lynching is worse than murder, for it is murder of the law. These men who were murdered were in the hands of officers of the law and were wards of the law.

"Your government is composed of laws, just as that chimney over there is composed of bricks, and you cannot knock out one brick, shoot out another, and break out another without weakening your chimney and eventually causing it to fall. Similarly, if you weaken our laws, our government will fall.

"Those men had no more right to murder those prisoners than they would have to take me off the bench and murder me.

"For these reasons we should struggle as hard against the lawless men who attack our government from within as we have with foreign enemies who have attacked it from without."

In this case a deputy sheriff, a town marshal, and three others were indicted for alleged participation in the mob.

Judge W. E. H. Searey, in calling a special session of the Monroe County grand jury, stated:

"Monroe County does not approve of mob violence, and I don't. I do not see how a mob could hope to improve a situation by using one murderer at large to make a score of murderers. I hope the grand jury may adequately punish those who engaged in it. The grand jury, you may rest assured, will use diligence to vindicate the law and punish the people who have no respect for it."

In this case five men were indicted for murder.

Governors' Messages.—The governors of Georgia have hammered away at this point for the past thirty years.

Thirty years ago, in 1892, Governor Northen, in his message to the General Assembly, stated that there was too much lynching in Georgia, and in speaking of lynchings said:

"These self-constituted judges and executioners are more than murderers. They have not only taken human life without authority or excuse, but they have put before their fellow-citizens an example, which, if followed to any extent, would speedily result in the dissolution of society itself. It becomes the duty of the General Assembly to consider and provide the proper remedy for this evil by legislation.

"Surely your coming together (as legislators) were worse than idle, and the machinery of justice a hollow and expensive mockery, if your will, after being crystallized into solemn statutes, to be read of all men, can be condemned and trampled upon."

Three years later, Governor W. Y. Atkinson said:

"Lynching is wrong. The State has no right to permit its officers to take charge of a man, render him powerless to protect himself, and while in this helpless condition, in the custody of the State, permit him to be taken by an armed mob and maltreated or murdered."

In 1898 Governor Atkinson again called attention to mob outrages, stating:

"The Democratic platform in 1896 declared in favor of legislation (for the suppression of lynching), and I respectfully call attention to the fact that this pledge is yet unfulfilled."

Since that date practically every Governor of Georgia has hinted or pled for legislation on which will strengthen the law-enforcement machinery. A. D. Candler, Hoke Smith, John M. Slaton, Nat. E. Harris, and Hugh Dorsey have all been outspoken on this subject. And the theory of our present Governor is that

the law must protect the humblest Negro cabin in the State as well as the richest mansion.

The Georgia Bar Association has also frequently discussed this subject, especially in 1897, 1899, 1908, 1910, and 1916. In all their discussions not one single apologist for lynching has come forward. Reasons for lynchings have been advanced, but no justification offered. Our most respected attorneys and jurists are one in condemning lynching.

The increasing anti-lynching agitation is also a very hopeful sign. Everything given out to the press on this subject regarding the general anti-lynching program and specific cases has been prominently displayed in the large State papers, and, of their own accord, they have gone farther and given editorial condemnation of these crimes. The recent articles in the religious press have been especially encouraging.

EDUCATION

The appropriations for white and Negro education should be increased and more equitably distributed.

Some of our local communities have been able to help accomplish this.

School bond issues need especially to be watched in this respect. While the Democratic idea is that expenditures for public education should be made where they are needed most, bare justice demands that the Negroes receive at least the proportion of what they pay in taxes, otherwise they actually pay for the education of white pupils.

A number of towns have been unjust in this respect, in that they have issued bonds and made no provision whatever for colored schools; others have been more than fair. Among them are Brunswick, Cuthbert, Cartersville, and McDonough. The example of these towns in erecting neat modern schools for Negroes is to be commended.

The State appropriation for colored schools should be increased. The Negroes receive only about 1/25th of the amount spent for State schools.

HEALTH

We have been able to make some progress in health, but much more is needed, if Georgia communities are made the most healthy in the South. Combat against tuberculosis, venereal disease, and infant deaths is most important among Negroes.

Child Hygiene.—The efficient work done by the Division of Child Hygiene has been supplemented in some communities by the activities of local race relations committees. These committees help to work up the Negro attendance on lectures, children's clinics, mothers' conferences, and midwife instruction, which center around the healthmobile. This is a large truck fitted up like a doctor's office, carrying the work out into the open country. About three days in ten are given to Negro work.

The work among colored people, and especially colored midwives, would be greatly benefited if it could be organized in advance by a colored nurse. Our woman's committee is interested in securing such a nurse.

Tuberculosis.—The State Legislature passed a very important act at its last session, enabling counties to

appropriate amounts of \$1,000 for beds at the State tuberculosis sanitarium. If our local committee can persuade as many as six counties to appropriate this amount for a colored bed, a cottage can be built and a colored section of the State sanitarium begun. At present there is no place whatever to isolate the colored tuberculosis patients, unless they are criminal or insane, and this constitutes a menace to the whole community.

This is a great need and a fine chance to render the State a real service. We suggest that if counties will not appropriate the full amount, local committees raise one or two hundred dollars to add to what the county can appropriate, so that at least one of the worst tubercular cases in the community may be isolated, and so a beginning may be made on an institution for handling Negro tubercular patients.

CARE OF THE ORPHAN AND JUVENILE DELINQUENT

The plight of the orphan and juvenile offender is particularly pitiful. There is no institution for the care of girls who fall in the hands of the court. As a result, there is nothing under the law which judges can do but turn them back on the streets. There is a need for a State reform school for delinquent girls. Our Woman's Committee has made preliminary plans for a campaign for such an institution.

There are a few small colored orphanages with inadequate plant and meager support.

Only a few communities have councils which look after the welfare of the colored dependent or delinquent child. The work of the institutions would be strengthened and these children could be more systematically cared for in local communities if the State Board of Welfare had a worker to look after this especial field. Our Woman's Committee is interested in securing the funds for this worker.

THE FUTURE OF RUSSIAN ART

By COUNT ALEXIS TOLSTOY

Driven out of Russia by the Communist régime, scores of the best Russian writers, painters, musicians, and artists have sought refuge in the United States and in various countries of Europe. But, in a sense, this Russian misfortune became the Western World's fortune. These eminent representatives of Russian arts have brought us a closer understanding of the spirit of Russia than we could have possibly acquired in any other way. The following article by the famous Russian novelist and poet was occasioned by a Paris exhibit of paintings by Sergey Soudeikin, a brilliant Russian painter, who was living in France prior to his recent arrival in the United States. The article has been translated from the original Russian especially for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.—THE EDITOR.

BEFORE ME are Soudeikin's canvases—a world of poesy, joy, and humor, of old-fashioned landscapes, country estates, choral groups under the verdure of quiet groves, young men enamoured of rural beauties. You will find in them country fairs and entertainments, fast-fleeting *troikas*, merchants' homes, traditional taverns, with all their peculiar types. It is a fairy world of clay toys. You turn away from them, and before you are new canvases, the passion-laden, indolent East of Geor-

gia, Persia, Armenia. And here, again, are portraits of our own contemporaries, caught by the artist in some peculiar, mysterious essence of their being.

You stand before this peerless poet, humorist, mystic, this marvelous, fierce colorist, and you ask yourself, Whence, from what unfathomable depths, has this art sprung into being?

All discussions about art inevitably lead me to this conclusion: Art of any kind—painting, music, poetry—is a net with which the spirit of life is caught, and, once encased, is forged into the crystals of sound, or word, or color, or form. These crystals are destroyed by time, but art casts its net again and again. By the extent of its catch we judge the artistic wealth of the age. But there is still another standard by which to judge these catches of the eternity—the degree to which they are saturated with the eternal, with what in art we call Beauty.

It is really of this that we speak when we discuss art, when we evaluate an age or an epoch in terms of its art.

The catchers of the eternity build their forms out of the fragile and swiftly changing material of life. The forms determine the content; life hovers over art. You cannot make a blood-red sunset instinct with the joy of a crystalline morning. In this lies the greatest tragedy of art and its ceaseless struggle with form, with the life of the passing day.

Only in rare epochs of a happy and radiant blossoming out of life is art truly contemporaneous with it; only then can art render life divine; only then is the catch of the eternity abundant and its Beauty perfect.

Such epochs are far between. Usually, the gaze of art, in its search for forms, is bent backward into the depths of the past, and the more dull is the present, the more searching and keen is the backward gaze.

But here we have a new tragedy. The forms of the past are beautiful, but they are dead. They can no more be filled with the wine of the present than old, dust-eaten vessels. And what is living is dull and uninspiring.

It was through such a period in art that we passed during the decade immediately preceding the war.

The connection between art and life is a connection of both love and hatred. This connection was forecast by the Archangel's flaming sword that barred the first man's road to the gates of Paradise. A dream of these gates is the eternal yearning of art. Art is chained to life, but it always strains beyond life, urged by this inspiring dream. This is why art is always prophetic.

But what is prophetic in art is not its content; rather is it its coloring. Just as by the plumage and the flight of birds we speak of spring or autumn, so by the color and the tendency of art we try to peer into the future.

I recall how in 1910 we all expected the end of the world. Halley's comet was to touch the earth with its monstrous tail and fill the air with the murderous gases of cyanide.

In just the same way, during the decade preceding the World War and the fall of the Russian Empire, the whole of Russian art, from top to bottom, in a dim presentiment of destruction, was one continuous cry of mortal anguish.

In painting we had an attenuated sensuousness of form; in poetry, the symbol of the White Lady; in the

novel, the preaching of suicide; in music, the most prophetic of all arts, the flaming chaos.

A leaden cloud was moving upon Russia and finally descended upon her with crushing heaviness. The Empire, with its three centuries of culture, crashed into the abyss.

An epoch came to its end.

And now we stand on the other side of the abyss. The past is a heap of smoking ruins. What has happened to our art? Has it perished, too? Or are there fragments of it still left?

It is difficult to speak now of the whole of Russian art, for it has been scattered all over the world and is just beginning to coalesce here and there; but by its separate parts, especially in the realm of painting and music, it is already possible to see in it a new blood and fresh strength. It is undergoing transformation. Despair and disappointment are left behind. You can already discern clearly its outstanding features—sternness, strength, simplicity, an affirmation of life, a desire to overcome the chaos. It is still too early to speak of the quality of Russian art. No one knows what paths Russia will choose in her impending future, what roadways her art will follow; but by the coloring of this art, by the direction of its flight, you cannot but feel in the mists of the future the blossoming of spring, not the fading of autumn.

So the first birds which have flown to this shore from the smoke-ribbed murk of the gigantic conflagration are still tinted by the blood-red glow; but their movements are strong, their blood is hot, their voice is strong.

Soudeikin is one of these. It is just as impossible to label and catalogue him as to express in words the meaning of the whole elemental soul of Slavdom; it is a peculiar harmonization of contradictions. Sometimes in Russia you meet a face with stern, gray eyes—and a smirk at the mouth. You cannot forget such a face; it fascinates and excites you. The first of men must have had such a face, reflecting the primal dissociation of the soul. It is in this, harmonically becalmed, yet ever active, dissociation of the soul that lies Soudeikin's whole world of fantasy and beauty.

Soudeikin hates present-day actuality, with its asphalt streets, filled with obvious logic, with the dull faces and dusty costumes of the crowd. His eye pierces the bitter vanity of today, abandoned and forgotten by the Lord Himself, and from some elusive signs and dimly seen lines creates a bright and joyful life in the guise of the past. This is the first harmonization of Soudeikin's dissociation; he is all in the past, yet he is alive, joyful, realistic. There is not a drop in him of the sweet poison of melancholy. The actuality shows him an asphalt-like, wearisome devil for his model, and he paints a healthy, handsome girl, in a bright dress that reflects the very joy in her eyes. You look at his painting and you feel that this joyful creature is alive, it is among us, and we need but the will of creation to overcome the dusty curtain of the present and enter once more the dew-besprinkled garden of the Lord.

Soudeikin is an emphatically Russian painter. There is one special feature in him which to the uninstructed eye might seem like self-mockery. He would paint a picture, putting into it all the wealth of feeling of which

he is capable, and then put something in a corner that might make one think that he is not really in earnest.

Whether this is shyness or slyness, or an unconscious instinct, it is a basic feature of Russian character. There are two streams of blood in the veins of Russia—the clear blood of the West and the dim blood of the East. Not with his intellect, but with his blood, the Russian knows life much more deeply than the man of the West; but instinct tells him that he must guard this knowledge for the time being. You found this in Dostoyevsky; you find it all over again, winking at you from the corners of Soudeikin's canvases.

Soudeikin harmonizes in himself two eternal contradictions, two cultures—the East and the West. He is an answer to the question as to the trend of Russian culture, and the answer is that the cultural mission of Russia lies in the joining together of these two worlds, each of them by itself imperfect, yet hostile to the other; each of them gravitating to the other, yet incapable of understanding it. The Russia of today is the painful union of these two worlds, the anguished agony of their harmonization. The Russia of the future is the blessedness of plenty, the blossoming of the earth, the peace of the world. And Russian art will be justly crowned at that feast.

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

Held at Santiago, Chile, March 25 to May 3, 1923

RÉSUMÉ OF RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED

The following summary is official, having been drafted by our Department of State.—THE EDITOR.

IT WAS DETERMINED by the conference that the various topics of the program should be referred to eight principal committees, as follows: Political, Juridical, Hygiene, Communications, Commerce, Agriculture, Armaments, and Education. In addition, a governing committee was constituted, composed of the heads of delegations, under the chairmanship of the president of the conference, to supervise and regulate the work of the conference; to this committee were also referred, in the first instance, all new questions and independent resolutions and the subject of future conferences.

The conference held 16 plenary sessions, approved and signed 4 conventions, and adopted 73 resolutions.

The conventions concluded were the following:

(1) *A Continental Treaty*, providing for the settlement of disputes arising between the American republics by means of an impartial investigation of the facts involved. This treaty provides that all controversies arising between the American States which it has been impossible to settle through diplomatic channels shall be submitted to a commission of inquiry for investigation and report. The commission will be composed of five members, all nationals of American States, and will render its report within one year from the date of its first meeting; the findings of the commission will be

considered as reports and will not have the force of arbitral awards. The treaty follows the general lines of the Bryan treaties and of the treaty establishing commissions of inquiry concluded in February, 1923, between the United States of America and the republics of Central America. It is noteworthy that this treaty is exclusively American in character, providing a means of settlement of American disputes by Americans.

(2) *Trade-mark Convention*.—The United States delegation, with a view to meeting the objections of certain of the Latin-American countries to the Trade-mark Convention of 1910, presented a draft convention which, after certain modifications made at the request of other delegations, was approved. It is believed that this convention, as finally signed, affords all the protection that can reasonably be expected for American trade-marks on this continent, and that the payment of national fees in their entirety, as provided for, should be acceptable to trade-mark owners, who will now have the privilege of selecting the countries where they want their trade-marks registered. The basic principle of the convention fully respects the national legislation and fiscal interests of all the signatory States and gives full protection to trade-mark users in the countries where ownership of the mark is acquired through registration.

(3) *Convention for the Uniformity of Nomenclature for the Classification of Merchandise*.—This convention, presented by the American delegation, provides for the use of the so-called Brussels nomenclature of 1913 by the contracting parties in their statistics on national commerce.

(4) *Convention for the Publicity of Customs Documents*.—The purpose of this convention is to assist Inter-American commerce, often handicapped by the lack of knowledge of the different customs laws, regulations, and procedure. The convention not only provides for the exchange of all customs laws, decrees, and regulations between the contracting States, but also entrusts to the Inter-American High Commission the publication of a hand-book containing the said laws of the respective countries. A single amendment, submitted by the United States delegation, was agreed to, which provides for the publication of these laws in an abridged form to comply with the usage prevalent in the United States.

The following is a résumé of certain of the resolutions adopted by the conference:

Reorganization of the Pan-American Union.—The changes effected by the conference in the present organization of the Pan-American Union were as follows:

(1) The creation of four permanent committees to assist the Pan-American Union in the study of the following subjects: Economic and commercial relations between the American States; international organization of labor in America; questions of hygiene in the countries of the continent; and the development of intellectual co-operation, with special reference to co-operation between American universities.

(2) The redrafting of the article providing for the composition of the governing board of the Pan-American Union, so as to authorize an American republic which may not have a diplomatic representative ac-

credited to the Government of the United States to appoint a special representative on the governing board. It was also provided that the chairman of the governing board, who has heretofore been *ex officio* the Secretary of State of the United States, should be elected by the board.

A declaration was adopted by the conference in regard to arbitration, which reads as follows:

"The Fifth Pan-American Conference observes with pleasure the extension which has taken place in recent years in the application of conciliation, judicial settlement, and arbitration as means of deciding controversies between the nations of the continent, and expresses the hope that the progress of these methods of settlement may continue, and that their application in the near future may be as general and broad as possible."

The conference recommended that the Commission of Jurists which met at Rio de Janeiro in 1912 for the codification of international law, and whose labors had been interrupted by the World War, should be reconstituted and convened at Rio de Janeiro during the year 1925. To this Commission of Jurists there were referred for further study topics XIV and XV of the program, regarding, respectively, the rights of aliens in the American republics and the status of children of foreigners born within the jurisdiction of the American republics.

In regard to matters of hygiene, resolutions were adopted which included the following points:

(1) A statement of guiding principles and procedures in the development of public health work, (2) a uniform international maritime sanitary code, (3) change of name from International to Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, (4) responsibility of government for care of indigent sick, (5) development of public hygiene as a profession, (6) continued recognition of hygiene and public health by Pan-American conferences, (7) sanitary safeguarding of national frontiers, (8) uniform standards for foods and drugs, (9) international conferences of heads of health services, (10) detailed suggestions for incorporation in the proposed sanitary code, and (11) increase in the list of obligatorily reportable diseases.

In addition, a resolution was adopted expressing appreciation of the services rendered by the Rockefeller Foundation to the cause of international health and medical education.

Resolutions were also approved recommending specific measures adapted to secure the progressive diminution in the consumption of alcoholic beverages; and, upon the proposal of the delegation of the United States, a resolution was adopted recommending to the American States that they adopt "measures conducive to the prohibition of the shipment of intoxicating beverages to a country where their consumption is prohibited, without the previous special authorization of the competent authority of the country from which shipment is made." In regard to these resolutions, the delegation of the United States put on record the fact that the proposed measures did not go as far as the prohibition legislation adopted by the United States. The delegation, however, accepted these agreements because they

seemed to represent the maximum acceptable to the majority of the other republics of America.

Improvement of Ocean Transportation.—This resolution contains the proposal of the American delegation recommending the encouragement and improvement of maritime communications between the States of this continent by the adoption of uniform rules and regulations in the ports of entry, the granting of such exemptions and facilities as are compatible with the laws of each State to the merchant ships of other States, and the advancement of maritime communications of the Pacific between the United States and the countries of Central and South America, in order completely to satisfy the requirements of commercial traffic, reorganizing, however, the improvements made in these communications during recent years.

Intercontinental Railroad and Motor Transportation.—This resolution provides in part for the reorganization of the Pan-American Railroad Commission, reiterating the thanks expressed by the fourth conference for its important services and charging this commission with the study of the practical, technical, financial, or other means of completing this road. There is also recommended the construction of international railroads between neighboring countries for the exchange of products and merchandise, and, with the same object, the development of branch lines in the Pan-American Railroad project, so that all the American countries may be traversed by that system. With respect to motor transportation, this resolution recommends that the State members of the Pan-American Union construct motor roads between their most important cities and principal ports; that the same States send to the Pan-American Union a report regarding existing automobile roads under construction or projected, and that a motor road conference be held at a date and place to be determined by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union.

Commercial Aviation.—It is provided in this resolution that an Inter-American Commercial Aviation Commission be established to consider laws and regulations relative to commercial aviation, to meet at a place and date to be determined by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. This commission is charged with the preparation of draft laws and regulations, the determination of aerial routes, and the formulation of special customs procedure for commercial aircraft and definition of standard landing places, together with recommendations as to points where such landing places shall be established. Under this resolution the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union is charged with embodying the recommendations of the said commission into a convention or conventions which in turn shall be submitted to the consideration of the States belonging to the Pan-American Union.

Inter-American Electrical Communications.—The first part of this resolution recommends to the American States, as an essential part of the public service, the supervision of international electrical communication, and also domestic electrical communication in so far as it affects or forms part of the system of international communication. As a part of this resolution, provision is made for the establishment of an Inter-

American Electrical Communications Commission to consider the co-operation which may be established between the American States regarding electrical communications, and to prepare a convention which shall establish equitable proportional rates and uniformity of rules governing inter-American electrical communications; this commission to be called at a place and date to be determined by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. The conclusions of this commission shall be submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union in order that they may in turn be submitted to the States belonging to the Pan-American Union.

Uniformity of Shipping and Insurance Documents.—The United States delegation presented a project of a convention for the standardization of shipping documents in order to facilitate inter-American commerce. Due to the lack of instructions on the part of various participating delegations, it was found impossible to adopt this convention, and in its place a resolution was agreed upon recommending to the interested governments the study of the proposed convention and its adoption with the least possible delay.

Parcels Post.—The object of this resolution, proposed by the American delegation, was to obtain the ratification by the signatory States of the principal convention of Buenos Aires of September, 1921, and the Parcel Post Convention of September, 1921.

Commercial Arbitration.—This resolution contains the American proposal for the organization of chambers of commerce in the commercial centers of the American continent, and, by means of agreements entered into between the said chambers, the extrajudicial arbitration of commercial controversies, in conformity with the system already in force between various chambers of commerce and especially between "La Bolsa de Comercio de Buenos Aires" and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America.

Inter-American Exhibition of Samples.—This recommendation provides for the holding of annual commercial exhibitions under an organization to be created at a conference to be called by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union in May, 1924.

Standardization of Specifications of Machinery, Tools, etc.—In this resolution provision is made for the calling of a conference, at a date and place to be determined by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, on the standardization of specification of machinery, materials, etc.

In regard to the limitation and reduction of military and naval expenditures, a number of recommendations were adopted setting forth the desire of the governments to maintain peace; condemning armed peace; recommending adherence to The Hague Convention of 1907 and similar treaties for the pacific settlement of international disputes and the adoption of measures designed to prevent war, especially those contemplating investigation and examination of international conflicts; recommending that the governments interested take up with each other, at a fitting and opportune time, the study of the questions of their respective armaments; recommending adherence to the provisions of Treaty

Number 1, concluded at Washington, February 6, 1922, in so far as it provides that (a) no power shall acquire any capital ship in excess of 35,000 tons standard displacement, nor any airplane carrier in excess of 27,000 tons, and (b) that no capital ships shall carry a gun more than sixteen inches in caliber; recommending adherence to those international conventions limiting military hostilities, fixing the usages of war, rights and duties of neutrals, etc., and also a declaration of the governments concerned that the provisions of articles 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the Washington Treaty (Number 2) of February 6, 1922, relating to the capture, attack, and the destruction of merchant ships and the employment of submarines are an established part of international law; recommending also the prohibition of the use of asphyxiating or poisonous gases and analogous liquid material or devices, as indicated by the Washington Treaty of February 6, 1922; and, lastly, recommending the restriction of aerial hostilities to legitimate war purposes, to assure respect of unprotected populations and cities.

There were presented to the committee various concrete proposals for the limitation of armaments, but, due to the divergent views of the delegations principally concerned, it was impossible to reach an agreement on this subject at this conference. The friendly discussion of the subject, however, served a highly useful purpose, and there seems to be ground for hope that, notwithstanding the inherent difficulties, a satisfactory formula may be found.

In regard to educational matters, resolutions were approved providing for the convening of a Pan-American University Conference, to be held at Santiago, Chile, in 1925; entrusting to the Pan-American Union the encouragement of the interchange of university professors and educational information, and recommending the encouragement of vocational training in the American republics and the formation and development of students' organizations.

A resolution was also adopted providing for the preservation of archeological remains and all other data designed to furnish material for the history of the nations of America, and especially of the primitive peoples. Under this plan it was recommended that two archeological institutes should be established, one in the region of Mexico and Central America and the other in the Ecuadorean-Peruvian region.

In regard to the protection of literary and artistic copyright, a resolution was adopted recommending to the States of the American Continent that they incorporate in their local legislation certain protective measures which were proposed by the delegation of the United States.

In regard to agricultural questions, the conference adopted a program of wide-reaching character for the co-operation of the American republics in the study of agricultural problems, uniformity of agricultural statistics, the elimination of diseases of cattle and plants, and the interchange of useful plants and seeds.

In addition to the matters mentioned above, various resolutions in regard to new questions were reported by the governing committee and adopted by the conference, among which were the following:

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of the United States of America, indorsing the proposed Pan-American Conference of Red Cross societies;

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of Guatemala, recommending the inclusion in the program of future Pan-American conferences of a topic referring to the rights of women;

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of the United States of America, approving The Hague Opium Convention and urging its ratification and the enactment of appropriate legislation by the American States which have not yet ratified it;

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of Chile, with reference to social problems and recommending their inclusion in the program of future conferences;

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of Chile, recommending a decennial census of the American States;

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of the Argentine Republic, expressing appreciation of the humanitarian services of Andrew Carnegie and recommending that a bust of him be placed in the building of the Pan-American Union;

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of the United States of America, recommending that a Pan-American Press Conference be held in the United States of America under the auspices of the Pan-American Union; and

A resolution, proposed by the delegation of Paraguay, recommending the erection of a monument in Washington in honor of Henry Clay.

It was decided that the Sixth International Conference of American States should be held at Habana, Cuba, within the shortest possible time, and, in any case, within five years from the date of the closing session of the Fifth Conference.

PRESIDENT HARDING AND THE PERMANENT COURT OF IN- TERNATIONAL JUSTICE

In his first formal address en route to Alaska, delivered at St. Louis, June 21, President Harding devoted the major part of his remarks to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The portions of his speech referring to this tribunal follow:

UNITED STATES HAS EXALTED JUSTICE

In his never-to-be-forgotten farewell address, in which the first President compressed the gospel of our mutual interests at home and our proper relations abroad, he said:

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? . . . The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas, is it rendered impossible by its vices?"

This solemn admonition was addressed by George Washington to his fellow-countrymen one hundred and twenty-seven years ago. That it has been heeded scrupulously we are proud to assume the world believes. That we have, indeed, observed good faith and have exalted justice above all other agencies of civilization, barring only Christianity, surely none can deny with truth.

And we have cultivated peace, not academically and pas-

sively merely, but in practical ways and by active endeavors. Even as Washington appended his signature to his most memorable and far-reaching declaration, a new principle had been written into the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, had been sustained by the Congress, at his resolute insistence, and was in full force and effect. That principle was arbitration, which was not only employed successfully at the time, but became from that moment an established policy of the Republic, from which, to this day, there has been no departure.

Thus, clearly, by the method already operative in substituting reason for prejudice, law for obduracy, and justice for passion, the Father of his Country bade us, no less than his contemporaries, not merely to countenance and uphold, but actively to cultivate and promote peace. It is with that high purpose in mind and at heart, men and women of America, that I advocate participation by the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

INDISPENSABLE CONDITIONS

Two conditions may be considered indispensable:

First, that the tribunal be so constituted as to appear and to be, in theory and in practice, in form and in substance, beyond the shadow of doubt, a world court and not a League court.

Second, that the United States shall occupy a plane of perfect equality with every other power.

There is no consequential dispute among us concerning the League of Nations. There are yet its earliest advocates, but the present administration has said, repeatedly and decisively, that the League is not for us. There admittedly is a League connection with the World Court. We cannot hope to get anywhere except in the frankest understanding of facts. The authors of the court protocol, co-operating with a brilliant American leadership, turned to the League organization for the court electorate, to solve a problem in choosing judges heretofore unsolvable. Though I firmly believe we could adhere to the court protocol, with becoming reservation, and be free from every possible obligation to the League, I would frankly prefer the court's complete independence of the League.

Just as frankly let me say that I have not held it seemly, in view of oft-repeated declaration favorable to the World Court establishment, to say to the nations which have established very much what we have wished that they must put aside their very commendable creation, because we do not subscribe to its every detail, or fashion it all anew and to our liking, in every specific detail, before we offer our assistance in making it a permanent agency of improved international relationship.

Government can never successfully undertake the solution of a great problem unless it can frankly submit it to the people. It is for these reasons that I confess these objections. I recognize the constitutional requirement of Senate ratification, and I believe that the tide of public sentiment will be reflected in the Senate. I am so eager for the ultimate accomplishment that I am interested in harmonizing opposing elements, more anxious to effect our helpful commitment to the court, than I am to score a victory for executive insistence. Let us, therefore, appraise some of the determining factors which must be considered in hopefully mapping our course.

Nearly three years ago, by an overwhelming majority, the people rejected the proposal of the administration then in power to incorporate the United States in the League of Nations. To assert that those 16,000,000 voters did not know what they were doing is to insult their intelligence, and to deny the facts. Whatever other considerations may have influenced their judgment were purely incidental. The paramount issue, boldly, defiantly advanced in unmistakable terms by the Democratic Party and espoused by the Democratic candidate for President, was indorsement of the demand of the then Democratic President. I dislike the use of party names in dealing with a problem which has now passed far beyond party association, but I want the World Court proposal utterly disassociated with any intention of

entrance into the League, and recite the history to paint the background. Moreover, I am so earnest in my desire to have the United States give support to the court that I would gladly wipe out factional difference to effect the great accomplishment.

If the country had desired to join the League, in 1920 it had its opportunity. It most emphatically refused. It would refuse again no less decisively today.

LEAGUE REMAINS UNCHANGED

There has been no change in condition. It is the same League. Not a line in the rejected covenant has been altered, not a phrase modified, not a word omitted or added. Article X still stands as the heart of the compact. Article XI and all other stipulations objected to and condemned by the American people remain untouched, in full force in theory, however circumspectly they are being ignored in practice.

In the face of the overwhelming verdict of 1920, therefore, the issue of the League of Nations is as dead as slavery. Is it not the part of wisdom and common sense to let it rest in the deep grave to which it has been consigned, and turn our thoughts to living things?

But let there be no misunderstanding. I did not say three years ago, and I do not say now, that there is no element in the League organization which might be utilized advantageously in striving to establish helpful, practical co-operation among the nations of the earth. On the contrary, I recognized generally then, and perceive more precisely now, rudiments of good in both the League and The Hague tribunal. Having marked the fundamental difference between a court of international justice, which I espoused and the council set up by the League covenant, which I disapproved, as "the difference between a government of laws and a government of men," I said plainly on August 28, 1920: "I would take and combine all that is good and excise all that is bad from both organizations."

That is exactly what I am now proposing to do. The abstract principle of a World Court found its genesis in The Hague tribunal. The concrete application of that principle has been made by the League. Sound theory and admirable practice have been joined successfully. The court itself is not only firmly established, but has clearly demonstrated its utility and efficiency.

TRUE JUDICIAL TRIBUNAL

It is a true judicial tribunal. Its composition is of the highest order. None better, none freer, from selfish, partisan, national, or racial prejudices or influences could be obtained. That, to the best of my information and belief, is a fact universally admitted and acclaimed. I care not whence the court came. I insist only that its integrity, its independence, its complete and continuing freedom, be safeguarded absolutely.

The sole question is whether the requirements which I have enumerated as essential to adherence by the United States can be met. My answer is that where there is a unanimous will, a way can always be found. I am not wedded irrevocably to any particular method. I would not assume for a moment that the readjustment of the existing arrangement which appears to my mind as feasible is the best, much less the only, one. But, such as it is, I submit it, without excess of detail, as a basis for consideration, discussion, and judgment.

Granting the noteworthy excellence, of which I, for one, am fully convinced, of the court as now constituted, why not proceed in the belief that it may be made self-perpetuating? This could be done in one of two ways: (1) by empowering the court itself to fill any vacancy arising from the death of a member or retirement for whatever cause, without interposition from any other body; or (2) by continuing the existing authority of the permanent court of arbitration to nominate and by transferring the power to elect from the Council and Assembly of the League to the remaining members of the court of Justice.

The fixing of compensation of the judges, the supervision of expenditures, the apportionment of contributions, &c., could also be transferred from the League to either the court of arbitration or a commission designated by the member nations. Thus, incidentally, would be averted the admitted unfairness of the present system, which imposes a tax upon members of the League who are not subscribers to the court.

EXTEND PRIVILEGES OF ADVICE

The exclusive privilege now held by the League to seek advisory legal guidance from the court might either be abolished or, more wisely, perhaps, be extended to any member or group of member nations. Thus all would be served alike, subject, as now, to determination by the court itself of the kind of questions upon which it would render judgments.

The disparity in voting as between a unit nation and an aggregated empire, which now maintains in the Assembly of the League, to which many object, because of apprehensions which I do not share, would, under this plan, disappear automatically.

These observations are not to be construed as suggesting changes in the essential statute of the court, or the enlargement or diminution of its numerical strength, or modifying the proper division that a nation having a cause before the court, which is not represented among the judges, may name one of its own nationals to sit in that particular case.

Such, in brief, is an outline of the basis upon which I shall hope, at the opening of Congress, for the consent of the Senate to initiate negotiations with the powers which have associated themselves with the Permanent Court of International Justice.

No program could be devised that would win unanimous approval either at home or abroad. We cannot hope to attain perfection or to satisfy extreme demands. The best and the most we can do is to appeal, let us hope successfully, to reasonable minds and, with sturdy faith, be true to ourselves and ready for our duties as liberty-loving, duty-realizing Americans.

TWO GROUPS OF EXTREMISTS

There are those who openly advocate our proposed association with the court of justice as a first step toward joining the League of Nations. Their number is not large, and they cannot hope to prevail. There are those who, in fear and trembling, proclaim their opinion that this mighty Republic should live as a hermit nation. They, too, are few and hold to an impossible position. Both are extremists. In an endeavor to obtain actual results, both may be safely omitted from serious consideration.

But two great groups, comprising a vast majority of our people, need to be considered. And between these there lies no difference in professed desire. I am striving for fulfillment of that expressed desire. Both urge participation of the United States in a world court of justice, in fulfillment of our age-long aspiration and in conformity with our unbroken tradition. They agree that, to achieve its fundamental purpose of substituting justice for warfare in the settlement of controversies between nations, such a tribunal must be its own master. The distinction between the two is not one of essential principle or of avowed intent, but one only of fact and opinion.

There are those who hold that the creation of the existing court under a distinct protocol, instead of directly under the covenant of the League, removes every tincture of subservience or obligation. For present purposes, granting its correctness, there can be no real objection to clarifying the fact in plain, simple terms, to the end that all doubts shall be dispelled and that all minds shall be wholly convinced by ready understanding instead of being only partially persuaded by intricate exposition. If, as we all believe, the cornerstone of every judicial structure is unquestioning faith in its integrity, I am unwilling to deprive it of any

particle of strength which would enhance popular respect for and confidence in its decisions. Surely no harm, but rather much good, might spring from simplification of an admitted condition.

SUSPICION AS TO ORIGIN

The other large group comprises those who, while equally earnest in advocacy of an international tribunal, regard the present court with suspicion because of its origin. This objection, for reasons which I have noted, is unimportant. Indeed, from a practical viewpoint, I consider it a matter of distinct congratulation that there is in existence a body which already has justified itself, upon its merits, by demonstration of its character and capabilities.

If American adherence could be made effective in the reconstruction of the court, with respect to its continuing operation, that would seem to dispose conclusively of all other cited apprehensions of danger from the exercise of any influence whatsoever, either open or furtive, by the League of Nations or by any other organization.

The whole question of support or opposition on the part of these two controlling groups clearly resolves into a test of sincerity. When once American citizens have comprehended that vital point, I shall have no doubt of their answer.

I have taken very frank cognizance of the avowed objections, because we have come to this very test of sincerity. Except for the very inconsiderable minority, which is hostile to any participation in world effort toward security, which our better impulses are ever urging, there is overwhelming sentiment favorable to our support of a world court. But I want the United States to give its influence to the World Court already established. Since any adherence must be attended by reservations, I am willing to give consideration to our differences at home and thereby remove every threatening obstacle worth considering, so we may go wholeheartedly to the world with an authorized tender of support.

THINK POWERS WILL NOT CHANGE

So much for the domestic phases of this problem. But there is another. I hear the voice of the doubter: "This is all very well, but it cannot be done. The 40 nations which have signed the protocol will refuse to make these changes. They have formulated their plans, have arranged their procedure, have constructed their machinery, have established a going concern; they are not only themselves content, but they can see no reason why the few remaining powers should not be equally satisfied with the result of their endeavors. They will resent the mere suggestion of such proposals by the United States as an attempt at dictation. It would be an act of discourtesy, if not indeed of unfriendliness, on the part of the American Government to approach them along these lines. They will spurn the offer. They will not brook interference from an outsider. They will not consent to upset or modify their *fait accompli*. The whole project will fall to the ground."

To which I reply: Primarily, at this time, it is to satisfy the acknowledged hope and to comply with the earnest wish of our sister States that we are striving to find a way to join and strengthen the one body created by them which bears promise of eliminating the need of war to regulate international relations. We wish no more of war. To submit terms which we consider essential to the preservation of our nationality is not an act of discourtesy; it is the only fair, square, and honorable thing a great, self-respecting nation can do. So far from being unfriendly, it springs from a sincere desire, through frank and intimate association, to help to restore stability, and, in the words of Washington, to "cultivate peace" throughout the world.

Manifestations of resentment at our pursuing this natural and usual course would appear far less as evidences of indignation than would attend a course of aloofness, or an utter disregard for so notable an international endeavor.

NEITHER SUPPLIANT NOR MASTER

The United States is not a suppliant; nor has it the slightest desire to become a master. It is and must be an equal, no more and no less, regardless of its relative material power or moral authority, ever conscious of its own rights, but never denying the like, in even proportion, to another.

And what is the crux of conditions which I have ventured to suggest as constituting a basis for negotiation?

The making of the World Court precisely what its name implies, and for which we have so earnestly spoken.

Can it be possible that, despite their protestations to the contrary, this is not what some of our sister States at heart desire? Must there be a test of sincerity abroad as well as at home? Then the more quickly it can be made, the better for them and the better for us. There is nothing to be accomplished in ambiguity. We want to know. And the only way to find out is to inquire.

Very recently a striking message was flashed through the air from Rome to Washington. "Tell America," said the vigorous prime minister, "that I like her, like her because she is strong, simple, and direct. I wish Italy to be the same and shall try to make her so." God speed him. And God grant that America shall never forfeit the high honor borne by that sentient tribute from Mussolini!

ASKS NO COMPROMISE

I cannot doubt that you will accord, at least, the merit of simplicity and directness to what I have said. Understand clearly, I do not advocate compromise. I merely reiterate and stand squarely for every pledge I have made. I still reject as unwise, untraditional, and un-American any foreign political alliance or entanglement. I still "favor with all my heart association of free nations, animated by considerations of right and justice, instead of might and self-interest, so organized and so participated in as to make the actual attainment of peace a reasonable possibility." I strongly urge adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice as the one and only existing "agency of peace," to which we can safely subscribe without violating the basic principles of our national being.

I neither advance nor retreat from the position which I assumed in my recent message to the Senate. My sole purpose tonight has been to amplify the constructive suggestion which, at what appeared to be a proper time, I placed before the country for consideration and judgment. Broadly, and yet I trust with sufficient particularity, I have indicated ways and means for realization of our common aspiration.

Further than that I shall not go. I shall not attempt to coerce the Senate of the United States. I shall make no demand upon the people. I shall not try to impose my will upon any body or anybody. I shall embark upon no crusade. Hereafter, from time to time, as tonight, acting strictly within, but to the full limit of, my constitutional authority, I shall make further exposition of my matured views and maturing proposals, to the end that we not only "remind the world anew" by our words, but convince the world by our deeds, that we do, in fact, stand "ready to perform our part in furthering peace," and in regaining the common prosperity which can come only through the restoration of stability in all affairs.

CALLS UPON PATRIOTISM

But I shall not restrict my appeal to your reason. I shall call upon your patriotism. I shall beseech your humanity. I shall invoke your Christianity. I shall reach to the very depths of your love for your fellow-men, of whatever race or creed, throughout the world. I shall speak, as I speak now, with all the earnestness and power of the sincerity that is in me and in perfect faith that God will keep clear and receptive your understanding.

I could not do otherwise. My soul yearns for peace. My heart is anguished by the sufferings of war. My spirit is eager to serve. My passion is for justice over force. My

hope is in the great court. My mind is made up. My resolution is fixed.

I pass from Washington to Lincoln. "With malice toward none, with charity for all," accurately depicts our attitude toward other nations. All in equal measure hold our sympathy in their distress and our hope for the quick coming of better days. We would make no invidious comparisons.

It is but natural, nevertheless, that we should feel, and it is proper that we should express, due appreciation of conduct which conforms notably to our own conceptions of what honor, integrity, sagacity, and gratitude require of self-respecting nations. I consider it eminently fitting at this time to voice the keen admiration and enhanced regard of this country for Great Britain as an immediate consequence of her frank acknowledgment and sturdy assumption of a financial obligation which, though incurred for the preservation of her very existence, added materially to her already heavy burdens.

Nor can I withhold from the German democracy just recognition of its new government's clear manifestation of faith in our consciousness of fairness as the chief requisite of a peace settlement between her government and ours, and of our disinterestedness in all matters pertaining to the adjustment of European affairs.

It has even been an irresistible impulse of our liberty-loving people to welcome a triumph of democracy over autocracy and a substitution of popular government for monarchial domination. Hence our earnest hope that a just settlement, terms of which we do not pretend to indicate, will be made in Europe, satisfying the just dues of democratic and heroic France, so that Germany may make good in her promises of reparation, and therein German democracy may establish a national honor which the monarchy had not conceived, and then take her place in support of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Our neighbor to the south, for whom we have only good will and good hope, will soon, I trust, be in a position to make practical resumption of fraternal relations with this country, and, following that happy consummation, what more natural than that Mexico, too, along with Germany and, let us hope, Turkey, should accompany the United States, upon terms equally essential to her welfare, into the great tribunal? Then it will become indeed a true world court.

Thus, briefly, my friends, I have revealed the hopeful anticipations of my mind and the trustful longing of my heart. I feel that the time for America to take the first long stride in restoration of a desolate and despairing world has come, and that the way stretches clear, though far, before our eyes. May our vision never be clouded by specters of disaster or shadows of dismay! If, in our search for everlasting peace, we but let lead, and follow humbly but dauntlessly, the "kindly light" of divine inspiration to all human brotherhood, gleaming like a star in the heavens, from the most beautiful hymn ever written, God will not let us fail.

MONEY IN THE UNITED STATES

(Statement Prepared by the National Monetary Association)

Currency in the United States consists of gold coin, silver dollars, paper money, and convenient amounts of so-called subsidiary money—half-dollars, quarters, dimes, nickels, and pennies. Checks on bank accounts serve much the same purpose as currency, and are used in more than 90 per cent of the transactions that involve the use of a medium of exchange. For that reason we shall use the term "money" as it is ordinarily used in business, to cover both currency and bank deposits subject to check.

Gold coin fluctuates in amount with the production of

gold and with the export and import of gold; for any one owning gold bullion may at any time obtain from the United States Government the corresponding amount of gold coin, and any one owning gold coin may obtain the corresponding amount of gold bullion.

The volume of silver dollars fluctuates with changes in the currency laws. In 1922 there were about 400 millions of silver dollars in the Treasury or in circulation; and under the law this amount cannot be more than about 600 millions. The owners of silver bullion, therefore, can obtain silver dollars only within this limit. There is no reason to convert silver dollars into bullion, for as bullion the silver in a dollar is not worth a dollar.

Paper money consists of gold and silver certificates, United States notes, United States Treasury notes, national bank notes, Federal Reserve bank notes, and Federal Reserve notes. Gold and silver certificates are issued merely for convenience. Each gold certificate represents a corresponding amount of gold in the United States Treasury, and the certificates are exchangeable for gold, and gold is exchangeable for certificates. Likewise, silver certificates represent actual silver dollars in the United States Treasury and are exchangeable for these dollars; and silver dollars may be exchanged for silver certificates. Therefore, the total of gold coin and gold certificates and the total of silver dollars and silver certificates in circulation can never exceed the total of gold coin and the total of silver dollars respectively.

United States notes are promises of the United States Government to pay the corresponding amount of gold coin to the bearer. For many years there have been \$346,681,016 of these notes, and under existing law this amount remains unchanged. Against these notes there is a gold reserve of approximately \$150,000,000. When these notes are redeemed they are reissued.

United States Treasury notes were issued to pay for silver purchased under the act of July 14, 1890. The amount of these notes has been reduced by the coinage of silver dollars until it is only approximately \$1,500,000.

National bank notes may be issued at any time, by any national bank, in any amount not exceeding at any one time 125 per cent of the amount of the capital and surplus of the bank. When these notes are issued the issuing bank must deposit with the Treasurer of the United States United States Government bonds at par, or at market price if this is lower, to the full amount of the notes issued, and in addition 5 per cent of the amount of the notes in gold, to be used in redeeming such of these notes as are presented for redemption.

Federal Reserve bank notes are issued by Federal Reserve banks under the same condition as national bank notes, except that the amount is not limited by the capital of the Federal Reserve banks. Both national bank notes and Federal Reserve bank notes are obligations of the banks and not of the United States. The credit of the United States Government is placed behind the notes through the deposit of the government bonds.

The paper money of the United States, however, consists largely of Federal Reserve notes. There are approximately 2,500 millions of these notes outstanding, while there are less than 100 millions of Federal Reserve bank notes and not more than 750 millions of national bank notes. Federal Reserve notes are obligations of the United States Government. The conditions under which they are used may be

discussed to best advantage after a short analysis of the Federal Reserve banking system.

For the purposes of the Federal Reserve system the United States has been divided into twelve districts. In each district there is a Federal Reserve bank, situated in a large city and owned mainly by the so-called member banks. The member banks in each district include all the national banks in the district and such of the State banks as have chosen to join the system. Each Federal Reserve bank is directed by a board of governors, partly elected by member banks of the respective districts and partly appointed by the Federal Reserve Board. All Federal Reserve banks are largely under the control of the Federal Reserve Board, which consists of eight members: the Secretary of the Treasury and the Controller of the Currency, *ex officio*, and six other members appointed by the President of the United States.

The Federal Reserve banks receive deposits from member banks, from the United States Government, from such government agencies as the War Finance Corporation, and, under limited conditions, from other banks, but not from individuals or corporations. The Federal Reserve banks lend their funds to some extent by purchasing United States Government securities and short-time obligations of States, municipalities, and banks; but they lend their funds principally by rediscounting for member banks certain commercial notes, drafts, and bills of exchange. These commercial obligations are called "short-time paper," for they must be in connection with current transactions and have not over ninety days to run. Such obligations are called "self-liquidating"; this means that the maker of the obligation is engaged in a transaction where in due course of business it is expected that there will be received within ninety days the money to pay the obligation.

FEDERAL RESERVE NOTES

To return now to Federal Reserve notes. Upon the security of short-time paper, a Federal Reserve bank may obtain, from the United States, Federal Reserve notes. Behind each of these Federal Reserve notes there is not only the short-time obligation of some commercial business in good credit which expects the money to pay the obligation within ninety days, but also the endorsement of a member bank, which carries a lien on its assets and the obligation of the Federal Reserve bank. In addition, the Federal Reserve bank must have, in gold reserves, 40 per cent of the amount of all Federal Reserve notes for which it is responsible, or else suffer a penalty. In addition to these reserves against notes, Federal Reserve banks must maintain a 35 per cent reserve in gold against its deposits.

Federal Reserve notes, however, together with all other forms of currency, are used in less than 10 per cent of commercial transactions. The rest are effected by means of bank credit. We may now consider how bank credit is created and used.

BANK CREDIT

When a deposit is made in a bank the money is loaned by the depositor to the bank. Although the bank agrees to pay the money at any time on demand to the order of the depositor, the bank is free to make use of this money, provided the bank remains able to pay its depositors upon de-

mand. Originally a bank of deposit was a custodian of money, and the depositor paid the bank for safeguarding his money until he demanded it. In the course of time it was learned by experience that a bank could be so conducted as actually to pay all depositors on demand and yet make some use of a considerable portion of the money on deposit. This has been possible, however, only when banks have made such use of money on deposit as never to interfere with the obligation to pay depositors on demand.

In so far as a bank makes use of depositors' money under such conditions that it can regain the money on demand, obviously the bank is prepared to repay its depositors upon their demand; but, to make full use of their money, banks must part with most of it for definite periods. Most borrowers from banks require money for ninety days, six months, or a year. Although the banks may lend depositors' money for such fixed periods, the banks remain under obligation to pay depositors on demand.

Experience has shown that if a bank retains in its vaults a part, say 15 per cent, of the money on deposit with it; if it lends part on demand; if it lends part for ninety days, and part for six months, almost invariably the bank is ready to pay those depositors who actually demand their money. If money on hand is reduced, money loaned on demand can be called in; and then, as payments are made to the bank when loans fall due, the bank can retain the money and not lend it out again for fixed periods until the bank is assured that the requirements of depositors again justify such disposition of their money.

Notwithstanding the fact that a bank need not keep all the depositors' money in its vaults, but may lend it to others, the primary duty of a bank is to safeguard this money. Depositors are willing that banks should be more than mere custodians, but they insist that banks do not lose their money. Therefore it is necessary that banks not only pay those depositors who demand their money, but also safeguard the money of all depositors. Sound banking practice involves, therefore, two fundamentals, both of which are essential if depositors are to trust their money to banks: One is that banks always have at hand sufficient money to pay those depositors who demand their money; the other is that banks make only such use of depositors' money as is consistent with safeguarding this money.

Depositors continue to have confidence in banks only as long as they know that banks are following such a policy. If people question the ability of the banks to pay depositors on demand and to safeguard all money on deposit, money is not deposited with banks. Thus the practice of depositing money in banks and the privilege of the banks to lend the deposited money rest first on the sound conduct of banks, and second on the depositors' confidence that the banks will continue to be so conducted. Because banks have been so conducted as to justify this confidence, depositors no longer pay to have their money safeguarded, but, on the contrary, receive payment from banks for leaving money on deposit. It is the fact that banks can safely lend part of the deposits that enables them not only to pay all expenses and to render banking service to depositors, but also to pay interest on the deposits.

We have already made note of the fact that checks on bank deposits serve much the same purpose as currency, and are used in more than 90 per cent of all transactions that involve a medium of exchange. Obviously, then, banks

must lend much more than the currency that is deposited with them. As a matter of fact, more than 80 per cent of the total bank deposits of the country do not represent currency entrusted to the banks by depositors, but arise out of bank loans created through the joint acts of banks and borrowers.

When banks thus lend money, usually they immediately receive this money on deposit. Ordinarily, therefore, banks lend money by crediting the depositor's account with the money loaned. Sometimes this is described as lending money by making "bookkeeping entries." The fact must not be overlooked, however, that such an apparently simple bookkeeping transaction involves two of the great fundamentals of sound banking: First, in lending the money, the bank assumes a risk in connection with the loan, for the borrower may not pay the loan; second, in receiving the deposit, the bank undertakes to safeguard the deposit and to pay the depositor on demand.

The capital of a bank is one factor of safety to depositors. A bank, as well as any other business enterprise, must run risks. No matter how careful bank officers may be, some bank loans are not paid in full. The first risk of loss, however, is borne by the capital; no depositor loses money until all the capital is lost. Thus the capital of a bank, to some extent, protects depositors from loss.

The relation of the Federal Reserve System to bank credit is highly important. In the first place, bank reserves need not be kept in the vaults of member banks, but may be deposited with the Federal Reserve banks. Thus bank reserves are combined, and the Federal Reserve bank need keep only 35 per cent of these reserves in gold as its reserve against deposits. In the second place, member banks of the Federal Reserve System are not required to keep more than 13 per cent reserve against demand deposits, which reserve, as pointed out above, may in turn be deposited with the Federal Reserve bank. This 13 per cent reserve is adequate only because member banks may at any time get Federal Reserve notes from the Federal Reserve bank by rediscounting short-time paper.

Thus we see that the business of the United States is carried on partly through the medium of various kinds of coins and paper money, but mainly through the medium of checks drawn against bank deposits.

All this money—the bank deposits as well as the currency—is kept at par with the gold dollar of fixed weight and fineness because there are sufficient gold reserves to guarantee the convertibility into gold of all the money in circulation up to the limits of the demand conversion. The value of United States money is therefore known throughout the world, and it has fluctuated in purchasing power much less than the monetary units of those countries which have departed from the gold standard.

PROGRESS AT LAUSANNE

The second Lausanne Conference, which opened on April 22, is noteworthy for a series of concessions and surrenders, without parallel in history, as from the West to the East. Four questions seem deserving of particular remark: the concession to Turkey of her original demands on the question of capitulations; the Turco-Greek reparation settlement, whose immediate repercussion on Bulgaria is related else-

where in these columns; the status of foreign concessions in Turkey; and the payment of interest on the Ottoman debt.

CAPITULATIONS AND REPARATIONS

As regards the matter of capitulations, it was agreed by the Allies early in June that the Turkish Government might arrest or search foreigners, providing that the matter be afterwards reported to the foreign legal counselors. It will be remembered that this is the Turkish proposal upon which the first Lausanne Conference could reach no agreement. As substitute for the system of capitulations, the Allies suggested an elaborate system of judicial reform, coupled with the presence of foreign legal counselors as active members of the judiciary in certain courts where foreigners might be tried. The Turks objected bitterly to this, demanding full rights of sovereignty, the duties of legal counselors to be simply those of an observer. This has now been conceded to them.

The Turco-Greek reparation settlement was effected by personal negotiation between M. Venizelos and Ismet Pasha, the results of which were afterwards confirmed by the conference. Wearied by the delay which this matter had undergone, the Athens Government announced at the beginning of June that unless the Turkish position were modified and Allied indifference to Greece discontinued the Greek army would reopen hostilities by occupying eastern Thrace. In spite of immediate warnings from the conference as to the responsibility Greece would thus incur, the threat appears to have had some effect upon the Turkish Government. After various conversations, demands, and counter-demands, M. Venizelos offered Ismet Pasha the town of Karagatch, across from Adrianople, with a triangular piece of territory surrounding it, and the railroad from that section to the Bulgarian border. This was accepted and indemnities as between the two countries wiped out. The town and territory in question was originally ceded to Bulgaria by Turkey as a result of the last Balkan War, and came to Greece via the Peace Conference, on a Philhellenic nationality basis.

CONCESSIONS AND DEBTS

The question of concessions was made contingent upon settlement of the Ottoman debt by Riza Nur Bey on June 23, when he informed Sir Horace Rumboldt that Turkish instructions were not to incorporate the question in the treaty unless satisfaction were granted regarding the evacuation of Turkish territory and the payment of the debt. The validity of pre-war concessions and of the compensation to be paid for losses incurred by these during the war is one of the very greatest importance to practically all the Western powers and the evasion of which would appear to be in the interests of Turkey, especially in view of the subsequent concessions granted to Admiral Chester and his American backers.

The other knotty point consists of the form in which payment shall be made to the bondholders of the Ottoman debt. This is claimed in gold, whereas the Turkish Government desires to make payment in depreciated paper currency. A step toward solution was taken on June 25, when Turkey and the Allies agreed to mutual renunciation of war debts, and Turkey further agreed not to claim the six million gold pounds belonging to her which the Allies seized from the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, nor to ask the British Government for reimbursement of the five million gold Turkish

pounds deposited in England in 1914 for the construction of two warships.

Meanwhile, at the time of this writing, the Turkish proposal to pay the debt in French paper instead of in gold, which practically reduced the debt by two-thirds, was under consideration by the Entente governments, and their decision had not been announced.

CHINA TODAY

The situation in China, broadly speaking, is one of unparalleled confusion. On the one hand, the observer is confronted by the spectacle of two self-styled constitutional governments in open conflict, while not untouched by infernal dissensions; on the other, by numerous tuchuns, or local military governors, originally instituted by Yuan Shih Kai, first President of united China, in 1913, on behalf of the central government, and now entirely out of hand, uncontrollable, and mainly responsible for a situation which has led to untrammelled banditry and disorder.

Yuan Shih Kai's career ended in an attempt to grasp despotic power, followed by madness and death. In his place General Li Yuan Hung became President. Subsequent to his forced resignation, in 1917, Hsu Shih Chang, a distinctly weak and aimless character, became head of the Peking Government. Meanwhile the southern provinces, led by the revolutionary Sun Yat Sen, hero of a memorable kidnaping incident by the Imperial Chinese Embassy in London, seceded and set up their own republican government in Canton. Probably they were actuated in this, to some extent, by Western nationalistic ideas, since it is a fact that the northern and southern Chinese are different branches of the Mongolian race, and this difference may have been further accentuated by the Manchu (Tartar) conquest of China, with its dynastic centralization in Peking for many hundreds of years.

THE TUCHUNS OF MANCHURIA AND CHIHLI

Almost simultaneously two or three great military figures began to loom out of the chaos. First among these was General Chang Tsao Lin, Tuchun of Manchuria, who was considered by the younger generation of Chinese intelligentsia as the evil genius of their country. Chang Tsao Lin was said to be aiming at power in Peking, while at the same time being amenable to Japanese intrigue and bribery.

At that time Japanese interests in China lay in the direction of Shantung, and in obtaining complete control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, so as to insure for themselves the hinterland behind southern Manchuria. Other and vaster plans were also credited to them. These designs, however, could not be viewed with indifference by the Western powers, especially by the United States of America, with the result that the disputes between China and Japan were ventilated at the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921-22, where agreements were made which are now history, and which insure China at least the desired opportunities for self-government and independence.

Two other great figures leaped into prominence in China in 1920, namely, Tsao Kun, super-tuchun of the provinces of Chihli, Shantung, and Honan, and General Wu Pei Fu, who from a divisional commander in Tsao Kun's army became, in 1921, super-tuchun of the provinces of Honan and Hupeh.

Briefly speaking, the three super-tuehuns, Chang Tsao Lin, Wu Pei Fu, and Tsao Kun, may be said to represent reaction, moderate liberalism, and pure self-seeking. Against them may be set Dr. Sun Yat Sen as ultra-revolutionary. In 1920 the three military figures combined to defeat by force of arms the pro-Japanese group, headed by what was known as the Anfu Club and supported by the Prime Minister, Tuan Chi Jui.

THE RISE OF WU PEI FU

Just what Chang Tsao Lin did in that galere has never been explained, except on the basis of the well-known Chinese propensity for seeking the auspicious side of any controversy or, possibly, to clear the ground for his own dictatorship in Peking. In any case, an attempt to secure such dictatorship on the part of Chang was bloodily defeated by Wu Pei Fu in the spring of 1922, when the former retired to his Manchurian provinces and Wu Pei Fu called the parliament of 1913 to life, this proceeding resulting in the re-election of Li Yuan Hung to the president. Sun Yat Sen proving himself not amenable to offers of reconciliation, General Chen Kwang Ming deposed him and declared the southern provinces reunited to the north.

But with this splendid effort General Wu Pei Fu appeared to have exhausted himself. The scene, which for a moment assumed definite outline, dissolves again into a swirling mist, through which may be perceived, vaguely, the return of Sun Yat Sen and the setting up of the Canton Government subsequent to the defeat of Chen Kwang Ming, Chang Tsao Lin preparing actively to snatch power once more in Peking and Tsao Kun mustering his forces to resist this effort, and succeeding at least so far as to oust Li Yuan Hung from the presidency, thus leaving the way clear for his own candidate, one Feng Yuh Slang. Meantime tuehuns work their own sweet will in the various provinces and bandits increase in numbers and in power to such an extent that they are enabled to sabotage trains, capture Europeans, and extort huge ransoms for their release after weeks of negotiation.

CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY AT FAULT

Something of the reason for this strange situation may be found in the psychology of the Chinese people. A non-military nation, ruled by another, external, race for centuries, they appear to have lost all conception of military and, apparently, of civil discipline. Governmental corruption has been an accepted tradition. It is a well-known fact that the commander of a Chinese army cannot, as a general rule, order his troops into battle. He is obliged to go before the troops, explain his demands, and abide by their good will. This, naturally, depends upon the amount of pay he can give them and upon his personal prestige. General Wu Pei Fu's remarkable successes were attributed by Chinese intelligentsia to the fact that he had with him a certain number of young officers trained to discipline, and, at the same time, his treatment of the troops under him had brought his personal prestige to the point where they were willing to follow his orders without argument.

A psychology of the kind described, however, is apt to make success in administration and warfare dependent very largely upon certain extraneous factors, such as money. Unpaid troops melt away or desert to a better-endowed commander. When, as in the case of the late President Li Yuan Hung, the government becomes bankrupt, it is very

liable to lose its power and to fall. At the same time, in a country devastated by semi-guerrilla wars, where cultivation and industry become almost negligible and tax collection largely invisible, local tuehuns, as well as the stronger characters from various armies, find banditry an invaluable, if not necessary, adjunct to mere existence. With this condition in mind, the ranging of Chinese tendencies as militaristic (represented by the three super-tuehuns) and non-militaristic (represented by C. T. Wang and his friends) groups, all interested in the struggle for power, may be said to be somewhat premature and the actual future of China practically indecipherable at this moment.

THE BOXER INDEMNITY ACCOUNT

With partial decisions already made as to the disposition of outstanding balances on the Boxer indemnity account, there has been much discussion in the Far East regarding the future policy to be adopted by the powers with regard to this question, which has such an important bearing on Chinese governmental finance. There have been announcements from both British and Japanese quarters that some modification of the procedure followed by the United States (remitting part of the indemnity funds, which was used subsequently by China for educational purposes) may be adopted by them. An agreement has been signed devoting a large part of the French portion of the outstanding indemnity to refinancing the Banque Industrielle de Chine.

The following table is a statement of the status of the Boxer indemnity account on December 1, gathered from official Chinese sources, the conversions to United States currency being made at current rates of exchange on that date:

Status of Boxer Indemnity Fund on December 1, 1922

Countries to which due.	Amount due in original currency.	Equivalent value in United States currency.
France ¹	francs 391,581,529	\$27,489,023
Great Britain ²	pounds sterling 11,186,547	50,560,958
Japan ³	yen 72,121,578	34,986,177
United States ⁴	dollars 12,455,507	12,455,507
Italy	francs 147,051,159	10,322,991
Belgium	do. 46,873,522	3,290,521
Portugal	pounds sterling 20,386	92,141
Russia	rubles 254,343,251	(⁵)

The Boxer indemnity payments were suspended on December 1, 1917, and resumed on December 1, 1922.

THE SHIFTING SCENE IN THE BALKANS

The Bulgarian *coup d'etat*, which resulted in the deposition of Premier Stambullsky on June 9, appears to have been a dramatic repercussion of the negotiations between Greece and Turkey which resulted in the cession of Karagah to the latter.

¹ Funds to be used partly for Sino-French educational purposes and partly for floating the Banque Industrielle de Chine.

² Remittance for purposes mutually beneficial to China and Great Britain, now under discussion.

³ Remittance for purposes mutually beneficial to China and Japan, now under discussion.

⁴ Remission proposed.

⁵ No exchange available.

The peasant premier came into power upon his liberation from prison, in 1918, when he placed himself at the head of the Agrarian Party, which was very largely an expression of rural protest against the urban War Government's policy and the later urban Communist reaction against the leaders responsible for the misfortunes of the country. The "Green rising," as the Agrarian movement in southeastern Europe has been called, by way of contradistinction to the "Red rising," manifested chiefly in Russia, has been aptly described by the ex-French Premier, M. Joseph Caillaux, as an attempt to return to economic conditions existing prior to the capitalist régime by way of agricultural co-operation, home industries, etc. In this sense the French writer finds it, when carried to extremes, to be but an attenuated form of the Red rising, in that it is destructive of the present fabric of capitalistic civilization. There seems to be but little doubt, however, that the Green movement in Bulgaria gained support from the non-Communist groups of all tendencies, owing to the Communist threat, expressed in the person of M. Raiko Daskaloff, Minister of the Interior and often acting premier prior to the elections last April. These elections gave the Agrarian Party 212 seats out of 245 in the Sobranje, the Communists returning but 17.

STAMBULISKY AND THE PEACE TREATY

M. Stambulisky's somewhat imperious temperament, however, made him many vehement enemies. His internal policy, including, as it did, conscripted labor and the wholesale imprisonment of members of M. Radoslavoff's party, as well as ministers of other cabinets which had held the reins of power between 1915 and 1918, was bound to arouse fierce opposition. This opposition was intensified by the Nish agreement, which bound Bulgaria to oppose the Macedonian aspirations, at least to the extent of discouraging the guerrilla warfare going on in that region. The weakness displayed by the Communist element made the expression of this feeling on the part of the bourgeois groups all the more possible.

Had the Treaty of Peace signed at Neuilly been adhered to and put into force in all its implications by the great powers, however, there seems to have been some likelihood of M. Stambulisky's continuance in power. Flung into prison in 1915 for having advised Tsar Ferdinand not to enter the war on the side of the Central Empires, the peasant premier consistently showed himself friendly to the Entente and a believer in its ultimate good faith toward Bulgaria. By the Treaty of Neuilly the Bulgars, who had been the first to sue for peace and whose action in this regard precipitated the crumbling of the entire Central Powers' organization, were penalized by an indemnity amounting to two and a quarter milliard gold francs and the loss of several valuable strips of territory to Greece, Serbia, and Rumania, including more especially western Thrace, which Bulgaria had gained from Turkey by treaty in the previous Balkan war and which insured to her an access to the Ægean Sea. For some time the complete cession of western Thrace to Greece was delayed, and the Bulgars hoped for the provision of at least a corridor to the Ægean, including the port of Dedeagatch, or else that of Karagatch. Economic rights, such as that of using the ports of Saloniki and Kavalla, as well as Dedeagatch, which were stressed at the Peace Conference, naturally did not appeal to the Bulgar mind, which, in common with the rest of the Balkan

peoples, can hardly be said to have been trained, as yet, to an intense belief in right as opposed to might.

EXAMPLE OF TURKEY AND GREECE

The spectacle of Turkey tearing up the Treaty of Sèvres by main force and making an almost triumphant return to Europe augmented the already existing discontent in Bulgaria, and when Greece, the former protégé of the Allies, was observed to be negotiating separately with Turkey, over the head of the Lausanne Conference, which negotiations finally led to the return to the latter country of the port of Karagatch, which the Bulgars considered to be theirs by right of treaty with the Ottoman Empire, M. Stambulisky's prestige as the protagonist of the former Entente received its death blow in Bulgaria. The end was not long in coming. M. Stambulisky lost his leadership and, eventually, his life. The actual *coup d'état* is vividly described by one of the participants, Captain Gantecheff, in the *Manchester Guardian*, as follows:

A national committee was formed some time ago, consisting of officers and representatives of all parties excepting Communists. On Friday of last week (June 9), at 3 a. m., General Lazaroff, the most popular Bulgarian general, arrested all police inspectors. Simultaneously all the barracks were occupied by reserve officers' detachments. Other detachments arrested the ministers, who were guarded by 30 soldiers each; yet only the Transport Minister, Athanasoff, offered resistance.

Another officers' detachment occupied the royal palace, after overcoming resistance, but the King himself stayed at his hunting seat in Vrana, where Zankoff, the new premier, forced him to sign a ukase nominating the new ministry. The King wanted to appoint Professor Miletitch as premier, but he declined on the ground of being a Macedonian.

Stambulisky, guarded by 300 soldiers, was arrested in his native village of Slavovitza while sleeping.

Malinoff and the ministers imprisoned by Stambulisky are not liberated, but, instead of being in prison, are interned at home. The government is thus wanting in respect for the plebiscite. Order has been restored and transport resumed.

Three prominent peasant leaders, namely, Krum Popoff (the burgomaster of Sofia), Stefanoff (the chief of police), and Athanosoff (the Transport Minister), were killed, besides M. Stambulisky.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The new premier, M. Zankoff, is forty-three years of age. He belongs to the Narodniak Nationalist Party and was once a friend of Stambulisky. Upon persecution by the latter, however, he went into hiding in Bulgaria. The provisional government, formed as a result of the *coup d'état*, comprised General Ivan Rousseff (Interior), M. Peter Theodoroff (Finance), M. Kassazoff (Railway), M. Smyloff (Justice), Professor Moloff (Agriculture and Education), M. Bobotchevsky (Commerce), M. Sloyantcheff (Public Works). Most of these men are Radicals, Socialists, Liberals, Narodniaks, or Democrats. Their views may best be expressed in the words of General Rousseff, who declared, following the reorganization of the cabinet:

We made this revolution because Agrarianism was destroying Bulgaria. Our policy will be one of peace, and in no way directed against our neighbors. We shall do our utmost to avoid any bloodshed, and hope that Bulgaria will shortly resume her prosperous pre-war career. Our action

has nothing in common with the Macedonian Autonomists and is purely a Bulgarian movement.

The European press, nevertheless, unites in declaring the situation thus created to contain elements of extreme danger for the near future.

THE BOK PEACE AWARD

THE FOLLOWING is printed upon the request of the policy committee of the American Peace Award, created by Edward W. Bok, offering one hundred thousand dollars:

This award will be given to the author of the best practicable plan by which the United States may co-operate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world.

The award is offered in the conviction that the peace of the world is the problem of the people of the United States, and that a way can be found by which America's voice can be made to count among the nations for peace and for the future welfare and integrity of the United States.

The purpose of the award is to give the American people from coast to coast a direct opportunity to evolve a plan that will be acceptable to many groups of our citizens, who, while now perhaps disagreeing as to the best method of international association, strongly desire to see America do its share in the prevention of war and the establishment of comity among the nations of the earth.

FOUR SUBSIDIARY AWARDS

Since the plan finally selected by the jury may be a composite of more than one plan, there are also offered, in addition, second, third, fourth, and fifth awards of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) each for any plans or portions of plans used by the jury of award in a composite plan.

If the jury accepts one plan in full, making no additions to it from other plans, no subsidiary awards will be made.

CONDITIONS OF AWARD

Qualifications of Contestants

The contest is open to every citizen of the United States, by birth or naturalization.

Plans may be submitted either by individuals or by organizations of every kind, national, State, or local.

Scope of the Plan

The winning plan must provide a practicable means whereby the United States can take its place and do its share toward preserving world peace, while not making compulsory the participation of the United States in European wars, if any such are, in the future, found unpreventable.

The plan may be based upon the present covenant of the League of Nations or may be entirely apart from that instrument.

Time and Manner of Payment

The purpose of the award is twofold: First, to produce a plan; and, secondly, to insure, so far as may be, that it will be put into operation.

The award is, therefore, to be made in two payments:

Fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) will be paid to the author of the winning plan as soon as the jury of award has selected it. The second fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) will be paid to the author if and when the plan, in substance and intent, is approved by the United States Senate; or if and when the jury of award decides that an adequate degree of popular support has been demonstrated for the winning plan.

The question of whether amendments which may be made in the Senate materially affect the intent of the plan submitted and the acceptance or rejection of these amendments are left entirely to the judgment of the jury of award.

The second half of the award, or fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000), shall not be deemed to have been won unless the conditions above mentioned as to the approval of the plan shall be fulfilled on or before March 4, 1925.

The subsidiary awards are to be paid upon the same basis as the principal award; that is, twenty-five hundred dollars (\$2,500) will be paid to the author at the time the first fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) is paid, and the remaining twenty-five hundred (\$2,500) if and when the composite plan, in substance and intent, shall have been accepted by the Senate of the United States; or if and when the jury of award decides that an adequate degree of popular support has been demonstrated for the winning plan.

FORM OF PLAN

Plans submitted should not be in the form of bills, resolutions, or treaties suitable for presentation to the Senate.

The paper submitted may include not only the exposition of the plan, but also argument for it.

A summary of not exceeding 500 words must accompany every plan.

Length

The total number of words submitted, exclusive of the summary, must not exceed five thousand (5,000).

Rules for Contestants

Only one plan may be submitted by any one contestant.

Manuscripts must be typewritten and on only one side of the page.

Manuscripts must not be rolled.

They must not be accompanied by letters.

They must not bear the name of the author or contain anything by which the author might be identified. Each manuscript must have attached to it a plain sealed envelope containing the author's name and address. As they are received, the manuscript and envelope will be marked for identification with the same number. The envelopes will not be opened until the jury of award has made its selections.

No manuscripts will be returned. No postage for the return of manuscripts should therefore be included by the sender.

Time Limitation

All manuscripts must be received at the office of the American Peace Award by 12 o'clock midnight on November 15, 1923. Manuscripts received after that time cannot be considered.

It is expected that the jury will be able to announce the selection of a plan for the first part of the award in time for the plan to be presented to the Senate early in 1924.

The submission of any manuscript, whether or not it receives an award, shall give to the committee full rights to publish the same in such manner and at such time as it may choose.

Please address all inquiries to the American Peace Award, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED by the 102d annual session of the General Convention of the New Jerusalem, held in Washington, on May 12-15:

Whereas this convention has listened with deep interest to the message and challenge to the church conveyed in the address by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip on the "Moral Obligations of Nations"; and

Whereas the challenge to the church has been given definite shape in this address, as covering the necessity of impressing upon the Christian world the fact that obedience to the Ten Commandments is as obligatory on nations as it is on individuals; and

Whereas, for the adjustment and settlement of individual cases of disagreement as to property, boundary, and all rights as between individuals, and for the adjustment of the violation of the law with reference to life, property, and rights of ownerships, courts have been established in this and other lands; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention hereby earnestly and solemnly reaffirms its position, that the Ten Commandments are the law of life for nations as they are for individuals; and be it further

Resolved, That this convention urges upon the Federal Government the moral obligation developing upon it, to make the machinery of a world court available to our government at the earliest possible time and in such shape as will further the desires of its peace-loving Christian population, for the attainment of justice among nations, as it has in the past furthered the same desire for the adjustment of its internal affairs; and that these steps be taken with the further and final goal in view of a unity among nations, a world family, through and by which the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God may find lasting and adequate expression.

A SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY has been created, to serve as an advisory board to the Brazilian Government in commercial and industrial matters. The council will be subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and will be composed of 36 members, including the following: Director General of Industry and Commerce, Director General of Statistics, Director of the Information Bureau, President of the Board of Commerce and Committee of Brokers of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, Federal Inspector of Railways, and the Director General of Commercial and Consular Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Besides studying subjects which may interest internal and external commerce and national industries, the Superior Council of Commerce and Industry shall be concerned with the following: New markets and the development

of existing commercial relations; commercial inquiries; taxes, railway, and custom-house tariffs; land, sea, and river transportation and corresponding freight rates; navigation and the régime of commercial ports; produce and shipping exchanges; banks and saving banks; emission of bonds and credit notes; money circulation; private associations and mutual aid societies; drawbacks and warrants; propaganda within and out of the country; commercial and industrial statistics; marine and fire insurance; the development of large and small industries; expositions and national and international fairs; economic congresses; industrial properties; commercial and industrial technical education.

INDUSTRY IN UNOCCUPIED GERMANY experienced the usual revival of export orders and domestic business as a result of the recent collapse of the mark, following the long period of relative stability. The stimulus is being felt especially by the metallurgical, machine, and textile industries, while the glass, cement, and wood industries continue dull. Industries in occupied Germany are further slowing down and manufacturing for stock is becoming increasingly impracticable. Most of the coal mines are producing only enough to supply their own needs, the miners still being engaged on emergency jobs. Imports of Swedish ores are still forbidden by the French, but the Franco-Swedish agreement looks to an early removal of this embargo. Exports from occupied area to foreign countries have been facilitated by German and French concessions, which release goods ordered before February 20 upon payment of the export duty to both German and French customs, but commerce is still greatly hindered and smuggling is frequent. Exports to unoccupied Germany continue to be impeded by embargoes on many goods and the requirement of 10 per cent export tax on others.

THE TREMENDOUS SLUMP in the annual per capita meat consumption in Westphalia, Germany, from 50 kilograms prior to the war to a present annual consumption of 12 to 13 kilograms, has placed meat dealers in a quandary, and in order to increase consumption the United Butchers' Association of Westphalia at a recent meeting resolved unanimously to deal in frozen meats from Argentina and Uruguay, which, it is claimed, can be retailed at a price one-third cheaper than fresh meats. The big decrease in meat consumption may be attributed to the loss of cattle lands in east Prussia, Schleswig-Holstein, and along the Belgian frontier under the terms of the Versailles Treaty, the delivery of cattle as reparations, and the lack of fodder.

UNDER THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION between Belgium and France, signed May 12 and effective 10 days after exchange of ratifications upon parliamentary approval in both countries, France continues to accord Belgium the entire minimum tariff, with reduction in coefficients which amount to the lowering of duties from 10 to 15 per cent on a considerable number of articles. Belgium, on the other hand, in granting France its proposed minimum tariff, effects numerous reductions from the proposed rates.

THE GRANTING OF RAILROAD CONCESSIONS and the transfer of certain railroads to private enterprise were discussed at the meeting of the Italian Council of Ministers on March 15. It was decided to grant concessions for a length of time that will attract investment. The intention is to exact on behalf of the government a share on all profits exceeding a 7 per cent dividend per share. Grantees will not be obliged to buy material and rolling stock on hand at the time of the transfer of the State railroads to their jurisdiction. It seems probable that the State will retain the operation of trunk and important lines, and particularly of the sections of the State railroads which have heretofore been operated at a profit. A number of branch lines, however, may be transferred to private enterprise.

THE FRIENDS' COUNCIL for International Service has been asked by the secretary of the Munich branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to "send one or two workers to Munich to bring their message of non-violence and tolerance to that group of people who are constantly preaching violence against the French, Jews, socialists, pacifists, republicans, etc., and are thus creating a new atmosphere of fear, hatred, and brute force between nations, classes, and races." The secretary writes, "I do hope that your committee will realize the great danger for the whole of Germany, for the peace of Europe, springing from the ever-growing reactionary movement in Bavaria." The committee hopes to find one or more American Friends who are acquainted with local conditions in Munich to undertake the work.

WINTER AIR TRAVEL is rapidly becoming more steady and dependable. At Le Bourget, for instance, air-port of Paris, there were last January on the average six airplanes a day, arriving or departing with about 25 passengers and over a ton of express business. In America express and mail business now goes on, almost without regard to climatic conditions. In fact, the schedule of trips here for winter and summer does not vary at all.

NEARLY 200 NEW GROUPS have just been added to Germany's agricultural co-operative societies, making the total strength now 37,430, with a membership of 4,652,125 farmers. Although agricultural co-operation in Germany has had no phenomenal growth, it has increased since 1895 at a healthy and fairly constant rate. German agricultural co-operatives are united in 13 major associations, the most important of which is the Federal Association of German Agricultural Co-operatives, with a membership of 33 State and provincial associations composed of 19,863 co-operatives, with a turn-over in 1921 of 181 billion marks.

THE CHAMBER OF AGRICULTURE of the German province of Pomerania has recently approached the commercial office of the Soviet Russian Government in Berlin with an application for permission to send representatives into Russia. A number of big German landed proprietors in Pomerania are keenly interested in agricultural concessions in Russia similar to those granted

the firm of Friedrich Krupp. The representatives, if admitted, are to inform themselves concerning the situation of Russian agriculture and to ascertain to what extent the German landed proprietors can participate in agriculture in Soviet Russia.

DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS the cost of living all over the world shows a tendency to remain stationary. There are, however, differences between the various countries. In the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Holland prices have fallen to 54 to 64 per cent over pre-war rates; in Switzerland and Japan prices remain 70 to 90 per cent above pre-war rates. In Belgium, France, and Poland there is a tendency to rise. In Germany wholesale prices have fallen slightly, but retail prices have not followed them. In Austria retail prices have declined slightly.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORK OF WOMEN in Germany is more extensive than before the war. Women are retaining the cigar-making, which they first took over during the war, and also, in some districts, the tending of the semi-automatic machines used in making small hardware goods. They also hold their ground in all those branches of industry in which they have always been dominant, namely, the textile industry, cleaning, laundry work, and typing.

THE FIRST ALL-WOMEN STRIKE has been announced as having broken out in some Madras (India) spinning mills at the beginning of May. A new Labor Party, calling itself Communist, but having no connection with Moscow, has been formed in India. It will affiliate with the Indian National Congress. It advocates non-co-operation and passive resistance. The Labor press in India numbers six papers, namely, two for railway workers, one for clerks (Calcutta only), one for postal employees, one Socialist, and one Labor paper. *Swadharmā*, the Labor paper which is the earliest of these, is only two years old.

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Czechoslovak Labor Federation for the year 1922 shows that it suffered much from economic conflicts and Communist rivalry. At the beginning of the year it comprised 55 unions, with a total membership of 650,000; at the end it had only 49 unions, with 400,000 members. Seven new unions affiliated with it during the course of the year and eight seceded. Owing to heavy disbursements to the unemployed, the balance-sheet of the Federation shows a deficit of 800,000 kronen.

RECONSTRUCTION (VIENNA) STATES that the preliminary returns of the census of Vienna, taken on March 7, show an increase of population in that city during the last three years. In 1910 Vienna had 2,031,498 inhabitants; in 1920, 1,841,326; in 1923, 1,863,739. The increase amounts to about 1.2 per cent. In spite of the decrease of population, however, the housing shortage is reported to continue. This is said to be due to the fact that people demand a higher standard of house room. The rent restrictions act has made house rent a

negligible item, the last increase authorized being 150 times pre-war level. This only means that a house rented in 1914 for 1,000 kronen (then about \$200) is now rented at 150,000 kronen, which is equal to about \$2.00 at present exchange rate, and even in relation to wages and purchasing power is only \$4.00 at the most.

THE BUREAU INTERNATIONALE DE LE PAIX announces that there is to be a General Assembly of Delegates from the various peace societies of the world at Bâle, Switzerland, from the 15th to the 18th of September. The provisional order of the day is: (1) Propaganda; the development of existing peace societies; the creation of new societies; and the co-ordination and co-operation of peace societies; (2) problems of the day, such as reparations; moral and economic disarmament; the near East; (3) suggestive modifications of the covenant of the League of Nations for administrative questions. The Bureau invites the peace societies to study these questions and to send their views, together with the names of their delegates, to Secretary H. Golay, Byrne, Switzerland. It is announced that the official reports will be published in "Le Mouvement Pacifiste" on the 15th of July. The readers of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE will realize that the Bureau Internationale de le Paix is the organization which has been responsible for the international peace congresses held in Europe for many years.

LETTER BOX

BROOKLINE, MASS., June 3, 1923.

GENTLEMEN:

Dr. Doremus Scudder was secretary of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches in 1920-22. He had already a noble record as a missionary in Japan and a pastor in Hawaii. During the war he served in Siberia under the American Red Cross with the commission of major. His work in Boston was brought to an end by a serious automobile accident, which so reduced his strength that he felt obliged to seek a milder climate. He is now a pastor in California. It is safe to say that no other man ever won in so short a time so large a measure of confidence and devotion on the part of the ministers and churches of Greater Boston as Dr. Scudder in his all-too-short service there. The following extract from a recent letter of his possesses great interest as the statement of an honored Christian leader's present feeling in regard to the World War. It was not written for publication, but was sent in reply to an invitation to join the Association to Abolish War. It is now given to the public, however, with his permission, after due request.

Yours truly,

HENRY W. PINKHAM,
Secretary, the Association to Abolish War.

(Enclosure)

Dr. Scudder and the World War

"When the war opened I was a pacifist and opposed all preparations by our government for fighting. In Hawaii in 1915 this was also a local issue in our legislature, and at public legislative hearings I took a decided stand against preparedness.

"But the war propaganda finally got me and I came to feel it the duty of our nation to enter the conflict in order to end war and help democratize the world. I was unwilling to take this stand and remain at home safe while our soldiers were being killed; so I tried to secure a chaplaincy, but was refused because of age. I did, however,

succeed in getting a Red Cross appointment in Siberia as director of the department of civilian relief. I felt that after many years spent in Hawaii the chances at my age of surviving the rigors of that climate were not good—an expectation not at all justified by what soon proved to be the wonderful healthfulness of the Siberian winter.

"But what I saw in Siberia, what issued at Versailles in treaty and League making, and the rest of the after-war history, with all the illumination as to how warfare through propaganda deceived, and even yet, nearly five years after the armistice, continues to deceive; what untold burdens and suffering, lasting far beyond its continuance, war causes; its inability to serve as a democratizing factor, and its power to rob a free people like ourselves of not a few guarantees of liberties, have convinced me that I was wrong; that a part of the blood-guilt of the world is mine, and that I owe every possible effort I can muster to help atone for the greatest crime in human history.

"I am one of the millions in all lands who have sworn 'Never Again' and who are dedicated to absolutely unrelenting opposition to the war spirit, with all its abhorrent family of crushing taxation, preparedness, so-called defensive measures, provocative tariffs and restrictions upon the free intercourse of peoples through prejudice of race and nationality."

DEAR SIRS:

It is more than 50 years since I became a member of your organization. It was when I was not a very old man, living in Kansas, and just after the war, where I had served as captain of Company A, Ninth New Hampshire, that I was commended to your efforts by Hon. Charles Sumner, who told me it was the only society in all the world that he knew of that was working for the substitution of some other method than war for the settlement of differences between nations.

I am still deeply interested in your efforts, which have grown so much, and I wish I could contribute a larger sum. Some day it may be possible.

Trusting that our President will see his way to employ all the influence he has to secure the court for which we have so long labored, I remain,

Gratefully yours, with faith in God and His servants,
all now standing for the right,

LEONARD H. PILLSBURY.

DALLAS, TEXAS, May 3, 1923.

GENTLEMEN:

Following our efforts to have laws passed requiring the teaching of the United States Constitution in the several States, the Citizenship Committee of the American Bar Association, as you will recall, has undertaken to enlist the participation of the members of the bar generally in the celebration of national holidays falling on April 19, May 30, and July 4, and the special observance of Constitution Week during September. Gratifying reports have been received with reference to the participation of members of the bar in the observance of Patriots' Day. There will doubtless be a far more general observance of Memorial Day, and I am writing kindly to request you to be instrumental, so far as possible, in enlisting the services of the bar in celebration of this day, which holds a peculiar place in American traditions.

Permit me to remind you that our Citizenship Committee has no ambition as to leadership. We wish to co-operate in all patriotic endeavors and it is to be expected that other organizations, notably the American Legion, will, in large measure, take the lead in organizing community programs for the observance of Memorial Day. The main point to be urged for attention by members of the bar, as it appears to your committee, is the desirability, first, that they should respond as speakers at community meetings when called upon for such service, and, secondly, that the peculiar duty which is laid upon our profession at this time is that of educating the public, in whatever way seems best to an individual speaker, on the essentials and spirit of our American Constitution. Please bear in mind that the shibboleth

of our committee is: "To re-establish the Constitution of the United States in the minds and hearts of the people." Therefore, we suggest that one of the main topics which members of the bar may profitably discuss is the need today of "Minute Men of the Constitution" to preserve the liberties for which our soldiers on many battlefields have given their lives.

To such patriotic service our country now summons the American bar. I feel sure that we shall not be recreant to the duties imposed upon us. Our Citizenship Committee, with its limited resources, can do little more than suggest opportunities for service to State Bar Associations and other civic groups in the various States. May we depend upon your co-operation in passing on these suggestions all along down the line in your own State so that eventually they will reach every community where meetings will be held to celebrate Memorial Day and where members of the bar, we hope, will do their full share in this service for their country?

Cordially yours,

R. E. SANER,
Chairman.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DECADENCE OF EUROPE. By *Francesco Nitti*. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York. Pp. 302. \$3.00.

WHITHER FRANCE? WHITHER EUROPE? By *Joseph Caillaux*. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Pp. 184.

The two books on the present disastrous situation of Europe, written by Signor Nitti and Monsieur Caillaux, ex-premiers of Italy and France respectively, are worth studying in conjunction, presenting, as they do, somewhat different angles of the question.

In writing the "Decadence of Europe," Signor Nitti has concerned himself chiefly with the enormity of the peace treaties and their frightful effect upon Europe. In his view, the decadence of the Old World is shown by the fact that, in comparison with the work of the Paris Conference, the Vienna Congress displays evidence of superior moral and spiritual idealism. Alexander of Russia, Metternich, and the other chief protagonists of that period appear infinitely sane, infinitely magnanimous, compared with Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, and the rest. Frontiers were left practically untouched. In spite of the tremendous damage inflicted by Napoleon upon the rest of Europe, including England, a comparatively small and easily paid indemnity was exacted. As far as possible, the *status quo ante* was restored, and, most noteworthy of all, France was immediately received in international circles; her army and navy were left intact, and her freedom of trade and movement left unfettered.

Compare this with the work of the Versailles Treaty, making the world safe for democracy. Empires are torn ruthlessly to fragments, an entire people is forced to pay crushing tribute, designed to remunerate the victors for all the costs of war, including pensions and gratuities. The tribute is not even defined clearly, but put into the hands of a group of second-rate politicians, whose individual salaries amount to more than that of the most highly paid governmental figure in Germany, and who are given almost sovereign powers, as well as the right to secret deliberations. The most highly cultured, highly civilized race of southeastern Europe, which has produced art, literature, music, and scientific discoveries of the utmost value to the world, is ruined, beggared, in favor of the semi-savage, in some cases half-nomad, races on its borders, to whom, in many cases, territory is handed over without even an ethnographical, historical, or even fundamentally economic excuse. In the making of these treaties every promise has been broken except the Mosaic promise of vengeance. In other words, the animating spirit is that of the most primitive and barbaric tribe, which loots and utterly destroys its enemy's dwelling-place.

But, points out Signor Nitti in chapter after chapter of

his interesting book, our modern civilization cannot survive such an infiltration of barbarism. Its original premises were spiritual, calling, as they did, for a very definite morality, a delicate adjustment of relationships based on a certain tolerance and a sense of public responsibility. While selfishness and greed have not been lacking, even these were not untinged by a sort of inverted spirituality, since the lusts thus pandered to were the lust for personal and responsible power, and for what, after all, is mainly an intangible and spiritual conception, namely, glory. Such a conception cannot survive the infiltration of a purely material group desire for power based upon the possession of the earth's products, without any corresponding spiritual responsibility toward the peoples of the earth or any desire to employ those products for other purposes than personal ease and comfort. In other words, the most disastrous thing that can happen, that has happened, to Europe is the attempt to make government a purely business proposition.

Both Signor Nitti and Monsieur Caillaux seem agreed on one thing, that the responsibility for the war cannot be entirely attributed to Germany. Each of these writers looks upon it as the consequence of a trend of events rendered inevitable by the greed, ineptitude, and folly of various groups of men in all the countries concerned, most of whom appear to have learnt nothing from the catastrophe, but continue to base their actions upon the same reasoning, varied by slightly different catchwords, as that which led to the war.

Monsieur Caillaux's book, "Whither France? Whither Europe?", is a much more convincing document, containing, as it does, less rhetoric, less repetition, and infinitely more impersonal arguments, based upon general economic laws. In his view, the European problem may be summed up as consisting of the adjustment of the political institutions devised by our fathers to the economic forces which have become our real rulers—our chaotic, disorganized, all-powerful rulers. This question, he says, may be answered in three ways, as follows:

"We can drift, and Europe will fall completely under the domination of an anarchical feudalism; we can overthrow everything, which is communism, with its miseries, its ruins, its impossibilities; or we can subordinate the business interests to the common welfare by destroying privilege."

The form which this transformation should take, in M. Caillaux's opinion, would be the formation of an economic state within and subordinated to the political state. While he is very vague as to details and expresses the view that each country should find its own adaptation of this theory, he suggests that, in the case of France, this might take the form of an economic council, composed of a majority of representatives of intellectual and manual workers, which should have at its command various technical committees and be given the sole right to consider and propose to Parliament, by the side of which it would exist, laws bearing on economics which the nation's parliamentary representatives could then accept, reject, or return for further study. At the same time M. Caillaux calls for wider international understanding and the drawing up of a European economic code which should have for its principal objects the freedom of commerce, implying the destruction of customs barriers, a greater specialization by the various countries in the industries for which they are peculiarly adapted, instead of ruinous attempts at self-support, and uninterrupted distribution of raw materials, as well as various measures for the regulation of public finance, which he considers can no longer be attempted quite successfully by individual governments, but call for concerted agreement and action.

An interesting definition of the two conflicting tendencies at work in the economic life of Europe is given. In Monsieur Caillaux's opinion these may be summed up as the agrarian movement, with all its medieval and retrogressive implications, and the "trustification" movement, with its connotations of feudalism. Both of these forces, as they are now developing, are dangerous from the point of view of the setting up of uncontrolled, ungovernable groups within the State.

Attention might well be drawn, also, to Monsieur Cail-
laux's masterly summary of the present financial condition
and the financial policy of France.

Altogether, it might be deduced from the above works
that there is a growing minority realization in Europe of
the follies and recklessness of the past ten years. The dis-
aster implicit in any war would appear to have been en-
hanced in this generation by the attempts of semi-educated
and unscrupulous groups to produce economic results by
the application of political laws. The frightful consequences
of these attempts are such as must inevitably ensue upon
the arbitrary disposition of insufficiently comprehended
forces with a purely materialistic and mechanistic end in
view.

PAN-AMERICANISM, ITS BEGINNINGS. By *Joseph B. Lockey*.
Published by Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. 503. \$5.

Few international questions can be more interesting to
the United States than that of Pan-Americanism. Though
vaguely cognizant of an institution known as the Pan-
American Union, however, large numbers of citizens have
little or no knowledge of the generations of concentrated
effort which have resulted in the establishment of generally
friendly relations between the United States and the sister
Latin-American republics, to say nothing of the generally
increasing peaceful disposition of these republics as among
themselves.

Just what effort all this has entailed is set forth in an
interesting manner by Mr. Lockey in his book on the begin-
nings of Pan-Americanism. In view of the loudly voiced
opinions of certain Latin-American publicists concerning
the Monroe Doctrine, the chapter depicting the historical
background and circumstances leading up to that famous
pronouncement is especially interesting, containing, as it
does, expressions of opinion on the subject by the Latin-
American leaders of that date. The part played by Great
Britain and the United States in assisting Mexico to secure
her independence is vividly described, as also the interest-
ing question of the attitude of the United States, Great
Britain, and France toward Haiti.

There is no doubt that a work of this nature should be
included in the reading schedule of every American inter-
ested in the external relationships of the United States.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK, 1922. Edited by
Frank Moore Colby. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co.
Pp. 792. Price, \$6.75.

The International Year Book for 1922, in its plain bind-
ing and clear type, continues its pleasing and valuable serv-
ice. Its few well-printed pictures, portraits, for the most
part, and half dozen two-page, colored maps, add to the at-
tractiveness of this welcome library tool. The volume is
really an encyclopedia for the year. The reviews of the
year's happenings in the United States and the rest of the
world are written by specialists with unbiased compre-
hensiveness. Among the subjects of general interest may
be mentioned articles on psychology, the Einstein theory
(physics), auto-suggestion, and the new movements in
drama and literature. Readers of this magazine will be
especially interested in the fifteen-page article, by Mr.
Clanton Rogers Woodruff, on International Peace.

LEX TALIONIS. By *Warren Hills*. Fleet-McGinley Co., Bal-
timore. Pp. 272.

The author of this book, former member of the Military
Intelligence Division of the General Staff, United States
Army, sets forth in expository form the American peace
views at the time of the Armistice, in the fall of 1918, as
set forth principally in President Wilson's addresses, com-
munications with the Central Powers, and finally in the con-
clusions reached at the Trianon Palace Hotel, November 4,
1918. The author notes that the Allied governments agreed
to make peace with the Government of Germany on the
terms laid down in the President's address to Congress of

January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated
in subsequent addresses. There were only two qualifying
clauses to that acceptance—one relating to the freedom of
the seas and another to the compensation to be made by
Germany for damage done to the civilian populations of the
Allies. Tracing step by step the drift of the conferees at
the Paris Peace Conference away from this agreement, the
conclusions relative to the Treaty of Versailles are self-evi-
dent. It is not a pleasant tale, this account of the withering
of the American peace, between the month of December,
1918, and the month of March, 1919. Two irreconcilable
philosophes of government are laid before us in deadly con-
flict. The older of the two wins. Without assuming the
controversial attitude, the author shows us how it was done.
Furthermore, the process must impress the thoughtful
reader with the importance of familiarizing himself with
that history, to the end that in future negotiations repre-
sentatives of the United States may more fully understand
"that curious type of mentality which the European stand-
ard of negotiation produces." This book is a contribution
for any seeker after the facts in that field.

TOWARD THE GREAT PEACE. By *Ralph Adams Cram*. Bos-
ton. Marshall Jon Co. Pp. 263. Price, \$2.50.

Many persons do not believe that the world is now on the
road to better things. Among them is Dr. Ralph Adams
Cram, who delivered a course of lectures in 1921 in the
Dartmouth alumni lectureships on the Guernsey Center
Moore Foundation. These lectures have now been gathered
together and published in book form.

Professor Cram does not scold, neither does he foam with
sarcasm. Whatever one may think of his desire for Mediae-
valism as a corrective for industrialism, it must be admitted
that his spirit is large and kindly. In fact, his attitude is
well described in the prayer he quotes from one Bishop
Hacket, who lived in the 17th century. The quotation runs
as follows: *Lord, lift us out of private-mindedness and give
us public souls to work for Thy Kingdom by daily creating
that atmosphere of a happy temper and a generous heart
which alone can bring the Great Peace.*

There is no rancour in Dr. Cram's criticism of present-
day institutions, though scarcely any of them seem to him
to contain hope. He thinks that we must go away back into
the past to find the cross-roads where humanity first took
the wrong turning. In medieval institutions there were, he
thinks, many principles which we might to advantage work
into a new social fabric. Knighthood, with its ideal of
courtesy and service; the Guilds, with their communal obli-
gations, but their individual freedom and holy joy in labor;
a trained and honorable aristocracy, coming to the aid of
democracy in government—all these he dares to consider
worthy our rebuilding.

Dr. Cram's theory of Sacramentalism as the only work-
able philosophy of life will be better understood by members
of the Anglican or Roman communions than by other de-
nominations; but when, in considering industry, govern-
ment, education, and other social organizations, he says
that character is the "chief end of man and the sole guar-
anty of a decent society," and that the cultivation of char-
acter has been neglected, he speaks a language we all
understand.

Dr. Cram has no respect for most accepted slogans, and
his arguments are often provocative, but he has made his
points very clear, and on the whole one feels that the basic
principles of the new society he provisions are at least
worthy study.

If, as Dr. Cram states, "it is true that we are in the last
years of a definite period, on that decline that precedes the
opening of a new epoch," it is also true that it is for us to
say what the prologue to that epoch is to be. It may be
new dark ages, or it may be a new renaissance.

Allied to the Utopian literature, now flooding the market,
this course of lectures differs from it, in that it is not a
phantasy nor is it fantastic. Indeed, "Toward the Great
Peace" is well worth thoughtful reading.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes; An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THIS SOCIETY

WILLIAM LADD, founder of the American Peace Society in 1828, has appealed again to the pen of the historian. We are under obligations to George C. Wing, Jr., not only for his article, but for the cuts which we have been permitted here to reproduce.

AT LEAST one bright spot in the European melée is the Academy of International Law at The Hague. 304 students, including 21 women, from 29 different countries, is the record for the first period of the Academy. At the second period there were registered 350 students, including 35 women, representing 31 countries. There were lecturers from 14 different countries. Because of the absence of that detachment necessary for scientific investigation, all discussions of the so-called "laws of war" were omitted from the program.

THERE are two ways to look at Europe: one, that she is on the verge of a further collapse; another, that she is at the dawn of a new and promising era. Our own opinion is that both of these views rest upon solid foundations. Belligerent, war-mongering Europe is headed for destruction. When and how that destruction is to take place no man can forecast. The Europe, the new Europe of the judicial settlement of international disputes, of adjustments under law, has arrived already at a new dawn.

DESPAIR NOT OF EUROPE

YES, EUROPE is in a bad way. Every country of Europe, including even the war neutral peoples of Holland and Scandinavia, is in distress of one kind or another. The foul breath of war poisons still every European land. Liberty under law, upon which modern civilization had based its fondest hopes, has all but disappeared in Russia, where even the elected Duma is denied; in Italy, with its dictator Mussolini in power by force of arms; in Spain, with Primo de Rivera self-proclaimed director of the Spanish Government; in Germany, also under a dictatorship; in Greece, in Bulgaria, in Hungary, in all of which constitutional government has largely disappeared. The League of Nations, faced with an acute international situation when Italy bombarded Corfu, key to the Adriatic, lamentably failed to meet the expectations of its defenders. The state of feeling throughout Europe, the hatreds, the bloodlust, reveal ominous and sinister things. Lord Edward Gray, of Fallodon, sees Europe "slipping to an abyss." Writing in the *London Times* under date of October 8, he says: "The future liberties of Europe depend upon regulating disputes between nations by justice and law and upon maintaining the sanctity of treaties and thus making peace secure." There is little in Europe that holds out any hope for the settlement of disputes between nations by impartial methods. Cooperation is lacking. The attack upon Corfu, the prevalence of martial law throughout many lands, reveal a reliance upon force rather than upon those juridical processes where facts are ascertained and decisions made upon the merits of the issue according to the principles of justice. It is easily possible to believe that Europe is hurtling to damnation.

All this is apparent to the most casual observer of European affairs. And yet there are signs of improvement in the situation. The yellow book issued by the French Government in reply to the British note of August 11, under date of August 21, made an impression in England. The people of the British Empire were in the main evidently enlightened by the sincerity of that document. At least the strategic advantage of a constructive French policy become manifest. The English became more clearly aware that by their withdrawal from Paris in January and by their frequent and not altogether kindly criticism of France, they not only had been playing into the hands of the Germans, but they had prolonged and aggravated the difficulties between

France and Germany. The yellow book seems also to have had an influence within Germany. In any event, the friendly conversations between Mr. Baldwin and M. Poincaré followed, and the capitulation of Germany became inevitable. Thus the rapprochement between Germany and France, without which there can be no peace in Europe, came one step nearer. Evidently Germany has lost hope of receiving aid from Britain. The nationalists and the fascisti may continue their resistance to France, the monarchist movement in Germany may spell the end of democracy in that country; but Germany's attempt to split the Allied powers has failed. Nobody knows this better than Germany. This accounts for her backdown in the Ruhr. Of course, nobody knows what may follow in Germany. There may be civil war. We hope not. But there is no doubt that the responsible leaders of both France and Germany are working together as never before to end the warlike aspects of the occupation and to begin again the normal processes of trade. There is a long way to go; but the German Government is asking for negotiations looking toward the resumption of work in the occupied territories. German industrialists in the Ruhr are coming to terms. That is all hopeful.

The methods of liberty and constitutional government are not dead in Europe. They survive in Scandinavia, in Holland, in France, in other countries, especially in Britain. In spite of the differences of opinion, constitutional governments still live. It is hopeful that the English press and men like Mr. Baldwin and Lord Grey are urging a return to Anglo-French co-operation. Then, too, as pointed out in a recent editorial in the *London Times*: "Most of us entertain a hope, wholesome and invincible, that in the end the great processes of history make for the progress and welfare of mankind." These processes make for progress, however, only where law and order prevail. There seems to be a more hopeful return to the methods of decency since the French note of August 21.

Another hopeful fact in the development of European thought is that the friends and supporters of the League of Nations not only insist now that the League is in no sense a superstate, that indeed it is neither a league to enforce peace nor an agency for the exercise of economic boycott; but, as pointed out by Mr. Manley O. Hudson, one of its most intelligent defenders, that it is simply a method of international life, "a machinery for conference, consultation and conciliation." If these are the views of the friends of the League of Nations generally, and if only the League will reorganize itself, revise its covenant to fit such views, then Europe and the rest of the world, including, we believe, the United States, would be in a way to co-operate for the establishment of a more promising peace according to the

principles of justice under law. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest to the League of Nations that it become in fact what its friends have at last discovered it to be in practice. It is a gain for the defenders of the League of Nations to confess that they were wrong in their original scheme. It would be a gain indeed were they to fit their covenant to the thing they announce themselves to be.

Let no member of the American Peace Society despair of Europe. Europe never dies. England, France, and Belgium understand each other better than six months ago. German leadership knows what must be done. The League of Nations as originally conceived has succumbed in practice to common sense. The way will yet open again to the builders of a law-governed Europe.

OUR SECRETARY OF STATE AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, whose address, "The Pathway of Peace," before the Canadian Bar Association, September 4, we are privileged to print elsewhere in these columns, speaks more officially today the voice of America than any other man. His career at the bar, as professor of law, as Governor of New York for two terms, as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as Secretary of State since the fourth of March, 1921, has been serviceable as it has been distinguished. He is now our Secretary of State.

Mr. Hughes has been a consistent advocate of international peace. In 1907, speaking as Governor of the State of New York before the National Arbitration and Peace Congress in that city, Mr. Hughes delivered an address in which he said:

"In working for the interests of peace, regard may well be had to the influences which have thus far proved so successful. The end is not to be sought through coercion, or by the vain attempt to compel peace by force, but by extending to the utmost provisions for deliberation and for conciliatory measures.

"The security of peace lies in the desire of the people for peace. Protection against war can best be found in the reiterated expression of that desire throughout the nations of the earth, and by convening their representatives in frequent assemblies. Provision for stated meetings of the Peace Conference, with their opportunities for interchanges of official opinion, the perfecting of plans for submissions to arbitration, and the improvement of the machinery of the International Court indicate the lines along which substantial progress may be made."

It was but perfectly natural that a man who held those views in 1907 should, when occupying later the position of Secretary of State, improve his first opportunity to do something tangible in the interest of world

peace. This he did. This service he rendered most conspicuously when he served as the commissioner plenipotentiary for the United States in the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament, which met at Washington, November 12, 1921.

Evidence of Mr. Hughes' continued interest in the cause of international peace has found further expression during the last summer at the Canadian Bar Association in Montreal and at the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, when he spoke on the Monroe Doctrine after one hundred years. Again he turned to the problem in his address to the World's Dairy Congress, October 2. Among other things he upon that occasion said:

"Washington has been the scene of most important negotiations to formulate treaties, to cement the bonds of friendship between peoples, and to lay the basis for advantageous intercourse. In this very hall, and barely two years ago, there gathered the representatives of great powers intent upon reducing the heavy burdens of naval armament and upon assuring peace by removing suspicion and distrust. But vastly important as are these aims and earnest and constant as are our labors to achieve them, we cannot fail to recognize that our ultimate aims lie beyond them.

"Peace is not a final goal, but an opportunity. Limit of armament, assurances of peaceful settlements, are but the means through which we strive to create conditions in which the standards of human living can be raised and the satisfactions which are within the keeping of peaceful, industrious, and intelligent communities can be enjoyed. You in this gathering represent one of those ultimate co-operative endeavors which go to the very fundamentals of human need. Peace conferences are valuable because they open the way for this sort of intelligent working together.

"Your gathering directs attention to one of the most important aspects of international co-operation—that is, the exchange of the results of research, of information as to improved practices, in the bringing to the attention of students, teachers, and technical workers the discoveries and experience of investigators, of producers and distributors, in the better understanding of the economics of industry. Our different countries are not simply political units, but great laboratories of human experimentation in the efforts to meet needs which are common to all communities. It is in meetings of this sort that may be found clearing-houses of expert knowledge, the charting of the ways of progress."

Mr. Hughes is America's chosen responsible head in the realm of international affairs. His daily tasks relate to the concrete problems affecting the welfare of nations. It is not only out of a trained mind, but out of practical experience, therefore, that he speaks when he addresses himself to international conditions. What he says is of importance. His words deserve widest attention.

"Peace is not the final goal, but an opportunity." An

editorial writer of one of our leading papers, addressing himself to this sentence, remarks: "Certainly, 'Peace is not the final goal,' but it is the one step, the only step, the imperative step, that must be taken, if mankind is to have any opportunity for any development whatever—opportunity for anything whatever except destruction." With this sentiment all thinking persons will be in hearty accord.

It is not customary for Americans to follow for any length of time a leader. It has become a genius of our people to resent anything resembling dictation by any one person. We do, however, pursue certain ideals with persistence and acclaim the men who seem for the time to personify such ideals. Just now we may be reasonably expected to turn increasingly, as an expression of our international aspiration, to Charles Evans Hughes.

IT IS CERTAINLY STRANGE

THE STRANGEST thing of our modern world is the unanimity with which men and women everywhere long for the abolition of war, and at the same time refuse to apply their minds with calmness, intelligence, and industry to the lessening of that means of settling international disputes.

To analyze this psychology is not easy. One factor in the case seems to be the absence of dispassionate approach to the case. If, for example, we examine the writings of the defenders and opponents of the League of Nations, we are depressed rather than otherwise by the one-sided arguments, pro or con. There is a degree of impatience and intolerance on both sides calculated to carry little conviction. For the University of Michigan to refuse permission to the Honorable George W. Wickersham to deliver an address upon "The League of Nations" in any university building for any reason was unwise and, in our judgment, indefensible. People return from a few weeks' sojourn in Europe and tell us with no little definiteness "what Europe thinks." One man will assure us that nobody in Europe is paying any attention to the League of Nations or to the International Court of Justice. Another equally sincere will assure us that all Europe is for the League of Nations. Of course, neither of these statements is correct. One distinguished statesman will assure us that the International Court of Justice is made up of men appointed and paid by the League of Nations, and that therefore it is nothing but a part of the League of Nations. Another equally intelligent will assure us that the court was not created by and is in no way dependent upon the League of Nations. The Committee on International Law of the Bar Association of the City of New York reported last February that: "In the opinion of your committee, this court in every material respect

conforms to the project urged upon the Second Hague Conference in 1907 by the American delegation under the express instructions of the American Government. . . . It is based upon the example of the Supreme Court of the United States and is intended to apply to international controversies the same methods of hearing and decision which that court has applied to controversies between States of the American Union." And yet many members of the United States Senate have difficulty convincing themselves that the Permanent Court of International Justice, appointed and supported by the League of Nations, is little more than an agent of that body. Men who are pleading most prominently for America's participation in the League of Nations, in the Permanent Court of International Justice, one or both, would strengthen their case were they to speak with greater respect for the other side. Only in private conversation do the men in the employ of the League of Nations grant that there is any weakness either in the organization or the methods of that organization. One enthusiast, himself a distinguished clergyman, says: "The World Court has been on the way since the establishment of Christianity. Its first evangelists were the early Christians. Many of these paid for their evangelization by martyrdom. On the Christian party getting the majority in the Senate in the year 416 and passing the absurd law that no one could enlist in the Roman army but Christians, all idea of adjusting international disputes by reason rather than by physical force was completely obscured for a thousand years." The fervor of this statement, not to mention its self-contradiction, is typical of both sides of most discussions upon the international situation. It all just gets us nowhere.

In a copyrighted cable to the *New York World*, under date of October 11, one would gather the impression that the British Empire is a unit in its support of the League of Nations. True, Lord Curzon, speaking before the Imperial Conference in London, is quoted as complimenting not the League, but the Council of Ambassadors for its settlement of the Corfu incident, yet, after Lord Robert Cecil had spoken, especially after an address by General Smuts, there was "a unanimous agreement between the dominion premiers" that, "in any future international clash, the whole weight of the British nation would be behind the League, and that no makeshift such as the Ambassadors' Conference will be appealed to. The dominion premiers all declared that their peoples demanded that the League in the future be made an effective instrument for European pacification in the prevention of future wars." Surely the premiers know, and it would do no harm for the *New York World* to confess that there is no unanimous support of the League of Nations throughout the Brit-

ish Empire. There is in England a pronounced opposition to the League. It will do no harm for friends of the League of Nations to acknowledge that the political leaders of the British dominions may be influenced, at least in part, by the fact that in the League of Nations they sit with the mother country as equals, and that together in the League of Nations they are in position to advance British ambitions, to protect British mandatories, and to run the League of Nations as they may desire. Incidentally, the British dominions can use the League as a check upon the designs of France. There is much earnest and honest support in certain sections of Europe for the League of Nations. There is honest, earnest conviction also that such an organization, however worthy its motives, cannot be relied upon as an effective agency for the establishment or maintenance of peace. Both sides would be more convincing were they to grant these two statements of fact.

The attempt on the part of the friends of the League of Nations to convince the world that the League came out of the Corfu incident with glory has not been altogether happy. When, on September 4, Signor Mussolini said to his council of ministers, "The League of Nations has shown a tendency to wish to settle the question (the occupation of Corfu). This is absolutely inadmissible," every free-minded person in Europe knew that the League of Nations had been slapped in the face. When the Conference of Ambassadors decided the controversy, the friends of the League of Nations might appropriately have confessed that they had been snubbed.

It would do no harm for the defenders of the League of Nations to confess that the League was not only flouted in the Corfu incident; it was impotent. Signor Mussolini flatly told the Council of the League that should it "continue to assert its competence, Italy was faced with the problem of remaining in or leaving the League of Nations. I have already decided," concluded the Prime Minister, "in favor of the latter course." It is a fact that Signor Mussolini's colleagues unanimously approved his decision. Further, it was generally agreed that should Signor Mussolini's threat to abandon the League be put to the test, he would have found all Italy solid in his support.

It was most fortunate, under the circumstances, that the League finally decided to leave the settlement of the dispute to the Council of Ambassadors. The supporters of the League throughout Europe were brought face to face in the Greco-Italian controversy with a stern reality. That reality was that, while they would have been within their rights had they gone about the business of respecting and preserving Greece against the Italian aggression; had they done so they would have precipitated another European war.

The inevitable conclusion, a conclusion to which ablest supporters of the League have arrived, is that the Covenant of the League of Nations is quite unworkable in matters of major importance. It would help immeasurably toward the peaceful co-operation of States, toward the establishment of a workable association of nations, were the friends of the League of Nations to recognize and to acknowledge this truth.

On the other hand, there is nothing to be gained by insisting that the League of Nations has in every instance been a complete failure or that there is no hope to be expected out of the activities in Geneva. The work of the League has shown the world certain things which cannot be done in international organization. That is a gain. It has, also, indicated more clearly certain things which can be accomplished in the interest of international peace and how it should be done. That, too, is a gain. Future generations will acknowledge their debt to the League of Nations both because of its failures and because of its successes, minor as they have been.

What is needed just now is a knowledge of the facts and dispassionate, workable policies based upon such facts.

ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY—AN INTERPRETATION

REALISM, which has always been the keynote of the Italian character, is a marked characteristic of her foreign policy today. The weakness of her former governments, when confronted with international opinion as regards matters of Italian aspirations, had brought Italy to a bad pass internally. Signor Mussolini, having restored some sort of order in Italy, while, at the same time, reading a lesson to the world, which has been well learnt in Spain, has had the acuity to perceive that a strong foreign policy was essential to the maintenance of internal peace and the courage to act upon his perceptions.

An attempt to interpret the external policy of Italy must recognize the outstanding fact that the population of that country is far in excess of what she can support. Hardworking, sturdy, and intelligent as the Italians are, large numbers must emigrate yearly if any sort of internal balance is to be maintained. At the same time a quantity of food and raw materials must be imported if the remaining population is to attain even the humble standard of living with which the average Italian is perforce content. It follows, therefore, that Italy must trade and send manufactures abroad; she must have markets elsewhere for her goods; she must have ports; and she must be assured of security in the matter of access to her ports and for her ships

going to and fro upon the waters. It may, in fact, be said that as regards the necessities of her situation she forms the closest European parallel to Great Britain, minus the natural advantages of that island.

For some centuries, however, Italian history has been one long struggle for liberty and unity. From the days of the Renaissance onward she has consistently aspired toward spiritual and temporal freedom, and has as consistently found herself the southern battleground of conflicting European powers placed under the control of the victor. The measure of freedom which she achieved under Garibaldi, and the unity brought about by Victor Emmanuel could not, and did not, free her from the economic shadow of the Central Empires. Moreover, in the fight to abolish clerical domination she withdrew her support from Roman Catholic missionaries in the Levant, where Italian commerce had been strengthened by the use of the Italian tongue as the Levantine lingua franca. France, however, in spite of her anti-clerical leanings, saw the advantage of missionary work in spreading her language and culture, with the result that French supplanted Italian as the medium of understanding, and Italian commerce in the Levant suffered thereby.

The late war gave Italy an opportunity to recover her lost territory from Austria, including, as she dreamed and hoped, her ancient heritage as Queen of the Adriatic. Entering on the Allied side in 1915, the Italian troops performed almost superhuman feats of endurance and daring against the Austrian Croats in the mountains along the frontier. What Italy achieved in the Trentino, along the Isonzo, and the supposedly impregnable Carso, has never been thoroughly understood by Western peoples unfamiliar with the terrain. To gain even a faint comprehension of it, it must be remembered that the line had been laid out by the Austrians with especial reference to her hold of the commanding positions. It is well described by Thomas Nelson Page, in his study of Italy and the World War, as follows:

"This line may be likened to what it was, indeed—a vast rampart, a mile high, with frowning towers yet higher jutting forth, overlooking Italy, and guarding a score of gates through which those who held it could pour down on the Italian plains, overwhelming them like the avalanches from the mountains behind them."

The Italian troops not only withstood the Austrian avalanches, but, sometimes half starved, intrigued against by pro-German elements in the rear, desperate and noble, stormed the passes in their turn and conquered them.

During all this agonizing period, when the Allied cause was in urgent need, what is now the Croatian sec-

tion of Jugo-Slavia fought bravely for Austria against Italy, and the ruling elements of Greece intrigued and supported Germany as far as they dared without open violation of Greek neutrality.

This is history. The Treaty of London, which promised to Italy that for which she fought so stubbornly is also history. What became of the Treaty of London at the Peace Conference is again history. Burdened with debt, her soil red with the blood of her sons, Italy found herself at the conclusion of peace confronted not, it is true, with a powerful Austria, but with a determined opponent in the form of Jugo-Slavia, composed, for the one part, of those former enemies of the Allies, the Austrian Croats, and, for the other, of a valiant but warlike and semi-civilized people, the Serbs, the whole supported, and to a marked extent financed, by that France from whose aspirations Italy had already suffered deeply a little over a hundred years ago.

The choice offered to Italy was, therefore, clear. On the one hand, supine acquiescence in the status laid down by the Paris conferenciers, with its full concomitant of increasing economic confusion and stress, leading perhaps, eventually, to political disorganization within herself; or a strong, lucid, direct foreign policy, destined to secure for her the scope she must have for her people's very existence. For a time she drifted along the former path, until, at the crucial moment, the sane realism of her people reasserted itself with consequences that the world today must face whether it will or no.

HEALTH IN GERMAN INDUSTRIES

GERMAN industries are far from dead. Liberal orders are pouring into Germany from various parts of the world, and these orders are being filled. Because of the low prices in Germany, American firms, for example, are losing business, especially in textiles. The German industrialists buy raw materials, such as cotton, in this country, paying in dollars from the deposits carried in our banks. They pay their employees, transportation charges and the like, in marks. Indeed, they pay their taxes in marks. They pay for the construction of new plants not even in marks, but in acceptances. The result is that they are getting their buildings constructed for practically nothing. The German employees are exploited to the limit. The financial chaos of Germany is known to the world. And yet Germany has built up and is extending an industrial organization fully equipped. This is disturbing her competitors. Lord Aberconway, of England, with an international trade experience of forty years, says that he has never

known the shipping and engineering trades of Britain to be so depressed as at present. He is not hopeless about the situation. He thinks the world must soon have more ships, more railways, and more machinery. It seems to him that this trade is destined to go to Germany because of the excessive tax upon English industries. It is true that because of the rapid depression in the mark German industrialists have not been worried by taxes. Another evidence of the industrial position of Germany is the fact that she is one of America's best buyers of cotton, copper, and meat products. Evidently she has large cash reserves in the United States. She has vast credits in Holland, Sweden, probably England, and elsewhere. Industrial Germany only awaits the day when her hands may be untied.

The French picture of German industry is perfectly clear. French authorities are convinced that the internal debt of Germany does not exceed one hundred billion paper marks, a very insignificant sum. There is practically no internal German debt. The French insistence upon reparations is naturally influenced by this fact. In May, 1921, it was proposed that Germany should give to the Allies fifty billion gold marks in the form of five per cent bonds, to be known as A and B bonds. It was proposed that the annual interest and sinking-fund charges, amounting to three billion marks, should be paid in gold. It was pointed out that three billion gold marks was precisely the amount of the German military and naval budget before the war, and since these items in the German budget no longer exist, or should exist, it was argued that Germany was called upon to make no unusual effort. To be sure, there was an additional charge for reparations of eighty-two billion gold marks which was to be cared for in another class of bonds, called C bonds; but since the C bonds were not to be floated until Germany became able to carry them, the only immediate payment contemplated was the annual one of three billion gold marks. The French are thoroughly convinced that with her capacity for production, with her vast resources of coal and potash and other sources of natural wealth, with her income from exports and her extensive credits, especially abroad, Germany is able to pay these three billion gold marks annually. In January, 1923, the French Government offered to cancel the C bonds provided the Allies should cancel their claims to that amount against France. But that got the case nowhere. The point here is that the feeling is prevalent in France, and the feeling is found in England, the United States, and elsewhere, that Germany, because of her natural resources, her enormous manufacturing plants, her freedom from internal debt, her industrial skill, her advantages due to exchange, is industrially the richest country of Europe.

Dictator von Kahr, of Bavaria, is quoted as saying that "The war and civil strife since the war have robbed Germany of her sense of national honor." If this be true, it is the most serious handicap facing the German people. Our hope is that it is not true. We believe that the German people have been misled for a generation. They are today cowed, not without aggressiveness, and often slippery. But we may well recall that there has been in times past a great integrity at the heart of the German race. Surely that integrity has not wholly disappeared. Good men and true are everywhere in Germany. We shall yet hear from the honor that is Germany. In any event, the industrial leaders of Germany are not in any special need of sympathy. Misery there is in Germany, especially among the salaried classes. But we may depend upon the industrialists in Germany to hold their own.

A WISE DECISION BY THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

IT WOULD appear to the casual observer that the League of Nations in its anxiety to reveal the dignity and importance of the Permanent Court of International Justice was taught a salutary lesson by the court itself in advisory opinion No. 5, handed down July 23 last at The Hague. The Council of the League requested the court to give an advisory opinion as to whether or not certain articles of the treaty of peace between Finland and Russia, signed at Dorpat on October 14, 1920, together with certain Russian claims regarding Eastern Carelia, "constitute engagements of an international character which place Russia under an obligation to Finland." The point in controversy was, in short, is there or is there not a contractual obligation between Finland and Russia with regard to Eastern Carelia? There is no question that there was an actual dispute between Finland and Russia. Russia, however, was not and is not a member of the League of Nations. The court pointed out to the Council that under international law no State can without its consent be compelled to submit its disputes with other States to any tribunal whatsoever. Russia gave no such consent. On the contrary, on several occasions Russia has clearly declared that it accepts no intervention by the League of Nations in the dispute with Finland. The court, therefore, found it impossible to give an opinion on the dispute.

There was involved here a question of fact. Since one party to the dispute refused to appear before the court, naturally the court could not pass upon the question of fact. The Council of the League was reminded by the court that "it is certainly expedient that the facts upon

which the opinion of the court is desired should not be in controversy, and it should not be left to the court itself to ascertain what they are. . . . The question put to the court is not one of abstract law, but concerns directly the main point of the controversy between Finland and Russia, and can only be decided by an investigation into the facts underlying the case. Answering the question would be substantially equivalent to deciding the dispute between the parties. The court, being a court of justice, cannot, even in giving advisory opinions, depart from the essential rules guiding their activity as a court." It can but appear to the casual observer that had the Council of the League of Nations tempered its fervor with foresight, it would have known that the court could not have pursued the investigation of the dispute without the consent and co-operation of both Finland and Russia. It is to the credit of the court that it has set the Council of the League straight upon the functions of the court.

THE NEW President of China, Tsao Kun, was inaugurated at Peking, October 10, twelfth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic. At the same time the constitution of the Chinese Republic, which a committee in Parliament has been engaged for years in drafting, was promulgated. The constitution had been completed and given a final reading before an assembly of both houses of Parliament. All this sounds interesting and hopeful. We are led to fear, however, that the new President will have a difficult time winning the necessary support. The cloud of alleged bribery hangs over his title. With his office there come to him and the Chihli Party heavy responsibilities. China is in a political and financial chaos. At the present writing Sun Yat-sen, of South China, has declared war on the new government at Peking.

Honesty, intelligence, and power are needed. The end of corruption and disorganization, the control of the bandit cliques, the subordination of the military to the civil authorities, the establishment of law and order—these are the main things needed if the anarchy in China is to be overcome. The intelligence and integrity of the Chinese people, familiar to every student of that ancient civilization, can be counted on to establish these reforms.

AMERICA'S contribution of approximately ten millions of dollars to the relief of the stricken peoples in Japan fits well with the work of the Conference for the Limitation of Armament. The Japanese mind has been quick to see this. We are assured from many sources that the Japanese looked upon the reduction of armament conference as sufficient reason for ending the dis-

trust of America prevalent for a long time in the minds of the Japanese. The spontaneous and tangible expression of sympathy throughout America for the Japanese in their recent distress has, we are assured, removed the last vestige of the fear or suspicion in Nippon.

It is proper for the people of the United States to feel gratified that they were able to exceed the expectations as announced in the quotas fixed by the American Red Cross. As President Coolidge wrote the people of the United States: "The prompt and generous response of the American people to the urgent needs of a friendly nation in time of great distress has been most gratifying." The comforting fact is that in less than two weeks twice the amount set as the original goal was given. It should be added that the Japanese are also keenly appreciative of the services rendered by the United States Navy. Thus again the world is reminded of the healing gifts of the kindly hand.

THE RESUMPTION of diplomatic relations with Mexico is, on the whole, a simple act of justice which will, nevertheless, do much to strengthen good feeling between the Northern Republic and her sisters in the southern part of the continent. Rightly or wrongly, a certain fear and jealousy must always be reckoned with as among small and weak nations when confronted by a Colossus, however kindly. The difficulties attending pan-Americanism are not lessened by the differences of temperament and thought existing in the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin races, and it must be confessed that in the past the United States have not invariably displayed the fine tact and delicacy demanded by the situation, while Latin America has shown a tendency to undue touchiness and suspicion.

As time goes on, however, the trend of world events brings closer the realization that the common welfare depends upon the cordial relations of the American States among themselves. It is a grave mistake to attempt closer European associations while ignoring the internal cohesion of the continent, politically and culturally speaking. The future of the Americas, as a civilization, does not lie in Europe, but rather in a development and an adjustment of internal possibilities. A Pan-American Union has none of the unnatural qualities that distinguish a League of Nations at this juncture.

The instinct of the common citizen, therefore, who displays but a remote interest in European politics is, to a certain extent, justified. European affairs, as the affairs of Asia, are important by reason of what might be called a secondary repercussion. Latin American affairs are primarily our business.

THE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE HAGUE

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THE ACADEMY of International Law at The Hague is a fact. For all interested in juster relations between nations, it is a most encouraging fact.

INAUGURATION

The inauguration of the Academy took place in the room regularly occupied by the Permanent Court of International Justice in the Palace of Peace, Saturday, the 14th of July, 1923. The simple ceremony began at 3:30 in the afternoon, under the auspices of the Dutch Government, His Excellency Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs, presiding. Before 6 o'clock the inauguration was ended.

The exercises consisted of five addresses, the first by His Excellency M. P. W. A. Cort van Der Linden, Holland's Prime Minister, President of the Carnegie Foundation and of the Council of Administration of the Academy, speaking in the name of the Foundation. Professor Charles Lyon-Caen, Honorary Dean of the Faculty of Law at Paris and President of the Curatorium of the Academy, spoke in the name of the Academy. The presiding officer represented the Queen of Holland. M. J. A. N. Patijn, Burgomaster of The Hague, spoke for the municipality. Dr. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and member of the Curatorium of the Academy, delivered the final address. Since Mr. Carnegie was deeply interested in the organization of the Academy and since the Academy is largely financed by the Carnegie Endowment, it was fitting that Dr. Scott should speak in the name of the Endowment.

The addresses, all in French, were pitched in a noble key, ranging from the world need for an international peace based on law and justice to the achievements of liberty, celebrated on that very day in France and a few days before by the people of the United States of America.

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

The instruction, divided into two semesters, began Monday morning, July 6, at 9 o'clock. The first semester, lasting until August 3, included seventy-one lectures—ten by Baron S. A. Korff, professor in Columbia; sixteen by Dr. James Brown Scott; five by M. le Jonkheer van Eysinga, professor in the University of Leyden; ten by M. N. Politis, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece and honorary professor of law in the University of Paris; six by the Right Honorable Lord Phillimore, formerly Lord Justice of Appeal, President of the Prize Court, and member of the British House of Lords. Other addresses were by M. A. Alvarez, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, representing Chile; by M. H. Triepel, professor in the University of Berlin; by M. E. Borel, professor in the University of Geneva; by Professor L. Strisower, of the University of Vienna; by Professor de Lapradelle, of the University of Paris; by Nicholas



MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND STUDENTS, ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, AT THE HAGUE, JULY 25, 1923
 In the front row will be seen M. A. Alvarez, Professor Wilson, M. N. Politis, Mr. Chief Justice Loder, James Brown Scott, Mr. Justice Bustamante, Professor Strisower, Mr. Justice Weiss, Baron Korff, and Professor Schucking.

Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; by M. B. Loder, President of the Permanent Court of International Justice; by M. A. S. de Bustamante, Cuban Senator and judge in the Permanent Court of International Justice; and by Professor Charles de Visscher, of the University of Ghent. There were two lectures every forenoon, one from 2:00 to 3:00 each afternoon, the last being given from 6:00 to 7:00 o'clock.

The ordinary sessions were held in room 46 of the Palace of Peace, just over the library and facing the gardens at the rear. For the most part, the scene was not wholly unlike any large class-room familiar to American students. The number in attendance at the daily lectures ranged from 33 to 94. The students sat in armchairs, six at each of the long tables, of which there were two rows extending the length of the room. The high paneled wainscoting of mahogany, the leaded French windows, with their small panes, providing the room with an excellent light, the outlook upon the gardens and the woods beyond, the mossy green, the vistas of winding walks with their flowers, Matte's statue of those pathetic figures surmounted by the hideous female with her devastating claws coming as war out of the night—all added their quota to the atmosphere of the sessions.

Thirty nations were represented by 323 applicants, of which 31 were women, as follows: Germany, 10; United States of America, 13; Great Britain, 5; Armenia, 2; Austria, 2; Belgium, 9; China, 5; Cuba, 3; Denmark, 3; Spain, 1; Finland, 8; France, 9; Greece, 1; Hungary, 6; British India, 1; Italy, 2; Japan, 4; Luxembourg, 1; Holland, 196; Norway, 1; Poland, 8; Rumania, 1; Russia, 2; Siam, 3; Sweden, 3; Switzerland, 4; Czechoslovakia, 11; Mexico, 6; Peru, 1; Egypt, 2.

Of this number 117 were lawyers or doctors of law, 48 in diplomatic work, 51 students in universities, 26 in administrative and financial work, 25 in either army or navy service, 12 in consular activities, 11 in professors' chairs, 10 in judicial positions, 3 in political life, and 22 in other fields of endeavor.

The courses covered a wide field. Baron Korff lectured on the historical development of international law since the seventeenth century; Professor Politis on the theory and practice of international arbitration; Dr. Scott on the conduct of foreign affairs in democratic governments, and on public opinion; Lord Phillimore on the rights and fundamental duties of States; Professor de Lapradelle on the freedom of the seas; Professor Eysinga on international rivers and canals;

Professor de Visscher on the responsibility of States; Professor Triepel on the relations between municipal and international law; Professor Strisower on extraterritoriality and its principal applications; Mr. Alvarez on certain contributions of the Western Hemisphere to international law; Professor Borel on the international organization of the Red Cross; Professor Loder on arbitration and international justice; Mr. Justice Bustamante on the Permanent Court of International Justice; Dr. Butler on the development of the international spirit.*

Of course, this is all but a part of the picture. Let us look more carefully at the opening. It is 9 o'clock in the morning. Most of the students are seated. The door to room 49 opens. Distinguished members of the faculty file in. As they enter, the students rise. One of the lecturers is Baron Sergius A. Korff, a Russian, resident of Washington, D. C., member of the faculties of Georgetown and Columbia universities. The students seat themselves, the faculty in front. Baron Korff opens the Academy of International Law by beginning his discourse on the historical development of international law. There is no introduction or other ceremony. It is all quite as if it were a mere matter of scholastic routine in a long-established institution.

As the Baron begins, in his easily understood French, to point out the difficulties of lecturing on such a subject in a foreign language, a number of little matters are noted. The green-covered desk has a mysteriously constructed folding frame of a manuscript-holder, adjustable to any height of a speaker, a lectern of no mean order. There is a charming iridescent glass pitcher and tumbler, reflecting through their own silver and sunlight the green below. The lecturer is on his platform, backed by a door leading to a similar room beyond, a door with a heavy paneled-frame, all constituting a perfectly satisfactory setting. The walls of the room are plain. The ceiling has great heavy timbers with lighter panels. There is an air of fitting repose and refinement. The students, some of them, are taking notes industriously, particularly the Orientals. There are but a few women among the auditors. One of the students is an official in the government of the Russian Soviet republics. It is a cosmopolitan group. There are no unusual clothes effects. The audience differs from other and familiar audiences only in the variety of national types.

Baron Korff continues. In this, his first, lecture he sketches the ancient background of international law, showing the influence of various institutions, particularly of the Church, of the Roman Empire, of the Greek States, of Egypt, and cites the leading authorities in this field. The main point of the lecture is that international law is created by no one civilization, but by each civilization; that it has arisen rather coincidentally with the rise of States. The lecturer has the air of a man of affairs, fine, free of self-consciousness, yet happy and confident. His French is hesitant only as is natural to an extemporaneous and thoughtful utterance, his pronunciation and idiom are limited only by a cadence slightly foreign to French ears. Bringing his lecture to a close, he announces his theme for the morrow and bows himself from the platform.

* Printed elsewhere in these columns.



AMERICANS AT THE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE, JULY 24, 1923

E. B. Christian, Arthur Deerin Call, Mrs. E. Wilkie, George Grafton Wilson, L. H. Shultz, Nicholas Murray Butler, J. D. Robb, L. D. Egbert, James Brown Scott, P. C. Jessup, Col. J. J. Mayes, and J. C. Murdock.

The class rises. The Academy of International Law has begun.

CLOSE OF THE FIRST SEMESTER

The last session of the first semester, addressed by M. Politis from 10:30 to 11:30, Friday, August 3, ended under the cloud of distressing news. From my journal of that day I quote the following self-explanatory passage:

"It is August 3. The hall porter of *The Clarence* brought early this morning to my room a little poster announcing the death last night of President Harding. In the light of last night's most favorable news, it seemed incredible. I hastened down to the Peace Palace, half checking the information on the way, and arrived at the final session of the first period of the Academy in the midst of the last lecture, the lecturer being M. Politis. I caught sight of James Brown Scott sitting attentively in the front row. The general atmosphere of the room led me to suspect that the news had not reached the students. Dropping in a back seat, I wrote on a card: 'Should the Academy take any special notice of the death of President Harding?' Stealing quietly down the side aisle, I slipped the card to Scott. He read it. From the stunned expression on his face I saw at once that it was to him news. I heard him whisper, 'Dead?' He soon arose and went to the back of the room and found that the newspaper men present had heard nothing of it. He returned to me, both of us hoping against hope that the report was an error. The lecturer, therefore, was permitted to finish without interruption. But soon after the last words of the session, the distressing fact was all sadly confirmed. The mood for reporting the Academy of International Law is gone."

SECOND SEMESTER

The second semester of the Academy opened August 13 and closed September 1. As in the first semester, there were 71 lectures provided, as follows: M. Le Fur,

professor in the Law School of the University of Rennes, gave ten lectures on the "General theory of the State"; M. Basdevant, professor of law in the University of Paris, ten on the "General theory of treaties"; M. Arrigo Cavaglieri, professor in the University of Rome, six on "The effects of changes in sovereignty"; M. L. de Hammarskjöld, governor of the Province of Upsala, formerly president of the Swedish Council of Ministers, five on "Neutrality"; Dr. George Grafton Wilson, professor at Harvard University, five on "Seas and Straits"; M. K. Neumeyer, professor in the University of Munich, five on "International Unions"; Dr. Ellery C. Stowell, professor in the American University, five on "The qualifications of consuls";* Dr. W. Schücking, member of the German Reichstag, former minister, professor in the University of Berlin, four on "The League of Nations";* M. le Dr. M. Adatci, Japanese ambassador, three on "The Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague"; Dr. Edwin Borchard, professor of law in Yale University, three on "The protection of foreigners"; Professor M. le Baron Albéric Rolin, professor emeritus in the University of Ghent, General Secretary of the Institute of International Law, three on "Extradition"; M. J. Fischer Williams, K. C., legal counselor of Great Britain in the Commission on Reparations, three on "Questions of international finance"; M. André Mandelstam, former director of the judicial department of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, three on "The protection of minorities"; M. André Weiss, professor of law in the University of Paris, Vice-President of the Permanent Court of International Justice, two on "The competence or incompetence of tribunals as between foreign States"; Dr. James Wilford Garner, professor in the University of Illinois, two on "International regulation of aerial navigation"; Mr. Fr. de La Barra, former President of Mexico, president of mixed arbitration tribunals, one on "International mediation and conciliation."

SEMINARS

A number of the lecturers presented some of their work in the form of seminars. Lord Phillimore conducted two. Dr. Scott had five such seminars on the general subject, "The control by a nation of its foreign relations," the subjects ranging from methods of publicity to the formation and influence of public opinion. Professor Politis conducted two seminars, one upon "The *Alabama* Affair," particularly with reference to the questions which arose under the phrase "due diligence" and "indirect damages"; the second consisted of a discussion of the dispute over the Bering Sea fisheries. Professor Strisower conducted one seminar in which a number of concrete cases involving the principles of extraterritoriality were discussed. These included the case of the murdered secretary of the Italian ambassador in London, the question being what jurisdiction did the English coroner have in such a case? Another set of questions discussed in this seminar was the extraterritorial rights of a sovereign subject of another State as in the cases of the King of Hanover and the Prince of Lichtenstein.

AMERICA IN THE ACADEMY

The sixteen lectures, including the seminars, by James Brown Scott were in the main an amplification of the

* These courses were unavoidably omitted.

principles which have prevailed in the growth of the union of free, sovereign, independent States on the North American continent. Mr. Alvarez, of the Chilean legation in Paris, discussed America, particularly the United States of America and South America, in their relation to the future of international life. A summary of Dr. Scott's views and of Mr. Alvarez's conclusions will appear in an early number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

It will be observed that the greatest number of students, excepting Holland, came from the United States. Seven of the lecturers were from the United States. These lecturers gave thirty-one of the 142 addresses.

ADVANTAGES

Thus it will be seen that the Academy of International Law at The Hague meets a demand apparently world-wide. The work undertaken by the Academy is no mere duplication of the courses already given in the regular universities: it renders a service peculiarly its own.

Of course, the Academy means more than the lectures and seminars. Students from the various walks of life are greatly benefited from the new acquaintances, from the sojourn at The Hague, from contact with the spirit hovering over the Palace of Peace. The permanent Court of International Justice was sitting while the Academy was in session. The court delivered its opinion upon the dispute between Finland and Russia, as to the position of eastern Carelia, most of the students of the Academy being present. The students, they preferred the name "auditeurs," organized themselves, adopting a constitution, electing officers, laying the foundations for a permanent body, to be known as "*L'association des auditeurs de l'Académie de droit international de la Haye*." Of course, the associations and friendships growing out of such companionship are of inestimable value.

The very atmosphere of the place is a challenge to the best within the human soul. Quoting again from my journal:

"The sunken garden, the lake, the pond-lily beds with their variegated colors; the roses on their iron trellises extending over the water; the pergolas, covered with vines at each end of the lake; the background of colossal beach trees and climbing green shrubbery; the rising knolls; the blue swallows, almost skipping the water with their quick flight; the sparrows bathing in the lily pads; the dwarf-rose beds all abloom; the silence, save the distant sounds of city life and the sighing of winds through the tree-tops—these are a part of the setting. A student sits across the watery mirror in the brick peristyle, reading. Gardeners are at their labors among the flowers, while some of their children are playing on the water's edge. A few visitors are seen disappearing up the wood path. The clock on the tower of the Palace is striking. How skillfully the noisome world seems completely shut out of this place of dignity, charm, and repose. Surely there could be no fitter home for an academy of international law than this Palace of Peace!"

The Academy is entitled to support. There is now no doubt of the necessity for such a center of higher research within the realm of public and private international law and of related science. With the financial

support already at hand, it will go on. Its influence has begun. It has shown how to promote reasoned and impartial examinations of problems relating to international juridical relations. It has been able to command some of the best talent and to show the availability of such talent. Lectures, conferences, seminars, such as employed by the Academy, are indispensable, if our world is to witness any improvement in the theory or practice of international jurisprudence, if nations are to profit from the deliberations of international conferences or from arbitral awards. Its impartial and objective methods, its elimination from its courses of the laws of war, reveal it as an agency for the advancement of world peace. Because of it we may expect a finer international juridical conscience, a greater harmony among the "schools," a more intelligent international understanding. Its first year has meant an improvement in all of these directions. The members of the faculty, as well as the students, feel the warmth of a greater mutual esteem and friendship because of their work together. Then there are the new ideas and the fresh tendencies. For such reasons, the Academy of International Law at The Hague cannot fail to receive the moral support of all forward-looking people, of universities, of the legal profession, of governments, particularly of all who hope for a law-governed world.

WILLIAM LADD *

Sometime of Minot, Maine

The Apostle of Peace

1778-1841

By GEORGE C. WING, Jr.

IN THESE days of ardent hope for world peace, when the minds of thoughtful men and women are much concerned with a League of Nations, conferences between nations for the reduction of armaments and the payment of national debts, when The Hague Tribunal is an accomplished fact, it is pleasant and most satisfying to recall William Ladd and his life in the town of Minot, Maine, and his efforts to prevent war and to obtain the consummation of peace.

William Ladd was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, May 10, 1778, the oldest son of Eliphalet Ladd and Abigail Hall Ladd. He fitted for college in the Academy at Exeter, entered Harvard in 1793, and there graduated in 1798. Eliphalet Ladd moved to Portsmouth about 1795, and in that city became an eminent and successful merchant. In 1797 William Ladd sailed as a common sailor in one of his father's vessels and visited London and other parts of Europe. At twenty years of age he was in command of a ship. He followed the sea until about 1800. His title, Captain, was thus earned and deserved. When he was twenty-one years old he married, in England, Sophia Ann Augusta Stidolph, of London. After leaving the sea, Captain Ladd lived for a few months in Savannah, Georgia, where he occupied himself as a merchant. From Savannah he moved to



WILLIAM LADD

Florida, where, on a cotton plantation, he undertook the abolition of negro slavery by the introduction of free labor in the persons of European emigrants. In this he was a failure and he lost most of his property. In 1806 the father, Eliphalet Ladd, died, and William returned to Portsmouth and to the sea, which he followed until the War of 1812 made such an occupation undesirable.

In June, 1814, as he himself records in his *Annals of Bakerstown*, "William Ladd moved from Portsmouth to Minot" and the hilltop where he made his home and built his mansion house, dreamed of peace, conceived the idea of a congress of nations, as set forth in his essay on a congress of nations, and justly earned the title with which his memory is yet honored, "The Apostle of Peace." The Cumberland County Registry of Deeds shows in 1813 that Captain Ladd bought of James Jewett, of New Durham, New Hampshire, "The New Farm," in the town of Minot. For this he paid \$7,750. In addition to "The New Farm," he bought other lands, until he possessed more than 600 acres. To house his herds and crops he had six large barns. He employed many hands and his farming operations were most extensive and conducted on scientific lines. That his interest among his neighbors was not confined to selfish ends alone is evidenced by the fact that he was a stockholder in the first shoe manufacturing company organized in Minot, now Auburn, January 2, 1835. On July 4, 1814, he delivered at Minot an oration, in the closing sentences of which occur these ringing words: "Religion, virtue, and knowledge shall rule and the Empire of Peace shall be established." In 1816, with Seth Chandler, he was sent as a representative to the General

* From *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, Volume XI, No. 2, 1923.

Court, and September 16 of that year he attended the convention at Brunswick to form a constitution, if there should be five-ninths of the voters of Maine in favor of a separation. On July 20, 1817, he joined the Second Congregational Church of Minot, and in 1837 he was licensed to preach the Gospel of Peace.

In 1819, when Captain Ladd was forty-one years old, he saw the Rev. Jesse Appleton, president of Bowdoin College. Hemenway, his biographer, quotes William Ladd as saying: "I had the privilege of witnessing some of the last hours of the Rev. Jesse Appleton, D. D., president of Bowdoin College. In his joyful anticipations of the growing improvement of the world and the enumeration of the benevolent societies of the day, he gave a prominent place to peace societies; and this was almost the first time I ever heard of them. The idea then passed over my mind as the day-dream of benevolence; and so every one views the subject who does not examine it. It is probable that the impressions made at this interview first turned my attention to the subject, but it probably would soon have escaped from me, had not the *Solemn Review*, which came soon after into my possession, in a very singular way, riveted my attention in such a manner as to make it the principal object of my life to promote the cause of peace on earth and good-will to man."

The origin of peace societies may be traced to the publication in 1809 of a tract entitled "The Mediator's Kingdom Not of this World, but Spiritual," by David Low Dodge, a citizen and merchant of New York City. These societies were an organized religious movement as a protest against war as inconsistent with the teach-



SOPHIA ANN AUGUSTA STIDOLPH LADD
Wife of William Ladd

ings of the New Testament. "In 1815 the following peace societies were created in the United States: The New York Peace Society, the first of its kind, organized, as has been seen, by Mr. David Low Dodge in August; the Ohio Peace Society, founded on December 2; the Massachusetts Society, founded December 26, by the Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D., author of the tract entitled 'A Solemn Review of the Custom of War,' which appears to have converted Mr. Ladd to the ways of peace."*

William Ladd began his first series of essays on peace and war, thirty-two in number, in the *Christian Mirror*, at Portland, Maine, July, 1823. In 1825 these essays were collected and published in a volume. In 1825 he wrote a review of Commodore Porter's "Journal of a Voyage in the Pacific Ocean in the United States frigate *Essex*," in which he criticized the "war trade" as well as the "slave trade." This same year, in these articles in the *Christian Mirror*, he disapproved the erection of the Bunker Hill Monument, on the ground that future generations will look upon the column as a "monument of the barbarism and anti-Christian spirit of our age."

In 1827 appeared another volume of essays, begun in 1825, thirty-seven in all. July 4, 1825, he addressed the Peace Society of Oxford County at Sumner. In December, 1825, he addressed the Massachusetts Peace Society, and February, 1824, he spoke before the Peace Society of Maine. Both of these addresses were reprinted in London. July 4, 1826, he delivered an oration at Exeter, New Hampshire, in which his favorite note of peace predominated. The American Peace Society was formed in 1828. William Ladd was its first president. Its first meeting was held in New York City, May 8, 1828, and in that month and year Mr. Ladd issued the first number of a *Harbinger of Peace*. This paper was issued monthly and had a circulation of about 1,500 numbers. The *Calumet* took the place of the *Harbinger of Peace* in 1831 and continued four years. The latter publication appeared every two months. The writing and editorial work of these papers was done by William Ladd on the Minot hilltop, where he made his home and had his study. In 1830 he wrote a tract published by the Minot Peace Society, "Reflections on War," and between 1829 and 1832 he wrote the following books on peace for the improvement of young people: "The Sword, or Christmas Presents," "Howard and Napoleon Contrasted," "The French Soldier," "History of Alexander the Great." In 1831 Mr. Ladd published a dissertation on a congress of nations in the *Harbinger of Peace*. This also appeared in pamphlet. This was, according to Hemenway, his biographer, the first work on a congress of nations ever printed in America. In 1834 appeared his "Solemn Appeal to Christians in Favor of Peace," and in 1835 he issued his work on "The Duty of Woman to Promote the Cause of Peace." In 1836-7 he published in the *Christian Mirror* twenty-two essays, entitled "Obstacles and Objections to the Cause of Peace." The essays afterward appeared in book form.

In 1837 the Constitution of the American Peace Society was revised and the stand taken that all war is contrary to the Gospel. This was in accordance with

* Introduction, "An Essay on a Congress of Nations," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, James Scott Brown, page IX.



HOMESTEAD OF WILLIAM LADD
Center Minot, Maine, 1896

William Ladd's idea, and in the controversy which arose over the amendment he was opposed by President Allen, of Bowdoin College. In 1837 appeared nine articles in the *Christian Mirror* addressed to ministers, in which he sought to awaken and instruct them in their duty as to the cause of peace.

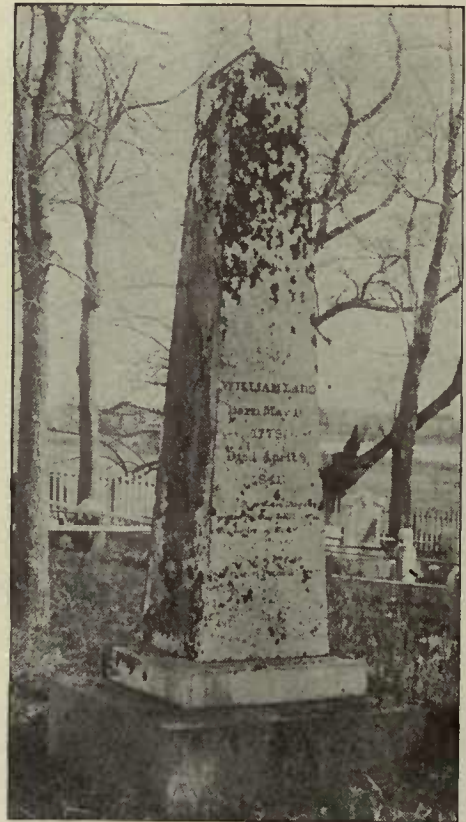
In November, 1837, occurred the death of Elijah Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, while defending his printing press against a mob. Ladd took the ground that Lovejoy was not a martyr; that he did anything but right in resorting to violence; that his conscience would not permit him to say Lovejoy died like a Christian, and justified his stand by ample quotations from the teachings and words of the Saviour. In 1839 occurred the so-called Aroostook War. Ladd called attention to the fact that the situation showed the want of a competent tribunal to settle the disputes between nations.

In 1840 appeared the prize essays on a congress of nations, together with a sixth essay. The American Peace Society offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay on a congress of nations. The committee, Joseph Story, William Wirt, and John C. Calhoun, could not agree as to the best effort. Another committee, John Quincy Adams, James Kent, and Daniel Webster, were selected and they could not agree. The Peace Society then concluded to accept the proposal of the first committee to publish five of the best essays. To these five Mr. Ladd, at the request of the Peace Society, wrote and added a sixth essay, which was printed and bound with the five prize essays. This volume was distributed among distinguished persons in Europe and America. It is this essay which is William Ladd's greatest claim for enduring fame. It was written at his home in Minot. In it he gave a new idea to the law of international relations which found expression in the great Peace Congress at Brussels, Paris, London, and The Hague.

In his advertisement to his "Essay on a Congress of Nations," William Ladd says: "In reading over these essays, I noted down every thought worth preserving; and I present them here in a body, with such reflections, additions, and historical facts as occurred to me during my labor; so that my claim to originality in this pro-

duction rests much on the thought of separating the subject into two distinct parts, viz: 1st. A congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law by compact and agreement, of the nature of a mutual treaty, and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, meliorating the condition of man. 2nd. A court of nations, composed of the most able civilians in the world, to arbitrate or judge such cases as should be brought before it by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations, thus dividing entirely the diplomatic from the judicial functions, which require such different, not to say opposite, characters in the exercise of their functions. I consider the congress as the legislature and the court as the judiciary in the government of nations, leaving the functions of the executive with public opinion, 'the Queen of the World.' This division I have never seen in any essay, or plan for a congress, or diet of independent nations, either ancient or modern, and I believe it will obviate all the objections which have been heretofore made to such a plan."

In 1840 and 1841 Captain Ladd lectured on his favorite topic in Albany and Troy, New York; Worcester, Massachusetts; Auburn, New York, Rochester, and other places in western Massachusetts and New York. It is recorded that in some instances he was unable to



GRAVE OF WILLIAM LADD
Portsmouth, N. H., 1897

stand, but addressed his audiences on his knees. In April, 1841, he left New York for his home in Minot. He reached Portsmouth the 9th of that month. As he retired his wife said, "Now let us kneel down and thank God that you are safe returned." They knelt and prayed. On lying down he felt the approach of death, but before help could be called he passed beyond. He lies buried in Portsmouth, and on his tomb appears:

WILLIAM LADD

Born May 10, 1778

Died April 9, 1841

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall
be called the children of God
Erected by the American Peace Society

Such were the activities of William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace, and during the years which he gave so much to the cause of peace he also found time to carry on his large farm at Minot. He improved the general conduct of agriculture in the neighborhood; he planted orchards; he moved among his neighbors, respected and much liked. He contributed to every good cause. He became an advocate of temperance. He lectured to his fellow-townsmen on that subject. What he preached he practiced.

No account of William Ladd would be complete without mention of the rugged man who was his pastor and friend, Elijah Jones, who became pastor of the church at Minot in 1823, and there continued for more than fifty years. To this man must be attributed the Christian, if that term may be used, touch of all of William Ladd's writings, for it must have been noted from the foregoing that William Ladd's conception of peace was of a religious origin. This is most clearly seen in his treatment of the Lovejoy episode. The idea of a Christian peace permeates his great essay on a congress of nations.

The homestead of William Ladd at Center Minot is now in the hands of strangers. The elegance of his mansion house is no more. The white church in which he worshiped yet graces the Minot hilltop, and near by, in the churchyard, sleeps Elijah Jones; but the idea that William Ladd gave to the world in his great essay yet lives and grows greater and more sublime as men of our day seek a world peace under its benign and simple doctrine, and as it becomes more and more evident that the better ordering of the world lies in a congress of nations and a world court.

Among Maine men who have a claim to fame, none have a greater and sounder cause for respectful memory than William Ladd of Minot, "The Apostle of Peace."

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THE PATHWAY OF PEACE

BY HONORABLE CHARLES E. HUGHES

Secretary of State of the United States

Delivered before the Canadian Bar Association at Montreal, September 4, 1923, and published here with the author's consent.

"WAR," said Sir Henry Maine, "appears to be as old as mankind, but peace is a modern invention." It is hardly that; it would seem to be an occasional experience, rather than an achievement. To one who reviews the history of strife from "the universal belligerency of primitive mankind," peace appears merely as the lull between inevitable storms always gathering in some quarter with the fateful recurrence of the operations of nature. Nineteen centuries of Christian faith, with its evangel of peace on earth and good will to men, with its sweet reasonableness and constant appeals through myriad activities to man's highest hopes, have erected no effective barrier to war. It maintains hospitals, it cares for the wounded and soothes the dying; it shines resplendent in countless lives of supreme self-sacrifice; but it leaves untouched the fields of carnage and unimpaired the justification of noble and generous spirits in the use of the most ruthless instrumentalities of destruction. The economic satisfactions proffered by an advancing civilization and dependent upon peace, the enticements of soft living, the hopes of families, the tenderest attachments, are all futile to oppose the summons to arms. The resources of science, all inventive skill, the long discipline of the organization of trade and industry, everything that can be commanded in thought and action, in accumulated stores and capacity of production, are under pledge to the god of war.

We may gain something in our quest for peace if we recognize at once that war is not an abnormality. In the truest sense, it is not the mere play of brute force. It is the expression of the insistent human will, inflexible in its purpose. The culture of civilization has strengthened, not enfeebled it. It is the old human spirit with the latest equipment. As Winston Churchill has said of the "valiant spirit of man in the late war": "Son of the Stone Age, vanquisher of nature with all her trials and mosters, he met the awful and self-inflicted agony with new reserves of fortitude. * * * His nervous system was found in the twentieth century capable of enduring physical and moral stresses before which the simpler natures of primeval times would have collapsed. Again and again to the hideous bombardment, again and again from the hospital to the front, again and again to the hungry submarines, he strode unflinching. And withal, as an individual, preserved through these torments the glories of a reasonable and compassionate mind." It was with this equipment,

spiritual as well as material, at a time when peace was lavishly bestowing the choicest rewards of human effort, that the nations that had most to lose plunged into the most ruinous and horrible conflict known to history.

When we consider that the inability to maintain a just peace attests the failure of civilization itself, we may be less confident of the success of any artificial contrivances to prevent war. We must recognize that we are dealing with the very woof and warp of human nature. The war to end war has left its curse of hate, its lasting injuries, its breeding grounds of strife, and to secure an abiding peace appears to be more difficult than ever. There is no advantage in shutting our eyes to the facts; nor should we turn in disgust of panaceas to the counsel of despair. The pathway of peace is the longest and most beset with obstacles the human race has to tread; the goal may be distant, but we must press on.

It is not surprising that many should be captivated by the proposal, with its delusive simplicity and adequacy, for the outlawry of war. War should be made a crime, and those who instigate it should be punished as criminals. The suggestion, however futile in itself, has at least the merit of bringing us to the core of the problem. Even among its sponsors appear at once the qualifications which reflect the old distinction, so elaborately argued by Grotius, between just and unjust wars. "The grounds of war," said he, "are as numerous as those of judicial actions. For where the power of law ceases, there war begins." He found the justifiable causes generally assigned for war to be three—defense, indemnity, and punishment. War is self-help, and the right to make war has been recognized as the corollary of independence, the permitted means by which injured nations protect their territory and maintain their rights. International law leaves aggrieved States who can not obtain redress for their wrongs by peaceful means to exact it by force. If war is outlawed, other means of redress of injuries must be provided. Moreover, few, if any, intend to outlaw self-defense, a right still accorded to individuals under all systems of law. To meet this difficulty, the usual formula is limited to wars of aggression. But justification for war, as recently demonstrated, is ready at hand for those who desire to make war, and there is rarely a case of admitted aggression, or where on each side the cause is not believed to be just by the peoples who support the war.

There is a further difficulty that lies deeper. There is no lawgiver for independent States. There is no legislature to impose its will by majority vote, no executive to give effect even to accepted rules. The outlawry of war necessarily implies a self-imposed restraint, and free peoples, jealous of their national safety, of their freedom of opportunity, of the rights and privileges they deem essential to their well being, will not forego the only sanction at their command in extreme exigencies. The restraints they may be willing to place upon themselves will always be subject to such conditions as will leave them able to afford self-protection by force, and in this freedom there is abundant room for strife sought to be justified by deep-seated convictions of national interests, by long-standing grievances, by the apprehension of aggression to be forestalled. The outlawry of war, by appropriate rule of law making war a crime,

requires the common accord needed to establish and maintain a rule of international law, the common consent to abandon war; and the suggested remedy thus implies a state of mind in which no cure is needed. As the restraint is self-imposed, it will prove to be of avail only while there is a will to peace.

It is this difficulty which constantly suggests recourse to force to maintain peace. Peoples who would engage in war, it is said, must be compelled to be peaceful; there should be an international force adequate to prevent aggression and to redress wrongs. The analogy of domestic peace is pressed; the force of the State—that is, of all the people—maintains the authority of the municipal law and compels public order. The analogy has held good in the case of great empires and within the range of their imperial power. The earliest empires, established through conquest and the greed of dominion, doubtless diminished wars among the subject peoples while the imperial authority continued, and the centuries of the *pax Romana* were made possible by the unchallengeable sway of Rome. It is unfortunately true that it is self-determination which makes for war and places obstacles in the way of all plans for keeping the peace. Thirty-five years ago the most distinguished of publicists found some promise of peace in the alliance of the three emperors and in the consequent isolation and agreement for peaceful adjustment of a limited group of questions which otherwise might lead to conflict. But time has shown how illusory are alliances of great powers so far as the maintenance of peace is concerned.

In considering the use of international force to secure peace, we are again brought to the fundamental necessity of common accord. If the feasibility of such a force be conceded for the purpose of maintaining adjudications of legal right, this is only because such an adjudication would proceed upon principles commonly accepted, and thus forming part of international law, and upon the common agreement to respect the decision of an impartial tribunal in the application of such principles. This is a limited field where force is rarely needed and where the sanctions of public opinion and the demands of national honor are generally quite sufficient to bring about acquiescence in judicial awards. But in the field of conflicting national policies, and what are deemed to be essential interests, when the smoldering fires of old grievances have been fanned into a flame by a passionate sense of immediate injury, or the imagination of peoples is dominated by apprehension of present danger to national safety, or by what is believed to be an assault upon national honor, what force is to control the outbreak? Great powers agreeing among themselves may indeed hold small powers in check. But who will hold great powers in check when great powers disagree? The trust in force must in truth be trust in common agreement behind the force. And we are thus brought back to the sentiment of peoples, to the common accord which makes peace possible. The application of force when there is disagreement means war, not peace; and then the basis of confidence, if found at all, is merely in the disparity of arms.

All contrivances for maintaining peace by economic pressure, as well as by military force, depend upon the

sentiment which will apply the pressure and direct the force when the test comes. Such arrangements are likely to fail when they are most needed, because national interests are diverse and unanimity of action under stress of crises involving conflicts of opinion is well-nigh impossible. The independence and equality of States is the postulate of international relations. There is no path to peace except as the will of peoples may open it. The way to peace is through agreement, not through force. The question then is not of any ambitious general scheme to prevent war, but simply of the constant effort, which is the highest task of statesmanship in relation to every possible cause of strife, to diminish among peoples the disposition to resort to force, and to find a just and reasonable basis for accord. If the energy, ability, and sagacity equal to that now devoted to preparation for war could be concentrated upon such efforts aided by the urgent demands of intelligent public opinion, addressed not to impossibilities but to the removal or adjustment of actual differences, we should make such approach to our goal.

Over against the arbitrament of war we put the reign of law. But the reign of law is limited by the content of the law and by the processes of its development. International law consist of those principles and rules of conduct which civilized States regard as obligatory upon them, and hence are generally observed in their relations with each other. They are deduced by reason and exemplified by practice, and, resting on general consent, can be modifier or added to only by consent. Lord Mansfield described the law of nations as "founded upon justice, equity, convenience, the reason of the thing, and confirmed by long usage." Lacking in definite sanction other than public opinion, it is in constant danger of being supplanted by considerations of expediency whenever the exigency is so severe, or the immediate advantages so great, or opinion so divided, as to warrant the risk. There was abundant illustration of this in the recent war, which began in "repudiation of every element of fundamental right upon which the law of nations rests" and was prosecuted with but slight regard to any obligatory principle which was thought to stand in the way of success. If we are to live in a world of order and of peace the foundations of international law must be secured, its postulates must be re-asserted, and there must be expert attention to its development in dealing with the unsettled questions of a legal nature which have arisen in international intercourse.

It has been said that if the founders of international law did not create a sanction, they did create a law-abiding sentiment. This is in truth the most important sanction, and to-day there is need that this law-abiding sentiment should be re-created and that the tendency, increased by nine years of war and the confusion and unrest following war, to reply on force should be checked. It is not that the field of law is broad; it is necessarily a narrow one, limited, as has been said, to those principles and rules of general application which have found general acceptance. But the spirit which maintains the law within that field, which recognizes its restraints although self-imposed, which safeguards the independence, the equality, and the proper jurisdiction and privileges of the members of the family of nations and

assures the sanctity of international engagements—this upholding of correlative rights and obligations—is of vital importance not simply with respect to these rights and obligations in themselves but in producing the will to peace. However narrow may be the field in which the principles of law obtain, there will be no peace in the world if the spirit of men permits these principles to be trampled upon as self-interest may prompt.

It is, therefore, most desirable that all discussion of international relations should not revolve about questions of policy and expediency, however important these may be, but that along with this necessary discussion there should be the determination to re-establish the law, to quicken the sense of the obligation of States under the law. As soon as possible the codification of international law should be undertaken, not merely to give formal definiteness to accepted principles, but to heighten the respect for these postulates and rules by fresh discussion and restatement. And with this enterprise, attention should be given to the resolution of all the manifold uncertainties and diversities of opinion as to matters which properly belong within the domain of law, and to the provision of new rules needed to meet new situations. It would be difficult to conceive a process requiring more deliberation and patience. For at every step the general consent of nations must be had, and at every step, except in the simplest matters, the opposing policy and objections of some nation will be encountered. The difficulty must be met by conferences which have the sole object of promoting the codification and development of law. It must be met by the aroused and insistent purpose of the members of the bar, who by their unremitting and organized endeavor may produce among their peoples the profound conviction that there will be no continuing peace unless conscience and a dominant sense of justice demand and insure the supremacy of law.

As legal principles and rules are supported by general acceptance, we may look with confidence for the general support of opinion in their application and vindication through impartial tribunals. The difficulty here is not the acceptance of the theory of judicial settlement, but in establishing entire confidence in the impartiality of tribunals and their freedom from political influence. It must also be recognized that questions arise which, although requiring for their solution the application of principles of law or the interpretation of treaties, touch so closely the vital interests or the pride and honor of States that they are unwilling to allow the settlement to pass into other hands. And beyond all questions of law there lie the most difficult situations, where there are no determining principles, where national policies and ambitions conflict, where nations seek expansion and opportunities of trade by spheres of political and economic influence among weaker peoples, where rivalries are embittered by mutual distrust and ever-present fear, where intrigue is the busy servant of the lust of power, where compelled adjustments have left deep wounds and a passionate desire for a redress of injuries inflicted by force and sought to be redressed by force. As against these causes of strife, creating the disposition to look for pretexts for the use of force, efforts to maintain a permanent peace have thus far proved to be futile. Plans for commissions of inquiry

for periods of cooling off, for the use of good offices, are all important and may be efficacious to a gratifying extent. But these measures deal with cases already aggravated, and it may well be doubted whether in grave crises they would avail. Great powers, well armed and having a vivid sense of opportunity, supported by popular clamor for the vindication of national interests, are disposed to seize what they believe to be within their grasp. Resistance by force means war. Fear of opposing force may stay the hand, but this does not mean peace—rather, renewed preparation and a waiting for the day. There is only one way to make peace secure and that is the difficult but necessary effort to translate particular controversies into voluntary reasonable agreements. To this purpose, of a definite, concrete sort, rather than fanciful programs, the intelligence of peoples should be devoted.

We have to take account of both the advantages and disadvantages of democratization. It is generally thought that democracies are disposed to peace, but this is yet to be demonstrated where there is deep feeling and a national sense of injury. Great wars, involving vast populations, can not be fought without public support, but the most serious causes of war are precisely those which carry popular appeal. The peoples of the warring nations were never so united as during the last war, and this was equally true of both sides. A sense of injury is easily created and confused with the sense of justice. A despot may be as indisposed to war as any people, and democracies never lack leaders to inflame popular passion. While we should expect peoples to be slow to war in minor exigencies, the test comes when national sentiment is deeply aggrieved.

Apart from this, it is necessary to reckon with the special difficulties inherent in the democratic organization of government with respect to the endeavor to maintain peace by concluding international agreements which end controversies closely affecting national interests. There are, indeed, governments with an essentially democratic basis where the executive power is still able to conclude many important international agreements without reference to the legislature; but this is due to the persistence of special traditions. Usually in democracies there is a final or coordinate authority which rests with the parliament or legislature. The negotiations of so-called plenipotentiaries, the engagements of foreign offices, the conclusions of conferees, are thus merely preliminary. The more important the agreements, as insuring peace by settling bitter disputes, the more certain it is that they will involve mutual concessions. Thus in each country it is likely to be insisted that the other has gained at its expense, and this gives exceptional opportunity to critics who assume the most extreme positions on patriotic grounds. In the case of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, Daniel Webster was accused of taking upon himself to act for the British envoy and of making twelve important sacrifices of the interests of his country, while Lord Palmerston asserted that the treaty was a capitulation, the result of the incompetence and weakness of Lord Ashburton. Since the recent Washington conference those who are dissatisfied with the naval treaty in Great Britain, Japan, and the United States have sought to make it appear in each of these countries that its par-

ticular interests were sacrificed to the others; of course these critics can not all be right, and I am happy to say that the manifest result of their conflicting contentions is to put even in a clearer light the essential fairness of the arrangement.

Aside from honest criticism, modern negotiations between democracies furnished rare opportunities for the ready tongues of demagogues. There are to-day serious questions between peoples which ought to be taken up and settled in order to heal festering sores. But those in charge of foreign affairs do not dare to undertake to negotiate agreements because they know that in the presence of attack inspired by political or partisan motives the necessary adjustment could not receive approval of the legislative branch and would evoke such an acrimonious controversy on both sides that matters would be made worse instead of better. The discussion of international agreements naturally and properly engages the attention of the public press, but that also not only gives opportunity for reasonable criticism, but for the pseudopatriots to seize a point of vantage against the government they desire to attack. Conferences are often treated as though they provided an actual solution of all difficulties, but for most countries they accomplish nothing unless the conclusions are ratified by a popular assembly. Democracies may be loath to go to war, but they are extremely difficult agencies of international compromises in the interest of peace.

In this task of promoting peaceful settlements diplomacy is indispensable. Conferences are simply an extension of its method where a number of States are parties to the negotiations. No one can fail to realize the importance of having the public deeply interested and well informed upon policies, interests, and undertakings in order to maintain a check upon improper aims and a wholesome attitude toward foreign relations, but there is a necessary distinction to be observed with respect to the conduct of negotiations. While intrigues and secret understandings, breeding suspicion and leading to counter intrigues and secret arrangements, are the appropriate instruments of the injurious rivalries and ambitious schemings which make for war, premature publicity is a serious handicap to the honorable negotiations which seek to end dangerous disputes. Concessions will not be made and fair compromises are rendered almost impossible in the presence of the keen, efficient, and indefatigable news gatherers who naturally regard it as a primary obligation to let nothing escape their ken or their pen. It is inevitable that fragments of information should be picked up, that the pieces of the puzzle should be inaccurately joined, and that the interests of peaceful adjustments should be in constant danger of being sacrificed to "scoops."

It is suggested that all would be easy if negotiators would simply tell the public everything that they are doing. But the trouble is that in every negotiation, as all business men know, there are preliminary positions to be taken, tentative plans to be discussed, arguments to be presented and demolished and nothing can be accomplished if every suggestion, every advance and every retreat must be publicly made. Negotiators under such restriction would inevitably take their positions not to promote a settlement, but to win public approval by the firmness and vigor of their partisan-

ship. Eager as democracies may be for peace in the abstract, it is easy to excite a public clamor for "no compromise" in the concrete. But the point is not that the negotiators of democratic governments will be disposed to conduct their proceedings in public, the difficulty is that in the midst of their work when patience and reticence, and an equable public temper are needed, misleading statements, misapprehensions and unfounded rumors are likely to become current and perhaps also make necessary, in order to avoid greater difficulties, disclosures which it would be in the interest of successful prosecution of the negotiations to withhold for the time being. Open diplomacy is openness of results; the absence of secret agreements and understandings, not the immediate publication of all intermediate steps. When we consider the self-imposed restraints that are necessary in the interest of peace, is it too much to hope that to a much greater degree there will be embraced in these, as a matter of public interest, the self-imposed restraint upon publicity before disclosures in relation to negotiations are properly authorized? If we are to have peace, we must develop a public sentiment which will aid in conserving the opportunities to work for peace by facilitating the practical arrangements that make for the adjustments of peace.

Perhaps the most troublesome sources of irritation are to be found in the subjects which States properly decline to regard as international in the legal sense. Every State, jealous of its sovereign rights, refuses to permit the intrusion of other nations into its domestic concerns. In every plan for the arbitration of international controversies, domestic questions are perforce excluded. But in these days of intimate relations, of economic stress, and of intense desire to protect national interests and advance national opportunity, the treatment of questions which from a legal standpoint are domestic often seriously affects international relations. The principle, each nation for itself to the full extent of its power, is the principle of war, not of peace. Let it be recognized that force is the inevitable resort of unrestrained selfishness; that peace is to be reconciled with national aims only as an enlightened self-interest permits the reasonable restraint that is consistent with the fair opportunity of others,—in a world where we must either fight or "live and let live" in a decent regard for the welfare of others as well as our own.

But how are we to take proper cognizance of the just interests of other States in the turmoil of politics and amid the contests of local ambitions appealing exclusively to some supposed immediate national interest? No State could be asked, or for a moment would consider, submitting its treatment of domestic interests to any sort of international arbitrament. It will decide for itself the questions within its own jurisdiction; that is the essence of sovereignty. But the case is not hopeless. What could be regarded as more essentially a matter of its own concern than the provision a State should make for its own defense, the arms it should provide, the number and armament of its battleships? Yet we have recently seen the great naval powers, obedient at last to the desire to end a ruinous competitive struggle in arms, voluntarily agree to reduce their fighting ships to agreed proportions. I believe that we

shall be able at no distant day to keep within reasonable limits some of our pressing economic rivalries by fair international agreements in which the self-interest of rivals will submit to mutual restrictions in the furtherance of friendly accord.

All things are possible if nations are willing to be just to each other. The fact that in the class of matters now under consideration there may be no possibility of arbitrament does not imply that we do not have any means at hand which are compatible with the recognition of sovereign rights. We have not only the possibilities of negotiating international agreements, but also of advising the legislatures of States as to the interests of other States affected by national legislation. A joint commission is a familiar agency which is distinct from that of arbitration for the reason that the States concerned in their creation have each an equal representation. In relation to domestic questions which have an international bearing, it would be quite possible to make more frequent use of this method, not to decide but to inform, not to arbitrate but to investigate, to find the facts and to report to the governments of the States represented the effect of measures and where injury would lie. We have at this time, under our treaty of 1909 relating to boundary waters and questions arising along the boundary between Canada and the United States, an International Joint Commission with powers of investigation and report within the scope of the treaty.

While I do not undertake to speak officially upon this subject, I may take the liberty of stating as my personal view that we should do much to foster our friendly relations and to remove sources of misunderstanding and possible irritation, if we were to have a permanent body of our most distinguished citizens acting as a commission, with equal representation of both the United States and Canada, to which automatically there would be referred, for examination and report as to the facts, questions arising as to the bearing of action by either Government upon the interests of the other, to the end that each reasonably protecting its own interests would be so advised that it would avoid action inflicting unnecessary injury upon its neighbor. We rejoice in our long friendship and in permanent peace, and it would be a short-sighted view that either of us has any real interest which is to be promoted without regard to the well-being of the other and the considerate treatment which conditions good will. I am saying this personal word as much to the people of the United States as to the people of Canada; it breathes neither complacency nor criticism, but a keen desire for the co-operation of the closest friends, each secure in independence and in the assurance of amity.

I recur to the main point, that the only real progress to abiding peace is found in the friendly disposition of peoples and that facilities for maintaining peace are useful only to the extent that this friendly disposition exists and finds expression. The means of waging war in its most horrible form are now apparently within the reach of all and are more easily contrived and concealed than ever. War is not only possible, but probable, where mistrust and hatred and desire for revenge are the dominant motives. Our first duty is at home with our own opinion, by education and unceasing effort

to bring to naught the mischievous exhortations of chauvinists; our next is to aid in every practicable way in promoting a better feeling among other peoples, the healing of wounds, and the just settlement of differences.

Our own relations furnish the happiest illustration and strengthen our faith. It is not that we began in friendship or had the advantage of a tradition of brotherly love. Quite the contrary. Our 100 years and more of peace were preceded by long periods of bitterness and of savage strife; the new world received as an unfortunate heritage the warring ambitions of the old. It is not that since the close of that era we have been without serious controversies. The peace of Ghent left us many questions of difficulty which apparently defied amicable settlement. But we now recall the serious disputes of the nineteenth century with mutual gratification at the conquests of peace and the arduous achievements of self-restraint. It is not that we have been lacking in national pride, in courage, or martial spirit. The long record of fortitude, of heroism, and military ardor and capacity in the Great War has no more inspiring chapter than that written by the sons of Canada who with eager swiftness rushed to the support of the motherland in the struggle to maintain the very essentials of liberty, and to the final success of that struggle the Dominion pledged all her resources of material and spiritual power. It was the privilege of our own people in that war, convinced of the vital character of the issue, to take our place at your side, and the friendship which had grown out of the unlikely soil, sown with the seeds of early differences, came to glorious fruition in the common sacrifices on the fields of France. It is pleasant to recall that it was Alexander Hamilton, the apostle both of national strength and of international peace, who first suggested, in his recommendation to President Washington in 1794, the limitation of armament on the Great Lakes, and our undefended line of 3,500 miles is at once a memorial and a prophecy—a memorial of the past triumphs of reasonableness and a prophecy that all future problems will be solved without breach of amity.

The reason for this happy condition points to the solution the world needs. We have formed the habit of peace; we think in terms of peace. Differences arise, but our confidence in each other's sense of justice and peaceful intent remains unshaken and dominates our purposes and plans. The only pathway of peace is that in which our peoples are walking together. In the depths of our grief at the loss of the great leader, whose every thought, whose constant endeavor, were directed to the establishment of peace, it is a precious memory that almost his last words were spoken on the soil of your country testifying to our abiding friendship, our mutual interests, our common aims. Let these words of the late President ever remain as the expression and assurance of abiding peace: "Our protection is in our fraternity, our armor is our faith; the tie that binds more firmly year by year is ever-increasing acquaintance and comradeship through interchange of citizens; and the compact is not of perishable parchment, but of fair and honorable dealing which, God grant, shall continue for all time."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

An Address Delivered Before the Academy of International Law, at The Hague, July 20, 1923

(Translation from the French)

By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

IN 1912, AT the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, I offered a definition of the International Mind. Today I propose to return to that subject and to make some observations from a philosophical point of view.

One who accustoms himself to look beneath the surface of human history will find constantly at work there powerful and conflicting emotions and ideas. The happenings that one takes note of day by day are the result of these hidden and sometimes unsuspected causes. From the vast reservoir of the world's unconscious mental life, there flow those constant streams of tendency which produce the results that are visible to all men. Wars and migrations come and go, nations rise and fall, the center of gravity of human interest moves from one point to another far removed, and only those are mystified who seek the explanation solely on the surface of things. A deeper and more reflective examination of all that pertains to human life and conduct will often give the clue to an understanding of what is taking place.

From the break-up of the Roman Empire to the present day, a period of perhaps fifteen centuries, the most powerful moving force in the history of the Western World, although often unconsciously operating, has been the struggle for nationality, for national organization, for national independence, and for national expansion. The integration of separate States into empires, and then the break-up of these empires themselves, have been due to this cause. Religious zeal, economic pressure, and the thirst for novelty have been contributing causes—sometimes powerfully so—but the persistent struggle for nationality has dominated all these.

During the eighteenth century the civilized world witnessed with sympathy and regret the suppression of the nationality of Poland, which had existed for a thousand years, and the forcible division of its territory among the governments of three peoples other than its own. During the nineteenth century the world witnessed with sympathy, and indeed with enthusiasm, the steady expansion of the British Empire and the movement for the political unity of the Italian and the German States. Here were believed to be three powerful elements in the development of civilization and of enlightenment, of advance in science, in letters, and in the arts, in the spread of commerce and of industry, and in the upholding of sound principles of personal and national conduct to guide the life of men and nations. Partly for reasons that were psychological, partly for reasons that were economic, the movement toward nationality eventually became one of distinct menace to the people of the world and to the safety and independence of the smaller nations themselves. Finally, in 1914, the crash came, and the principle of nationality seemed for the moment to have exhausted its good ele-

ments and to have brought down the world in ruin about it. A huge combination of nations was effected for the protection of those things which they held most dear, and at the conclusion of the military struggle an effort was made to bind the nations together in a league of common interest and common purpose.

It was held, on the one hand, that nationalism as a ruling force had distinctly failed, and that a broad and generous spirit of internationalism must henceforth take its place. On the other hand, it was asserted that any such hope was merely a dream, that it took no account of the actualities of human life and behavior, and that it lacked every element of practicality and helpful human service. This conflict of opinion, supported by a corresponding conflict of national and international policies, makes up the environment in which we are living at the moment. Nationalism has lost some part of its appeal to men, and faith in it as an end has been rudely shaken. Internationalism, on the other hand, certainly in its more extreme form, fails to commend itself to the judgment of many sagacious leaders of opinion, and its fate is hanging in the balance.

If it be true that the struggle for nationalism, which has ruled the history of the Western World for so long, has exhausted itself as a moving force, then we are truly standing at a cross-roads in the history of the world. If the road to nationalism be closed to farther progress, what road lies open to humanity?

It would be difficult to find any problem, either intellectual or practical, that presents itself more persistently or in more varied forms than that of the relation between the One and the Many. The ancient Greek philosophers saw its significance, and, with that naïve directness so characteristic of them, attacked it as a fundamental question that must be answered if the world was to be grasped by human intelligence. The problem of the One and the Many lies at the bottom of all logic, of all ethics, of all economics, and of all politics; it lies at the bottom of the problem of nationalism and internationalism. How can the One be enriched and perfected not only without harm to the Many, but so as to enrich and perfect the Many itself? How can the One be distinguished from the Many and given a form and a personality all its own? How can the One so guide and direct its own appetites and so shape its own conduct as to build up rather than to tear down the advantage and the welfare of the Many? Truly, the relation between the One and the Many, if the oldest of intellectual problems, is also one of the most many-sided and most difficult.

It may be agreed that history and anthropology have demonstrated to us that nationality does not rest, certainly does not entirely rest, upon a basis of race. The history of Greece, of Rome, of Italy, of France, of Great Britain, and of the United States would appear to make that contention impossible. Doubtless in a true nation there is and must be a sufficient basis of ethnic unity, but that ethnic unity may itself, as in the case of Italy, of Great Britain, and now of the United States, be the sum total of quite different elements. There must, in addition, be a sufficient measure of geographic unity; otherwise economic interests alone will be sufficient to cause constant conflict and desire for expansion, even by violence, into the territory of a neighbor. Then, to

accompany this sufficient basis of ethnic unity and of geographic unity, there must be a governmental unity. The nation must organize itself as a State, and give expression thereby to its political consciousness; its political traditions, and its political ideals. Obviously, if each true nation is to follow this course, and if there be no ruling purpose but selfish aggrandizement—economic, territorial, or numerical—the several nations must be in constant conflict, and constant international war must follow as a necessary result.

It may assist to propose a satisfactory answer to these difficult and perplexing questions if we look upon a nation as endowed with personality like an individual. In that case we gain some new comprehension of what is meant by national opinion other than the opinions of individuals, of what is meant by national feeling other than the feeling of individuals, and of what is meant by national ambition and purpose other than the ambition and purpose of individuals. Nothing is more certain than that there is a psychology of the crowd, and that, difficult as it may be to understand, a mass of men thinking, feeling, and acting under a common impulse think, feel, and act in ways that as separate individuals they could not hope to imitate. If a nation be a person—and I think it is—then those tested principles of ethics which have application to the conduct of individual persons would also have application to the conduct of national persons. The same fundamental precepts, the same ruling points of view, that we call moral in the case of an individual are also moral in the case of a nation. This thesis finds powerful support in the teachings of Chancellor Kent, who in his *Commentaries on American Law* wrote these words:

“States, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons, having a public will, capable and free to do right and wrong, inasmuch as they are collections of individuals, each of whom carries with him into the service of the community the same binding law of morality and religion which ought to control his conduct in private life.”

There is no proper conflict between this doctrine and the theory of sovereignty. If a sovereign be defined as an individual or a group without a political superior, then we have only to have recourse to the principles of ethics to proclaim the fact that self-direction, self-control, self-discipline, must be operative in the case of a national person as they are in the case of an individual person, if that national person is to appear to itself and to others as truly moral. In other words, the path to an exalted and purified nationalism and the path to a reasonable and practical internationalism would appear to converge. Just as it is not by the suppression but by the development of the capacity and resources of its individual members that the State itself is strengthened and enriched, so it is not by the limitation of the operation of the principle of nationality, but rather by its development on a higher plane, that the spirit of international co-operation and service will be increased and uplifted. The world has no need for weak, struggling, uncertain nations, but it offers place, power, and opportunity to strong, confident, and well-organized nations, that rule their conduct by moral principles and make no claim to override the world for their own selfish pride or aggrandizement. If the alternative be *Die Welt-*

macht oder Untergang, the end is certain to be *Untergang*.

So soon as nations, both great and small, accept the doctrine that they are moral persons, and as such are bound to conform their conduct to moral laws, the basis is laid for the recognition of the like personality of other nations, and a true society of nations begins to appear. Just as individuals are no longer granted either moral excellence or political rights by reason of their intellectual competence or their material possessions, so nations, when judged as moral persons, are not to be given weight as large or small, rich or poor. One test of membership in a true society of nations must be like the test of membership in a society of individuals, namely willingness and capacity to observe loyally the principles and to follow earnestly the ideals which are characteristic of civilized States. A truly civilized nation, one which guides its practical policies by a moral purpose, will shape its own municipal laws with due regard to the laws and the customs of other nations whenever they are brought into contact through commerce or the movement of their citizens. Not a few policies which appear to be solely domestic have direct or indirect international application or reference.

The analogy between the individual and the nation may now, however, be pressed too far, since there is a true psychology of the crowd or mass, which is very different from the psychology of the individual man. The studies in this field, which have been carried on for a quarter century past, have opened new vistas of knowledge and understanding to those who would grasp the significance of nations and who would try to explain their groupings and their conflicts. The economic motive, while by no means always dominant, is everywhere important and occasionally controlling. History cannot be explained either solely by the economic motive or entirely without it. The psychology of the crowd, or mass, takes full account of this influence in human affairs, but assigns it a properly subordinate place in the intellectual, emotional, and moral life of nations.

A real difficulty is found, in the life of nations as in the life of individuals, in the ambition of the strong and powerful to grow yet stronger and more powerful, even if it be at the expense of a weaker and less fortunate, though equally civilized, neighbor. The smaller nation, like the weaker or poorer individual, cannot find protection in force. Law, and law alone, can give it the security it desires. Opinion, which, as Napoleon once said, controls everything, crystallizes into the forms of law and speaks through those forms for the guidance and regulation of those who submit themselves to the rule of law. Those who do not so submit themselves, be they individuals or nations, are the world's criminals, and the criminal we have always with us, and shall have while human nature remains human.

The best is often the enemy of the good. To insist upon perfection of organization often means to oppose the only present steps that are practicable toward the improvement of relations between men and nations. Such progress as has already been made is slow indeed when measured by the vision of prophets and the insight of philosophers. But yet it is considerable. It must be admitted, however, that to urge the rule of law over nations and to insist upon it is quite hopeless unless the

road to law be paved by instructed and enlightened public opinion. An international engagement or treaty may be admirable in form and correct in every legal detail, and yet, under the pressure of national ambition, of national pride, or of national fear, it may become a scrap of paper, simply because there is not behind it that firm body of public opinion upon which alone enduring law can rest and by which alone obedience can be secured.

Here again we come upon another phase of the problem of the One and the Many. If a nation, representative of the One, is so reckless of moral control as to seek only its selfish aggrandizement at whatever cost to the Many, it becomes and must become the enemy of the world's peace and order, precisely as an individual acting in similar fashion becomes the enemy of the peace and order of the community in which he lives. It is essential that the gospel of service should be hearkened to by nations as well as by individuals. It is the teaching of this gospel, that a nation exists not for self-aggrandizement, but for the promotion of the general good, and that it may grow great and strong and rich without danger to mankind, if its greatness, its strength, its wealth, and its riches be used in a spirit of friendship, not hostility, of service, not selfishness. To put it differently, it is essential that the civilized nations should develop, each for itself, what I ventured long since to describe as the International Mind.

The International Mind is that fixed habit of thought and action which looks upon the several nations of the civilized world as co-operating equals in promoting the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in diffusing science and education throughout the world.

The International Mind, so defined, is in sharp antagonism to that internationalism which would break down the boundaries of nations and merge all mankind, regardless of differences in tradition, in law, in language, in religion, and in government, into a single and common unit. Such internationalism, instead of being progressive, would be reactionary. It would obliterate those differences which the march of progress has developed, and it would seek to destroy those landmarks of civilization which have been set up at great cost of life and labor over twenty centuries. Such internationalism would foment discord by creating false relationships, which, having no body of facts to correspond to them, could only give rise to friction, to conflict, and to internal war.

The International Mind, on the other hand, makes much of the spirit, the temper, and the tradition of nationality. It builds upon history and upon achievement, and it appeals to the pride, the glory, and the spirit of service of the nations, both great and small. It sees in the various civilized nations so many different facets of a single crystal, each reflecting the light of civilization in its own way, and each being a necessary part of the complete and perfect stone.

It is quite idle to say that an association of nations based upon the International Mind is a limitation on a nation's sovereignty, or that it calls into existence a supergovernment. Just the contrary is true. What higher use can be made of a nation's sovereignty than to co-operate with other like-minded sovereign nations

in the common task of advancing civilization and promoting the comforts, the satisfactions, and the happiness of man, in removing artificial barriers to trade and commerce, in spreading abroad the teachings of science, in making common property of the world's literature and the world's art, and in holding out the hand of helpfulness and courage to those less fortunate peoples who, backward in their social organization or in their philosophy of life, have not yet been able to take their place at the council board of nations? In that republican form of government, which is rapidly becoming the most usual form of political organization, no man has the privilege of ruling any other man, but merely that of sharing with him the joint control over their common interests. So it would be with an association of internationally minded nations. No supergovernment would be called into existence to rule any nation, but there would be a co-operative effort to seek out, to advance, and to improve those matters of common concern which, for good or ill, affect every nation alike.

It is the old, old story. It is the problem of the One and the Many in a new and acute form. That which Pythagoras, and Parmenides, and Plato discussed in the simple language of early Greek philosophy, we are called upon to deal with under the complicated conditions of modern social, economic, and political life. Just as in the philosophy of the Greeks the One could not be got rid of, so in the political philosophy of this twentieth century the individual nation cannot and must not have its sovereignty invaded or suppressed. Just as in the philosophy of the Greeks the One and the Many had to be explained, if at all, with reference to each other, so in our modern political philosophy the individual nation and an association of nations must be looked upon, not as antagonistic but as complementary, as parts of one complete organic whole. The method of achieving this end is the method of law. The pathway to that law is provided by morals. The support both of morals and of law is to be found in public opinion. That public opinion must be taught to know the International Mind, to accept it, and to guide national action and policy in accordance with it.

MY HUMANE CREED

By W. F. H. WENTZEL,
Director Humane Education

I BELIEVE in a vital relationship between man and the animal world, and that the "Golden Rule" has a definite application in dealing with dumb creatures.

I believe that a sense of justice, mercy, and sympathy for the suffering of any creature is fundamental in the excellence of humane character and evidence of the divine quality in man.

I believe that the finer conception of civilization recognizes man's responsibility to minister to the needs and happiness of the lower animals.

I believe that common humanity should outlaw all deliberate cruelty and unnecessary abuse of the creatures.

I believe that animals killed for food, for clothing, or because of being pests should be dispatched with the least pain and suffering practicable.

I believe that unkindness or cruelty is a type of selfishness which leads to disrespect for right and law, as well as to a criminal tendency responsible for some of our social and ethical problems.

I believe that education in the fundamentals of kindness is an essential part of the training of the child in the home, the school, and the church.

I believe that civilization and religion have progressed in direct proportion as man has become more kind and less cruel, and that this process is a part of the divine plan for the recognition of the universal brotherhood of man.

I believe that man partly demonstrates his fitness for heaven by the manner in which he deals with God's creatures, exemplifying the spirit of the Master.

A PYRRHIC VICTORY

By LUCIA PYM

FOR a man of M. Poincaré's temperament, whose politics are, to a supreme degree, dominated by personal considerations, the abandonment of passive resistance in the Ruhr is, at first sight, an unmixed triumph. In the eyes of the unthinking, for whom the end justifies the means, it signifies a gain on the part of French policy, just as the Franklin-Bouillon agreement with Mustapha Kemal Pasha, entailing the abandonment of Cilicia, appeared to those same eyes a gain for France at the expense of British prestige.

What happened as a result of Franklin Bouillon's maneuvers is well known. M. Poincaré's personal prestige was for a time enhanced, but the French now find themselves strategically unable to hold Syria, with the Turks in possession of the Cilician key to their position. Something of the same sort is applicable to the present situation. M. Poincaré's personal prestige may be sufficiently enhanced to carry him through the next elections, but, strategically speaking, the French position *vis à vis* with Germany is none too sound.

For what happens as a result of the unconditional surrender in the Ruhr? Nothing the Germans did in war was as damaging to the Allies as the peace that followed, with its sordid jealousies and quarrels, its cynical division of loot, its impotent (and very expensive) League of Nations. In the same way now that Herr Stresemann has called M. Poincaré's bluff in the Ruhr, dissension between France and Belgium is likely to become more pronounced. If, as opponents of French policy declare, the real motive for the occupation is physical possession of the industrial center of Germany with a view to final separation from the Empire, then French troops in large numbers must remain in *statu quo*. If, as Belgium declared solemnly in her reply of August 27 to the British note, an invisible occupation for the purpose of preventing deliberate default in reparations, and calculated not to interfere in any way with the normal life of the country, was the original intention of the occupying powers, and will be put into force by them on the cessation of passive resistance, then France and Belgium must withdraw their troops and Germany will be given a more or less fair opportunity to prove the truth of her contention as to the impossibility of reparations payments on their present

scale. Both sides to the controversy will have gained little or nothing save, as regards the German, an embittered memory.

At this moment, however, in spite of the pæans of victory raised by the Poincaréistes, it must be remembered that nothing has been accomplished in the Ruhr except the breaking of the passive resistance opposed to the Franco-Belgian occupation. This was not the goal aimed at by M. Poincaré, who sent troops into the Ruhr in order to seize "productive sanctions" until such time as the conditions of the London settlement of May, 1921, were fulfilled, or, in other words, to make the Germans pay. The abolishing of passive resistance is merely the overcoming of the first obstacle to the occupation.

As to the question whether Germany can or cannot pay reparations, perhaps the most impartial and able survey of the whole question has been made by Professors Moulton and McGuire, of the Institute of Economics, in their recent book, "Germany's Capacity to Pay." These two acknowledged experts, after a painstaking survey of the economic condition of Germany before, during, and after the war, have come to the considered conclusion that reparation payments depend upon German ability to develop an export surplus. In other words, Germany can only pay to the extent of her surplus export value. They therefore put the problem in brutally candid language as follows:

If Germany is to pay in the largest measure, her creditors must squarely face the facts and give her time in which to recover, if possible, her international economic position.

If one believes that the economic prosperity of the world will be promoted by the economic recovery and the restoration of the consuming power of Germany, he should favor her importation of large quantities of necessary food and raw materials and the exportation of correspondingly large quantities of manufactured goods. If, on the other hand, one believes that the disintegration of the German industrial system and the starvation of some millions of German people will promote the general welfare of the world, then he should welcome the continued curtailment of both German import and German export trade.

With the cessation of passive resistance this question stares all the Allied powers in the face. France and Belgium are perfectly right in declaring a complete lack of faith in German promises to pay. Such promises made under the circumstances and along the lines of other promises formerly exacted from Germany are necessarily lies. Germany, at this moment, can pay nothing, and she knows it. France knows it, Belgium knows it, Italy knows it, and Great Britain knows it. But are any of the powers interested really desirous of making Germany pay, given the conditions which would enable her to do so? Failing that, which of the powers is willing to undertake the systematic disintegration of Germany?

It is at this point that the policies of the powers concerned begin their true conflict.

The British are faced with three alternatives: either a renewal of the Teutonic rivalry, which was causing them serious anxiety immediately before the war, or an involuntary collapse of the Reich, which would in all probability entail the disappearance of European civilization as a predominant factor in the world; or, again,

a controlled disintegration of Germany, which would leave France, with her immense Colonial Empire and traditional anti-English sentiment, in a supreme position in Europe, close to the heart of the British Empire. Of the three, an involuntary collapse of the Reich might possibly seem to be the least harmful to the British Empire, since, while it would involve a re-orientation of British economic life, which in any case is in preparation, it would dispose of both rivals at once. A policy of tempered inaction would tend toward this solution most readily.

To the French mind, a controlled disintegration of the German Empire would undoubtedly be most satisfactory. Whether this could be attempted without a sudden and involuntary collapse is another matter. Such a collapse would seriously menace French civilization, since, at this juncture, the French Colonial Empire is not sufficiently developed to serve her as the British dominions may, and probably will, serve the mother country. It must always be borne in mind, also, that, in contradistinction to the British Empire, the French Colonial Empire is not white either numerically or culturally.

There remain Italy and the smaller powers, such as Belgium. No interest of these could be served by the disintegration of the German Empire. On the contrary, they stand to lose what little they now have. Hence their weight is on the side of moderation and fair dealing. Italy has taken no active part in the occupation of the Ruhr, and there is no doubt, judging by the tenor of the Belgian note, that Belgium will use all her influence to reduce that occupation to the "invisible" minimum at an early date, while at the same time she presses for a fair inquiry into Germany's potentiality of payment. It is then that M. Poincaré will meet his Nemesis. The task of explaining to an indignant French people why their taxes cannot be lightened, their treasury bonds redeemed at par, their currency stabilized at its former level, their standing army brought down to a reasonable proportion—in short, why all the evils that beset a post-war world cannot be removed by large handfuls of German gold, is not one that would appeal even to the bravest spirit.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

REPARATIONS AND THE RUHR

1. *The Franco-British Discussion:*

Following somewhat tentative and veiled discussions of the Ruhr occupation, Great Britain put her views before the French and Belgian Governments in the form of a note to their joint addresses on August 11. The principal points stressed in the British note were the question of Germany's capacity to pay, coupled with a suggestion as to the determination of this question by an international committee of experts, and the legality, as well as the wisdom of the Ruhr occupation, and a tentative proposal as to the referring of the matter to the League of Nations. To the note proper was appended an annex concerning the French debt to Great Britain, which, in its turn, concluded with a veiled threat concerning pressure for payment.

The French reply, dated August 20, was of an uncompromising nature. Briefly speaking, it was stated that Ger-

many's capacity to pay depended on her will to pay; that the Reparations Commission being the instrument appointed by the Versailles Treaty for the determination of the amount to be paid, no other commission could supersede it without violation of that treaty and consequent weakening of all other treaties made at the Peace Conference of 1919. Dealing with the question of legality, France denied that the occupation of the Ruhr was any more illegal than the threatened occupation of Frankfort, etc., in 1921, or that it was an act of war; she further stated that the economic disturbance of Germany was the fault of the latter country only, and that the lack of results from the Ruhr occupation was due not to the occupation itself, but to the resistance to that occupation. Nevertheless, she made it absolutely clear that in no circumstances will the occupation be ended by the German surrender as regards passive resistance, but only on completion of reparations payments. As regards the question of her debt to Great Britain, she considered such debts to be, morally, on a different plane from indemnities due from her enemy, and to the veiled threat implied in the last paragraph of the British note she opposed a simple *défi*. (Extracts from the French *Livre Jaune*, containing the British note and the French reply thereto, are published elsewhere in this issue, under "International Documents.")

2. *The Belgian Reply to the British Note:*

On August 27 the Belgian Government replied to the British note of August 11 separately. Considered as a whole, this reply was of a far more moderate and reasonable tone than that of the French, which was characterised by what might be termed an undercurrent of international impertinence. While giving conclusive reasons for the retention of Belgian priority in the matter of reparations, as promised by the Versailles Treaty, the Belgian Government admitted the folly of attempting to make Germany pay more than she was able. In the Belgian Government's opinion, the most vital thing to be done was to arrive at an agreement, as among the Allies, on the problem of reparations, and it felt very strongly that the Allies should be united before Germany. While denying the illegality of the Ruhr occupation, the Belgian Government stressed once more the fact that, but for German passive resistance, "invisible occupation," of a nature calculated not to interfere with the normal life of the country, and lasting only until and as Germany fulfilled her obligations, was the aim of the Belgian Government.

In dealing with the question of reparations the Belgian Government was prepared to discuss the question of reductions, if necessary, but felt very strongly that the whole subject of reparations was closely bound up with that of interallied war debts, so that the two phases would necessarily have to be considered in connection with each other. At the same time it was prepared to consider the question of giving priority to damages for property before damages to person.

The note concluded with a courteous and pressing request for the reopening of verbal and semi-official negotiations, presumably of a confidential nature, between the Allied governments, and for a consideration by Great Britain of the question of Belgian security. (Extracts from the Belgian note are to be found under the heading "International Documents.")

3. *The Fall of the Cuno Government:*

August 14 saw the end of the Cuno Administration, which had been growing progressively less popular in Germany since the beginning of the year. Hurrled measures of taxation reform, designed to place on the industrialists' and financiers' shoulders some of the burden of imposts under which the people groaned, did nothing to deter the Socialist elements from withdrawing their confidence in Herr Cuno. The depreciation of the mark, coupled with the growing lack of food, threatened grave disorders throughout the country, and abortive attempts at Communist revolution, extensive and violent, had been taking place.

Following Herr Cuno's resignation, Dr. Gustav Stresemann was appointed Chancellor by President Ebert, and immediately formed a coalition government, as follows: Premier and Foreign Minister, Dr. Gustav Stresemann; Minister of Finance, Herr Hilferding, Radical; Minister of Economy, Herr Hans von Raumer, German People's Party; Minister of Railways, Herr Heinrich, director of the *Deutschwerke*; Minister of Justice, Herr Radbruch, Socialist; Minister of Home Affairs, Herr Solmann, Socialist; Minister of Occupied Regions, Herr Fuchs, Centre Party. The Ministries of Defense, Posts and Telegraphs, and Labor remained unchanged, headed respectively by Dr. Gessler, Herr Stingl, and Dr. Heinrich Braun.

The formation of the new government did much to lessen the political tension, thus giving time for consideration of the economic and financial crisis, which had reached an aggravated state. Speaking in the Reichstag, the new German Chancellor outlined a policy of closer attention to internal affairs, holding the Ruhr question as secondary in importance. At the same time Dr. Stresemann outlined clearly the terms upon which Germany felt herself able to end the passive resistance to the Ruhr occupation, as follows: Complete restoration to Germany of its right of control over the Ruhr; re-establishment of the conditions in the Rhineland granted under the Versailles Treaty; the liberation of every German citizen outraged, evicted, or imprisoned. All deliveries in kind under reparations agreements were immediately stopped, on the plea that bills for fiscal reform and for a gold loan were before the Reichstag with the object of avoiding an entire breakdown of the economic life of Germany. Therefore no further deliveries in kind, to any State whatsoever, were possible to the Reich, especially since it no longer had access to its most important territory.

The measures of tax reform outlined to the Reichstag by Herr Hilferding's predecessor were adopted, with some introductions and modifications tending to strengthen them, and put into operation immediately. These reforms aimed at a stabilization of the mark by means of drastic taxation of the people, but more particularly of the wealthier and the industrial classes. Thus the 10 per cent wages tax was doubled, the increase coming from the employers' pockets, and all income taxes were greatly increased and made payable at stated intervals during the year, instead of in a lump sum at the end of the year; and, furthermore, the amount due was to be assessed on the basis of 1922 earnings, multiplied by a coefficient calculated to make the payment in paper marks keep pace with the depreciation. An agricultural tax of one and a half gold marks monthly for every 2,000 gold marks of land valuation was added, coupled with heavy taxes on private cars, and so forth.

At the time these reforms were put into force it was unofficially estimated that some 280 billion marks would be derived from them between now and January 5, 1924. Calculations of this kind, however, are unreliable, owing to the fluctuations of the mark.

With the accession of Dr. Stresemann many rumors regarding negotiations with France of an unofficial nature became current. The crisis in Germany rapidly became so urgent, however, that after some deliberation and hesitation, on September 24, the new Chancellor took the bold step of ordering the immediate and unconditional cessation of passive resistance in the Ruhr, and work was immediately resumed. The question of deportees, and so forth, was left for subsequent negotiations. There seems to be no doubt that the Chancellor took the only alternative to disturbances culminating in revolution.

ITALY IN THE ADRIATIC

1. *The Greco-Italian Clash*

Following the murder of five Italian members of the League of Nations Boundary Commission while motorling along a lonely road in Greece, on August 27, Italy presented an ultimatum demanding full apology from the Greek Government, an indemnity of 50 million lire, and full honors from the Greek fleet to the Italian fleet in the Piræus. Upon the Greek refusal to accede to all the terms of the ultimatum, on the grounds that the crime had not been committed by Greek citizens, coupled with an appeal to the League of Nations, the Italian fleet, on August 31, bombarded, and subsequently occupied, Corfu. Several other Greek islands were also occupied in due course.

The Council of the League of Nations then decided to take up the matter in response to the Greek appeal. Italy, however, in the spirit of realism that has always actuated her policy, declared that the League had no jurisdiction, and that she was not, in any case, prepared to submit the matter to it. This announcement created great excitement throughout the world, since it represented the first clean-cut test of the League's power. For some time the existence of that body, already much shaken by incidents such as Vilna, Memel, the Sarre, and the Ruhr, appeared to be in serious danger. Eventually the matter was referred to the Council of Ambassadors which, on September 7, presented terms satisfactory to both sides.

These included a committee of inquiry into the assassination; full memorial services, in presence of the Greek Government, in honor of the murder Commission; a deposit of 50 million lire in a Swiss bank by Greece as a guaranty, pending determination of the actual indemnity by the International Court of Justice; a salute to the Italian fleet by the Greek fleet; and evacuation by Italy of Corfu and other Greek islands when the terms of the settlement are completely fulfilled.

(Text of the Allied terms to Greece appears under International Documents.)

2. *The Readjustment of Fiume*

With Corfu, the strategic key to the Adriatic, in Italian hands, and the apprehension of war with Greece averted, Italy found the moment opportune for a readjustment of her relations with Jugo-Slavia in the matter of Fiume.

For over a year the status of Fiume had been under consideration by a mixed Commission. Italy desired a larger control than that granted under the treaties of Rapallo and Santa Margherita, and also objected to the clauses concerning arbitration by the Swiss. Jugo-Slavia pressed for rigid observance of the treaties in question. On July 12 the French Chamber voted a loan of 300 million francs to Jugo-Slavia, whose main foreign policy is the thwarting of Italian ambitions in the Adriatic. This loan, and the renewing for three years of the Rumanian-Jugo-Slavian Defensive Alliance, created an unhappy impression in Italy.

Claiming that as they had never been registered with the League of Nations the treaties under discussion were not finally binding, and she was therefore free to act after September 15, Italy issued an ultimatum to Jugo-Slavia containing proposals for the control of Fiume and dated to expire on September 15. Briefly speaking, Italy desired to have assigned to her the city of Fiume in exchange for a waiver of all claims to the delta and Porto Barros. Furthermore, it was suggested that Italy and Jugo-Slavia pool the harbors of Fiume and Porto Barros and administer them jointly. By this arrangement Italy hoped to gain undisputed control of Fiume, leaving Porto Barros in the equally undisputed control of Jugo-Slavia.

By the date on which the original ultimatum was due to expire, however, strong pressure had been brought to bear on Italy to deter her from too hasty a course. The time limit of the ultimatum, therefore, was, at the time of writing, extended to September 30.

THE SPANISH COUP D'ETAT

The long-expected revolution came to a head in Spain on September 12, in a somewhat surprising form, when the Captain-General of the Barcelonian military district, Señor Don Primo Rivera, Marques Estella, deposed the governor, and, supported by the army throughout Spain, forced the Marques de Alhucemas and his Ministry to resign.

Political corruption had long been rife in Spain, and scandals connected especially with the Moroccan War had caused serious discontent in the army and among the population. Some kind of upheaval, presumably of a communistic nature, had been awaited by observers, and it is thought that the action taken by the military probably averted this.

At the request of King Alfonso, Captain-General Rivera immediately formed a provisional military directorate pending the choice of civil ministers to form a government. A rigid censorship was established and trial by jury suspended throughout the country.

The Directorate then requested from the State Council credits amounting to 44 million pesetas for war operations in Morocco, to which country General Alzpuru was sent at once, with full powers as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief. According to the new Dictator, the government desired to occupy itself with home problems rather than concern itself too closely with Moroccan affairs.

Captain-General Primo Rivera, who is also entitled to be addressed as the Marques Estella, is said to be 92 years of age, and to have come into conflict with the former government on a previous occasion when his criticisms of the manner in which the Moroccan War was conducted created

an uproar in Madrid. He was then retired from his military position, but, after an interval, made Captain-General of Barcelona. The revolt, of which he is leader, is said to have been carefully planned and to have been carried out without special disturbance.

THE RECOGNITION OF MEXICO

A distinct step forward in the relations between the United States and Latin America was made on September 3, when, as a result of the renewal of diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico, Mr. George T. Sumnerlin formally presented a letter of credence as Chargé d'Affaires to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico, and Señor Manuel C. Telles took the same action in regard to the Acting Secretary of State in Washington.

A General Claims Convention between the United States and Mexico for the settlement of all claims by the citizens of each country against the other arising since the signing on July 4, 1868, of the Claims Convention between the two countries (not including claims which are embraced within the terms of a Special Claims Convention relating to losses through revolutionary acts) was signed at Washington on September 8 by the Secretary of State, Messrs. Charles Beecher Warren, and John Barton Payne, on behalf of the United States, and Señor Manuel Telles, Chargé d'Affaires of Mexico in Washington, on behalf of Mexico. These two conventions were negotiated by the American-Mexican Commission, which convened in Mexico City on May 14, 1923, and completed its sessions on August 14. They are subject to ratification in accordance with the respective constitutions of the countries in question.

The following description of the General and Special Claims Commission was given by the Department of State on the occasion of the signing:

The General Claims Commission and the Special Claims Commission which are to be created under the terms of these conventions are to be composed of three members each, one to be appointed by the President of the United States, one by the President of Mexico, and the third by mutual agreement between the two governments, or in case of failure to agree, by the President of the Permanent Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The Special Claims Commission is to meet at Mexico City and the General Claims Commission at Washington within six months after the exchange of ratifications of the respective conventions, and the commissions have the power to fix the time and place of their subsequent meetings.

The conventions provide for the appointment by each government of the necessary agents and counsel to present arguments in favor of or against any claim, and the decision of the majority of the members of the commission is to be the decision of the commission.

Both conventions provide that no claim shall be disallowed or rejected by the application of the general principle of international law, that the legal remedies must be exhausted as a condition precedent to the validity or allowance of any claim.

The General Claims Commission has jurisdiction over all claims of the citizens of either country against the other for losses or damages suffered by persons or by their properties, whether such citizens are corporations, companies, associations, partnerships, or individuals, as well as over claims by citizens of either country growing out of losses or damages suffered by any corporation, company, association, or partnership in which such citizens have or have had an interest, provided an allotment to the claimant of his proportion of the loss or damage is presented to the commission, and all claims for losses or damages originating from acts of offi-

cial or others acting for either government and resulting in injustice.

Claims are to be filed with the General Claims Commission within one year from the date of its first meeting, unless satisfactory reasons for delay are presented, in which case the period may be extended not to exceed six months. All claims filed are to be decided within three years from the date of the first meeting of the commission. However, if a claim cannot be decided within this period, the two governments will extend the time for deciding such claim for such a period as may be necessary for this purpose. Claims for losses or damages accruing after the signing of the convention may be filed by either government at any time during the period fixed for the duration of the commission.

It is provided that the General Claims Commission may decide that international law, justice, and equity require that a property or right be restored to the claimant in addition to the amount awarded in any such case for all loss or damage sustained prior to the restitution. However, the government affected by such decision may elect to pay the value of the property or right as determined by the commission, rather than to restore the property or right to the claimant; and, if so, it shall file notice thereof with the commission within thirty days after the decision and shall immediately pay the amount fixed as the value of the property or right. If it fails so to pay this amount, the property or right is to be restored immediately.

The Special Claims Convention for the settlement of all claims arising from losses or damages suffered by American citizens through revolutionary acts accompanying the disturbed conditions in Mexico within the period from November 20, 1910, to May 31, 1920, inclusive, is to be signed in Mexico City.

The Special Claims Commission created by this convention is charged with examining and deciding all claims which resulted from any act by the following Mexican forces:

- (1) By forces of a government *de jure* or *de facto*.
- (2) By revolutionary forces as a result of the triumph of whose cause governments *de facto* and *de jure* have been established, or by revolutionary forces opposed to them.
- (3) By forces arising from the disjunction of the forces mentioned in (2) up to the time when the government *de jure* established itself as a result of a particular revolution.
- (4) By federal forces that were disbanded, and
- (5) By mutinies or mobs, or insurrectionary forces other than those referred to under (2), (3), and (4) above, or by bandits, provided in any case it be established that the appropriate authorities omitted to take reasonable measures to suppress insurrectionists, mobs, or bandits, or treated them with lenity or were in fault in other particulars.

Claims presented for the consideration of the Special Claims Commission are to be filed within two years from the date of its first meeting unless satisfactory reasons for delay are presented, in which case the period may be extended not to exceed six months. All claims filed are to be decided within five years from the date of the first meeting of the commission. The total amount awarded to claimants is to be paid in gold coin or its equivalent by the Mexican Government to the Government of the United States.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

THE RUHR OCCUPATION

(Following are extracts from the reply of the French Government made August 20, 1923, to the note of the British Government of August 11, 1923.)

2. His Majesty's Government had understood that there were in the opinion of the French and Belgian Governments two main obstacles standing in the way of any fresh move in seeking such settlement: (1) the necessity of scrupulously respecting the rights of the Reparation Commission

under the Treaty of Versailles as regards the fixing of the German debt and determining the modes of payment; and (2) the attitude of the German Government in encouraging passive resistance to the Franco-Belgian occupation and exploitation of the Ruhr.

2. There are not only the two obstacles referred to. There is also our determination stated over and over again, not to relinquish one farthing of our reparation claims, which are sacred and unlike any other claim. There is, besides, our determination not to release the guarantee we now hold before we obtain the entire payment of reparations.

11. It will not be contested that there can be no use in demanding from Germany more than she is capable of paying. What is the maximum she can pay, is a question of supreme importance to all her creditors. It is a question of establishing a fact, on the ascertainment of which any practical arrangements or combinations for obtaining payment to the fullest extent possible must be based. The British Government accordingly proposed to take steps to ascertain this important fact. Belgium replies that she will not consent unless a corresponding advantage is obtained by herself and by France. His Majesty's Government could not willingly enter into any such transaction.

11. We confess our inability to understand the reasons brought forward in the British note on the capacity of payment of a country. The present German capacity of payment is naught, as a result of the Reich's own will. Any estimate by experts would prove useless. Do the British Cabinet wish to cancel the German debt on the plea that Germany's capacity to pay is temporarily reduced to nil? Is that the conclusion it has reached?

12. While His Majesty's Government have, by continuing to renew the bills beyond the period of the contract, tacitly recognised that the time has not yet arrived for giving effect to this intention, it must be clearly understood that, in the absence of a new agreement, the carrying out of it remains an obligation of the French Government which cannot honourably be repudiated, and that, in the meantime, the present practice of adding interest to capital cannot be indefinitely continued, and that a commencement of payment of at any rate a part of the interest should be made as soon as the sterling-franc exchange becomes reasonably stable.

12. France has never repudiated her debts and will not do so, but she is convinced that no British Government will ever exercise upon an allied country a pressure which the British Cabinet does not consider possible to exercise now upon the former enemies of Britain and France. Therefore we can but repeat that we shall only be in a position to repay our debt to Britain, or even the interest on it, when Germany's payments will have enabled us to achieve the reparation of the damages caused to our soil by invasion and fighting.

13. If the estimate made on a 5 per cent. basis by M. Bokanowski, the *Rapporteur* of the French Budget, which put the present value of the annuities under the Schedule of Payments at 65 milliard gold marks, may be accepted as an approximately correct basis of calculation, the share of France and Belgium as fixed by the percentages established under the Spa Agreement (52 and 8 per cent. respectively) would not exceed 34 milliards for France and 5.2 milliards for Belgium, even if Germany were in a position to pay the total figures of the Schedule. But Belgium has already, under the agreement which entitles her to priority payments

of 2½ milliard gold francs (£100 million), received approximately 1½ milliard gold marks (£73 million sterling), a sum far exceeding the receipts of any other Power. Though this priority was given when the total sums expected from Germany were immensely larger than anything that is now likely to be received, it has not been reduced proportionately, and it has therefore operated to give Belgium an increasingly disproportionate share of actual receipts up to date. In addition, she has been entirely relieved of her war debts to the Allies, amounting to nearly £300 million sterling.

13. According to the resolution taken by the Reparation Commission, under the Treaty, the amount of the German debt is 132 milliards. The present value of this amount cannot be expressed, since the payment of the most important part of it (the C Bonds) is postponed to an indefinite date.

The estimate made by M. Bokanowski is but a proof of the very serious wrong already inflicted on us by the Schedule of Payments, reducing the present value of the German debt to a figure far below the theoretical one. The calculation of the Honourable Member of the French Parliament likewise proves that it is possible, without reducing the amount in principal of the German debt, to lighten the payment by complying with the procedure stated in Article 234 of the Treaty. The moratoria successively granted to Germany since 1921 have still further reduced the present value of this debt. It is therefore needless to overthrow the Treaty.

We leave it to Belgium to reply about the priority that was granted to her. But France cannot forget that Belgian territory was the first to be invaded by Germany and that it is this criminal violation of the liberty and rights of a small and gallant country that gave the war its real significance.

14. France, on the other hand, when counting on receiving 34 milliard gold marks from Germany, would have to balance this amount against her debt to this country, representing about 12 milliard gold marks, and her debt to the United States, amounting at least to the equivalent of 15 milliard gold marks, or, together, 27 milliards, which, being set off against the 34 milliards to be obtained from Germany, would leave France with a balance of 7 milliards. When, therefore, it is now suggested that she ought to receive 26 milliards net, her total debts to Great Britain and the United States being cancelled, it will be seen that the demand is for an amount between three and four times larger than would, on balance, fall to her share under the existing agreements. It is difficult to see on what grounds a failure of Germany to meet her obligations, by which Great Britain is proportionately damnified equally with her Allies, can be held to justify a claim by France to be placed, at the expense of her Allies, in a far more favourable position than she would have occupied under the Schedule of Payments itself.

14. France never reasoned solely in her own interest, as is implied without any justification. She never said she would be content to receive 34 milliards. Our claim, as theoretically fixed, amounts to 68 milliards; our theoretical debts, subject to the adjustments that will have to take place, vary between 25 and 27 milliards. These are the figures to be set against each other and not those of 34 and 27. Our claim against Germany has been dealt with in a Schedule of Payments reducing it to X milliards, but our debts

have not been submitted to any arrangement, and we cannot expect from our Allies less than has been granted to Germany. Has not the British debt to the United States been settled by an arrangement that reduces its present value by 30%? The figures of paragr. 14 therefore place the position in an unintentionally inaccurate manner before public opinion.

15. The Belgian proposal to grant a special priority for the restoration of devastated areas seems to rest on a somewhat artificial distinction as regards damages inflicted by the enemy in the late war. It is a suggestion not merely that priority should be conceded to material damages over the cost of war pensions, but that one particular type of material damage, namely, damage by land, should be selected for priority, to the exclusion of other forms of material damage. No justification for such a proposal can be found in the armistice terms or in the Peace Treaty; nor is it easy to conceive what argument can be adduced to support it. Sunk ships and cargoes rotting at the bottom of the sea may not shock the eye like the ruined villages of France and Belgium. But they are equally material damage caused by German aggression, and represent equally heavy losses of national wealth. Great Britain's proportion of reparations would not in fact be seriously altered as a result of priority conceded to material damages. Nevertheless, His Majesty's Government would not be in favour of priority even on that basis, if only for the reason that certain other Allies would be gravely and adversely affected.

15. Here again it is for Belgium to reply. The British Cabinet takes account of the naval material destroyed which is a material damage exactly like the loss of the cargo on board. But is not the British mercantile marine reconstructed, her German competitor being destroyed or restored only thanks to ships sold to her by England? On the other hand French works and mines are not yet reconstructed on a pre-war scale, whilst German industry is in full swing.

17. His Majesty's Government cannot admit that there is any ground whatever for revising the Spa percentages. The principle of a percentage division is not affected by a change in the total to which the percentages apply. His Majesty's Government cannot leave out of account the position of their own country. Apart from the extensive material damages suffered by Great Britain, His Majesty's Government are now involved in heavy payments to meet unemployment, in respect of which they have been compelled to spend over £400,000,000 since the armistice. They alone, among the Allies, are paying interest on debts incurred abroad during the war, representing a capital sum due to the United States Government of £1,000,000,000 at the present rate of exchange. They alone have been deprived, in the Allied interest, of foreign securities estimated at from £700,000,000 to £800,000,000, which would otherwise substantially assist in the payment of the British debt in America. Notwithstanding these gigantic burdens, Great Britain made an offer at the Paris Conference of January last to forego her rights to reimbursement of her damages, and expressed her readiness, by reducing the debts of the Allies, to treat her share of German reparations as if it were a repayment by her Allies of their debts due to her. It would be inequitable, and it is impossible, to ask the British taxpayer, already much more heavily burdened than his French and Belgian allies, to make further sacrifices by modifying the Spa percentages for the benefit of France and Belgium.

17. It was not France that asked for a modification of the percentages. She does not however disregard the fact that Great Britain has made a serious effort to restore her finances and pay her debts. We might probably have been able to act likewise but for our devastated regions which we have been compelled to reconstruct ourselves. This entailed sacrifices far more important than those which England has made.

The British had to deprive themselves of their foreign securities in the allied interest. But did we not do the same and for amounts that were perhaps as considerable, if not more so?

19. Astonishment is expressed that anyone should question the justice of the Reparation Commission's decision in fixing the total amount payable by Germany at 132 milliards of gold marks (£6,600,000,000), and M. Poincaré sees no reason why "an estimate made to-day by experts, whoever they may be, should be more exact than that made in 1921." It is not clear to what estimate of 1921 reference is made. The Reparation Commission's finding of 132 milliards of gold marks was a simple estimate of the amount of the damages for which compensation was claimable under the treaty, without any regard to the question of Germany's capacity to pay them. It is true that the Schedule of Payments subsequently adopted, while purporting to provide for the payment of the full amount of the damages, in fact granted substantial concessions by extending the period of payment beyond that laid down in the treaty, and by waiving the payment of interest for a long period in respect of a large part of the debt. These concessions represented, even in the opinion of the *Rapporteur* of the French budget, a virtual reduction by approximately one-half of the sum of 132 milliards, and the fact that they were approved by the Allied Prime Ministers in drafting the Schedule of Payments (subsequently accepted by the Reparation Commission) effectively answers the contention that the sum, as originally fixed, was not considered too high by anybody. At the same time, it cannot be said that the concessions were the outcome of anything that could be described as an expert enquiry into Germany's capacity to pay.

19. Once more we ask for the application of Article 234. Nothing can prove better than M. Bokanowski's estimates to what extent the debt can be lightened simply by changing the intervals of the instalments, without it being necessary to discuss the amount of that debt. It is for the Reparation Commission to make from time to time an estimate of Germany's capacity to pay, in order to follow up its variations and to arrange the Payments accordingly.

22. The duty of making the ultimate decision rest in part on the Reparation Commission, and in part on the Allied Governments, seeing that, if circumstances necessitate a cancellation of any part of the capital debt, the specific authority of the several Governments represented on the Commission is required. It is a duty which must, in terms of the treaty, be performed with sole reference to the resources and capacity of Germany. The Governments represented on the Commission, in deciding whether or not to authorise the cancellation of a part of the German debt, are in the position of trustees, since the interests affected are not only their own, but also those of the Governments not represented on the Commission—a consideration which His Majesty's Government venture to think the French Government must have overlooked when stating that "France will

"never consent to such cancellation except in the proposition in which her own war debts may be cancelled."

22. The British Cabinet recognise that the unanimity of the Governments is essential for any reduction of the German debt. We have said clearly enough that such unanimity did not exist. We cannot give up a portion of a debt the collection of which is a vital matter for France, and we know that Germany is and will always be wealthy enough to pay us. She has merely to will it. She is spending more to-day in order to resist us than she would have to expend to fulfil her obligations.

The British note alludes to the interests of the Governments which are not represented on the Commission, of which interests France is supposed to take no account. France need not be reminded of her duties towards the other nations. She has never forgotten them. But if certain countries at the present hour do suffer from anything, it is due to the position in which Germany voluntarily places the world and to which we wish to put an end.

24. Both the French and the Belgian notes dwell on the special qualifications of the Reparation Commission to carry out itself any necessary enquiries. This is a claim which cannot be sustained without serious qualification. In the absence of an American representative (as originally contemplated), France and Belgium are in a position, with the aid of the casting vote of the French Chairman, to carry any resolution over the heads of the British and Italian representatives, and it is notorious that in these circumstances the Commission has become in practice an instrument of Franco-Belgian policy alone.

24. We are afraid unfortunately that in this paragraph lies the whole secret of the plan defended by the British Government, and that also it does not give its true significance to the adjective "impartial" which the London Cabinet continues to add to the word "experts." Asking for impartial experts means that the Reparation Commission in its present form is deemed to be partial. One forgets that France alone is entitled, under the very arrangement concluded at Spa, to 52% of the German debt.

Let us add, that only once in fact has the French Chairman of the Reparation Commission had occasion to make use of his casting vote, and that about Hungarian matters and not German questions.

26. As regards its relation to the Reparation Commission and to the Allied Governments: while for their own part His Majesty's Government would be entirely willing to enter into an agreement by which the several Governments would bind themselves in advance to recommend to the Reparation Commission the acceptance of the findings of the body of experts, they would, if the French and Belgian Governments are not prepared to go so far, be content that the functions of the experts should be advisory only.

26. The former system would lead to this—that the Commission would be completely deprived of its functions and the Treaty of Versailles would be openly revised; and this would be tantamount to a public and solemn abandonment of the undertakings agreed upon between the Allies.

The second alternative would less openly reach the same result. It might eventually, by opposing an international body to the Reparation Commission, weaken its authority and create a rivalry between dual powers.

The Reparation Commission may, at any time, elect experts and entrust them with definite missions. But we could not accept that, under the plea of enlightening it, it should

be beheaded, and that, under the pretext of getting others to check Germany's capacity to pay, the rights of France should be impaired.

33. The French Government have endeavoured to convict His Majesty's Government of inconsistency in now refusing to acknowledge the legality of the occupation of the Ruhr under paragraph 18 of annex II, when on two former occasions they joined in the presentation of ultimata threatening such occupation, and when in 1920 they actually participated in the occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort. There is no inconsistency. The action then taken or threatened was never claimed to be in pursuance of the Reparation Clauses of the Treaty. The Allies jointly decided to threaten Germany with the occupation of further territory just as they might have threatened her with a renewal of war, for her failure to perform her Treaty obligations, some of which had no connection whatever with Reparations.

33. The assertions contained in this paragraph are quite inaccurate. If England has, as she says, thought of starting war again, France, for her part, never had such an idea. She has only sought the carrying out of the Treaty by the means offered to her by the Treaty itself.

Moreover, when the Spa Protocol was drawn up on the 16th. July 1920, the question really in point was reparations.

"VII. If by November 15, 1920 it is ascertained that the total deliveries for August, September and October, 1920 have not reached 6,000,000 tons, the Allies will proceed to the occupation of a further portion of German territory, either the region of the Ruhr or some other."

Therefore reparations was the question at issue and even one special part of reparations.

England then considered the occupation of the Ruhr as quite legitimate. If she has changed her mind, that is her concern; but, for our part, we do not wish to-day any more than in 1920, to undertake any act of war and we have simply remained consistent with ourselves.

35. If His Majesty's Government have hitherto abstained from formally contesting the legality of the Franco-Belgian occupation as an act authorised by the Treaty, they have done so solely in conformity with the spirit of the declaration, made by Mr. Bonar Law at the Paris Conference in January last, that His Majesty's Government desired to avoid causing any needless embarrassment to their Allies. This should not be made a reproach to them. His Majesty's Government would not even now have taken up this question of legality, had they not been challenged to do so.

35. Here again, the British Government is attributing to us an attitude we never assumed. We have never challenged them to take up the question of legality; on the contrary, it was agreed that it should be left aside (See our notes and our *Livre Jaune*, p. 48, No 29).

36. The French and Belgian Governments argue that if only Great Britain had joined in the occupation there would have been no passive resistance and an abundant flow of reparation payments would have been assured. Holding the views which they did, both as to the legality and the practical value of the operation, it was not possible for His Majesty's Government to take part in it. But even if they had done so, and even if passive resistance had never been started or were now coming to an end, it is not clear how this would bring the problem of reparations appreciably nearer to a solution.

36. We never entered the Ruhr to find there immediately

the money for reparations, but chiefly to create in the mind of the German Government the will to pay and to secure guarantees. We have said so over and over again. If production in the Ruhr has stopped, it is on account of passive resistance. We were seeking nothing save a pledge; it is Germany, of her own free will, who has stopped all work in order to rob us of this pledge. She would certainly not have done so if all our Allies had stood by our side and if she had not reckoned upon discord between us.

41. Although, in words of some vagueness, it is intimated that France and Belgium may, when satisfied that passive resistance has ceased, consult together as to how far they may find it possible to lighten the burden which the military occupation of the Ruhr lays on the region, nothing tangible is suggested which would hold out any hope of the occupation being brought to an end, even when the avowed object of breaking Germany's will to resist has been attained.

41. We have never used words of some vagueness and we have never said nor given to understand that we should give up the guarantee we held as soon as resistance was broken and before complete payment. The alleviation has been indicated as definitely as could be.

46. In their note of the 20th July, His Majesty's Government further proposed that in order to arrive at a comprehensive plan for a general and final financial settlement, inter-Allied discussions should be opened with as little delay as possible. The Belgian Government reply that they will be glad to discuss such a plan if it be of the character that they have predicated in their note. The French Government, whilst questioning the propriety and apparently the legality of the suggestion, asks what exactly it means and whether it will include the question of inter-Allied debts. His Majesty's Government gladly avail themselves of this opportunity to explain their attitude on this subject. I have accordingly the honour to enclose a separate memorandum upon it. The main principle of the British scheme is that Great Britain is ready, subject to the just claims of other parts of the Empire, to limit her demands for payment by the Allies and by Germany together to a net sum approximating 14.2 milliards of gold marks, this sum representing the present value of the recently funded British debt to the United States Government. The concessions which His Majesty's Government may be able to offer in respect of inter-Allied debts must accordingly depend largely on the percentage of this sum of 14.2 milliards which they can recover from Germany. They can only be granted in a substantive form when the general reparation settlement for which His Majesty's Government are pressing has been agreed upon, and is such that His Majesty's Government can retard their share of the German payments as an asset of real financial value.

46. We are glad to know at last the opinion of the British Government on the question of interallied debts, but we regret not to be able to consider that opinion, as up to now explained, as reconcilable with French interests. It is quite natural that Great Britain should endeavour to recover from Germany what she owes to the United States; that is what we ourselves wish to do in the case of interallied debts. But Great Britain says: "I have promised to pay 14.2 milliards to the United States, I shall ask the Allies, as regards my own claim, for whatever I do not get from Germany."

In this way it would be the Allied debtors to Great Brit-

ain who would pay to her such part of the 14.2 milliards owed to the United States as Germany would not pay. Thereby the British Cabinet establishes a solidarity between Germany and Great Britain's Allies, and the war debts and interallied debts are placed on the same footing.

Is it possible, however, to confuse the sums spent by the Allies to win the war and the sums owed by Germany through having destroyed our territories? Every pound sterling or dollar which France owes the United States or Great Britain represents allied blood saved. The gold marks which Germany owes represent allied blood that was shed.

Moreover, we cannot help noting a curious coincidence. The 14 milliards to which Great Britain appears to limit her claim against Germany represent exactly the percentage of Great Britain (22%) out of the 65 milliard gold marks which the British Cabinet consider as the present value of the German debt (see paragr. 19 of British note). On the other side, the interest of the German debt is 5%, whilst the interest of the British debt to the United States was fixed first at 3% and then at 3.50%. The consequence is that the annuity which the British Government owes at present to the United States Government is approximately equal to the annuity to which they are entitled on their part of the A and B Bonds of the German Debt. According to these calculations Great Britain would abandon nothing on the London Schedule of Payments.

Where then would be the sacrifice made by her in exchange for those she asks from her Allies?

53. His Majesty's Government, therefore, regard as doomed to failure the method pursued by the French and Belgian Governments to secure reparations. In spite of wholesale seizures, the occupation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium has produced, at great cost, less receipts for the Allies, notably of coal and coke, than were forthcoming in the previous year. Moreover, His Majesty's Government feel that the resulting situation involves great and growing danger to the peaceful trade of the world and, not least, of this country. His Majesty's Government regard a continuance of the present position as fraught with the gravest risks, both economic and political. They consider the impartial fixation of Germany's liability at a figure not inconsistent with her practical power of making payment a matter of great urgency; and they have suggested what appears to them to be an appropriate means to this end.

53. It is Germany's resistance to the occupation and not the occupation itself which has reduced the deliveries made on the reparations account, especially those of coke and coal. Before we entered the Ruhr, Germany was in fact asking for a general moratorium and had declared herself unable to continue the deliveries in kind on the previous scale. It is strange that the British Cabinet should argue as if those statements had not been made.

Extracts from the Reply of the Belgian Government to the British Note of August 11, 1923

2. *Extent of the Belgian Suggestions:*

The second observation of the British Government calls for explanation. It is to the effect that the Belgian Government lays down, as condition for a compromise, the sense of its claims be considered "accepted in advance." Nothing is farther from the thought of the Belgian Government. On the contrary, it has always seemed to it, and

seems to it with more force today than ever, that the Allies should agree on the problem of reparations before anything else. Once agreement is reached on the solution of this problem the Belgian Government is convinced that it would be easy to reply together to Germany, and it is in the hope of arriving at this that it has offered certain suggestions destined to serve as basis for discussion; it has tried to simplify the task of the Allied governments; it has never said, nor wished to say, that these suggestions should be accepted *telles quelles*, and they considered them unchangeable.

3. Belgian Priority:

Finally the British Government reminds us in its note that Belgium has already received three-fourths of its priority claim for 2½ billion gold francs, and that the sums received by her under heading of this priority have not been reduced in proportion to the general reduction of German payments. The British note adds that Belgium has also had her war debt cancelled. From the remarks thus made one might be permitted to conclude that Belgium has already been too well treated and could not show herself exacting with good grace.

Nothing could touch the Belgian Government more closely than such an interpretation of the intentions of the British Government, were it a faithful representation of that government's feelings. It would be based upon a lack of recognition of the reasons and the circumstances under which this priority was granted. The Belgian Government wishes to recall to the British Government, with a firmness which does not exclude its appreciation of the friendly sentiments which that government has always shown to it, that the restricted priority granted to Belgium is but the fulfilment which she finds very incomplete, of engagements made to her during the war, and which are justified by her exceptional situation. Great Britain, and with her the other Allied powers, recognizing that Belgium entered the war with any political interest, knowing that she sought no advantage from the peace afterward, gave formal assurance to the Belgian Government that its country would receive, after the conclusion of hostilities, integral reparation of the immense damages which she suffered only because she was faithful to her obligations toward the powers guarantor of her neutrality. This assurance was given by the British Government in a solemn diplomatic document; it has been reiterated over and over in the most formal declarations of her most authoritative statesmen. It formed the 7th point of President Wilson's 14 points of January 8, 1918. In such circumstances the Belgian Government, and with it the entire Belgian people, have been profoundly moved on seeing denounced as favoritism that, which in their deep conviction, is only the partial recognition of a right which everything permits them to call sacred.

The Belgian Government believes it not useless to recall here the course of the negotiations whereby the priority of 2½ milliards of gold francs was permitted to Belgium.

The Belgian plenipotentiaries went to Versailles strong in the consciousness of the declaration of Sainte Adresse, and of the promises made to Belgium by various heads of governments which gave them the right to hope that Belgium would receive an integral indemnity. It was soon evident that such hopes must be abandoned. Then the priority of the devastated regions was put forward. This pretention

still seemed too great to the Allies. The request of the Belgian plenipotentiaries for an indemnification for the 6 milliard marks left behind by the Germans, and for which they had fixed an exchange rate of 1 f. c. 25. was not granted either. The Allies refused to settle this matter by treaty, leaving it open as between Germany and Belgium. It is well known that the German Government, realizing the harm done to Belgium by the introduction of marks, has negotiated several times for the indemnification of the Belgian Government.

Belgium having been occupied for four years, her industry ruined, hundreds of thousands of her workmen reduced to idleness, her reconstruction was not possible without a partial payment of her indemnities in a short time.

In spite of their efforts, the Belgian plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference could not at first obtain any guarantees in this regard. Belgian public opinion was moved, and the Belgian delegates were obliged to tell MM. Clemenceau, Wilson, and Lloyd-George that they could not, under these circumstances, consent to the peace treaty without reference to their government and their Parliament.

It was under these conditions that the French, American, British, and Italian delegates began to examine the question of giving satisfaction to Belgium and, June 24, 1919, the President of the Conference sent to the Belgian delegates an undertaking, signed by MM. Clemenceau, Wilson, and Lloyd-George and Sonnino, in the language of which it is recognized to be, "just to give Belgium a certain priority on the payments made by Germany under the heading of reparations." Consequently, stipulates this document, "the undersigned, in the name of their respective governments, declare themselves to be in agreement as to the reception by Belgium, on account of the indemnities to which she is entitled, the equivalent of 2½ milliards gold francs, to be taken from the first specie payment on the part of Germany." This was an absolute undertaking; it had been made in consideration of the urgent and indispensable monetary needs of Belgium, without taking into account the total amount expected from Germany. From then on it would not have been justifiable to reduce the priority amount in proportion to the payments made by Germany, and none of the powers signatory to the agreement of June 24, 1919, has made that suggestion until now.

For the same reasons, and under the same circumstances—that is to say, by reason of her special situation—Belgium also obtained release from her war debt.

The Belgian Government accepted and, strong in the knowledge of her great Allies' undertaking, signed the agreement. It wished to prove to the world that, dragged into the most tragic of wars against all right and all justice, the first to be invaded, the last to be delivered, and the most rigorously occupied for the whole period of the conflict, Belgium wished, nevertheless, in the hour of victory, to prove her moderation, and contribute with all her might to the establishment of a just and reasonable peace. This moderation, from which she has no intention of departing, she has given proof of on several occasions in the exercise of her very priority rights. Thus, according to the text of the treaty, these payments should be hers, with the exception of German revictualling, immediately after the expense of the army of occupation is paid. Consequently, once this expense is covered, Belgium might reserve all payments in specie or kind that she might receive from her debtor and

that she has the right to attribute to herself until her priority right be satisfied. She had the right to exact, on May 1, 1921, all the payments in kind or specie made by Germany to the Allied governments. . . . She did not do this. . . .

Thus at Spa, in July, 1920, she renounced until May 1, 1921, the clause which preoccupied the governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy; that which gave her the right to exact reimbursement of the sums or deliveries in kind that France, Italy, and Britain had received from Germany over and above the expenses of the army of occupation. She also consented, in the event of a German loan issue, to take but 50 per cent of her priority out of this loan.

August 13, 1921, she consented to scale the payment of the amount of her priority over four periods, thus greatly relieving the Allied treasuries, since from May 1, 1921, according to the Spa agreement, she was entitled to everything.

But the position of Germany grew worse. It became more and more certain that the Allies could not obtain but a reduced payment in specie, while deliveries in kind would continue on a relatively important basis. Confronted by this new situation, Belgium consented once more not to exact for the year 1922 her full priority from the Allies, especially as regards the coal deliveries to France or the sums paid to England under the "Reparations Recovery Act," which amounted to 100 million gold marks a year.

Belgium was then content to take the deliveries in specie or kind that Germany paid her, reducing her priority right to a minimum and, in spite of it, allowing the Allies to receive sums the importance of which we will shortly describe.

She did not cease in this direction and her sacrifice was greater yet; from July, 1922, the German Government declared itself unable to continue the promised monthly payments. This brought about a grave crisis in inter-allied relations. To avert it, at the risk of compromising her privileges, Belgium intervened and accepted five drafts, at six months, representing the five payments Germany still had to make in 1922. At the same time she consented to the German Government's paying two million sterling to the compensation office; this she consented to simply because the Allies asked it of her, though they themselves admitted that her right had priority over this. Thus for three years Belgium has given way on her priority, to the detriment of her immediate interests to the profit of those of the Allies, and, above all, to the profit of the maintenance of the Entente to which she is so loyally attached.

6. What Belgium has Received from Germany:

. . . If the books of the Reparations Commission are consulted, it will be found that Germany has been credited with about 5½ billion gold marks, paid in specie or kind, to the account of the armies of occupation, and reimbursement of advances on coal, as well as for reparations. (These figures exclude the value of State or Imperial wealth, which has been ceded.)

Of these 5½ milliard gold marks Belgium has received, under the same headings, 1.729 million gold marks, or less than one-third. Another calculation might be made, taking into account only the sums paid by Germany in foreign currency or in paper marks for the armies of occupation, or in paper marks destined to pay its own industrials for deliveries in kind. This is more interesting than the former one, as it constitutes the real payment of Germany. So as to be well within the reality, we exclude, as regards Belgium, the

value of rolling stock delivered under the terms of the armistice, and, as regards Great Britain, the merchant vessels so delivered.

Minus armistice material, Belgium has received on all other counts 1.258 million gold marks. To this must be added 41 million gold marks paid by the German compensation office. Total, 1,299 million gold marks.

Under the same heads the other Allies have received the following:

Great Britain.....	1.297 million gold marks
France	1.175 million gold marks
Others .....	.632 million gold marks

Thus Belgium and Great Britain have received about the same amount from Germany since the signature of the Peace Treaty.

We recall, to avoid misunderstanding, that in the amounts received by France and Great Britain, the part representing occupation expenses and reimbursement of advances on coal, is much larger than the corresponding parts in the amount received by Belgium. All the same, in German eyes, the loss is the same.

7. Supplementary Explanations to the Suggestions as to the Reparations Problem Made by the Belgian Government in its Note of July 30:

. . . Every one accepts the idea put forth by the Belgian Government in its note of July 30 that if, for the determining of the German debt, it is wise to consider the capacity of the debtor to pay, it is also just, and necessary besides, not to lose sight of the essential needs of the creditors. With this in mind the Belgian Government has tried to find out the extent of their needs from each Ally.

The French Government has fixed 26 milliards gold francs (say 52 per cent of A and B bonds à l'état de paiement de May 1, 1921) as the minimum, on condition that nothing be deducted therefrom for settlement of war debts, and that she may utilize the C bonds coming to her—that is, 42.640 milliards—for payment of her debt to Great Britain (12½ milliards gold marks); the United States (13.1 milliards gold marks)—a total of 25.6 milliards gold marks. As against this the French Government would cancel five or six milliards gold marks of debts owing to her by divers Allies.

The Italian Government, according to the declaration made by Mr. Mussolini in December, 1922, in London, proposes to cancel its inter-allied debts and the C bonds. Italy would receive 5 milliards A and B bonds and 8,200 milliards C bonds; she owes the United States 7 milliards and Great Britain 10 milliards, totaling 17 milliards gold marks. To this must be added the Italian debt to France.

The Belgian Government puts the necessary sum at 5 milliards gold marks. . . .

. . . Great Britain, in paragraph 46 of her note of August 11, declares that she is ready to limit her debt to 14,200 milliards of gold marks, which represents the actual value of her debt to the United States. . . . With the exception of the French and Italian debts to the United States, we now know the amounts claimed. Without prejudice to the attitude taken by the other Allies, whose agreement is necessary, it may be concluded from the above that the German debt, as fixed on May 5, 1921, may be considerably reduced. This reduction is such that Germany might, undoubtedly, as demonstrated by the Belgian Government in

the most detailed manner, after a short period, meet the annual payments corresponding to the sum thus arrived at. . . .

(The Belgian note then records the progress of Inter-Allied discussions and stresses the points on which agreement has been reached. The reopening of verbal negotiations between the powers is then strongly advocated, and the note concludes with the following important remarks as to the question of security.)

The British Government realizes the interest which the Belgian Government takes in the question of security. The King's Government does not wish to end this letter without once more drawing the attention of the British Government, and of the Allied governments in general, to the importance of this problem.

As long as the security of those countries which have suffered invasion is not assured to them, there can be no real peace and no important reduction of armaments. The solution of this grave problem cannot but exert a happy influence upon the other questions now under consideration.

Therefore the King's Government again expresses its desire to discuss this question with the British Government.

THE GRECO-ITALIAN DISPUTE

Text of the Note Sent by the Council of Ambassadors to Greece, September 7, 1923

The Conference of Ambassadors, having taken note of the note which the Greek Government sent to it in reply to its own note respecting the murder of the President of the Albano-Greek Delimitation Commission and of the other members of the Italian delegation of that Commission, taking note more especially of the fact that Greece undertakes to accept, if her responsibility is proved, all reparations which the Conference may deem to be just, and that the Greek Government proposes the appointment of a commission of inquiry entrusted to hasten the search for the culprits;

Noting in this respect that the assault of August 27 was one of a distinctly political character, that it was committed on Greek territory, that the persons who were the victims thereof were entrusted with an official mission by the Ambassador's Conference in agreement with the Greek Government, which had to ensure its security, and that the victims all belonged to the Italian delegation on the Commission;

Considering that such an assault committed in the circumstances directly entails the responsibility of the State on the territory of which it has taken place, decides to demand of the Greek Government the reparations and the sanctions hereinafter enumerated:

I

Apologies shall be presented by the highest Greek military authority to the diplomatic representatives at Athens of the three Allied Powers whose delegates form part of the Delimitation Commission.

II

A funeral service shall be celebrated at Athens in honor of the victims in the Catholic Cathedral in the presence of all the members of the Greek Government.

III

The day of the funeral the warships of the three Allied Powers will arrive off Phaleron after eight o'clock in the morning, the Italian naval division leading.

The Greek fleet shall salute the Italian, British, and French flags at the rate of 21 guns per flag. After that the warships of the three powers shall anchor in the Phaleron roads.

The salute shall be returned shot for shot by the Allied vessels immediately after the funeral service, during which (the funeral service) the flags of the Greek fleet and of the warships of the three Allied Powers shall be at half mast.

IV

Military honors shall be rendered to the bodies of the victims on their embarkation at Prevesa by a Greek unit with flag.

V

The Greek Government undertake to ensure in all the desirable conditions of celerity the search for and the exemplary punishment of the culprits.

VI

A special Commission, composed of delegates of France, of Great Britain, of Italy, and of Japan, under the presidency of the Japanese delegate, shall supervise the operations of the examination and inquiry pursued to that effect by the Greek Government; these operations must be completed at the latest by September 27, 1923.

The Commission delegated by the Ambassadors' Conference shall have all powers to assist at the said operation, and to require the Greek authorities to proceed to all supplementary examination, interrogation, and inquiry. It will submit its report and conclusions to the Ambassadors' Conference.

The Greek Government shall ensure on its territory the safety of the Commission. It will give the Commission all facilities for the fulfilment of its task, and will defray the expenses which the Commission shall have to make on this account.

The Conference of Ambassadors, moreover, invite as from now the Albanian Government to take useful measures to enable the said Commission, which is duly empowered to that effect, to proceed, if it should deem it necessary, on to Albanian territory, and there to proceed, in agreement with the Albanian authorities, to all investigations of a kind to facilitate the search for and punishment of the culprits.

VII

The Greek Government undertakes to pay to the Italian Government for the murder of its delegates an indemnity, the amount of which shall be determined in summary procedure by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, judged on the strength of the report of the Commission mentioned in paragraph 6; this report shall be forwarded to the Court of Justice by the Ambassadors' Conference, together with their observations.

The Greek Government shall deposit without delay, as a guarantee, in the Swiss National Bank, a sum of 50 million Italian lire; this deposit shall be effected under the following heading:

To be handed over, in whole or in part, to the Italian

Government on the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

CORFU

The Conference, taking note of the fact that the Italian Government confirms that the occupation of Corfu and of the adjacent islands has no other object than to obtain satisfaction for the demands which that government has made to the Greek Government, and of the fact that these demands are covered by the conditions above formulated by the Conference, invites the Greek Government to inform without delay, simultaneously and separately, each of the diplomatic representatives at Athens of the three above-mentioned powers its integral acceptance of the foregoing conditions.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE HIGHEST DECORATION of the Polish Republic, the Order of Poland Restitua, was conferred October 9 upon the American Red Cross in appreciation of its relief activities in Poland following the armistice. General Josef Haller, veteran commander of the Polish army, made the presentation.

THE AMERICAN TREE ASSOCIATION has sent to the devastated regions of France large quantities of cypress, pine, fir, spruce, and other tree seeds. The association expressed the wish that in future times trees from these seeds "may form a standing army of friendship" between the two countries.

EACH REPUBLIC in the Russian Soviet Union, as soon as the news of the earthquake disaster reached Russia, began to organize relief measures for Japan. A vessel was promptly sent from Vladivostok, carrying food and medicine valued at 400,000 gold roubles.

THE COMMISSION on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches has issued a call to the people of the country for the observance of the week of November 5, through Armistice Day, November 11, as World Court Week, in the interest of the United States participating in the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

THEODORE STANFIELD, a director of the American Peace Society, recently returning from several months in Europe, says that European statesmen are not seeking a solution of the problems which beset them so much as they are struggling to find the least dangerous of the possible courses. He believes that England will continue to insist upon the absolute control of sea routes to insure her trade and food supplies; that she will continue to insist that no great power or group of powers dominate the river Scheldt; and that she will resist the attempts of any great power to secure the economic domination of Europe with the view of shutting out England's trade. The *New York Times* of September 29 quotes Mr. Stanfield further as saying:

"Europe is a continent inhabited by about thirty nations without any common political, economic or social purpose, and without any common ideals, a continent always at war, recovering from war or preparing for war. Just now it is slowly recovering from the last war and is enjoying a tem-

porary peace of exhaustion. Already it is preparing for the next war. One hears Europeans discussing when it will occur. Many expect it in about ten to fifteen years, if not sooner. About 4,000,000 men are today under arms in Europe. About 3,000,000 more are being instructed in the art of war. The sad truth is that this exceeds the number that were under arms before 1914. The war-breeding armament race has started once again. This time it is taking the form of a competition for control of the air.

"Europeans realize that the root evil is that while there has been an enormous personal progress in pity, patience, tenderness and good-will between man and man, nations as nations are still in a state of semi-barbarism. Everybody with whom I conversed regards as impossible a change in this fundamental condition. They pointed to Europe's deep national hatreds, its intense rivalries, and its many bloody wars as insurmountable obstacles. When asked '*Quo vadis?*' they shrugged their shoulders and confessed to a blind fatalism. . . . This being so, can there be any real security for France, or for any other nation in Europe, until this rule of brute force is replaced by the rule of law? France, because of her dominant position on the Continent, has the opportunity to take the initiative to effect this change. If she fails to change the rules of the game during the periods of her ascendancy, she must expect that history will repeat itself and Germany will once again get on top. As long as Europeans deal with one another like savages, we Americans must realize that there can be no stable, durable, economic or social peace in Europe or the world. In our own interest, in the interest of the world and mankind, we must avoid becoming entangled in this suicidal European game, but we must co-operate to the utmost in any serious and honest effort which might result in the overthrow of brute force. Until this force ceases to determine international action, we ourselves are compelled to maintain a force adequate to the defense of our country and the protection of our foreign interests."

"RUSSIA IS 'COMING BACK' as a result of an evolutionary movement among the people 'over the heads' of the Soviet Government." According to newspaper reports, these words were spoken by Baron Sergius A. Korff before the Institute of Politics, August 21, at Williamstown, Massachusetts. Baron Korff is further quoted as saying that communism has disappeared in Russia, and that it has been killed by the return of the idea of private property. In finance as well as in industry, Russia has realized that its experiment is a failure and is trying to build itself up on a stable economic basis.

THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING of the National Conference on the Science of Politics was held in Madison, Wisconsin, September 3-8, 1923. The purpose of the conference was to bring together all those interested in the problems of political research and in discovering methods by which the theories and generalizations of modern politics may be tested out on the basis of objective evidence. The aim was to contribute to the solution of those problems in method and technique at the basis of any scientific study of current political problems. The University of Wisconsin placed at the disposal of the conference the seminar rooms of the university library. The following round tables with the

leader of each indicate the nature of the work attempted: Political Psychology, C. E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; Survey Methods and Psychological Tests in Civil Service, W. E. Mosher, Bureau of Municipal Research, National Institute of Public Administration; Research in Public Finance, F. P. Gruenberg, Director of Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia; Legislation, H. W. Dodds, Editor of *National Municipal Review*; Political Statistics, L. D. Upson, Director of Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; Public Law, E. S. Corwin, Professor of Jurisprudence, Princeton University; International Organization, P. B. Potter, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION of the peace forces of the world was the subject for discussion at the general assembly of delegates held in Basle, Switzerland, September 17 and 18. The sessions of the assembly were divided into four parts. One related to propaganda in the interest of existing forces, new peace organizations, and the co-ordination and co-operation of peace forces. The second related to current affairs, such as the problem of reparations, moral and economic disarmament, and the Near East. The third dealt with suggested modifications to the Covenant of the League of Nations. The fourth related to administrative questions, such as the activity of the Berne bureau, the finances, the Council, and kindred matters. The following names were submitted for re-election as members of the Council: MM. Arthur Muller (Vienne), Niels Petersen (Copenhagen); Mlle. Johanne Peterse-Norup (Copenhagen); M. Carl Heath (Londres); Miss C. E. Playne (Londres); MM. Pollard (Londres), Trevelyan (Londres); M. Dunnico (Londres); Mgr. Gieswein (Budapest); Mlle. Augusta Rosenberg (Budapest); MM. Carl Lindhagen (Stockholm), Knut Sandstedt (Stockholm). Professor Kallab (Brunn); Arthur Deerin Call (Washington).

ACCORDING TO THE STATEMENT of the Treasury Department, the public debt of the United States, June 30, 1923, was \$22,155,886,402.70. Of this amount \$22,007,590,754.03 represented the total interest-bearing debt. It is of interest to recall that the public debt of the United States in June, 1914, was approximately \$1,000,000,000.

AN ESSAY CONTEST OF CONSIDERABLE INTEREST is announced for this year by the Pan-Pacific Union of Hawaii. The contest is open to all students under 21 years of age in all public and private schools in the Territory up to and including the University of Hawaii. There will be sixteen prizes of twenty-five dollars each; one prize for the best essay written on each of the following countries: Australia, Canada, Netherlands, Central America, China, Indies, French possessions in the Pacific, Hawaii, Japan, Mainland of the United States, Malay States, Mexico, New Zealand, Pacific South America, Philippines, Siam, Siberia. The title is "What I consider to be the most interesting event in the history of —" (one of the countries mentioned.) Each contestant may write upon as many countries among those specified as he chooses. It is hoped that

the preparation of these essays will interest the young people of Hawaii in other Pacific lands and achieve a better understanding of their civilizations, aspirations, and contributions to world progress.

THE STUDY OF AQUATIC LIFE and the problems connected therewith are beginning to be recognized at their true value. European scientists have for some time been making observations on the migrations of fish indigenous to their waters. Our own Commissioner of Fisheries is beginning to tag large numbers of codfish, haddock, and pollock in northern Atlantic fishing grounds. A reward of 25 cents will be given for each tag turned in. It is expected that fishermen and dealers elsewhere will watch for these tags and report the time and place of catch to the Bureau. Study of marine life in the Pacific has also begun. Great schools of tuna, salmon, cod, halibut, herring, and sardines wander up and down those coasts. Their migrations, their food, and other vital necessities for development furnish an inexhaustible field for investigation.

A better charting of offshore fishing grounds is now demanded for the Pacific coast of America. Valuable banks are suspected to exist some hundreds of miles off Cape Flattery, and surveys might possibly discover others off the Aleutian chain, west of Akutan Pass.

For the study of the marine biology of the tropical Pacific the University of Hawaii has established one of the greatest aquariums in the world. The others are the New York aquarium, the Neapolitan Biological Station, the new aquarium at Miami Beach, Florida, and the aquarium at Monaco. Undersea boats and cameras are also making possible the study of fish, coral formations, and other aquatic life in their native habitat. All these data should, in time, have a marked effect upon the world's supply of food and possibly upon many other necessities. Japan already depends quite largely on her fisheries not only for food, but for fertilizer and materials for industries. With the perfection of methods of distribution, the cultivation of undersea products will be of ever-increasing value to the world's population.

THE WAVE OF OPPOSITION TO JAPAN, according to the Associated Press, following her recent refusal to release the ports of Dalny and Port Arthur and the surrounding territory to China, is rolling into great proportions throughout the country, according to official telegraphic advices from a number of cities.

The suggestions that originated with members of Parliament for demonstrations against the Japanese has met with a widespread response, advices from a dozen points assert.

Mass meetings and parades have been held and resolutions have been passed, some of them calling for stoppage of commercial relations with Japanese, refusal of Japanese advertising by newspapers, and appealing to other nations to support China in her demand for the return of the territory which Japan proposes to hold under a renewed lease of fifty years.

At Peking the students filed with the Dean of the Foreign Diplomatic Corps a document asking the influence of the corps in obtaining the return of the lost ports. Parliament also is pressing the Cabinet to dispatch a second note on the subject to Tokio.

THE BELGIAN SENATE, by a vote of 92 to 48, decided June 8 that Flemish should be the language used in all courses given at the University of Ghent. At the same time, however, the Senators voted, 72 to 65, that certain courses may be taught also in French. It will be recalled that the Senate last March rejected the bill to convert Ghent University into an exclusively Flemish language institution. The Flemish people, claiming to be a majority of the population of Belgium, have, however, pressed their demand that their language be made the official tongue for Ghent. The Walloons, who speak French, have opposed the plan. The situation became so acute that on June 14 the Cabinet resigned. Thus a seemingly small matter has become of major European importance, for the whole problem of reparations may be affected by the incident.

FOOD HYGIENE AND THE FOOD INDUSTRIES occupy prominent places at the Hygienic Exposition, commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Pasteur, opened June 1, 1923, at Strasbourg, France. This gathering is probably the most important ever assembled in the history of Strasbourg and will continue until the end of October. The selection of the city of Strasbourg for the celebration of this notable occasion, international in extent and importance, is said to be due in a measure to the early connection of the great benefactor of mankind with the University of Strasbourg, where he once attended as a student and later held a professorship. Still more pertinent, it is the place where he first achieved success and was the beginning of a career which places his name among the foremost leading men of the world's history. The opening day was celebrated by a ceremony in the course of which a monument to Pasteur, erected on Place de l'Universite, was unveiled in the presence of the family of the illustrious savant and of his most famous pupil, M. E. Roux, Director of the Pasteur Institute. President Millerand opened the ceremonies.

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED in Great Britain on May 21 was 1,207,000, an increase of 38,000 over the previous week, mainly due to conditions in the cotton centers of Lancashire and Cheshire. Present total unemployment figures represent a substantial reduction from 1,485,800 unemployed on January 1 of this year.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mr. Podd. By *Freeman Tilden*. New York, Macmillan Co. 1p. 288. Price, \$2.00.

Not in any sense a great book, but laughable and wholesome in its trend, is this tale of the millionaire's pilgrimage and its journey around the world to teach the "New Order of Brotherhood" to the inhabitants thereof.

Mr. Ford's Peace Ship evidently furnished the theme, but the characters are quite obviously fictitious. The style is reminiscent of Frank Stockton—impossible situations quite convincingly described, but characters who are merely types. Nearly all in this story personify some fanatical cult, and each is kept mercilessly consistent.

Marooned on a tropical island, the party tries out its benevolent ideas of social and political life with quite dis-

astrous results. The only useful members of the society are three persons who have no radical cult to preach, and one of whom is a sort of professional failure. It is he, by the bye, whom the millionaire's daughter, the most natural character in the story, elects to marry. Of course, the party is rescued and nothing but marriage bells comes of the pilgrimage.

The merit of the book lies in its fun and in a certain warning to fanatical reformers.

DAMAGED SOULS. By *Gamaliel Bradford*. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. Pp. 285. Price, \$3.50.

One of the best methods of studying history is through biography. Unfortunately, few biographers have the critical spirit and thoroughness, combined with sympathy and charm, to make such a study both interesting and informing. Mr. Bradford, however, has all these qualities, and in the series of portraits of which "Damaged Souls" is the most recent collection he is making a very real contribution to American history. This book is in some respects even better than the three preceding volumes, "Union Portraits," "Confederate Portraits," and "American Portraits."

At the outset one is astonished at the strangely assorted list of damaged souls. They are Benedict Arnold, Thomas Paine, Aaron Burr, John Randolph, John Brown, P. T. Barnum, and Benjamin F. Butler. One wonders what they have in common; why some of them are damaged at all—at least if they are damaged more than are the souls of most of the sons of men. Evidently, Mr. Bradford himself felt this incongruity in their association. He admits that some are here only because their obliquity is displayed on a conspicuous stage. Then, with altogether delicious humor, he surveys the collected gallery thus: "How Butler would storm at Arnold and Burr. With what disgust would Paine regard the mystic Brown, equal almost to the horror of Brown for Paine's indecent ribaldry, while Burr would turn away from both Paine and Brown with quiet contempt, only to find himself coldly shunned by Randolph as a traitor to his country; and the somber shade of Arnold, avoided by all alike, would yet feel a peculiar shudder of abhorrence at being grouped with the patent, noisy, cheap vulgarity of Barnum.

"What would unite them at once, in a common forgetfulness of their personal differences, would be the suggestion of me; that an insignificant biographer should dare to group them under such an infamous title as 'Damaged Souls'—the idea would be enough to divert all their wrath from each other and concentrate it on my unfortunate head."

The studies are extremely well done. As in actual portraits, done by a master hand, only enough background is painted in to show the essential characteristics of the subject; only enough biography to illustrate the psychology. In some cases all previous portraits had been hardly more than caricatures, with one ugly feature so exaggerated that an accurate likeness was hardly to be found. In others the praises of friends and the vilification of enemies had produced quite irreconcilable pictures. Mr. Bradford writes with sympathy, but he tries, in a scholarly and conscientious way, to find the ultimate truth about each man of whom he tells. He has been successful in showing wherein each was human and kin to us all; how it chanced that he fell below the highest of which he was capable. In each case we feel tragedy, except, perhaps, in that of Barnum, whose delightful bonhomie saves him from the vulgarity and humbuggery with which he has been charged.

By the application of certain touchstones, Mr. Bradford's swift and piercing intelligence helps us to understand each of the seven. The tests he applies are ambition, money, alcohol, relations with women, religion, facility with words, power of self-analysis.

The portraits of Paine and of Randolph, though probably the most difficult, are especially satisfying.

Incidentally, almost involuntarily, Mr. Bradford has sketched the vivid portraits of three women. They are Mrs. Arnold, Theodosia Burr, and Mrs. Butler. Of the last, Mr. Bradford exclaims: "She was a remarkable woman and I wish I were writing a portrait of her instead of him." At

the close of the explanatory first chapter he says with some humor: "And the delicious Sarah Butler declares that I wormed myself into her confidence only to betray her the more cruelly, and she sweeps down upon me with a splendid histrionic Shakespearean gesture of contempt. That gesture of contempt haunted me all the time I was writing the portrait of her husband, and I really believe the dread of it made me treat him with more leniency than he deserved."

THE GENIUS OF AMERICA: Studies in Behalf of the Younger Generation. By *Stuart P. Sherman*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 269. Price, \$2.00.

A new book by Stuart P. Sherman is always opened with anticipatory relish. His understanding is keen, his cutting irony is delicious; but he also possesses that which he himself describes as one mark of a man of letters, "The accent and intonation of the human spirit." Furthermore, the readable cadence of his paragraphs and his unerring choice of words add beauty of form to that of scholarly thought. These essays, for the most part, are concerned with American youth in relation to that living spirit which is America. One short chapter on the stupidity of war is interpolated. It is called "Conversation on Ostriches," and would be especially interesting to readers of this magazine.

An English reviewer says of Edmond Gosse: "He has behind him an unbroken experience of not far from sixty years, and that is an authority to which dispute is almost indifferent. The new book (and these essays were called forth by new books) is plugged into this background like an electric bulb into a testing-board."

Professor Sherman is still a young man, but in his grasp of the moving spirit of American life he lays hold on all its past, making it his own. In his recent book, "Americans," he had been charged with assuming that history is but the biography of great men. This book, the sequel to the other, answers that charge. "My hero," he says in the preface, "is that continuous power of the rational life in the existence of which all our great men appear but as the momentary eddies and transient formations in the current." And as he grasps that streaming energy and defines it, the new writers, rebels, critics, are "plugged into that switch-board."

A refreshing chapter on Puritanism proves that these, our much derided forefathers, were the original American rebels, cutting loose from traditions, but adding to their restless and lively revolt the power of discipline, which our beautiful young people know not of. Professor Sherman avers that the younger generation seems to have shifted the moral center from the individual soul to society. The popular idea now is to do as the rest do, to "get by." Yet the "suppressed desire," causing their unhappiness, he conceives to be the "suppressed desire for a good life, for the perfection of their human possibilities." It is this passion for perfection, growing out of Puritanism, which he believes to be the only thing that can integrate our national life.

Even the pessimistic literature of the day is hopeful. Young writers report that the average man is dissatisfied with his material achievements. His boastfulness is a thing of the past. He is miserable; he is in revolt. This, says Mr. Sherman, is more hopeful than was the smug American satisfaction which preceded it.

STUDIES IN CLASSIC AMERICAN LITERATURE. By *D. H. Lawrence*. Thos. Seltzer, N. Y. Pp. 264. Price, \$3.00.

There is marked contrast between the spirit of the American critic, Professor Sherman, and that of D. H. Lawrence, the British writer. Lawrence, also, attempts to interpret the genius of America; but he revels in vituperation, occasional vulgarity, and general mud-slinging. His power of antagonizing his reader is almost uncanny and evidently intentional.

He has roused the reviewers and critics before. Dr. Joseph Collins, layman in literature, but expert in psychiatry, who recently wrote "The Doctor Looks At Literature," says of Lawrence's essay on "Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious," that it contains more misinformation in a small space than any recent book save the "Cruise of the Kawa."

Yet in this book of American studies Lawrence does often hit upon the truth. Any earnest student of his own time can well afford to read it for that reason.

The American authors whom the English critic chooses, and whom he finds, he says, "amazingly cultured," are Benjamin Franklin, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Femimore Cooper, Edgar Allen Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Richard Henry Dana, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman.

His plan, as far as he has any plan, is to trace, through the work of these men, the real America. "It is high time now," he says in the foreword, "that some one came to lift out the swaddled infant of truth that America spawned some time back. The child must be getting pretty thin from neglect." As to the writers themselves, he says, "The artist usually sets out to point a moral and adorn a tale. The tale, however, points the other way, as a rule. Two blankly opposing morals, the artist's and the tale's. Trust the tale. The proper function of the critic is to save the tale from the artist who created it."

As a matter of fact, Mr. Lawrence uses the tales he has chosen—tales, by the way, which are very little read by present-day Americans—as a basis for his own desultory comments on life and social behavior. Now and then he recurs to his search for the real spirit of America. In Franklin, for example, he finds the "dry, moral little democrat," a "pattern American," who "has done more to ruin the old Europe than any Russian Nihilist." Then, further down the page, "Now look at America, tangled in her own barbed wire, and mastered by her own machines. Now is your chance, Europe. Now let Hell loose and get your own back, and paddle your own canoe on a new sea, while clever America lies on her muck-heaps of gold, strangled in her own barbed wire of shalt-not ideals and shalt-not moralisms, while she goes out to work like millions of squirrels in millions of cages. Production! Let Hell loose and get your own back, Europe!"

In Deerslayer he finds the "very intrinsic-most American." "He is at the core of all other flux and fluff. And when *this* man breaks from his static isolation and makes a new move, then look out, something will happen."

Much of beauty does Mr. Lawrence find in the sea and nature pictures of Cooper, Dana, and Melville. Poe and Hawthorne he despises, but concedes that they are artists.

Mr. Lawrence's manner of expression is astonishing. At times he seems fairly beside himself. In his criticism of Hester Prynne, for instance (woman being, next to America, his particular *bête noir*), his sentences seem so lashed by black rage that they spray off into hissing foam—words, capitals, vitriolic expletives. Always a Freudian, he now runs wild with malevolence for America, woman, ideals, charity, and Christianity.

It is rather a pity that Mr. Lawrence could not have written in a kindlier temper, because it is probably true, as he declares, that our democracy was designed as a tool with which to undermine tyranny, and that perhaps even a democracy may become tyrannous. We may well be on our guard. It is true, too, that human reserves are necessary in love and friendship; that ideals will never make a "Brook Farm" psychologically possible; that the man or nation who believes one way and acts otherwise is breaking down within.

The calmest essay is the last one, which is on Whitman. Here the critic rises at last to poetic and hopeful imagery. "Strictly avoid mansions," he says, "The soul is herself when she is going on foot down the open road."

It is the American heroic message. The soul is not to pile up defenses round herself. She is not to withdraw and seek her heavens inwardly in mystical ecstasies. She is not to cry to some God beyond for salvation. She is to go down the open road, as the road opens into the unknown, keeping company with those whose soul draws them near to her, accomplishing nothing save the journey, and the works incident to the journey, in the long life travel into the unknown, the soul, in her subtle sympathies accomplishing herself by the way.

This is Whitman's essential message. The heroic message of the American future. . . . And it is a message that only in America can be fully understood and finally accepted."

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council, in the performance of their respective duties, whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation, and friendly composition whenever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instruction in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

THE RED FOX'S TAIL

"LET US have an inquiry by experts as to Germany's ability to pay reparations," said Mr. Hughes at New Haven last December. "All right," said Lord Curzon, Britain's Foreign Secretary, on October 12. "Good," says Mr. Hughes on October 15. "But," said Mr. Hughes, "let us not drag in the matter of foreign debts to the United States." "Very well," said France, "we have had a committee of experts known as the Reparations Commission working on this job for a long time; but another expert or two can't do any harm." "Fine," said Washington. "Very hopeful," said London. "By the way," said Paris, "there are one or two other matters which must not be considered by the experts. There must be no fooling about our occupation of the Ruhr. Then, too, the experts will have to confine their investigations to Germany's ability to pay within the next seven years. After that Germany's ability may be different." "All bets are off," said Washington. And there we are.

It is now evident that the British attempt to revive Mr. Hughes' suggestion of a commission of experts was not sufficiently discussed with the French Government before broadcasting. It would appear that the British succeeded for the moment in lining up the United States in a scheme to force France to recede in her program against Germany. The trouble evidently arose from the fact that M. Jusserand was not in America during those rather important days following the cable of Lord Curzon.

It is easy to understand our government's desire to do all in its power to aid constructively in the rehabilitation of Europe. But it is very difficult to see how this government can do anything worth while through any commission, warned in advance to keep off this and to keep off that and to keep off a variety of other international preserves.

There is no apparent reason why the United States should be a party to any proposal that an international commission should meet for the purpose of repeating a certain incantation at midnight on the waning of the moon, down a bottomless well, but under no circumstances to think of a red fox's tail.

AGAIN, THE CONDEMNATION OF EUROPE

THE BELIEF that Europe is hopeless prevails perhaps increasingly in America. From time to time we have tried to analyze the nature of this hopelessness. Again we approach, albeit with some diffidence, the task.

One reason for the skepticism that is ours may be said to be the general feeling that Europe is a hotbed of mutual hatreds. A cursory review of Europe reveals some thirty-two separate political entities, together with some forty-eight distinct nationalities, all of which—not including Russia—are found in a territory little more than one-third of the United States. Even with Russia, Europe is the smallest of the continents. Only a few of these groups are self-sustaining. Nearly all are dependent upon outside sources in some degree for food, or for basic things like coal and iron. Each of the groups has its historic grudges against one or more of the others, and nourishes with a fluctuating intensity feuds of long standing. It is possible to make out a case for the proposition that Europe is an organized system of mutual hatreds.

It can be argued, and it is often argued, that Europe is hopeless because of the Treaty of Versailles. It is pointed out from time to time that this treaty is not now and never can be anything but a war treaty. It is in no sense an instrument of peace. It preserves the system of the balance of power, a system which has been peculiarly European and peculiarly provocative of war. Under its terms, there has been a most unequal application of the principles of the right of self-determination, this system being insisted upon in such sections as Fiume and utterly ignored as in the case of Dantzig. It violates the principle of reciprocity in contractual

engagements, leaving the defeated peoples at least with a *prima facie* case against the victors in case differences ever appear before a genuine tribunal of justice. It provides for the sentence of the defeated nations without adequate sheriffs and prisons to carry out the sentences. It represents an attempt to set up a government of nine men dominated by five, all with widely divergent interests. It presents a plan to enforce provisions to the advantage of the few, to the injury of others, and with the thought that such enforcement will meet with the co-operation of all. It fails to apply the same measure in assessing the various damages due to the operations of the enemy. It perpetuates in all its nakedness the principle of loot. It repudiates in toto the principles for which the war was fought—open covenants, freedom of the seas, commercial liberty, disarmament, the rights of small nations, the world safe for democracy, an ordered world and a durable peace. It is a reincarnation of the principle that might makes right. Its fruits have been nothing but legalized violence and vengeance, military dictation and chaos. Thus, it is argued, Europe is hopeless because of this treaty.

Then there is a general European cussedness, so it is believed, finding its expression in the faithlessness of Germany, the breakdown of Russia, in a militaristic France, in an imperialistic Italy and Britain, the bull-headedness of the small States with their recalcitrant minorities, every people dwelling gloomy and ugly upon the wickedness of its neighbors. On the top of all this there is little appreciation of the United States. From America's point of view, that is very bad business. Europe doesn't seem to appreciate that America's aloofness is a heavenly revelation of idealized statecraft. Speaking of this, an English writer has recently called attention to Labcuchere's famous complaint against Gladstone: "I don't so much mind the old man having the ace of trumps up his sleeve, but I do object to his perpetual assumption that the Almighty put it there."

Europe is seen as one mad scramble for safety and prosperity, for food, shelter and clothing, for trade and improved transportation, with the result that we have such questionable situations as the Saar, the Ruhr, Upper Silesia, Eastern Galicia, the Banat of Temesvar, the Donetz in Ukraina, the active interest in the Caucasus, in Northern Persia and in the Mosul regions of Mesopotamia. The rivalries of trade, colonization, and ambition for investments are giving rise to a variety of competitions, and that between the great and equal powers, with the result that the general scramble has provided again all the makings of war.

The hopelessness of Europe is seen also in the general

decline of the influence of law and the rise of physical force as the hope of States. France has 600,000 soldiers under arms, Poland 400,000, Czechoslovakia 300,000. Nobody knows the number of soldiers in Russia or the nature of their equipment; but the Russian army is numerically greatest of all. Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, and Italy are all heavily under arms.

This re-emphasis upon force revealed itself especially in the Italian revolution of October, 1922, when M. Mussolini entered Rome, cleaned out the government, permitted the King to bow to his authority, suppressing, censoring, taking unto himself the three portfolios of Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of the Interior, announcing his foreign policy to be *niente per niente*. It was natural that this new disciple of physical force should settle in the Dodocanese, send an ultimatum to the Greeks, commit an act of war, and defy the world and get the money.

The same lawless method of getting results appeared during the month of September in Spain. A Captain-General of Catalonia took upon himself the responsibility of declaring martial law throughout Barcelona, of issuing a proclamation to all Spain calling upon all military authorities throughout the land to declare martial law, establishing himself as a dictator, "inviting" the King to dismiss the cabinet, an "invitation" which His Majesty had the good sense to accept. The King also appointed the Captain-General, Marquis de Estella, president of the Military Directory.

This faith in the adequacy of physical force has just found interesting expression again from a surprising source. Senator Carlo Schanzer, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, is quoted as believing that the present League of Nations should be transformed into a "superstate," with its own sovereign prerogatives and its own authority for enforcing its decisions. Because the League has failed to obtain agreement of the powers on methods for the application of the economic blockade, to win support for obligatory jurisdiction by the Permanent Court of International Justice, to cope with the question of the limitation of arms, to consider the problem of the freedom of the seas, to interfere in the conflict of the Ruhr, to deal with reparations or the controversy over Corfu, the world needs a new League. What is wanted is a superstate with its own means of coercion. In other words, according to Senator Schanzer, what Europe needs is not less military force, but more.

One dwelling upon these and similar facts easily convinces one's self that the most hopeless mess of our not altogether hopeful world is Europe.

BASES FOR A MORE HOPEFUL VIEW

AND YET, all is not hopeless in Europe. As we have pointed out from time to time, there is a growing conviction among the supporters of the League of Nations that the Covenant under which it is organized is unworkable. When the League functions, it functions for the most part without reference to its Covenant. We are now told flatly by the supporters of the League that it is nothing more than an agency for conference. This confession is hopeful, for it enables us to visualize again the rational and altogether acceptable methods of international co-operation familiar to us before the war. An agency for conference. That was The Hague Conference of 1899 and The Hague Conference of 1907. It was the kind of a conference agreed upon and planned for 1915 by all the nations during the years immediately preceding the war. An agency for conference has been acceptable to the United States heretofore. If only we were convinced that the League of Nations is simply an agency for conference, it would be acceptable to us now. That the leaders of the League of Nations believe their organ to be simply an agency for conference is hopeful, for it is reasonable to expect that they will wish soon to go about the business of changing their charter accordingly.

It is a hopeful thing that the defenders of the League are seeing the light, and that dispassionate men are acknowledging not only that the League as originally organized was wrong in theory, contrary to the teachings of history, but that it was a menace to the peace of the world. That the logic of the Covenant is the logic of war appears in an editorial elsewhere in these columns, "The League's Narrow Escape." At the time of the Corfu incident, it was generally considered by the press of Europe, including the papers favorable to the League, that had it functioned at that time under articles 10, 12, and 16 of the Covenant, there would have been a World War. That Europe has discovered all this is most hopeful.

The Imperial Conference, meeting in Downing Street at the time of this writing, is, in our judgment, also most hopeful. Britain has passed through her period of liberalism following the Napoleonic Wars, her subsequent era of nationalism followed by an imperialism, reaching around the world. She has now entered upon a new era of a union of free States, which States are, through the agency of the Imperial Conference, controlling the foreign policies of the Empire. This new co-ordination and co-operation of sovereign States is a most hopeful object lesson in the peaceful adjustment of international disputes.

Readers of this magazine have already been made

aware of the Academy of International Law which met through the last summer in the Palace of Peace at The Hague. In the present number there is an account of the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union, held in Copenhagen in the month of August. Those are hopeful facts of contemporary Europe.

Lloyd George, to whom we must give credit for knowing something of European affairs, has recently been in our midst. In his farewell speech delivered before a very large crowd in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, he confessed that the commission of the trustees for civilization does not come from kings; it does not come from rulers or princes; it does not come from senates or parliaments or councils." In his judgment, "It comes from on high." We do not argue this theory of divine right. The thing to which we should especially call attention is that in this same address the distinguished gentleman announced that the real problem facing Europe is the reliance in those lands upon physical force. In his judgment, the remedy for Europe's ills is "give Europe the conviction that right is supreme over force." If Mr. Lloyd George believes that to be the "remedy," it is reasonable to assume that there are other people in Europe with the same belief. We know that there are such people. There are many of them.

No man knows just now by what methods the peace of Europe is to be most effectively advanced. Portland and Boufflers arranged the Treaty of Ryswick rather casually under the apple trees of Hal. As a result of the conversations of these two men, in 1697, decided changes followed in the relations between France on the one side, and England, The Netherlands, and Spain on the other, affecting vast territories even in America. Similar conversations, which may be left for historians a century hence to record, may decide the fate of Europe for the next generation.

In Europe the will to peace is not dead. The Academy of International Law, the Interparliamentary Union, the League of Nations are palpable evidence of this fact. The men who are engaged in the business of conducting foreign policies in Europe are not criminals; furthermore, they are not in need of advice from America. They know their business far better than we can tell them. They will yet work out their problems, for they are perfectly familiar with the success of enlightened policies in times of peace. Every statesman of Europe knows, for example, that England's greatest soldier and master of continental affairs, Wellington, had France at his mercy in the month of August, 1815. Furthermore, Wellington was at the height of his power at that time. Prussians and Germans believed that crushing terms should be imposed upon France. Even Lord Liverpool, the British Prime Minister, thought it would be good politics to take a few trophies from the

enemy; but Wellington pointed out that the real objects for which England had waged war for more than twenty years were not trophies. Wellington believed that the aims were "to obtain peace for themselves and their people, and to have the power of reducing their overgrown military establishments, and the leisure to attend to the internal concerns of their several nations, and to improve the situation of their people. . . . We ought to continue to keep our great hope, the general peace and tranquillity of the world, in our view, and shape our affairs so as to provide for it." Replying to this letter, Castlereagh also wrote to the Prime Minister, in which he said: "It is not our business to collect trophies, but to try if we can to bring back the world to peaceful habits." The work of Wellington and Castlereagh has not been forgotten. European statesmen are still quite aware that the true objects of European statesmanship must be "the genuine peace and tranquillity of the world."

We close these observations with a quotation from a recent editorial in the *London Times*: "Let all parties bear in mind that, in the long run, peace is not only the first interest of this nation or of that nation, but the sovereign interest of all."

THE SECRET OF EUROPEAN PEACE

THE STORY of the Hungarian loan should afford an object-lesson to the inquiring American, whose vision of the European situation can hardly have been clarified by the dicta of returning Senators, Representatives, bankers, business men, and tourists, who have "done" Europe in six weeks, and see nothing for it but war, prosperity, starvation, chaos, order, the League of Nations, the destruction of the League of Nations, and so on and so forth. The secret of European peace lies in good will and co-operation as between the nations dwelling on the European continent. There is no other way.

How this may come to pass is shown very clearly by the story of Hungarian-Little Entente relations. Feeling between the ancient Magyar kingdom and the neighboring Succession States ran very high. On the one hand was to be found the not unnatural resentment and contempt of an old, proud, and highly civilized race for those whom it had been in the habit of considering, rightly or wrongly, inferior, and whom it saw in possession of territory not only of the utmost economic value, but with which it was historically and traditionally associated. On the other, there was a distinct sense of fear among newly constituted and not too well consolidated régimes, whose jealousy of the Magyar was

also an hereditary possession. Hungary and the Little Entente were definitely at swords' points; propaganda raged, especially in the United States; the frontiers, almost constantly closed to traffic, were the scene of frequent and bloody clashes between the Hungarian and the neighboring frontier guards. Suddenly the scene has changed. All is now—officially, at any rate—peace and good will. Why?

Quite definitely both Hungary and the Succession States have been brought to a realization of their economic interdependence. The moment came when Hungary, on the point of collapse, was obliged to seek help abroad. Not long after, certain of the Succession States, none of whom can be regarded as, economically or financially speaking, entirely stable, found it necessary to consider the question of foreign help. Under the pressure of a common need, it was easy to persuade the warring elements of the necessity for peaceful co-operation as a matter of self-preservation. Negotiations were entered upon, and it has been found possible to arrive at some sort of an agreement making for peace and sound economic relations between the Little Entente and its bugbear, Hungary.

The important feature of this story is that no League of Nations, no American intervention, could have ameliorated the situation without a prior understanding, a prior co-operation among the nations concerned, arrived at by themselves. In the same way nothing can be done for the larger powers of Europe, either by the United States or by any League of Nations, until they have settled their differences and agreed on some form of co-operation among themselves. Happily, the Department of State realizes this quite clearly and understands perfectly, as Great Britain, for instance, understood, in the case of Hungary, that an attempt at intervention, which at this juncture would probably have to be forced on one or another of the differing States, could only result in the dragging of the United States into a futile conflict, ending almost certainly in open war.

It has been said, occasionally with bitterness, that all Europe wants of the United States is her money. As it happens, that is perfectly true. All the United States can give to Europe, in the friendliest manner, is her money. Any attempt to impose American ideals and civilization upon Europe, whose development has for obvious reasons not been along entirely parallel lines, must end in general disaster at this juncture. But, as the present Administration knows and acknowledges, the investment of money in a peaceful Europe, whose States have turned their energies toward co-operation in the matter of reconstruction, would be no unprofitable thing for American capital, and at the same time provide a necessary element for reconstruction.

Until, however, the pressure of general need softens

hearts, and some attempt at an understanding devoid of revenge, hypocrisy, and greed is made by the European powers, Americans can but watch and wait with what sympathy they can muster. A well-known precept of the Society of Jesus teaches that it is useless to attempt to convince a man until he is ready to be convinced. In the same way, it is useless for the United States to attempt to bring peace to Europe until the Europeans are ready for peace. And the signs do not point that way yet.

Meanwhile there will be greater misery in Europe; there will be more disorganization; there may be startling changes in its political geography. These things have been and may be again. A certain amount of this disturbance may be re-echoed in other parts of the world. It is almost certain that some economic re-orientation will have to be visualized in the United States, for instance. But the necessity for such a re-orientation is not a consequence of the war; on the contrary, the war was a consequence of the necessity. The collapse of the old order was a result of its elements of internal unsoundness. It fell in just as Imperial Rome fell in.

When this is understood it will readily be seen that nothing could be more unhappy for Europe than a premature intervention on the part of America. To remain inactive is contrary to one of the deepest instincts of the American, who is in the habit of "doing something about it." Nevertheless, at this moment, abstention from ill-advised and hasty action is the greatest service America can render to Europe.

ORGANIZING THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, with which must be included its little sister, the Imperial Economic Conference, promises to be the most momentous of its kind in the history of the British Empire. Signs and portents are not wanting to show that the popular mind in Great Britain is turning to the overseas dominions more and more as the solution of British economic and political difficulties. The dominions are no longer a vague subject for self-congratulatory patriotism, but part sovereign States upon whose existence, as an integral part of the British Commonwealth, the mother country must increasingly depend.

Great Britain realizes that, from the economic point of view, the European situation promises nothing for an indefinite time to come. The idea that a return of British prosperity depends upon German economic recovery is rapidly disappearing as it is understood more clearly that a restored Germany must pay reparations,

and that her payment of reparations depends upon her export surplus. With the exception of a possible (but most improbable) Russia, there is but one country in Europe whose tariff barriers have not so far been made prohibitive, and that country is Great Britain. The picture of German exports flooding the British markets, both at home and abroad, is hardly pleasing to an already depressed people.

Nor is this all. British efforts to re-establish her credit and bring sterling to par have made it possible for French and Belgian manufacturers, whose producing costs are paid in a depreciated currency, to place their goods successfully on the British market. The results, especially in the textile industry, have been very nearly disastrous to British manufacturers, and the north of England, that former stronghold of free trade, is clamouring for protection.

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising to find dominion premiers again suggesting imperial preference, but this time to a sympathetic audience. At the same time, in more than one recent speech, Mr. Baldwin, who is not without the courage of common sense, has clearly stated that the fiscal policy of the country must be changed to meet changed conditions. The British Premier's conviction is so strong on this point that he is willing to ask a vote of confidence from the country by way of a general election. There is no doubt that Mr. Baldwin has heard the cry from the north.

Undoubtedly a changed fiscal policy on the part of Great Britain, including protection and imperial preference, would necessitate a great deal of readjustment on the part of the country. Economically it would mean a setting of teeth and a tightening of belts preparatory to a long and painful struggle. Politically it would mean a much more closely organized confederation of the nations within the British Commonwealth.

That this is clearly appreciated is shown by the trend of the discussions at the Imperial Conference. Immigration, imperial currency, communications, and foreign policy, as well as fiscal adjustments, have all been considered more extensively than ever before. The conference has received more serious attention from the press than ever before, and, it must be admitted, the dominion representatives have taken a more decisive stand than at any previous conference.

Under no circumstances would it be possible, of course, for Great Britain to withdraw entirely from active participation in European affairs. It is interesting to observe that nothing disturbs the majority of European States more than the thought of such a withdrawal. But it is possible for Britain to base her participation on a different foundation, and, from all indications, it would appear that this is what she is preparing to do.

AS TO OUR LENDING MONEY TO EUROPE

OCTOBER witnessed the celebration of two interesting anniversaries: one the first anniversary of the Fascisti revolution in Cremona, Italy, and the other the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

The Italian celebration consisted of receptions in the town halls, reviews of the militia, and various other forms of demonstration throughout Italy. Signor Mussolini appeared at Milan wearing a black shirt. Indeed, the principal square of the city was packed with "black shirts" who frantically cheered the Premier when he appeared on the balcony to address the crowd. Mr. Mussolini pointed out that the Fascismo had strengthened the monarchy, brought a new prestige to the army, and shown to the rest of the world the new power that is Italy. He announced that if it is necessary the Fascisti are ready to fight again the hardest battle in order to defend their power. Referring to the crisis resulting from the Janina murder, he pointed out that "Italy had passed through the most interesting and the most important experience" in its history. "For the first time in Italian political life, Italy had accomplished an act of absolute independence, having the courage to deny the competence of the Areopagus at Geneva, which is a species of insurance premium taken out by the nations established in power against the proletariat nations." He pointed out that if the League of Nations had insisted upon interfering with the Italian program in Corfu the Italian armies would have marched. His concluding words are worth quoting. He said: "If tomorrow's sacrifices should be graver than yesterday's, would you undertake them? If I would ask what should be described as the sublimest proof of discipline, would you give this proof? If tomorrow, I would give the signal of alarm which decides the destinies of nations, would you answer my appeals?" To all of which the crowd cried, "Yes, we swear it; we swear it; Fiume! Fiume!"

In Czechoslovakia, President Thomas G. Masaryk, in honor of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, decorated General Pelle, French organizer of the Czech army, and afterward addressed the minister and the diplomatic corps. The next day Dr. Eduard Benès called attention to the strengthened prestige of the Little Entente and to the increased good will between France, Great Britain, and Czechoslovakia. The essential fact, however, seems to be that there has been recently arranged a Franco-Czech military accord, if not alliance.

There is about these celebrations an atmosphere of old-time emphasis upon the force of arms that lends pith to the inquiry, Why should America lend money

to governments, the prime interest of whom is to build up larger and larger fighting machines?

THE LEAGUE'S NARROW ESCAPE

ONE IS LED to wonder what would have happened had the Greek batteries at Corfu fired upon the Italian ships as they were bombarding the Greek fortress. Had such action taken place, it would be difficult not to grant that between Italy and Greece there would have existed "a state of war." In any event, suppose that war had been declared. Both nations would have been guilty of violating article 12 of the Covenant, for both, members of the League, had agreed to submit "any dispute likely to lead to a rupture . . . either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council . . . in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a report by the Council." Both nations would have violated this agreement. As it was, Italy did violate it.

Had the United States been a party to the League of Nations at the time, we should have been morally bound to go to war. This is clear when we turn our attention to the first paragraph of article 16 of the Covenant. It reads: "Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against the other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not." The next paragraph of the same article points out the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective "military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League." To make doubly sure, the framers of this Covenant, evidently afraid that there might be some misunderstanding, went on to say in the next paragraph: "The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory

to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League."

Thus, had we been members of the League at the time of the attack upon Corfu and under the circumstances we mention, our duty would have been perfectly clear. We should have had to act "immediately," for we should have had to recognize that Italy had "committed an act of war" against all members of the League, which would have included the United States, and we should have had to "undertake immediately to subject" Italy to the severance of all trade or financial relations which Italy might wish to carry on, say with Great Britain, or Canada, or Mexico, or other State whether a member of the League or not; and if the Council had recommended that the United States send its fleet to the Adriatic, we should have been bound to comply.

It does not suffice to say that we should have done none of these things. We should probably have done none of them. But, as Sir Herbert Stephen, a prominent English lawyer, writing in a recent number of the *London Times*, and referring to this same danger in the case of Great Britain, says: "But by not doing it we should have broken the Covenant, which is an essential part of the Treaty of Versailles, and I entirely agree with Viscount Grey's opinion of the sanctity of treaties. There may be people who do not consider this state of things dangerous. I think it so dangerous that I believe it the wisest thing this country could do would be to give notice under article 12 of our intention to withdraw from the League in October, 1925."

The position of countries signatory to the Covenant of the League of Nations is here set forth with perfect clarity and truth. "Not only," as Mr. Frank Simonds says in the November issue of the *American Review of Reviews*, "can the League not prevent war," but, had the League been taken seriously under the circumstances which we have here indicated, it would have meant war for the United States and for the rest of the nations members of the League. This fact seems to justify the position consistently taken by the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* that the League of Nations is not only contrary to the teachings of history, but also a menace to the peace of the world.

Evidently it is not safe to argue that had the United States been a member of the League the Covenant would long since have been amended to avoid just such dangerous situations. When the Juridical Committee of the Fourth Assembly proposed a resolution interpreting article X, the Assembly was not able formally to adopt the resolution because, according to the official record, "Out of forty-three voting, twenty-nine voted for the resolution, one (Persia) voted against, and thirteen abstained." Thus the resolution failed. For the good of America, therefore, for the good of the League that is

to be, for the sake of international peace, it is well that these United States form no part of the League of Nations.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION

ANY ONE doubting the vitality of the English-speaking Union will change his mind if he drops in at the headquarters at No. 1 Charing Cross, facing Trafalgar Square, London. He will find there most of the comforts of a modern club, an efficient personnel, and a variety of services. There is what they call the Common Interests Committee, which provides guides for American members to various places of interest around London. Should one be interested in farming and gardening, the committee can arrange visits to experimental departments of the agricultural training colleges, showing one how the English conduct their small stock farming, raise their goats, develop their bees and poultry. Members interested in embroidery, book-binding, wood-carving, can get in touch through this committee with the societies of England dealing with these and other crafts. With the aid of this committee, social workers can learn of the non-party political activities of Britain, study the position of women in the professions and in industry, learn of England's work for public health, for juvenile offenders, for maternity and child welfare. Many educational organizations of England have placed their facilities at the service of this committee and of those whom the committee aim to serve. There is an intimate co-operation between this committee and the American University Union in Europe. The committee is promoting the interchange of teachers between British and American schools.

Thus the English-speaking Union does increase the knowledge of one another among English-speaking peoples. The visitor there will soon learn that there is no plan to promote formal alliances, to influence governments, or to dabble in politics. The Union is achieving a finer fellowship and understanding among its members, and the membership is open both to British subjects and to citizens of the United States of America. It is non-partisan, non-sectarian, open to men and women alike. It assumes that every member's first duty is to the land of his birth or adoption.

The Union advertises among its practical objects the effort to make the English-speaking peoples better known to each other. They go about this business by promoting interchanges of representative speakers; by correspondence and the printed word; by arranging for the interchange of university professors and students; by correlating, so far as possible, ideas and methods of education; by promoting trade and commerce; by sporting contests; and by other means calculated to remove

misunderstanding. To these ends they are establishing branches throughout the British Empire with a view to promoting the friendship of the English-speaking people. They lend their aid to the joint celebration of such festivals as Washington's Birthday, Shakespeare's Birthday, Empire Day, American Memorial Day, Magna Charta Day, American Independence Day, Armistice Day, American Thanksgiving Day.

They publish monthly a magazine, *The Landmark*, fully illustrated, and sent to every member. It is a high-class periodical.

The English-speaking Union of the British Empire is a going concern. The president is the Earl of Balfour, Knight of the Garter. It counts among its vice-presidents a large percentage of the most noted persons of England. The president of the Common Interests Committee is the Viscountess Bryce. The Central Committee includes another long list, headed by the Hon. J. J. Astor, and the Earl of Beauchamp. Founded on the Fourth of July, 1918, it has conducted a memorial service in Westminster Abbey for the officials of the United States Army and Navy who fell in the war; presented an illuminated address to the people of the United States, signed by the Lord Mayors of the chief centers of the British Isles, an address which was presented to the American Ambassador; made possible Viscount Rothermere's gift of \$100,000 for the foundation of a chair of American History at Oxford University; and extended hospitality and special introductions to thousands of English-speaking people from this side of the Atlantic.

The members' creed of the English-speaking Union of the British Empire seems to be justified by its works. The creed is as follows:

"Believing that the peace of the world and the progress of mankind can be largely helped by the unity and purpose of the English-speaking democracies, we pledge ourselves to promote by every means within our power a good understanding between the peoples of the United States of America and the British Commonwealth."

ONE OF the strangest phenomena in the psychology of the human race is the readiness with which its intellectuals recognize the horror and futility of war and the little impression their views seem to make on the mass of the people.

One of the greatest living writers, Anatole France, expresses the intellectual vision of war most admirably in the following passage taken from "The Revolt of the Angels," which was written before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914:

"War and romanticism, what fearful plagues! And how pitiful it is to see people cherish a furious, childish, love for drums and rifles. They do not understand that war, which formed the hearts and founded the cities of

ignorant and barbaric man, brings to the victor himself nothing but ruin and misery and is only a stupid and horrible crime, now that peoples are linked by a community of arts, sciences, and trade. Mad Europeans who plan a mutual devouring when the same civilization envelops and unites them!"

Could anything be truer today—and yet can it truly be said that one rifle has been discarded, one shell abandoned, because of the intellectual disapprobation of the world's greatest minds?

Nevertheless, when Parliaments have crumbled and statesmen are in their graves, thoughts such as the above, thrown like a stone into the deep pool of human consciousness, spread their ripples across the world. Three centuries ago peace was not recognized as a human necessity. Today this fact is beginning to be admitted everywhere; tomorrow it will be acted upon; and the day after it will become an established and undisputed institution.

MR. ZANGWILL may be right—the World War may not have been "a war to end peace." There can be no doubt that it ended it. It may be that all of our virtues "can be told in six hours" and that our "faults can be told in three." If so, neither bulks impressively. And yet to have twice as many virtues as faults is not so bad. We are inclined to agree with Mr. Zangwill that "there are more cranks to the square mile in the United States than in any other country in the world." If there is any exception, we may suggest that possibly it is London. We confess that it hurts to have him say that "there is very little honor, justice, or dignity in this country compared to England," for our cousins of England have not always escaped criticisms for impinging upon the code of one or all three of these. Ramsay Macdonald has been known to speak upon these delicate matters. Some of the behavior in Hyde Park of a Sunday afternoon—but why say these things? Yet when the gentleman says that we are "less efficient," and that New Yorkers are "lazy," we are just simply paralyzed into silence. After that we are inclined to believe meekly anything the distinguished gentleman says. He finds us "inconsequential" and "vulgar." We think "without acting and act without thinking." We haven't any "sense of shame." But if we are "the best half-educated people in the world," and Mr. Zangwill admits it, that is hopeful. Thanks. But where can six hours full of virtues be scraped together, if these things be true? O hum!

SIR GILBERT MURRAY, President of the League of Nations Union of Great Britain, and League delegate from South Africa, tactlessly presented to the Assembly at Geneva, on September 22 last, a petition from the International Federation of Trade Unions, asking

for some settlement of the reparations problem and its attendant difficulties, with a view to European peace.

The Federation represents some twenty million workers, who, as Sir Gilbert Murray all too truthfully remarked, had never before shown any sign of confidence in the League. The delegate from South Africa felt that they were entitled to a hearing.

On this basis Sir Gilbert Murray made a moving, and sometimes tragic, speech, pointing out the futility of all that the League had done during the past four years, in view of its utter supineness before the reparations problem and the steady drift of Europe toward chaos. His remarks amounted to a candid admission that, in view of the attitude of the governments concerned, the League could do nothing, and in the face of the tremendous crisis which Europe is now undergoing the League is helpless. No one answered his appeal or his criticisms.

What the twenty million workers now think of the League as an institution for saving democracy, meaning the people of the world, from the misery and want which are always the lot of the plain citizen when governments cannot agree, is another question.

SOUTH AMERICAN STATES have their workers for peace. It is comforting to see Argentina, Brazil, and Chile trying to work out their problems in the spirit of the Washington Conference. Furthermore, the people of South America appreciate their peace workers. At the fourth session of the International Conference of American States held at Santiago April 12 last, the following resolution was passed:

“Resolved: To countenance the initiative of continental co-operation of the governments of America toward the erection of monuments at Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Montevideo to honor the illustrious memory of Dr. Roque Sáenz Peña, Dr. Ruy Barbosa, and Dr. Gonzalo Ramírez, whose lives were consecrated to the preaching of peace between nations and of respect for international law and justice.”

THERE is a degree of encouragement in the suggestion of the Belgian Foreign Office that the Belgian reparation plan be referred to the Interallied Reparations Commission as a step toward the settlement of German reparations. The encouragement lies in the fact that the British, the Italian, and the French governments have approved the suggestion. Any plan that is supported by France and Germany at this time of human history is particularly welcome. The hopefulness of this is not diminished by the reports from a number of places in the Ruhr that the German people in that section are returning to work.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

HELD FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1923, COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THE TWENTY-FIRST CONFERENCE of the Interparliamentary Union, which met in Copenhagen August 13 to August 18, stands out somewhat as an oasis in the desert of contemporary Europe.

Twenty-six parliaments were represented by 430 delegates. While Canada, Chile, Greece, and Turkey were unable to send representatives this year, there were for the first time delegates from Ireland, Iceland, Latvia, and Lithuania. Rumania and Czechoslovakia, only informally represented at Vienna a year before, were able this year to send important delegations. The list of countries represented follows: Germany, United States of America, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Spain, Esthonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Dutch India, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Holland, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia.

The delegates from the American Congress, six Senators and four Representatives, with their seven ladies and five secretaries, were as follows: Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois, president of the American group; Senator and Mrs. Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona; Senator Claud A. Swanson, of Virginia; Senator and Mrs. J. W. Harrold, of Oklahoma; Senator Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota, and his secretary, Mr. J. M. Otterness; Senator and Mrs. Joe T. Robinson, of Arkansas; Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, and his niece, Miss Grace Burton; Representative Carl R. Childblom, of Illinois; Representative and Mrs. Andrew T. Montague, of Virginia; Representative and Mrs. John T. Raker, of California; the Hon. George T. Buckingham, of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Henry I. Green, of Urbana, Illinois; Mr. Leo Pasbolsky, of Washington, D. C.; and Mr. Arthur Deerin Call, executive secretary of the group, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.; total, 22. Senator McKinley and Representative Burton are members of the Council, the latter being also a member of the Executive Committee of the Bureau. Senator Robinson was chosen one of the vice-presidents of the conference.

GUESTS OF THE DANISH GROUP

The Danish group, under the direction of its president and its very efficient secretary, M. N. Lauesgaard, left no stone unturned to make the work of the conference profitable and pleasurable. The sessions of the conference were held in the chamber of the lower house of the Parliament. Every detail had been carefully and thoughtfully worked out. Pastors for the baggage of the visiting delegates, furnished to all prior to their arrival in Denmark, obviated all difficulties with the custom officials at the borders; indeed most of the delegations were met at the border personally by representatives of the Danish Parliament. Every delegate was furnished with a free pass over the railroads of Den-



THE COUNCIL OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION MEETING IN THE CHAMBER OF THE LOWER HOUSE (FOLKETHING) OF THE DANISH PARLIAMENT

It was in this chamber that the plenary sessions of the Twenty-first Conference were held. At the desk, standing, is Baron Adelswård; sitting is Doctor Lange. On the floor, second row, are Senator McKinley and Representative Burton.

mark, good for sixteen days. The offices of the conference, on the same floor as the meeting place, furnished every possible aid. The secretaries in charge had been chosen with reference not only to their general efficiency, but also to their familiarity with languages. The result was that whatever language a delegate was confined to his inquiries and difficulties were readily adjusted. Postal, telegraph and telephone offices were provided, a bureau of exchange was opened, and the Touring Club of Denmark was on hand to aid the delegates with all problems effecting transportation. The restaurant of the Parliament was opened for the use of the visitors. The Parliament baths and barbers were available. Each of the groups was provided with a private room for meetings and special receptions. In place of the usual badge, each member was furnished with a "carte de légitimation," which proved to be an open sesame in many and otherwise difficult situations. All the delegations expressed with enthusiasm their appreciation of

the care and ability with which the Danish Parliamentarians had arranged for the expedition of the business of the conference and the comfort of the guests.

THE OFFICIAL PROGRAM

The bureau of the conference opened at 1 o'clock, Sunday, August 12. The Executive Committee of the Union, together with a number of special commissions, held meetings Monday, August 13. The Council met Tuesday, August 14. The rest of the program was as follows:

Wednesday, August 15:

- 10:00—Opening session of the conference.
- 1:00—Meeting of the Council.
- 3:00—Second plenary session.
- 8:00—Reception and soiree at the City Hall, under the auspices of the city of Copenhagen.

Thursday, August 16:

- 9:00—Third plenary session.
 12:00—Luncheon at the Parliament, given by the Danish Government.
 1:30—Fourth plenary session.
 4:00—Reception to the members of the conference, with their ladies, by their Majesties the King and Queen of Denmark, in the gardens of the palace, known as the Palais d'Amalienborg.
 8:00—Grand fête at Tivoli, which is the famous pleasure resort of the city.

Friday, August 17:

- 10:00—Fifth plenary session.
 3:00—Closing plenary session.
 8:00—Grand banquet held in the Paladstetret, given by the Danish group.

Saturday, August 18:

- Meetings of the commissions.
 An excursion organized by the Minister of Agriculture.

It should be added that, consonant with the mourning because of the recent death of President Harding, the American group received every possible courtesy both from our Consul General, Mr. Marion T. Letcher, assisted by Mrs. and Miss Letcher, and from our versatile Minister, Dr. John D. Prince, and Mrs. Prince.

THE CONFERENCE

The first plenary session of the conference was called to order by M. le baron Adelswård, of the Swedish Senate, president of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union. Upon his proposal, the assembly elected as the presiding officer of the conference M. le Dr. Moltesen, president of the Danish group. In his opening address, Dr. Moltesen called attention to the significance of 26 groups of parliamentarians meeting for the discussion of most serious questions with dignity and courtesy. He expressed the opinion that such a gathering furnished an illustration of the fact that it is possible to establish collaboration between the nations. M. Neergaard, president of the Danish Council, welcomed the delegates in the name of the Danish Government.

While the main problems which occupied the attention of the conference were disarmament, the rights of minorities, and reparations and allied debts, there was a tendency to soft pedal those aspects of these problems calculated to give rise to unfriendly divisions of sentiment; in fact, it is a policy in these conferences not to consider matters of acute current political nature. Hence the question of reparations and interallied debts was not discussed in its political aspects.

One attending these conferences and capable of seeing underneath the surface of things is impressed by the skill with which those in authority are able to keep from the center of the discussions those bristling matters, which if allowed to go too far might easily result in a rupture of the Union. Credit for this skill is usually due not only to the presiding officer, but to Dr. Christian Lange, the Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union. It should be added that the American group, under the tactful direction of Senator McKinley



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Standing: Dr. Christian L. Lange, Secretary-General of the Union; Mr. Lev Winter, of Czechoslovakia; and Dr. Leopold Bossler, assistant to Dr. Lange.

Sitting: Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary; Baron Adelswård, President of the Council; and Representative Burton. M. Ferdinand Buisson, of France, was unable to be present.

and the trained hand of Representative Burton, was able on more than one occasion to help the conference over a difficult situation.

The conference, like all conferences, is not above criticism. It would be unreasonable to expect that 430 parliamentarians, representing 26 distinct nationalities, could meet for three days, discussing questions related to war and peace, and agree with unanimity upon all questions. A conference of such a nature naturally gives rise to disappointments, and in some cases heartburn. Many of the conferees, for example, strongly believed in the League of Nations as the hope of the world; others took no stock in that instrument. Some looked upon the parliamentary control of foreign policy from one angle; others from different, indeed, from a variety of angles. The same divergencies of opinion were found when the question of colonial mandates was raised. Strangely enough, there was less difference of opinion upon the problems of disarmament. The discussion over the rights and duties of national minorities developed no little heated discussion, and the resolution relating to that subject was passed by a very narrow margin. Naturally, when the problem of economic and financial questions was put before the conference, and it was proposed to advocate the principle of free trade for all the nations, the American delegation itself was not exactly a unit. But there was no difference of opinion among the American delegates when it was proposed to treat reparations and interallied debts as a part of the same problem. They were against it.

There were those who criticized the conference for the disproportionate amount of time taken up by the malcontents. Some were given to making use of the Union for the purpose of winning the support of this or that policy advocated by them in their home parliaments. It was not always clearly born in mind that the Union exists primarily for the purpose of uniting all the members of the world parliaments in the conviction that the establishment of peace between the nations by co-operative sincerity and intelligence is possible.

The resolutions which follow, while self-explanatory, do not convey an adequate picture of the work of the



AT THE HOME OF JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE, OUR ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO DENMARK

Standing: Leo Pasvolksy, Representative John T. Raker, Senator Henry F. Ashurst, J. M. Otterness, Representative Carl R. Childblom, Senator William B. McKinley, Senator Joe T. Robinson, Minister Prince, Senator J. W. Harreld, Senator Claude A. Swanson, P. L. Cable, Senator Thomas Sterling, George T. Buckingham, Representative Andrew J. Montague, and Henry I. Green.

Sitting: Mrs. Raker, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Prince, Mrs. Harreld, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Ashurst, and Mrs. Cable.

conference. Most of these resolutions represent a compromise, following earnest and sometimes heated discussion. Few of them may be said to be satisfactory even to a minority of the conferees. They do represent the best that could be agreed upon at the time. In the main they are not bad. One accustomed to conferences will recognize that the work done in order to get even as far as these resolutions go is a desirable end in itself. To get that number of parliamentarians from such wide sections of the world together in the same room is most desirable. Every parliamentarian who attends these conferences will acknowledge the fructifying and educational value of the experience. This is certainly true of every American congressman who has attended one of these conferences.

FOUR PERMANENT COMMISSIONS

There is a commission on economic and financial questions. As has been indicated, the task of this commission was not an easy one. Certain difficulties facing it are set forth elsewhere in these pages. Under the

terms of its second resolution, the commission will be called upon to organize a limited committee for study of the case and of the means by which the Interparliamentary Union can co-operate for the adoption of measures calculated to improve the situation. The duty of appointing this committee has been left to M. Treub and to M. le Baron Adelswärd.

There is a commission on juridical questions which has been set up under the resolution upon the parliamentary control of foreign affairs. The committee, as already formed, includes Senator Thomas Sterling, of the United States; Dr. H. Mataja, of Austria; Senator H. La Fontaine, of Belgium; Prof. William Molloff, of Bulgaria; Dr. P. Munch, of Denmark; Col. Maurice Alexander, of Great Britain, and Messrs. Gratz, Mowinkel, Buzek, Dragomirescu, and Hallin, of Hungary, Norway, Poland, Rumania, and Sweden respectively. Senator La Fontaine, Vice-President of the Belgian Senate, has been chosen chairman of the committee. Already, since the conference at Copenhagen, this committee has sent out to the various groups a questionnaire

calling for information upon the provisions of the respective national constitutions governing the declaration and the conclusion of war, the participation of parliament in the conclusion and ratification of treaties, upon the control by the parliament of foreign policies in general, and upon the methods of friendly composition, arbitration, or judicial procedure in the case of international dispute. Study is already being extended to the rules, customs, and practices of parliaments in their committees of foreign affairs, publicity and the like. The committee has already tabulated information, under these various headings, for the United States, Italy, and Switzerland. The work will be extended. There is every reason for believing that at the next conference of the Interparliamentary Union there will be a body of fact with reference to the parliamentary control of foreign policies which will be most useful.

There is a commission on ethnical and colonial questions, including mandates, made up of Baron Adelswärd, M. Van Kol, of Holland; Dr. Dernburg, of Germany; Sir B. Rees, of Great Britain, and a member of the French group.

There is also a permanent commission on organization, the immediate work of which will be to study three questions, namely: The possible modifications of article 10 of the Constitution; second, the study of a suggested amendment to article 5 of the Constitution, with the view of defining the duties of the groups to carry out the resolutions of the conferences and the conduct of the conferences. The preparation of the work of this commission will be left to Messrs. La Fontaine, Baron Adelswärd, and Merlin.

THE WORK OF THE UNION

It will be seen that the work of the Interparliamentary Union goes on encouragingly. When the Irish group will have been definitely organized, the Interparliamentary Union can be said to include all of the European parliaments. The Bureau of the Union is already taking steps to get the resolutions of the conference before the various parliaments. The activities of Dr. Lange are persistent and apparently indefatigable.

All of the members of the various parliaments are not eagerly interested in the Union. This is sometimes due to the fact that many of the parliamentarians are in office but a short time. Some are lacking in international vision. Others are fully engaged with their local problems. There may be a few who do not believe in the aims of the Union, who may be fearful of its political possibilities. Of course, the fact is that the Interparliamentary Union is only a quasi-official body. Its discussions and findings are wholly unofficial. In the main, this is the source of its strength. Relieved of official responsibility, the visiting parliamentarians are freer to express themselves than would be the case in a more official group. It is true that the difficulties incident to the variety of languages spoken limit, in a measure, the effectiveness of the conferences. This, however, is not wholly an unmixed evil, for many parliamentarians are led by this fact to extend their knowledge of languages other than their own. In any event, the travel, the new acquaintances, often ripening into friendships, the

greater familiarity with other peoples with their differing ways, the deeper understanding of the political, economic, and industrial situations of other lands, the give and take of such experiences, all such are educational and helpful. The Interparliamentary Union has been, since 1889, a serviceable agency of the world. There is no reason to doubt that its service will increase through the coming years.

THE RESOLUTIONS

A

The Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy

The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference, after hearing the report of Dr. H. Mataja, national councilor, former Secretary of State (Austria), on the Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy, decides that a permanent committee on juridical questions shall be entrusted with the further study of this problem.

The committee will present its report at the next conference.

B

Colonial Mandates and the League of Nations

Report by M. H. van Kol, member of the Upper Chamber of the States General (Netherlands).

The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference registers its satisfaction at the institution of colonial mandates, whereby a new phase of colonial policy is inaugurated in accordance with the principles of the League of Nations Covenant.

This conference most heartily approves the creation of the permanent commission, whose duty is to control the proper administration of mandates.

Without entering in detail into possible reforms, this conference expresses the earnest hope that the mandatory powers may fulfill their "sacred mission of civilization," and that the institution of colonial mandates may prove a powerful factor in the establishment of world solidarity and in the maintenance of peace.

While approving the general principle of mandates, this conference decides to refer the question of possible improvements to the permanent committee of the Interparliamentary Union entrusted with the study of racial and colonial questions; that it may prepare a report and draft resolutions to be submitted to a later conference.

C

Disarmament

Reports by M. Munch (Denmark), former Minister of Defense, and J. R. M. Butler, Esq., M. P. (Great Britain).

I

1. The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference recalls the resolutions voted by the conferences of the Union at Stockholm and at Vienna, insists on the urgent necessity of a general reduction of armaments, immediately applicable to every nation and based on the principles of article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and begs the groups of the Union to take action with their respective governments in order to bring about the fulfillment of the wishes expressed in the above-mentioned resolutions.

2. The XXIst Conference notes with great satisfaction that the Third Assembly of the League of Nations drew

attention to the important results which might be obtained by regional agreements making for a reduction of armaments.

The conference is of the opinion that, while it will not be possible for such regional agreements to provide for a reduction of armaments beyond the limits laid down by the League of Nations (when such shall have been determined); nevertheless, the very existence of these regional reduction agreements may make a greater reduction limit possible.

II

The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference calls upon the Union to support any plan for a swift and drastic measure of disarmament, either by means of a treaty of mutual guarantee, supplemented, if necessary, by special agreements as to their application, but subordinate to the general treaty; or by the institution, on a reciprocal basis, of demilitarized zones on particularly dangerous frontiers, or by a combination of these methods, and asks the Executive Committee to nominate a special committee to organize an active campaign in all the parliaments of the world in favor of general and drastic disarmament by means of such treaties or by other methods.

The following amendment, proposed by General Spears (Great Britain), was referred to the Executive Committee:

"The conference asks the Executive Committee of the Union to nominate a special committee to examine the present situation in Europe, and especially the question of demilitarized zones. The conference wishes particularly to emphasize the importance which it attaches to the latter question, and begs the Council, if necessary, to hold an extraordinary sitting to consider the report of the committee.

"The committee would also undertake to organize an active campaign in all the parliaments of the world in favor of general and drastic disarmament by means of treaties or by other methods."

D

The Rights and Duties of National Minorities

Report by Dr. P. Usteri, former Conseiller aux Etats (Switzerland), in the name of the Committee on Racial and Colonial Questions.

I

In view of the desirability of bringing about the adoption, as principles recognized by international law and by the constitutional law of States with representative systems of government, of the fundamental rights and duties of minorities of race or religion, the XXIst Interparliamentary Conference asks the groups to lay before their respective governments the accompanying declaration of the rights and duties of minorities, and requests the Interparliamentary Bureau to transmit the said declaration to the League of Nations, with a view to the drafting of a general convention between the States, on the basis of the principles set forth in the declaration.

Appendix to Sub-resolution No. I

Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Minorities

1. The States agree to grant to all their inhabitants full and complete protection of life and liberty, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

Every inhabitant of a State shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

2. Every national of a State has the right to make a definite declaration before the appropriate authorities of that country, stating himself to be a member of the majority or of a racial, religious, or linguistic minority. This declaration must be made freely, without compulsion, and must not involve any harmful consequence whatsoever for the said national.

3. The fact of belonging to a minority of race, religion, or language does not in any way liberate a national of a State from the duties imposed by the constitution and laws of that State.

4. On the other hand, the States agree to grant to all their nationals equality before the law and the enjoyment of the same political and civil rights, without distinction of race, language, or religion, in particular with respect to electoral rights and admission to public educational institutions, to government employments, functions of honors, in the exercise of professions and industries, and in the application of the agrarian laws. The State shall, in their political administration, take into account the state of feelings of nationals belonging to a minority, created by the fact of belonging to such minority, and shall seek to establish a system of government which shall give satisfaction to all their nationals.

The institution of "paritative committees" will help to obtain this result.

5. No restrictions shall be decreed against the free use by all nationals of a State of any language whatsoever, either in private or commercial intercourse, in religion, in the press, or any sort of publications, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding the existence of an official language, facilities shall be given to nationals whose language is other than the official language and one which is spoken by a considerable proportion of the population, to use that language, either orally or in writing, in the local boards, before the tribunals, or in their relations with the administration.

6. Nationals of a State who belong to minorities of race, religion, or language shall enjoy the same treatment and the same guarantees in law and in fact as the other nationals of that State. In particular, they shall have the same right to found, manage, and control, at their own expense and without being subject to special conditions, charitable, religious, social, and economic institutions, as well as schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein. The possession and the free use of endowments or properties intended for the upkeep of their religious and educational institutions must be secured and, if necessary, restored.

7. In public educational systems in towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of nationals whose language is other than the official language, the government of a State shall provide adequate facilities to enable instruction to be given to the children of such nationals in their own tongue. The legal status of schools of every standard, or of educational establishments maintained by corporations, associations, or individuals belonging to a minority, shall be the same as that of similar schools or establishments maintained by corporations, associations, or individuals belonging to the majority.

These stipulations shall not prevent the government from making the teaching of the official language of the State obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of nationals belonging to minorities of race, religion, or language, those minorities shall be assured of a fair share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of the public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets, for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

8. The States agree not only to recognize the fundamental principles set forth above, but also to adopt measures which shall ensure their execution.

II

The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference, in the interest of peace and good understanding between the majority and minorities in States with a mixed population, calls the attention of the groups of those States to the services which might be rendered by paritative committees, composed of representatives of the majority and of one or more of the minorities, and adapted to the conditions and needs of the different countries, with a view to appeasing ill-feeling and helping to find a just solution to questions in dispute.

The institution of such committees would, moreover, have the advantage of considerably decreasing the number of petitions presented to the League of Nations, in accordance with the treaties now in force, by nationals belonging to a minority.

The conference resolves to transmit to all the groups of the Union the suggestions brought forward by M. Usteri, former Conseiller aux Etats (Switzerland), in order that they may serve as a basis for the activities of the groups in this matter.

III

In order to facilitate for the Council of the League of Nations the duties incumbent upon it as a result of the treaties now in force with regard to the minorities, the XXIst Interparliamentary Conference recommends the institution of a permanent committee attached to the Council on minorities questions, on the following lines:

1. The Council shall nominate a permanent committee composed of three members.

2. Members of the committee must be specially versed in judicial and social questions. They cannot sit on the Council of the League of Nations nor hold any office in its Secretariat.

3. The method of procedure now followed by the Secretariat shall be maintained, in particular with regard to the transmission of complaints to the States concerned. The documentation prepared by the Secretariat shall be transmitted to the permanent committee for examination and report to the Council. The committee may, if necessary, institute an inquiry on the spot. It shall submit its report on each case to the Council, together with a draft resolution, as soon as possible.

4. On the evidence of the report of the permanent committee, the Council shall decide whether a complaint shall be considered to be unfounded or whether it shall give rise to a recommendation.

5. The expenses of the committee shall be borne by the League of Nations.

The conference instructs the Bureau to transmit the present resolutions to the League of Nations and to all the groups of the Union.

E

Economic and Financial Questions

(a) Report by M. Treub (Holland), former Minister of Finance.

I

Seeing that a return to normal economic relations is essential for the establishment of permanent peace, the restoration of industry and commerce, the prevention of unemployment, and the decrease of the cost of living; seeing that, moreover, such relations are endangered in Europe, particularly in countries with a depreciated currency, by the many impediments placed in the way of the free circulation of goods, the XXIst Interparliamentary Conference proclaims the urgent necessity of a revision of every measure which, in an artificial and useless manner, prevents or restricts the import and export of produce and of raw material, and urges the groups of the Union to support the conclusion of commercial treaties placing the States concerned on an equal footing, in accordance with article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, making for the protection of freedom of communication and transit and for an equitable treatment of commerce.

II

The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference is of the opinion that every measure for the stabilization of exchanges will be unavailing so long as the nations have not set their finances in order.

The conference, therefore, makes an urgent appeal to all the groups of the Union to take action within their respective parliaments and with their respective governments in favor of a policy of fiscal reform, and in the first place by the balancing of their budgets.

It considers that for this purpose it should be made possible for States whose financial situation is too weak to allow of its restoration without foreign aid to obtain the necessary credits.

The XXIst Conference instructs the Committee on Economic and Financial Questions to institute a small committee to study the ways and means by which the Union could co-operate in the adoption of useful measures for an improvement of the situation.

(b) Report by Baron Adelswærd, Senator (Sweden).

III

This XXIst Conference notes that for many European States all measures for economic and financial reconstruction will be unavailing so long as the serious problems of reparations, closely connected with those of interallied financial engagements, have not been equitably solved.

Faithful to the fundamental principles of the Interparliamentary Union, the conference asks the governments to hasten on the solution of the problem of reparations, for the restoration of peace in general, the rapid improvement of the various financial systems, and the rebirth of economic and social life in industry and production.

The conference lays stress on the desirability of seeking the co-operation of an impartial international authority to examine and report upon the question, with a view to finding a prompt and final solution, and urgently calls upon the groups to take steps without delay with their respective governments to obtain the immediate execution of this resolution.

This resolution shall be transmitted by the Bureau to all the governments and to the League of Nations, and an appeal shall be made to public opinion in every country for support of the action taken by the groups.

F

Institution of an International Organization of Mutual Aid for Assistance to Peoples Stricken by Calamities

Report by M. Pellizzari (Italy), in the name of M. Giovanni Ciralo, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy.

The XXIst Interparliamentary Conference, having discussed the proposal of M. Ciralo, Italian Senator, to found an "International Organization of Mutual Aid for Assistance to Peoples Stricken with Calamities," approves the principle which it embodies, and which is inspired by a feeling of international solidarity, and asks the groups to support the proposal before their respective parliaments and governments, as well as before the public opinion of their countries.

G

Amendment to Article 14, Section 4, of the Statutes

Report by M. Henri La Fontaine, Belgian Senator.

The following text was voted for the paragraph in question:

"It (the Council) decides upon the agenda of the conference and may itself propose resolutions. All draft resolutions to be laid before the conference are submitted to the Council. Any one of its members may move that the Council should propose to the conference the acceptance, amendment, or rejection of a draft resolution not submitted by a Committee of Study."

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

The following officers were elected for the year ensuing:

I

Interparliamentary Council from the XXIst to XXIIid Conference

Austria: MM. Mataja and Waiss.
 Belgium: La Fontaine and Anseclé.
 Bulgaria: Molloff and (not yet nominated).
 Canada: Dandurand and Lemieux.
 Chili: (Nominations not yet received.)
 Czechoslovakia: Winter and Hodza.
 Denmark: Moltesen and Borgbjerg.
 Dutch East Indies: Galestin and ten Berge.
 Estonia: Martna and Tõnnisson.
 Finland: Mantere and Schaumann.
 France: Buisson and Merlin.
 Germany: Schücking and Eickhoff.
 Great Britain: Lord Treowen and Sir James Agg-Gardner.
 Greece: (Nominations not yet received.)
 Holland: Koolen and Rutgers.
 Hungary: Count Apponyi and de Berzeviczy.
 Italy: di Stefano and Pellizzari.
 Japan: Takahashi and Miki.
 Latvia: Vesmanis and Felsbergs.
 Lithuania: Jokantas and Raulinaitis.
 Norway: Michelet and Mowinckel.
 Poland: Dembinski and Buzek.
 Portugal: (Nominations not yet received.)
 Rumania: Disseseo and Botez.

Spain: Marquis de Alhucemas and Marquis del Rincon de San Ildefonso.

Sweden: Baron Adelswärd and Branting.

Switzerland: Scherrer-Füllemann and de Meuron.

United States of America: McKinley and Burton.

Yugoslavia: (Nominations not yet received.)

The Council re-elected Baron Adelswärd (Sweden) as its president.

II

Executive Committee

The conference nominated M. Lev Winter (Czechoslovakia) member of the Executive Committee.

The composition of the committee will be the following for the forthcoming year:

Baron Adelswärd (Sweden), president.

Hon. Theodore E. Burton (United States of America), to retire at the XXIIid Conference.

Count Albert Apponyi (Hungary), to retire at the XXIIIid Conference.

M. Ferdinand Buisson (France), to retire at the XXIVth Conference.

M. Lev Winter (Czechoslovakia), to retire at the XXVth Conference.

The committee has appointed Count Apponyi to act as president of the Council in the event of the absence of the regular president.

III

Auditors

The Council elected MM. le Dr. Mataja (Austria) and Alois de Meuron (Switzerland) auditors for the year 1923.

Membership of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union

These are the Congressmen recorded as having definitely applied for membership in the Interparliamentary Union. It is expected that practically every Senator and Representative will soon be a member. There are no dues.

Senators	
Name	State
James Thomas Heflin	Alabama.
Henry F. Ashurst	Arizona.
T. H. Caraway	Arkansas.
Joseph Taylor Robinson	Arkansas.
Samuel D. Nicholson	Colorado.
George Payne McLean	Connecticut.
Duncan U. Fletcher	Florida.
Wm. J. Harris	Georgia.
Frank R. Gooding	Idaho.
Medill McCormick	Illinois.
William Brown McKinley	Illinois.
Albert Baird Cummins	Iowa.
Arthur Capper	Kansas.
Bert M. Fernald	Maine.
Pat Harrison	Mississippi.
Selden Palmer Spencer	Missouri.
Thomas J. Walsh	Montana.
George W. Norris	Nebraska.
Tasker L. Oddie	Nevada.
Henry Wilder Keyes	New Hampshire.
Lee Slater Overman	North Carolina.
Edwin F. Ladd	North Dakota.
Simeon D. Fess	Ohio.
John W. Harreld	Oklahoma.
Robert Latham Owen	Oklahoma.
George Wharton Pepper	Pennsylvania.
Ellison D. Smith	South Carolina.

Name	State
Thomas Sterling	South Dakota.
Morris Sheppard	Texas.
Claude A. Swanson	Virginia.
Wesley L. Jones	Washington.
Francis Emory Warren	Wyoming.
	Total, 32.

Representatives

William A. Oldfield.	Arkansas.
Tilman Bacon Parks	Arkansas.
John N. Tillman	Arkansas.
John E. Raker	California.
Julius Kahn	California.
Edward Thomas Taylor	Colorado.
E. Hart Fenn	Connecticut.
Frank Clark	Florida.
William David Upshaw	Georgia.
Charles R. Crisp	Georgia.
Wm. Washington Larsen	Georgia.
Burton L. French	Idaho.
Addison T. Smith	Idaho.
Richard Yates	Illinois.
Martin B. Madden	Illinois.
Adolph J. Sabath	Illinois.
Stanley Henry Kunz	Illinois.
Fred A. Britten	Illinois.
Carl Richard Chindblom	Illinois.
Charles E. Fuller	Illinois.
Frank H. Funk	Illinois.
Allen F. Moore	Illinois.
W. W. Arnold	Illinois.
John W. Rainey	Illinois.
Henry R. Rathbone	Illinois.
Frank R. Reid	Illinois.
Wm. A. Rodenberg	Illinois.
Harry C. Canfield	Indiana.
Everett Sanders	Indiana.
Richard Nash Elliott	Indiana.
Merrill Moores	Indiana.
Albert H. Vestal	Indiana.
Fred S. Purnell	Indiana.
William E. Wilson	Indiana.
William R. Wood	Indiana.
Louis W. Fairfield	Indiana.
Andrew J. Hickey	Indiana.
Gilbert N. Haugen	Iowa.
T. J. B. Robinson	Iowa.
Horace Mann Towner	Iowa.
Daniel Read Anthony	Kansas.
Arthur B. Rouse	Kentucky.
James Campbell Cantrill	Kentucky.
John Wesley Langley	Kentucky.
John N. Sandlin	Louisiana.
George Kent Favrot	Louisiana.
Ladislas Lazaro	Louisiana.
H. Garland Dupre	Louisiana.
Carroll L. Beedy	Maine.
John Philip Hill	Maryland.
Frederick W. Dallinger	Massachusetts.
Frederick Huntington Gillett	Massachusetts.
John Jacob Rogers	Massachusetts.
Robert Luce	Massachusetts.
William Stedman Greene	Massachusetts.
Robert H. Clancy	Michigan.
Louis C. Cramton	Michigan.
James C. McLaughlin	Michigan.
Sydney Anderson	Minnesota.
Harold Knutson	Minnesota.
Benjamin Grubb Humphreys	Mississippi.
Ross A. Collins	Mississippi.
B. G. Lowrey	Mississippi.
Percy Edwards Quin	Mississippi.
Sidney C. Roach	Missouri.
Harry Bartow Hawes	Missouri.
Melvin O. McLaughlin	Nebraska.
Ernest R. Ackerman	New Jersey.
Francis F. Patterson	New Jersey.
Robert L. Bacon	New York.
Clarence MacGregor	New York.

Name	State
Luther Wright Mott	New York.
George Morley Young	North Dakota.
R. Clint Cole	Ohio.
Robert Crosser	Ohio.
Roy G. Fitzgerald	Ohio.
*Theodore E. Burton	Ohio.
Charles D. Carter	Oklahoma.
George Scott Graham	Pennsylvania.
George Washington Edmonds	Pennsylvania.
Henry Winfield Watson	Pennsylvania.
Edgar Raymond Kiess	Pennsylvania.
Henry Wilson Temple	Pennsylvania.
M. Clyde Kelly	Pennsylvania.
John M. Morin	Pennsylvania.
James Francis Byrnes	South Carolina.
A. H. Gasque	South Carolina.
John J. McSwain	South Carolina.
Charles A. Christopherson	South Dakota.
Edwin L. Davis	Tennessee.
Brasilla Carroll Reece	Tennessee.
Eugene Black	Texas.
John C. Fox	Texas.
Hatten W. Sumners	Texas.
Marvin Jones	Texas.
John Nance Garner	Texas.
Harry M. Wurzbach	Texas.
Elmer O. Leatherwood	Utah.
Don B. Colton	Utah.
Andrew Jackson Montague	Virginia.
Albert Johnson	Washington.
Henry Allen Cooper	Wisconsin.
George J. Schneider	Wisconsin.
	Total, 103.

Territorial Delegate

Dan A. Sutherland	Alaska.
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Life Members

William D. Alney	Ex-Representative	Pennsylvania.
Richard Bartholdt	Ex-Representative	Missouri.
*Theodore E. Burton	Representative	Ohio.
J. Warren Keifer	Ex-Representative	Ohio.
Elihu Root	Ex-Senator	New York.
James L. Slayden	Ex-Representative	Texas.
		Total, 6.

Total number of members, 141.

Address of Senators: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Address of Representatives: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Address of Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

OPENING OF THE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE HAGUE

AN ADDRESS BY JAMES BROWN SCOTT

The following address, translated from the original French, was delivered July 14, 1923, at the formal opening of the Academy of International Law at The Hague, established with the co-operation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Doctor Scott is secretary of the Endowment and director of its Division of International Law.—EDITOR.

IT is a great pleasure, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, to be again at The Hague, where William the Silent established upon firm foundations that liberty of thought without which our intellectual development would be only a dream, instead of a right which

* Congressman Burton's name appears both in the list of Representatives and in the list of Life Members, but is counted only once in securing the total number of members.

is today the common possession of the world; where Grotius, "the miracle of Holland," laid the foundations of international law, without which we could not in the international domain replace the arbitrary government of man by the reasoned and reasonable government of law.

We are met in The Hague, the residence of Her Majesty the Queen, dear to us by so many and such just titles, in order solemnly to open an Academy of the Law of Nations, truly international, where professors of different nationalities, in absolute liberty of thought, may impart the principles of international law to students of different nations, in order that by their common action an international spirit may be developed and that the law of nations may be internationalized.

I hold in my hand a manuscript note upon the conception of a school of international law at The Hague—a communication made to the Peace Conference of 1907 by Mr. Nélidoff. It is by Louis Renault, who did so much for the conferences at The Hague, and whose name evokes veneration equally with that of Mr. Asser, both of them founders of the Academy, and who, alas, are not present at its formal opening. Also, to our profound regret, Mr. van Karnebeek, the worthy father of an illustrious son, is unable, because of ill health, to honor us with his personal presence.

I beg your permission to read the remarks of Mr. Nélidoff, from this note, in the very handwriting of Mr. Renault, teacher and friend of us all:

Mr. Richard Fleischer, editor of the *Deutsche Revue*, sent me a number of his journal, in which Professor Otfried Nippold, of Berne, recommends to the conference the creation at The Hague, in connection with the tribunal of arbitration, of a central school of international law, which would aid in spreading judicious notions on that subject, and in teaching them to those who would later be called upon to apply them.

This would be, I imagine, a course of law at an academy which would study and preserve its principles continually changed by the usage given them by the practice of the supreme tribunal of arbitration; something like the Asclepiion founded by Hippocrates on the Island of Cos for medical science.

I considered it my duty to refer to this interesting suggestion, because, in my opinion, it is pertinent and, were the idea carried out, capable of rendering great aid to the cause which we all serve. Perhaps the mention of it here, which I trust meets with the sympathy of the conference, will awaken in some generous benefactor the desire of following the example of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and to immortalize his name by associating it with an institution which will give a powerful impetus to the cause of peace and international justice by extending its principles and aid by making its partisans worthy of their mission.

Mr. Stourdza, then Prime Minister of Rumania, sent, in consequence of these remarks of Mr. Nélidoff, a letter accompanied by a project, in which he proposed the creation at The Hague of an Academy of International Law, public and private. The far-sighted Rumanian statesman thus concluded his letter:

There would therefore be established at The Hague a fully developed institution devoted to the law of nations,

the direction of which would be entrusted to the Peace Conference; its practical execution to the Permanent Administrative Council established in 1899, and its scientific development to an Academy of International Law which would in a methodical way maintain the science consistent with the principles announced by the conference and the practice in accordance with the progress accomplished.

Because of the intellectual, material, and efficient co-operation of the Carnegie Endowment, which I have the honor here to represent in my humble person, we realize modestly today the suggestion of Mr. Nélidoff, by inaugurating in the Peace Palace, founded by Mr. Carnegie, the Academy of International Law at The Hague, established, as the official title informs us, by the co-operation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

We are meeting on the 14th of July—the holiday of modern France. I cannot mention the name of this great nation without a personal emotion, because it was the generous participation of France in the American Revolution which assured the independence of the United States of America. And I submit that we have not made an improper use of this independence. But doubtless I speak in your behalf, when I express the hope that France, without seeking to dominate by its military force, will in the future fulfill the rôle of the past of Greece and of intellectual Rome, and that France will thus become the living and vibrant voice of the civilization not merely of Europe, but also of the world, for its own glory and the benefit of our faltering humanity.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Thirty-first Congress at Brussels, August,
1923

By DR. HANS WEHBERG

(Translated from the German)

WHEN FROM the 4th to the 11th of August last the members and associates of the Institute of International Law assembled for the thirty-first time in Brussels, exactly fifty years had elapsed since 1873, when, on the initiative of Baron Rolin-Jacquemyns, the institute was founded in Ghent.

No less than four distinguished jurists from the United States were present, namely, Professor Marshall Brown, of Princeton University; Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Mr. Frederic Coudert, Esq.; and Professor George Wilson, of Harvard University. This fact shows the happy relationship maintained by the institute not only with European, but also with American jurists. It was no other than the well-known American publicist, Dr. Lieber, who, in 1871, first conceived the idea of an association of jurists from all countries in an Institute of International Law. In a letter to Baron Rolin-Jacquemyns he asserted that it was his dearest wish to call such an association into

being, with its seat at Ghent. In a little document, called the "Origin of the Institute of International Law" (1873-1923), which the general secretary of the institute, Baron Aleric Rolin, published at the time of the Brussels Congress, he referred afresh to this suggestion of Dr. Lieber.

At the time of the founding of the institute in Ghent, 1873, a citizen of the United States was present, in the person of Mr. Dudley Field, then 80 years of age, who, with the Argentine jurist, Señor Don C. Calvo, represented the American continent. Of the Americans associated with the institute immediately after its foundation, Messrs. Wharton and Woolsey are particularly noteworthy.

Aided by the harmonious work of various member countries, representing widely differing law systems, the institute has, in the course of fifty years, undertaken many worth-while projects. Among them I may mention the significant plan of Goldschmidt, in the year 1875, for the method of procedure in arbitration, which played a great rôle in the first Hague Peace Conference.

This year's session was signalized by the dedication of a day to the commemoration of the glorious founding of the institute. The following six days were full of work, without any further festivities.

Among the prominent personalities participating were, omitting Americans already mentioned, Doctors Alvarez (Chili), de la Barra (Mexico), de Paralta (Costa Rica), Suarez (Venezuela), Urrutia (Colombia), Adatei (Japan), Lord Phillimore, Sir Cecil Hurst, and Sir Thomas Barclay (Great Britain), Tittoni (Italy), de Lapradelle, Lyon-Caen, Pillet (France), Baron Deschamps, Pouillet, de Visscher, Baron Aleric Rolin, and Baron Rolin-Jacquemyns (Belgium). The last named, the son of the founder, together with Dr. James Brown Scott and M. de Lapradelle, presided over the Congress. The following must also be mentioned among those present: Politis (Greece), Strisowr (Austria), Junker Wilhelm Kaufman and Th. Niemeyer (Germany), and, a newcomer among the associates, the well-known French pacifist, M. Jacques Dumas.

The most important result of the Congress was the adoption of a draft treaty concerning the legal status of international associations. Hitherto international associations, such as the Interparliamentary Union, the Institute of International Law, and so forth, could obtain legal personality only under the laws of separate countries. This, however, can endanger the international character of the society. With this in mind, Mr. Politis designed a plan for the association of legal personalities on a purely international basis. This provides that the societies shall be registered through a standing commission at Brussels. The commission shall communicate the constitution of a society thus registering to the governments, and within four months from this notification the international society shall acquire legal personality in every treaty State, providing such recognition be not refused on the basis of danger to public order. The fact that such a society already has a legal personality under a national law shall not deprive it of the advantages of the legal statute.

This outline of Mr. Politis', which was founded upon a series of excellent earlier propositions, was adopted by the plenary session with minor alterations. Since, how-

ever, much time must elapse before the acceptance of the plan by the various States, and since the Belgian law of October 25, 1919, grants a special status to international societies of a scientific character, the institute decided, on the occasion of the jubilee celebration in Ghent, to charge the bureau with the testing out of the following question, namely, as to what extent the institute can make use of the Belgian law without imperiling its international status.

The discussion concerning the execution of foreign sentences was not completed, because too much time was required for the consideration of a series of preliminary questions. The Congress deliberated very carefully upon the advantages of the English-American system, whereby a new suit is necessary to execution, or the continental system, according to which an order for execution is requested. Pillet's draft gave preference to the latter plan; but Roguin expressed himself particularly against this, declaring that article 1 of the plan as proposed amounted to a condemnation of the English-American system, and he could not concede that the institute should express itself against a system which had great advantages over the continental system and was practiced in a large part of the world. Finally, it was decided to prefer neither of the two systems, but to work out a plan taking both into account.

During the consideration of these questions of juridical territory, article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant came in for a thorough discussion, the connection being that of problems affecting territorial guarantees having a legal as well as a purely political side. At the same time an argument was raised as to whether discussion of a single article of the Covenant is wise, or whether it would not be better to work out a great reform program covering the whole group of articles in the Covenant. The Adatei-de Visscher report was restricted to comment on article 10. It began with the contention that the content, the legal importance of each single article be discovered, in order to know what improvements may be possible. Tittoni, supported by the three British jurists, as well as by Lyon-Caen and others, called for postponement of the debate on article 10, at least until the twenty-seventh commission of the institute should set up a methodical program for the discussion and criticism of the entire Covenant of the League of Nations. This movement was not successful, however; and, upon a motion by Señor de la Barra, the discussion of the Adatei-de Visscher report was proceeded with. The task of setting up a program, such as Tittoni and Lyon-Caen desired, was delegated, however, to the commission.

In the course of the discussion of territorial guarantees, Professor Borel pleaded for a special standing for Switzerland, which could not be bound by the pact to action of a military nature. Sir Thomas Barclay brought up the difficulty of exactly establishing when an assault on territorial integrity is at hand, and spoke of the occurrences at the outbreak of the War of 1914. Baron Nolde, Undersecretary of State in the first Russian revolution, took the position that only territorial integrity sanctioned by the League of Nations acting collectively would be guaranteed by article 10, and not the boundaries established in agreements between separate States. This motion was not passed, however. A

resolution was adopted whereby article 10 must be interpreted similarly to article 16. In the event of a difference of opinion arising over the application of article 10, the Council of the League shall give an opinion, and, in order to prevent a wrongful application of the article in question, economic and military action shall not be taken before such opinion is delivered.

By this interpretation, whereby the Council gives good advice, but no binding utterance as to the interpretation of methods of procedure for the protection of territorial integrity, the practical difficulties in the application of article 10 come to light. This did not appear to call forth much regret from the individual members of the institute who sided with Tittoni and Lyon-Caen. On the contrary, it seemed as if the attitude of the Englishmen and the Italian was dictated by open antipathy to article 10.

Tittoni, as well as Sir Thomas Barclay, openly expressed his aversion to an international police, because this would only be an instrument in the hand of the stronger. They firmly asserted that the best security for international treaties lies in the moral might of justice.

The rest of this discussion will be found in Adatci-de Visscher report, which with the resolution itself will be printed in the next yearbook of the institute. An elaborate written endorsement of the report was made by Beek (France), de Louter (Holland), Dupuis (France), and others.

In place of the retiring general secretary, Baron Aleric Rolin, Senator Nerinex, a Belgian, was elected. Vienna was chosen as the site of the next Congress, at which Professor Strisower (Austria) will preside.

AMERICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE OF THE FUTURE

By ALEJANDRO ALVAREZ

The following, translated from the French, represents a summary of the addresses given by Dr. Alvarez before the Academy of International Law, at The Hague, during the month of July last.—EDITOR.

FOLLOWING the great development of the life of the American continent which occurred in the course of the nineteenth century, and above all during the present era, the bases of world international life and the laws regulating it have been profoundly modified. At the beginning of the World War a blossoming of Americanism took place which was characterized by the desire of the New World States to see international life established on new bases, in order to assure the reign of peace in the universe as well as to tighten the bonds of friendship and good understanding existing between all the American States. This development of international American life has not been sufficiently stressed till now. It must be understood if certain things which until now have seemed obscure are to be explained and if the new international life is to be fully comprehended. The great changes introduced by the New World into the life of nations may be summarized in the following points taken from the history and the international policy of the American continent:

Up to the end of the eighteenth century there was, politically speaking, but one continent—Europe. America and Africa were colonies and Asia was a world apart, which had no connection with Europe. Civilization, therefore, was wholly the result of European activity, European thought, European genius. The institutions and the rules of international law produced by this genius were universal, because they were applied everywhere—that is to say, in the European continent as well as in the other continents, which were under the domination or under the influence of Europe.

For about a century this has not been the case. It is especially not the case now. Politically speaking, there are now two continents—Europe and America (I omit mention of Asia)—which are the products of the same civilization and which have always been closely united. The United States of America are the product of the English civilization and the twenty other republics of the New World are of Latin origin. The latter have adopted French civil institutions and are familiar with French culture. France is the intellectual mother of these countries and they are profoundly attached to her.

In spite of the similarity of the cultures of the Old and the New Worlds, it is nevertheless a fact that they are two distinct continents, between which it is necessary to differentiate, not in a spirit of separation and even less of opposition, but in order to understand them better. Civilization in the future must be the product of European and of American genius.

The States of the New World, as a matter of fact, have, as between themselves, a much greater homogeneity and solidarity than that existing between the States of Europe. The bases of political life in Europe, the balance of power, alliances, and armed peace, are unknown to the New World States, which, in spite of quarrels and even in spite of wars, have always been mutually attached and have constantly drawn the bonds of friendship, co-operation, and mutual confidence closer. They form a true, moral, continental unity. There is an American conscience and an American soul, and these form Pan Americanism. This unity among the States of the New World is manifested supremely in national matters, regarding which they have uniform doctrines and uniform points of view, which differ in many instances from those existing in Europe. (This is international Pan Americanism, or American international law.) Concerning this subject, therefore, there is an American mentality, the study of which has been too much neglected up to the present.

America has collaborated and wishes to continue collaborating with Europe in all international activities and in all international questions which have a world interest, but as regards questions that are not of this character, each continent must be independent and free to develop as it sees fit, and this freedom should not necessarily imply a separatist tendency.

America is, as we have shown, in advance of Europe as regards the codification of international law. In virtue of the resolutions taken at the second and the third Pan American conferences, an assembly of jurists, composed of two delegates from each American country, met at Rio de Janeiro in 1912 to codify both private and public international law. The World War interrupted the work of this assembly, but the fifth Pan American

conference, which has just taken place at Santiago, Chile, decided that the juridical assembly should again take up the work which had been allotted to it.

According to the ideas of the American continent, specially as shown in the works presented before the American Institute of International Law, this law must be renewed and given a greater prestige. It must enter upon a new phase, such as becomes especially necessary after war. This renovation must take place along essentially positive lines, namely, on the basis of the experience of the past century, the lessons of the World War, and the aspirations of humanity.

The renovation of international law must be undertaken from three angles, comprising: (a) An examination of the modifications which have taken place in this law, in the course of the nineteenth century and which have not been sufficiently stressed because of the imperfect method of study heretofore obtaining. (b) The modifications of it which have been produced or are in course of production, both in principle and in application, as the result of the World War. (c) The basis and fundamental assumptions of international law, which up till now have been taken as unalterable, must undergo profound examination and analysis in order to correct false premises, if any such exist, fill in the gaps, and to put both principles and applications in accord with the new conditions of international life. The reconstructed international law must then be codified gradually and progressively, so as not to fetter its free development.

When reconstructing international law, it should be laid down that in the future the applications of this law need not be invariably considered universal, as has been believed necessary up to the present moment. The only applications having this character will be those expressing the will of the States of both continents. Side by side with these universal rulings, there should be a place reserved for rulings of a continental or regional character. Astonishment should not be caused by this new aspect of international law. There is no drawback to the ruling of the reciprocal relations of the States of the different continents and to having different rules in each continent. At the Conference of Communications and Transportation, which took place at Barcelona in 1921, the first application of the idea which is here indicated was made at the instance of the New World States. In the matter of navigation of international rivers, certain principles were established, and the rest was left to agreement of a continental or regional character. This is the path indicated to international law by the development of the New World. Applications of international law may, then, in the future have three characteristics: (a) A universal ruling, consented to by all the States in the world; (b) on a given question, the States of Europe and America may agree on certain principles only and not on others, their ideas differing in the latter case, in which case the latter may have a purely continental application which may be different for Europe and for America; (c) it might also happen that, on a given point, the view of Europe and America will be altogether different. On that point there will be no universal application. It will simply be of a continental or regional character, providing that all the States of a continent or a region agree to establish it.

It is possible, on the basis of the opinions expressed at the fifth Pan American conference by certain American States, that an American League of Nations will be formed in the future by the States of the New World, even including an American Permanent Court of International Justice, whose task will be to adjudicate between the States of the New World, should they conflict. But if these institutions are created, it will not be in a spirit of opposition or antagonism to the present League of Nations or to the Permanent Court of International Justice which now exists. The American States do not wish such a League to be considered as sort of a regional entente by the present League of Nations, in conformity with article 21 of the pact. They wish to have a League which will be independent of the present League of Nations, intimately connected with it, but on a footing of equality.

The result of the preceding remarks is that from now on we must become accustomed to the idea that Europe and America must collaborate closely in the development of international life, and in consequence that the existing international institutions, ideas, and principles must be modified in conformity with the new order of things which this collaboration will create.

TWO PHASES OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION AT COPENHAGEN

By LEO PASVOLSKY

NATIONAL MINORITIES

None of the questions discussed by the Interparliamentary Conference aroused so much feeling and caused so much "bad blood" as that of racial and national minorities. Of the twenty-two European countries whose parliaments were represented at the conference, there is not one that does not have to face this problem in greater or smaller degree. With the so-called "Succession States"—*i. e.*, countries carved out of the territories of the former Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires—the question of the minorities is probably the most acute internal problem they have.

Outside of Russia, no less than twenty-five millions of Europe's population constitute distinct ethnic minorities. Most of these minorities are unmistakably vocal in the chorus of European relations. The war gave them a position of prominence they had never enjoyed before, while in the conditions of the post-war settlement they acquired an articulatness which has made them a problem of primary importance.

This importance was particularly enhanced by the fact that, in accordance with the post-war settlement, the problem of the minorities was lifted out of the domain of internally national affairs and placed on a plane of international relations. The treaties of peace themselves were significantly concerned with the problem of the minorities. Special treaties have been concluded among States dealing specifically with this problem. The League of Nations has, as one of its primary functions, the protection of ethnic minorities, and the

powers that founded the League have made definite declarations on the subject. The acceptance of pledges with regard to the treatment of ethnic minorities is now made an indispensable condition, in the case of certain States, preliminary to their admission into the League.

And yet the real adjustment of the minorities question must, in the very nature of things, remain essentially an internal problem with each of the States concerned. The League of Nations or any international tribunal can at best serve merely as a court of appeals, and its procedure, in case of complaints lodged with it, must of necessity be slow and difficult. It is quite generally recognized, therefore, that some method must be found of adjusting the situation within the States themselves, without, so far as possible, any recourse to extra-national authority.

In this aspect the problems of the minorities engages the attention of every parliament in Europe that has to face immediately the questions involved in it. For this reason, too, it has been engaging for some time past, in the most earnest manner, the attention of the Inter-parliamentary Union, which is an organization consisting of members of parliaments in various countries. At its last year's conference, held in Vienna, the Inter-parliamentary Union created a special commission for the examination of the problem, and the report of this commission was presented, in the form of three resolutions, to this year's conference of the Union, just held here.

The thoroughness with which the commission went into the question shows the importance which responsible parliamentarians in Europe attach to the problem. The liveliness and heat of the debates occasioned by the presentation of the resolutions, which disturbed considerably the otherwise placid course of the sessions, indicate unmistakably the keen interest which the various States have in the matter.

The first of the three resolutions, which were finally adopted by the conference, sought to establish the general principles involved in the solution of the problem. These principles may be summarized as follows:

Each person living within a State is entitled to the protection of that State of his person and liberty, as well as freedom of faith and religion. The right of each person to declare, freely and without any harm to himself, his adherence to any given minority should be protected by the State, and no State should engage in an attempt to limit or destroy the rights and privileges of individuals belonging to minorities through the extension to such minorities of curtailed rights calculated to diminish their actual participation in the affairs of the State. On the other hand, the minorities should ask for no special privileges, but should conform, without any reservations, to the established juridical order of the State.

All citizens are equal before the law. This equality must find expression in general legislation, comprising the right of franchise and the establishment of trade, industrial, agrarian, and other collective relationships. But at the same time the States, in molding their policies, should take into account the fact that the minorities often have mentalities that differ materially from those of the majorities and are prone, consequently,

to place different interpretations upon legislative and administrative acts than those intended by the State. Earnest attempts should, therefore, be made to reconcile these differing points of view with the general sense of the State policy. A method for effecting such a reconciliation is proposed in the third resolution.

The right of each minority to the use of its language should extend not only to life in general, but also to matters of religion, the press, and public assemblies. Central and local authorities should especially recognize this right in matters of justice and of general administration. Racial, religious, and linguistic minorities are entitled to the protection of the State in matters concerning all their institutions, whether charitable, religious, social, or economic. Similar protection should be extended to their educational institutions. The State should undertake the work of primary education, even in localities where the majority of the population belongs to an ethnic minority, but is entitled to the right of making obligatory the teaching of the official language of the State. In according its aid to private institutions of learning, the State should make no discrimination on the point of whether such institutions belong to the majority or to the minority. Similarly, there should be no discrimination along these lines in the distribution of the sums appropriated by the central or local authorities for educational, charitable, or religious purposes.

The second resolution calls attention to the inadequacy of the procedure now employed by the Council of the League of Nations in handling questions of ethnic minorities, and urges the establishment by the Council of the League of a permanent commission for the purpose. Under the present arrangement, the Council of the League cannot examine any complaints regarding minorities relations unless the question is placed before the Council by one of its members. Then the Council takes cognizance of the complaint, and if it is based on a minorities treaty, submits it to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague for its opinion. Only after that is the question referred to members of the Council designated to examine it. In actual practice this procedure results in interminable delays, and it is believed that the situation would be remedied somewhat by the creation of a special commission of three experts, to which all questions regarding minorities should be referred by the Secretariat of the League, and which would submit its findings to the Council of the League, as well as act as a body of control in the execution of the Council's decisions.

But, even with this improved procedure, the Council of the League would still be hard pressed to render sufficient and efficient service in the handling of the questions relating to ethnic minorities. As Dr. Usteri, of Switzerland, pointed out in presenting the resolutions for the consideration of the Interparliamentary Conference, the number of complaints may conceivably become so great that the Council of the League, whatever its organization, would never be able to handle them without long and oftentimes injurious delays. Moreover, many of the conflicts are undoubtedly comparatively simple and local, their examination from afar would seldom be the best manner of deciding them, and such decisions may involve the Council of the League

in purely national affairs, while the League is patently competent to deal with international matters only.

Finally, each nation is justly entitled to its pride in settling internally its own national differences and controversies. A machinery, therefore, has to be provided whereby such differences and controversies, as far as they relate to the minorities, may be settled within the States themselves. The third resolution seeks to provide such machinery.

The method is in the establishment of what the authors of the resolution term "*commissions paritaires.*" These commissions should be established by law for such political divisions as provinces, districts, communes, etc., in which the population consists of persons belonging to the majority of the given State as well as of a considerable number of persons belonging to a recognized minority, whether of race, language, or religion. Each commission should consist of an equal number of representatives of each group; hence the term "paritary." The commissioners may either be appointed by the constituted authorities or elected by the population itself.

At the beginning, all decisions of the commission should be unanimous, and the method of discussion a simple alternation of the two sides. Later on, a presidency may be established, each side providing a president in turn, or else the presidency of the commission may be intrusted by it to an outsider. Still later on, the decisions of the commission may be made by a majority vote, either simple or qualified. The sessions of the commission should not, at first, be open to the general public, and only summaries of the discussions published after each session. This, too, may be changed later on, if found desirable.

The competency of the paritary commissions should be fixed by law, which should also establish the relations between the commissions and the constituted public authorities. At the start, the decisions of the commissions should be in the nature of recommendations to proper authorities. Later on, they may be entrusted with arbitral decisions, which would have an obligatory force. And again, if found desirable, the State may delegate to the commissions autonomous functions in the matters with which they would be competent to deal.

The matters intrusted to the commissions should also be gradually evolved in scope. At first, they should comprise only such subjects of universal interest as common welfare, economic as well as cultural, such as the administration of public property, taxation, communications, organization of justice, etc. Later on, such questions as the partition of the soil, the system of education, and the questions of religion; the last two especially, so far as they concern the use of language, may also be handed over to the paritary commissions.

In reporting this resolution, Dr. Usteri described graphically the passionate animosities that now actuate many of the ethnic groups that are bound together juridically within the boundaries of independent States. These animosities, which existed before the war, have not been eliminated by the peace settlement. On the contrary, in the redrawing of European frontiers by the treaties of peace, many new minorities have been created, which have carried into their present po-

litical relationships the grievances of ages past, besides having acquired new grievances and maladjustments. All this has given rise to controversies within States which threaten the prosperity of the States themselves and the peace of Europe. He then continued:

The well-being of all these States demands imperatively, at the present time, the suppression of all these eccentric forces and the creation of a spirit of toleration and of conceptions, thanks to which the various factions may find a common ground. In order that such an outcome may be achieved, it is necessary to appeal to the spirit of the people themselves; governments and parliaments cannot bring it about, since even now they have to use their propagatives in too many matters and on too great a scale. Life itself brings to the forefront concrete questions, which are as diversified as they are numerous, and leads to conflicts before which public authorities are helpless. Such conflicts can best be settled by groups of citizens of both sides, who are honest and enjoy public esteem, if such citizens should be constituted into commissions, intrusted with definite and defined tasks. These men, meeting face to face in a calm and reasonable fashion, will be able to determine how far the two sides are apart and to what extent they may be brought together. It will be easier for them to judge men and events, and they ought to be able, laboring for the common good of all, to find the means that would lead to practical solutions based upon right and equity.

The discussion which followed the presentation of the resolutions afforded ample opportunities to representatives of various minorities to state their many and particular grievances, as well as to representatives of majorities to assure the world of their liberal tendencies with regard to the important matters under consideration. A member of the Hungarian Parliament expressed the dissatisfaction of his country with the work of the League of Nations in this regard. A prominent member of the German minority in Czechoslovakia recited a long list of grievances against the government of that State, which evoked a heated reply from another Czechoslovak deputy, who belongs to the majority of his State. A statement made by a Dutch representative regarding the discriminations of Rumanian agrarian laws brought forth bitter rejoinders from two Rumanian senators. So heated was the debate at one stage that one of the speakers lamented the fact that many of the orators "spoke with more passion than impartiality," and wanted to know if the Interparliamentary Conference was to be reduced to an assembly of "malcontents."

Nevertheless, when the resolutions were put to vote, they were all adopted, though not by a unanimous vote. The Danish, Spanish, Rumanian, and Lettish delegations, as well as the majority of the Czechoslovak delegation, demonstratively abstained from voting. The American delegation also refrained from voting on the resolutions, because, as Representative Andrew J. Montague explained to the conference, in its opinion the subject belongs to the domain of national rather than international affairs.

REPARATIONS

There was a tense moment at the last session of the XXIst Interparliamentary Conference when Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, announced to

the representatives of 22 European parliaments the attitude of the United States toward the question of reparations and of the interallied debts. Mr. Burton's statement, supported by a similar statement made by Senator Joseph T. Robinson, produced a deep impression on the European parliamentarians and led to a very interesting discussion of the subject.

The enunciation of America's position by the prominent Republican Congressman and the equally prominent Democratic Senator was occasioned by the introduction of a resolution prepared by the Council of the Interparliamentary Union. In moving the adoption of this resolution, Baron Adeswald, of Sweden, the President of the Council, pointed out that it was the duty of the parliamentarians assembled in Copenhagen, if possible, to come to some meeting of minds on the all-important and tragic situation that the world faces today as a result of the reparations question.

The resolution, as it was finally adopted by the conference, read as follows:

This conference recognizes that for many European States no measure for economic and financial reconstruction can be effective as long as the important problems of reparations, closely connected with those of the interallied financial engagements, have not found an equitable solution. This conference, mindful of the fundamental principles of the Interparliamentary Union, asks the governments to hasten the solution of the problem of reparations, in the interests of peace in general, of a rapid improvement of financial conditions, and a reconstitution of economic and social life in the fields of labor and production.

This conference draws attention to the advantages which would result from seeking the co-operation of an impartial international authority to which the task of studying and reporting upon the problem could be intrusted, with a view to finding a prompt and final solution of the problem, and urgently begs the groups to take steps without delay with their respective governments to obtain the immediate execution of the present resolution.

It was to the wording of the first sentence of this resolution that the American representatives alluded particularly in enunciating the American position on the matter. They pointed out that, as far as the bulk of public opinion in the United States is concerned, the problems of reparations are not, for America, connected with those of the interallied debts. On the contrary, these two questions are kept separate and distinct, the latter touching the United States intimately, while the former affects and concerns America but indirectly.

Mr. Burton, in his speech, laid down the principle that the interallied debts are voluntary contractual obligations, entered into among friends, without any reference to reparations, which are, in the very nature of things, penalties imposed by the victor upon the vanquished foe. He stated that the United States expects the European debts due to her to be paid. She is willing to make every concession necessary in arranging for the payments, but is utterly opposed to any idea of cancellation, which would undermine the very foundation of international credit.

On the other hand, in the interests of world peace and world rehabilitation, the United States is eager to see the question of reparations settled as speedily and satis-

factorily as possible. In the opinion of the American delegation, the overwhelming bulk of public opinion in the United States desires to see the problem subjected to a new and thorough examination. In this task the United States would be more than eager to assist, provided Europe itself would change its attitude toward the basis of such assistance. At the present time each of the powers involved in the controversy wants a partisan, not an impartial friend. And the United States can be the latter, but would not consent to be the former. The first step toward the solution of the problem must be made by Europe itself. This step should point in the direction of a co-operation among nations, not a perpetuation of ancient animosities, accentuated by the war, nor a desire on the part of one nation to enslave another, no matter how grievous the faults committed by the latter.

The American statement evoked a rather heated reply from Senator Merlin, representing the group of French parliamentarians. The French senator announced himself in full accord with the proposed resolution—in fact, it was he who proposed the text finally adopted, in preference to the more vague and less satisfactory text originally presented; but he protested most vigorously against the view taken by the American statesmen, that reparations should be considered in the nature of penalties. On the contrary, whatever the original character of the reparations, the financial obligations assumed by Germany in accordance with the London agreement cannot be looked upon as penalties, but rather as *bona fide* contractual obligations. These obligations France expects to be fulfilled.

Turning to the representatives of the United States and Great Britain, the French senator exclaimed dramatically:

It is upon your two countries that the solution of the problem of reparations largely depends at the present time. Hearken to our appeals, for we envisage the defense of your legitimate interests, as well as our own!

There was one thing that Senator Merlin tried, in his speech, to impress particularly on the assembly he was addressing, in his own name and that of his colleagues. It was the fact that whatever discussion there may be necessary for the solution of the reparations problem, there should be no place in such a discussion for any attempts to modify the Treaty of Versailles. That treaty is France's "supreme guarantee," and to it France intends to adhere.

It was upon this point that Edouard Bernstein, the veteran German parliamentarian, took up the discussion. He reminded the French Senator of the fact that the Treaty of Versailles, upon which France grounds all her arguments, was signed by Germany under compulsion. "But," he said, "in spite of that, what is signed is signed and ought to be carried out." That Germany recognizes, and upon that she is willing to act. But that is not all there is to the story. There still remains the question as to how far the stipulations of the treaty, entered into in the most solemn fashion, can really be carried out. It was from this point of view that the German statesman welcomed most heartily the sentiments expressed by the American delegates.

Herr Bernstein called the attention of the conference

to the fact that the statement of the American position on the matter and the American advocacy of the institution of an impartial authority to study the problem of reparations came from prominent representatives of both American political parties, and he expressed his hope that in the near future a similar statement may be given the world by the American Congress as a whole—a fact which, in his opinion, would have a tremendous moral influence upon public opinion in Europe.

A still clearer statement of Germany's position, and from an even more authoritative source, was made by the President of the German Reichstag, Herr Paul Loebe. He said:

Germany does not seek to evade reparations; on the contrary, she considers herself bound not only by the fact that her signature was affixed to the treaty of peace, but also by a moral obligation. However, she can make reparation only within the limits of the possible, and the difficulty lies precisely in determining these limits. Both sides insist on figures which are so widely apart that there must be a compromise figure which would be at once correct and just.

The President of the German Reichstag expressed his conviction that the examination of the problem by an impartial international authority would really constitute the best possible solution.

With this clarification of views on the subject, the resolution was unanimously adopted by the Interparliamentary Conference. This resolution was supplemented by two others, dealing with the basic economic problems that now confront Europe. One of these dealt with questions of international trade, while the other was devoted to questions of finance.

The resolution on trade stated that the re-establishment of normal economic conditions in Europe is endangered, especially in countries with depreciated currencies, "by the numerous impediments placed in the way of the circulation of goods." It therefore provided that—

This XXIst Interparliamentary Conference voices the urgent necessity of a revision of all measures which artificially and uselessly prohibit or restrict the import and export of products and of raw materials, and calls upon the groups of the Interparliamentary Union to lend their support to the concluding of commercial treaties placing the States concerned on an equal footing, in accordance with Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which makes for the protection of liberty of communication and transit and for an equitable treatment of commerce.

The resolution on finance enunciated, as the opinion of the conference, the idea that European exchanges cannot be stabilized as long as the budgets of the various countries concerned remain unbalanced and their finances have not been set in order. It therefore urged the groups represented to take steps with their respective parliaments and governments in favor of a return to a sound financial policy, and of international arrangements for financial assistance in the case of those countries whose position is too weak to permit of their financial reconstruction without foreign aid.

With the voting of these resolutions, all of which were adopted unanimously, the Interparliamentary Conference brought its three-days' sessions to a close.

In its resolutions the conference laid its finger on the really fundamental ills that now rack Europe economically. But there is a fundamental defect in the organization of the Interparliamentary Union which prevents the work of its conferences from being more effective than they easily might have been. Representing, as it does, the parliaments of all the important countries of the world, the Union has, in each of its thirty or more national groups, a powerful channel for a further propagation of the ideas discussed at its periodic conferences. But these groups are not bound specifically to do anything about it.

An attempt was made at the conference to remedy this defect, when Senator Merlin, of France, proposed a resolution whereby each of the groups would undertake to embody in bills or resolutions introduced in its respective parliament the unanimous decisions of the conference. The Merlin resolution was referred to the Council of the Union and will come up for discussion at the next Interparliamentary Conference.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

The Reparation Diary

1. *The Disintegration of the German Empire:*

The order to cease passive resistance, which was issued by the Stresemann Government at the end of September, was not greeted with marked enthusiasm by Premier Poincaré. After the necessary gestures of triumph had been performed for the benefit of the world at large, the French leader decided that, in his opinion, passive resistance could not be said to have ceased until pre-occupation deliveries from Germany had been resumed. At the same time it was decided to maintain the customs cordon between occupied and unoccupied Germany, and to tighten the Franco-Belgian export license system, with a view to hindering the exit of the large stocks of steel rails, locomotives, machine tools, and the like, which have been accumulating in the Ruhr factories and steel works during the past nine months. The prospect of a flooding of the world market with these goods is said to be embarrassing French and Belgian industrialists.

In Germany itself the cessation of passive resistance was even less welcomed. Disturbances in various parts of the country, and threatening news from Bavaria, led to the appointment of Herr Gessler, Minister of Defense, as Dictator, with executive power to him, his military commanders, and his civil commissioners, and authority to impose the death penalty for infringement of his decrees.

In view of the opposition shown by certain political parties in Germany, Herr Stresemann was obliged to abandon his plan of a non-political directorate and reconstitute his government, as follows:

Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs: Herr Stresemann.

Reconstruction: Herr Schmidt (Socialist).

Interior: Herr Sollmann (Socialist).

Finance: Herr Luther (Democrat).

Economics: Dr. Koeth (Centre).

Labor: Herr Brauns (Centre).

Justice: Herr Radbruck (Socialist).

Defense: Herr Gessler (Democrat).

Posts and Telegraphs: Herr Hoefle (Centre).

Railways: Herr Oeser (Democrat).

Occupied Regions: Herr Fuchs (Centre).

The collapse of the mark continued at a dizzying pace, and hunger riots became a common feature of German life.

About the middle of October reports became current that Herr Stinnes, Herr Wolff, and other industrial magnates, who had been in the Ruhr interviewing the French commander, General Degoutte, had negotiated an agreement. Accounts published in the French press, and confirmed in Germany, stated that, among others, the Phœnix, or Otto Wolff group, assigned to the French the coal-tax arrears of 1922, which, strictly speaking, belong to the Reich. Herr Stinnes was said to have attempted to induce the French to alter the Reich laws concerning working hours, so as to do away with the eight-hour day. These reports created great indignation in Berlin.

The Bavarian attitude became more and more menacing, and its position of defiance to the Reich appeared to influence other movements of a separatist tendency, notably in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, where a Republic was proclaimed, and sporadic guerrilla fighting has taken place up till the time of writing. Saxony and Thuringia, which, in contradistinction to "Fascist" Bavaria, are known as "Red" States, also showed signs of disturbance which, on the occasion of the Reich decree ordering the suppression of the so-called Proletarian Hundreds, became acute to the point of open defiance.

Apart from these violently separatist tendencies, which, at the time of writing, were still in a chaotic condition, a real symptom of disintegration was manifested by the granting of fiscal autonomy to all German States, which took place in the second week of October.

2. *The Reparations Conference:*

On the 12th of October, when these threatening developments were fully manifesting themselves in Germany, Lord Curzon dispatched a note to Secretary Hughes, asking for the co-operation of the United States in some attempt to settlement of the situation on the basis of the American proposal of December last. To this Mr. Hughes replied, on October 15, that the United States was entirely willing to take part in an economic conference in which all the European Allies chiefly concerned would participate, for the purpose of considering the question of the capacity of Germany to make reparation payments and the best method of securing such payments. At the same time the Secretary of State emphasized the following points, namely, that no ground should be given for the impression that the conference thus projected contemplates relieving Germany of her responsibility as regards reparation payments; that the conference should be strictly of an advisory nature, not binding upon the governments concerned; that the question of interallied debts be kept separate from that of reparations; that the conference be unanimously consented to by the Allies concerned. (The text of the communications referred to may be found among "International Documents.")

After some slight hesitation the plan was accepted by M. Poincaré, who stipulated that the conferees must be nominated by the Reparations Commission, which has power, under the Versailles Treaty, to nominate an advisory body of experts to assist its deliberations.

On October 26 M. Louis Barthou, president of the Reparations Commission, was authorized to issue invitations to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, Italy,

and Belgium for a meeting in Paris in the middle of November of a commission of experts operating in an advisory capacity, under the Reparations Commission, to inquire into Germany's capacity to pay. Following the preliminary survey in Paris the commission would proceed to Berlin.

The Imperial Conferences in London

The Imperial Conference, which opened in London at the beginning of October simultaneously with the Imperial Economic Conference, gave rise to two notable episodes, namely, the definite expressions of dominion uneasiness regarding the events taking place in Europe, which was coupled with a demand for a common foreign policy on the part of the entire British Empire, and a demand, voiced more especially by the Australian Premier, Mr. Bruce, for a preferential tariff policy within the Empire.

General Smuts was the chief spokesman in the first matter. The situation, from the British point of view, was outlined by Lord Curzon (the text of whose speech is printed elsewhere in this issue). General Smuts' speech was not made public. Generally speaking, the dominions expressed anxiety regarding the position of the League, the Canadian Premier, Mr. McKenzie King, stating that the fact that the League's authority had, apparently, to a certain extent been ignored, produced a feeling of immediate concern in Canada. Mr. Bruce, of Australia, felt that the League ought not to attempt too much in its infancy. Mr. Massey, of New Zealand, remarked, among other things, that a great deal of work had been done by the League, but he did not think for a moment that it could prevent war. General Smuts, of South Africa, alluded to the League as a bond of cohesion in the Empire. Lord Robert Cecil, as usual, explained and defended the action of the League in recent occurrences.

The question of preference was brought up by Mr. Bruce, of Australia, who asked that preferences already existing be made effective; that preference be given to the dominions in government contracts, and that Britain should assist in some way in the marketing of dominion foodstuffs and raw materials. At the same time the Australian Premier asked whether a policy could not be framed for the stabilization of prices in connection with such commodities as meat and wheat, with a view to removing the incentive for speculation and relieving the producer and consumer. Agriculture, he stated, could not flourish so long as Great Britain remained the dumping ground for every available foreign surplus. The dominion producer must be placed in a position to supply British requirements of foodstuffs which could not be supplied by the British farmer. In order to achieve these two objectives, the importation of foreign agricultural produce should be limited to making good the deficiency that British and dominion agriculturists were unable to supply.

The concrete suggestions then put forward by Mr. Bruce were, in brief, as follows, namely, a tariff on foodstuffs and raw materials with preference to the dominions; a sliding scale for protection and preference; and a system of subsidies to British agriculture and dominion produce, to be put into effect when the market price sunk below the reasonable cost of production. Two other methods suggested by the same speaker were, firstly, a system of import licenses to discriminate against foreign countries, and the second was a "stabilization policy," to stabilize the prices of wheat, meat, and analogous commodities. A committee was formed

to consider and report to the Imperial Economic Conference on the practicability of certain of Mr. Bruce's suggestions. Those selected for consideration were subsidies, import licenses, and stabilization.

The dominion representatives attending the Imperial Conference proper attended, almost without exception, the Imperial Economic Conference in the same capacity. In response to the demand for an extension of the system of imperial preference, Sir Phillip Lloyd Greame, president of the Board of Trade, placed before the Economic Conference a governmental scheme covering certain items of importation, the text of which is as follows:

Dried Fruit

At present dried figs, raisins, and plums (including apricots) are dutiable at the rate of 10s. 6d. per cwt. if from foreign countries, and enjoy, if of Empire origin, a preference of one-sixth—that is, of 1s. 9d. per cwt.

It is proposed to admit these goods free of duty from the Empire, so that Empire raisins, figs, and plums will enjoy a preference of 10s. 6d. per cwt.

Currants

At present dried currants are dutiable at the rate of 2s. per cwt. and enjoy a preference of one-sixth, which, on the existing duty, only amounts to 4d.

His Majesty's Government are prepared to offer free admission to Empire currants and to consider what increase in the duty on foreign currants may be necessary to make the preference effective; such increase to come into force at a future date to be agreed upon.

Other Dried Fruit

At present there is no duty on any other dried fruit, but while continuing to admit such Empire dried fruit free, His Majesty's Government would propose to impose a duty of 10s. 6d. per cwt. on such foreign dried fruit (namely, apples, pears, and peaches) as the dominion representatives may consider of interest to their trade.

Other Preserved Fruits

Except for the fruits above named, which are dutiable as such when dried or preserved without sugar, fruits otherwise preserved are not dutiable save in respect of sugar contents, if any. It is proposed, in addition to any such duty on the sugar contents, to impose an all-round duty of 5s. per cwt. on the principal forms of preserved fruit not at present dutiable except fruit pulp for jam manufacture, which will remain free of duty. All such fruit will be admitted free from the Empire.

Sugar

At present sugar is dutiable according to a scale dependent on the polarization of the sugar, with a basis rate of 25s. 8d. per cwt. on fully refined sugar.

Empire sugar enjoys a preference of one-sixth, or 4s. 3½d. per cwt., being nearly a halfpenny a pound on refined sugar.

It is not possible at present to offer an increase in this preference, but His Majesty's Government are ready to guarantee that, if the duty is reduced, the preference shall, for a period of ten years, not fall with it, but be maintained at its present rate of nearly a halfpenny per pound, so long, at least, as the duty on foreign sugar does not fall below that level.

Tobacco

At present the duty on tobacco varies according to type, being, of course, higher on cigars than on unmanufactured tobaccos. On the latter it is about 8s. 2d. per pound, on which the Empire enjoys a preference of one-sixth, or, say, on raw tobacco, of 1s. 4d.

His Majesty's Government would be prepared to adopt

the course proposed in regard to sugar—that is, to stabilize the existing preference for a term of years—or, alternatively, they are prepared to increase the preference to one-quarter—that is, to about 2s.—on unmanufactured tobacco at present rates, the amount of the preference, of course, varying as the basis varies.

In his address to the conference, Sir Phillip Lloyd-Greame emphasized the fact that this scheme was not by any means a hard and fast plan, but one which was submitted for the consideration of the delegates. The great desire of the government was that the conference should work out a practical scheme to improve the production and trade prospects of all parts of the Empire.

As placed before it the British Government's plan was welcomed by the conference; but immediate consideration of the scheme was deferred until the dominion representatives should have an opportunity to consider it in detail, and the British Government, on the other hand, have a chance to consider the proposals made by Mr. Bruce.

Agrarian Reform in Central Europe

Every country in Central Europe has passed since the war through some form or other of agrarian readjustment, but in most of them the question of agrarian reform is still far from being an accomplished fact. Some of the legislation passed in the heat of conditions immediately following the war and the revolutions that have transformed politically this part of the world is now found unworkable. Everywhere the question is up for discussion, and many of the agrarian laws now on the statute books are scheduled for revision.

From the point of view of the character of the agrarian reform introduced, the countries of Central Europe may be divided into two principal groups. The first group comprises Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The second consists of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Lithuania. The principal difference between the two groups consists in their attitude to the question of large and small land holdings.

Acceptance of Large Estates

The countries of the first group accept in principle the idea of fairly large landed estates, though for purely political and social reasons they stimulate the creation and development of small peasant holdings. In order to achieve this, the governments allot, first of all, the lands held by the State. Then they assist peasant groups in purchasing large estates for the purpose of dividing among themselves the lands thus acquired. If this proves insufficient, then the State reserves the right to acquire all the lands placed on the market. Only if all these methods prove insufficient to afford the peasantry an opportunity to acquire all the lands they want and can purchase, does the State allow compulsory expropriation of large estates?

But even in this latter case the Austrian law, for example, permits the expropriation of only those large estates which have been made up of peasant holdings purchased within the last few decades. The German law permits expropriation only in districts specially assigned for colonization. In such districts, if large estates (over 200 acres) constitute more than 10 per cent of all the available arable land, the excess over the 10 per cent may be expropriated.

A number of measures have been taken by the German

Government to prevent the decrease of productivity on the large estates through fear on the part of the owners that their land may be expropriated. The process of expropriation is entrusted to special local bodies in the districts assigned for colonization, and large land-owners in these districts have ample representation. Efforts are made to expropriate first of all the specially large estates or those which are operated primarily on the basis of leasing out portions of the land. Expropriation ceases altogether whenever the total acreage of large estates in any district assigned for colonization falls below 10 per cent of the total arable area.

The Hungarian law limits expropriation even more than does the German. Expropriation may take place only within five years after the enactment of the law—that is, only until December 7, 1925. Estates of less than 120 acres, as well as all well-kept forest areas, are altogether exempt from expropriation. Every land-owner has the right to inquire of the government whether or not his estate is subject to expropriation, to what extent, and in what period. In any case every owner of an estate has the right to enough land to permit him to conduct agriculture on a rational basis.

Rejection of Large Estates

The countries of the second group aim in their legislation to destroy altogether large holdings of land. Here the maximum holdings of any individual or family are rigidly fixed.

In the process of expropriation the principal question is how much the former owner may retain for himself. This amount is not uniform in the countries of this group. In Czechoslovakia the maximum is fixed at about 300 acres of arable land or 500 acres of arable and non-arable land. In Poland the figure varies from 120 to 360 acres, and only in rare instances rises as high as 800 acres. In Rumania there is a considerable heterogeneity. In the former Kingdom and in the mountain areas everything over 200 acres is subject to expropriation. On the plains the maximum is fixed at 1,000 acres. In Lithuania, on the other hand, everything over 160 acres is subject to expropriation.

Thus expropriation in the second group is the central feature of the agrarian reform, rather than an incidental thing as it is in the first group. In Czechoslovakia all land in excess of the established maximum holdings is considered legally confiscated from the date of the publication of the agrarian law. It is merely left temporarily in the hands of the former owners, under the control of the proper governmental institutions. In Rumania the confiscated lands, prior to their being taken over by the State, are entrusted not to the former owner, but to specially formed associations of local peasants.

Methods of Expropriation

In all the countries which apply expropriation no land is confiscated outright, but compensation of some sort or another is provided for. The countries of the first group apply to the expropriation of land the same principles as those which govern the expropriation of any private property for public needs. Payment in cash is provided for. In the countries of the second group the expropriated land is evaluated on the basis of land prices before the war, or during the years immediately following the armistice, and payment is made in interest-bearing bonds.

The German law provides for compensation "proportionately to the actual value of the land and without any regard to the post-war currency fluctuations." The Austrian law lays down the principle that in no case should the new owner be given an opportunity to enrich himself at the expense of the previous owner. The Hungarian law provides for compensation on the basis of the actual value at the moment of expropriation.

Under the Czechoslovak law the fixed compensation may be reduced in accordance with the amount of land expropriated from each owner. Starting with a 5 per cent reduction for estates exceeding 2,000 acres, the fixed compensation becomes only 60 per cent of the original figure for estates of over 100,000 acres. In Poland from 5 to 30 per cent of the amount of the compensation is deducted for a special fund out of which former soldiers are to be supplied with land. In Lithuania from 15 to 30 per cent of the expropriated land is taken without any compensation and is turned over to former soldiers.

In the countries of the first group the work of breaking up large estates by sale is left largely to private initiative. In Austria and Hungary the agrarian law is supplemented with special decrees, indicating the methods by which the partitioning of even the non-expropriated estates should be carried out. The countries of the second group aim to make the work of land allotment a government monopoly, and their legislation is constructed in that sense. However, in actual practice, a great deal of the work of land division and parcellation is in the hands of private organizations, acting under government control. This is especially true of Poland.

Who Receives the Land?

Persons entitled to free land are divided into the following four categories:

1. Former soldiers and the families of soldiers killed in the war.
2. Former employees of the estates that are broken up.
3. Other persons in rural communities who have no land.
4. Former officials and public employees, invalids, etc.

The first three categories need sufficient amounts of land to provide a living, while the fourth category needs small plots. The general object of this process of distribution is to provide a method whereby the State may discharge its obligations to these various groups. In the case of the fourth category the State is directly relieved of the need of paying pensions. In the Hungarian law, for example, a retired official is entitled to the amount of land which is worth his capitalized pension.

Of the first three categories former soldiers have prior claim to land. In this manner, too, the State diminishes its pension requirements. Former employees on expropriated estates have precedence over other landless peasants.

Special provisions are made for aid to all these categories of colonists. Peasants already in possession of land are in many cases aided by the State in acquiring additional land.

Many features of all this mass of agrarian legislation have already been found undesirable, and some of them will, undoubtedly, be changed in the process of actual application. But the principle of agrarian adjustment has been firmly established. Small holdings hold precedence over large ones, though the way has been opened for more efficient exploitation of land by means of co-operative groupings.

THE FATE OF HUNGARY

Slowly but surely the somewhat parvenu States carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire are beginning to realize that, deny it as they will, their future is inextricably bound up with that of the ancient and aristocratic Kingdom of Hungary. Today Hungary stands, financially speaking, on the brink of utter ruin, from which nothing can save it except immediate measures of relief along the lines of those which have been successful in the case of Austria. The gravity of the situation was admitted by the Reparations Commission on the basis of evidence submitted to it as long ago as the beginning of May, 1923. For the year ending June 30, 1923, according to the estimate of the Hungarian Finance Minister before the commission, the budget showed, in gold crowns, a total expenditure of 424 millions, a total revenue of 335 millions, and a deficit of 89 millions. The trade balance for the year ending December 31, 1922 (at an average rate of exchange throughout the year), showed imports of 548 millions, exports of 334 millions, and deficit of 214 millions. Any real estimate of what the budget deficit is likely to be for 1923-24 could not now be given, owing to the marked fluctuations of the Hungarian crown, which at the time the 1922-23 estimates were calculated was at 0.23 Swiss centimes and at the time of writing had fallen below 0.03 Swiss centimes. In the Hungarian budget for 1922-23 expenditure exceeded revenue by 26 per cent. In the first Austrian budget estimate issued by Commissioner Zimmerman for 1923 expenditure exceeded revenue by 38.5 per cent.

The trade balance in 1922, states Sir William Goode, financial adviser to Hungary, shows a deficit of nearly 40 per cent—about 8 per cent greater than that of Austria for a similar period. The English expert points out, in the course of an article published in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (September 21) that this is actually worse than the surface indications appear, since there is little or no invisible trade in Hungary, in the nature of tourist traffic, financial transactions, and so on, as contribute to a reduction to the Austrian adverse balance. The principal items causing the Hungarian deficit were, and still are, imports of cotton, woolen goods, wood and coal. The principal Hungarian exports are flour, cattle, machinery, and wines.

A significant indication of the Hungarian situation, as shown by the 1922-23 budget figures, is to be found in the circulation. On March 31, 1923, the circulation was 90 million gold crowns, or, in paper, 82 milliards. The August 15 statement of the bank of issue showed a total circulation of 314 milliards paper crowns, or approximately 90 million Swiss francs. Thus, in four and a half months the paper circulation increased almost four times. This frightful inflation was caused, says Sir William Goode, mainly by the necessity of paying increased salaries to State employees in consequence of the rise in prices, and to meet the normal seasonal demand for currency required to make grain purchases.

Realizing the absolute necessity for a foreign loan as the basic remedy for this condition, the Hungarian Government, while exposing its case to the Reparations Commission, made the following proposals:

A long-term loan of at least 550 to 650 million gold crowns, to meet the deficit of the State budget during a transition period of at least five years, by the end of which the country could be expected to return to some sort of equilibrium in budget and trade balance. Stabilization of exchange

should automatically ensue from the outset of the long-term loan. Concurrently with the loan, a reorganization of internal finance on the following lines:

1. Economies in administration (considerable reduction in the number of State employees and improvements in the management of the State undertakings, particularly the abolition of the deficit in the State railways).

2. Increase of State revenues by means of more effective application of taxation and by higher tariffs.

3. Simultaneously with this reorganization of the finances of the State the existing restrictions upon economic life, namely, the *devizen centrale*, export taxes, prohibition of increased-house rents, etc., to be abolished.

4. Creation of a bank of issue to which the government will not be allowed to have recourse for their own requirements.

At the same time it was pointed out that no foreign loan could be raised unless the Reparations Commission suspended its charges upon Hungary's revenues and permitted the loan to be arranged through and supervised by the Finance Committee of the League of Nations.

Every indication, at first, pointed to the success of Hungary's plea, the British and Italian governments showing especial readiness to accede to Count Bethlen's request. A reconsideration of the matter, however, caused France, with one eye, so to speak, on the Little Entente, to insist that such a loan should be raised and expended under the supervision of the Reparations Commission and not through the League, and that certain amounts on account of reparations must be paid out of the loan. This attitude, which immediately defeated all expectation of a loan, brought the commission to a deadlock; and matters thus remained at a standstill, during which time Hungary tottered nearer and nearer to the abyss, until just prior to the Sinala Conference of the Little Entente, in the latter part of August.

At this conference Dr. Benes, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, unexpectedly stood forth as the spokesman for Hungary and stressed the necessity of financial assistance in order to arrive at some sort of internal equilibrium. This attitude on the part of Czechoslovakia, which had formerly distinguished itself by reason of the ardent, if not always accurate, propaganda against Hungary, and by its opposition to the Hungarian loan, is said to have been due to influence brought to bear on the occasion of Dr. Benes' recent visit to London in connection with the financial situation of his own country. In any case, negotiations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the Little Entente immediately followed at Geneva. An especially complete understanding was arrived at with Czechoslovakia as regards frontier and minority differences, as well as the matter of a foreign loan.

As regards the frontier question, an agreement for the avoidance of conflicts was arranged, whereby the same regulations were laid down for frontier guards by both countries. Further, satisfactory recompense for those persons who were injured in the recent frontier conflicts and for the relatives of slain guards was decided upon. The Czechoslovak Government undertook to revise its course concerning retaliation, especially in connection with the deportation of Magyar citizens. It was decided to act on the same lines as those adopted in recent similar affairs with Germany.

Economic conditions were then considered, and views were exchanged on the ratification of a commercial treaty between the two States, an agreement regarding traffic between the frontier towns, and the possibility of a further special convention relating to the exchange of merchandise.

Finally, it was agreed that those questions remaining to

be adjusted in connection with the Treaty of Trianon should be examined without delay by the special ministries concerned. All propaganda tending to injure good relations between the two countries was to be abandoned, and the Czechoslovak and Hungarian governments arranged to keep in constant touch and do all in their power to prevent any propagandist activity which might affect their loyal and correct relations.

The Little Entente then agreed to lay before the League of Nations, at the earliest moment, a special proposition to the effect that after a new decision of the Reparations Commission had been made, members of the Financial Committee should be sent to Hungary for the purpose of drawing up plans for a loan. The discrepancy between Anglo-Italian and Franco-Little Entente points of view was settled by a compromise, as was also the control question. In its details the loan is expected to be an exact copy of the Austrian one.

In spite of what may be described as an almost criminal delay, therefore, there seems but little doubt of the ultimate redemption of Hungarian finances. Just what the future may hold for the kingdom is, however, a different, if fascinating, story.

TRADE UNIONISM v. COMMUNISM IN RUMANIA

The following report upon the recent Trade Union Congress in Rumania is made by the International Federation of Trade Unions:

From September 16th to 18th an extraordinary congress of the Rumanian trade unions took place at Klausenburg, in Slebenbürgen. The chief subject of the discussions was the question of affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The I. F. T. U. was represented by its secretary, Sassenbach.

The trade unions in Old Rumania numbered, according to a census taken just before the war, 7,000 members, the total population of the country being 7 millions. Previous to that they had had a total membership of 14,000. After the incorporation of the new territory, which meant a considerable increase in industry and industrial workers, the membership rose to about 200,000 out of a population of 16,500,000, of whom only 700,000 were industrial workers—an astonishingly low percentage.

But a general strike, due to Communist influence and collapsing after six days, led to a decline of membership. The government knew the weakness of the trade unions better than they did themselves. A few thousand workers were thrown into prison and the offices and assembly buildings of the workers were closed and confiscated. Then followed a law compelling trade unions to obtain licenses from the authorities; workers in certain trades were forbidden to strike, and the railway men and other civil servants were militarized. Even the workers of a private factory in Arad, which did work for the State, were placed on a military basis. Owing to brutal treatment by the government and the police, the number of members declined considerably. At the Trade Union Congress of 1921 the total membership was only 26,000. Subsequently there was an increase; in 1922 there were 41,000 members, and the numbers represented at the recent extraordinary congress were 52,000.

In the meantime the trade unions have found it impossible to do really satisfactory work, on account of the Communist agitation, which received strong support from Russia. The report of the former secretary, which was submitted to the recent congress, gives interesting facts concerning Moscow's work for the destruction of the trade unions. The bitter feeling aroused by the Communist intrigue is strongest among the industrial workers of the territory newly taken over from Hungary, as these workers have been accustomed to regular trade-union work on nor-

mal lines. They therefore came to the congress with the fixed determination to put an end, once for all, to this intrigue, and, in order that their position and aims might be clearly defined, to affiliate with Amsterdam.

The constitution of the congress was not favorable to peaceful negotiation. Delegates could be sent to the congress, not only by the national federations, but also by single branches, by unions not combined into a federation, and by the trade-union councils of individual localities. The commission which verified the mandates proposed to cancel 60 of the 292 mandates which were held by 217 delegates, on the ground they were invalid. This proposal was rejected. Thereupon the president, acting on instructions received from the Trade Union Council, declared the session closed and called a new session, to which only those were admitted who declared themselves to be in favor of affiliation with Amsterdam.

This procedure may at first sight appear to be violent and undemocratic, and under normal circumstances it would certainly be so termed; but there was a universal opinion that it was necessary to act in this way in order to do real trade-union work, especially as it was generally known that the Communists would act in obedience to secret instructions, directing them to remain within the trade unions, whatever happened, and to continue their destructive work there.

While the discussions were very stormy before the expulsion of the Communists, the later meetings were a model of orderly and businesslike procedure, despite the language difficulties. After the division, it was ascertained that the majority of the delegates, representing 28,423 members, were taking part in the later proceedings of the congress, and that these counted among them the representatives of the large unions, with the exception of the clothing-workers, the wood-workers, and the leather-workers. Individual delegates were present even from these unions. This result was considered satisfactory, and it is hoped that a large number of organizations which are now outside can be won over by means of explanatory propaganda and agitation.

Affiliation with Amsterdam was now unanimously resolved upon.

In order to do practical work, the seat of the Trade Union Council was removed from the capital, Bucharest, which is not an industrial town, to Klausenburg, an industrial center, which is already the headquarters of most of the trade-union federations. Moreover, in this town there is a widespread knowledge of both the German and the Hungarian languages, which means that the trade unions of Central Europe will be able to exert a greater moral influence. The new council was empowered to modify the rules of the trade-union federation in accordance with the new condition.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE

The question of national minorities still continues to be an acute question in many parts of Europe. The discontent of these minorities before the war was one of the causes of the conflagration that had engulfed Europe in 1914. Under the peace treaties, the question of the minorities shifted ground, but it has not disappeared. In every new State in Europe there are national groups apart from the major group, which in each case constitutes the basis of the State. And the condition of these minority groups is far from being settled.

In a lecture recently delivered before the Vienna Political Society, Dr. W. Medinger, a German member of the Czechoslovak Parliament, enumerated, for example, a large number of grievances that the German minority in Czechoslovakia has against the government of the new republic. The Germans constitute one-fourth of the population of the country and one-third of that of Bohemia proper, yet, according to Dr. Medinger, the treatment that is accorded to them by the Slav majority group is not in the least con-

sonant with this position. He claims that "88 German schools with 1,045 classes have been closed down since the declaration of the republic, while 865 new Czech schools with 1,881 classes have been instituted. The public revenues are quite arbitrarily employed, 700,000 crowns figure in the budget as the total grant to the German university, while 27 millions were allotted to the Czech university."

He further claims that there is a discrimination against the German minority in economic matters, as well. He says:

Through the non-payment of the war loan alone the national wealth of the Germans in Czechoslovakia has suffered a loss of about 6 milliards, while the other nations of the State taken together only lost 2 milliards through this measure. The proportion of German and Czech banking capital is now the inverse of what it was before. The partnership of the Czechs, and still more their influence in the industrial enterprises founded and developed by Germans have increased enormously; the landed property of the minority nations has been curtailed by means of the so-called agrarian reform.

The Role of the League of Nations

Under the war settlement, the question of the national minorities was entrusted to the League of Nations. But Dr. Medinger is skeptical as to the powers of that body in controlling and eventually bettering the situation. He says:

Had the authors of the peace treaties seriously meant to establish a balance of power in the States with mixed nationalities they could have prevented the abuse of majority power by an efficacious protection of the minorities. It is true, articles respecting minority protection have been inserted into the treaties, but the wording of these clauses has been committed to people whose imperialist aims do not suffer even clear minority rights. The League of Nations has been charged to watch over the observance of the principles stipulated by the treaties; but this body has not so far shown that it is equal to its high mission.

The League of Nations is a half finished structure which rests on a fluctuating basis. Being unable even to prevent war and violence between one country and another, how could it be expected to extend its influence to the internal affairs of the States? Neither economic necessity nor the claims of justice are decisive for the verdicts of the League: the political constellation of the day determines even the most insignificant questions. States accused of infringement of the minority clauses have always the power to sidetrack action in favor of their minorities by pleading national necessity or the safeguarding of their sovereignty.

Minority protection as it is today only allows the euthanasia of the minority nations, the urgent protests of which are met by promises of international help, and renewed assurances of the sympathy of the world. A series of complaints sent to Geneva by minority nations have been left unanswered, and when one of them was decided in favor of the minority the majority concerned cared little for the verdict. No real interest is shown in the preservation of the minorities; the sense of international responsibility of the present rulers of the world does not go so far. The main aim seems to be to keep the minorities from making serious trouble. The majority governments offer reassuring declarations abroad and at the same time the expropriations at home are continued, the public functionaries of the minority nations are transferred to remote districts while numbers of officials belonging to the majority nation are sent to the districts inhabited by the minorities to carry out the process of denationalization; minority schools are closed down, and the State revenues are unashamedly employed for the benefit of the majority nation.

If things are to continue like this, no unbroken national minority will exist in a few decades, in Czechoslovakia, south Tyrol, Poland, Alsace, Jugoslavia, Rumania, or any

other country. Therefore, if minority protection is not properly reformed, it would be better to be honest and drop it altogether. The methods of the League of Nations are clumsy and ineffectual. Although the minority question has been declared to be the most urgent European problem after disarmament and reparation, neither time nor energy is bestowed upon its solution.

Cases of peculiar crassness are occasionally given some attention, but tackling the main issue of the problem is always avoided. There is, for example, the question of the Czechoslovak constitution. Although the peace treaty guarantees equality of rights to all sections of the State, the minorities which in Czechoslovakia form about 40 per cent of the population were given no opportunity to co-operate in the framing of the constitution. The German members of the Czechoslovak Parliament made an appeal to the League of Nations concerning this infringement of the peace treaty, but so far without result. Unless the League can muster moral strength enough to demand a revision of the Czechoslovak constitution and the establishment of an agreement between the several nations on the Swiss model, every political concussion in Europe will infallibly aggravate the inner disease of this country.

Hope in Other Organizations

Though the handling of the minority question by the League of Nations does not present a particularly bright outlook for the settlement of the problem, Dr. Medinger believes that there are other international organizations whose action gives rise to a more hopeful view of the situation. He believes particularly in the possible efficacy of the interparliamentary Union, which is greatly interested in the whole question and is making efforts toward helping its solution. He says:

But although the Geneva Parliament of diplomats has proved a failure, it must be acknowledged that there are other international organizations which recognize the shortcomings of the actual system of minority protection and are eager to remove them. The League of Nations Union instituted careful investigations on the minority questions, and at the congress held at Prague in 1922 a resolution was carried which demands for polyglot States local self-government and the abolition of a privileged State language. This resolution has become the Magna Charta of the national minorities in all countries.

A similar resolution has unanimously been carried by the Interparliamentary Union which has also appointed a committee of ten members for the special purpose of investigating the problem of minority rights. In this committee the minority nations are represented by two members.

The Interparliamentary Union is composed of parliamentarians of all countries and though the resolutions of this body have no binding character for the governments of the States represented in it, they express the opinion of the nations more genuinely than those of the League, so that their voice will be heard in the end. And no matter how slender the belief may be in the immediate value of such welcome action, it remains the duty of all who have at heart the peace and advancement of Europe to labor untriflingly for a permanent understanding between the major and minor nationalities which will render the position of the latter worthy of their importance.

Dr. Medinger's views may be somewhat colored by the fact that he himself represents one of the national minorities that are so intimately concerned with an equitable solution of the whole problem, but there is no doubt that the questions which he raises are of utmost importance to Europe and to the whole world. Peace in Europe is, indeed, a precarious affair so long as the volcanoes of national discontent, which are still active in many portions of that continent, continue to belch forth their smoke and fire of hatred and strife.

CAN THE JAPANESE BE ASSIMILATED?

One of the questions about which there is today a great amount of divergent opinion is whether or not the Japanese can be assimilated in Western countries. In order to shed the light of first-hand information upon this important problem, the Rev. Dr. Paul E. Waterhouse recently sent out two thousand questionnaires to Japanese born in this country. He received over nineteen hundred replies, and the information thus furnished has been recently issued by the Federal Council of Churches.

Sixteen hundred replies refer to children under 15. These replies indicate that practically all of the children attend the American public schools. Three hundred and forty-two replies received from American-born Japanese between the ages of 15 and 22 indicate that 51 per cent of them are attending or planning to go to high school and about one-half of them are expecting to go to college.

In discussing these replies, Dr. Waterhouse says:

There seems to be a strong tendency among the boys to become "business men," as they expressed it, while the girls wished to be dressmakers, stenographers, or teachers. Scores of them expressed the desire to "become useful citizens."

In talking with the teachers in the grammar schools, as well as the superintendents of schools, about the Japanese children in their classes, the almost universal opinion seemed to be that there was no problem, as far as the morality or the studiousness of the children was concerned. In fact, one of the teachers in the Oakland schools said: "We teachers always like to have at least one or two Japanese children in our classes as an example to the other children, for they do study hard."

On the question of religion, one-half were Christians, one-fifth were Buddhists, the rest giving no answer. A great many occupations were represented by the parents, farmers naturally being predominant, others being fisherman, merchants, tailors, laborers, teachers, photographers, florists, gardeners.

Letters from American-born Japanese

Following these general remarks, Dr. Waterhouse quotes a number of the more characteristic replies to his questionnaire:

The son of a San Pedro fisherman says: "I like to stay in America as long as I can, because this is finest country ever I saw. I haven't any plans for the future, but I like to grow up as a man and help the poor people. Even if I were poor, I will help the other with my best wishes and my best love. I do not know what I can do, but I like to do right thing always."

In answer to the oft-repeated statement that the Japanese do not want to become citizens and would not avail themselves of the privilege if it were given to them, let me quote a few of the many replies from young people born in Japan.

A 19-year-old student says: "I would like to make a good citizen of the United States." Another says: "I expect to go to high school and to a university and wish to be a useful citizen." A 21-year-old student says: "After my graduation I want to sacrifice my best for America, my second native land, and Japanese who don't understand English." Another says: "I wish to be an American citizen. I wish to write some books. I wish to serve for all equally." This is the spirit of the answers throughout.

"My plan," says the son of a farmer, "is to finish high school, enter college, and do something useful in this world; to learn the duties of a good citizen and to become a good citizen of the United States."

"Although I was born in Japan," says a boy who came over here when he was just a year old, "I was and will be educated by the United States; therefore America is dearer to me. I expect to do my best to forward the interest of

the country that gave me my education. My greatest wish is to become American citizen."

A 19-year-old boy says: "I want American people to talk to me." The feeling of ostracism and the desire to have Americans speak kindly to him and help him to come in contact with the best in American life, is it not expressed in that one little sentence? Some expressed themselves as ambitious along literary lines, or in music, and there is a religious note in many of the replies.

A student at Mills College, 21 years old, the daughter of a farmer says: "I do not expect to go back to Japan unless it is the wish of the Heavenly Father for me to do work there. I am majoring in home economics and chemistry and am planning to have social and political science and Bible as my minor subjects before graduating from college. I have taken home economics as my major, thinking that I may be able to do some social work among the womenfolk, both American and the women of my own race, using this knowledge as the base of my work. Then I thought the knowledge of social science and the Bible will be a great help. Recently I became interested in the Student Volunteer Movement, and although not a volunteer myself, I am willing to go, if God permits and it is His desire, whenever and whatever the call may be."

A 21-year-old young man says: "I like to give my whole life in spreading Christianity among the Japanese. I prefer to live in America, but the cry for the need of Christian workers in Japan might necessitate me to go back."

A 21-year-old farmer's son, living in Los Angeles, says: "I want to earn my living on honest principles, and live in peace and harmony. I do not seek material happiness at the expense and sacrifice of humanity, but I prefer to lead a spiritually happy life, with clear conscience. Since this is my country and because I consider it proper to abide with its religion, laws, and customs, I will not hesitate to exercise my moral and legal rights. I shall consider this my country, even though the entire populace of this country should desert me."

One girl's ambition is expressed in this way: "I would like to Americanize many Japanese living in this country, to think in Americanized way, so that there would be no friction between Americans and Japanese. If one is born here, understands both languages and the feelings of both people, then it would be easy for her to make her people understand. Troubles many times arise from misunderstandings. So I would like the Japanese to be Americanized and to see from American point of view and to understanding."

The results of a careful investigation of the second generation of Japanese in Hawaii, conducted by the Territorial Department of Public Instruction of Hawaii, show that practically every public and high school pupil in the Territory, who, under the dual system, owes allegiance to the United States and to a foreign country as well, will, upon reaching his majority, renounce his foreign allegiance and pledge fealty to the United States alone. It demonstrates the fact that undivided allegiance to the United States is the hope of the rising generation of dual citizens in Hawaii.

The difficulties of language of the American-born children and their parents are brought out by this 17-year-old girl: "It is hard to fully explain things to my people, because we do not speak the same language. I always use English, but at home, to my mother and father, Japanese. We use such English expressions as 'mama, papa, huh, yes, no, what, oh, and so on. Among ourselves we use English. If only I spoke Japanese well! or they English! or that I could use English to father without embarrassment. But no, it's always 'if only' this or that, always. I believe that children and parents should always speak one common language, for what is a home life unless the people in it can thoroughly understand each other."

Cultural Assimilation Possible

Dr. Waterhouse reaches the following conclusion:

Without hesitation, we join the ranks of those who argue that the Japanese can be assimilated, and the more thoroughly we study the situation the more powerful is the conviction that the debate about the Japanese would cease

to be a debate at all if only all who argue against them could come into personal contact with the second generation of young men and women.

He qualifies his conclusions, however, by pointing out that the assimilation he has in mind is cultural, and not one of intermarriage, on which phase of the question he says there is, as yet, no sufficient data for definite conclusions.

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKING WOMEN

The Third Congress of the International Federation of Working Women, which was held from August 14 to 18, at Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, was notable for the large attendance of British and American delegates. Both of these countries were represented by 10 delegates. France and Italy sent 3 delegates each, Belgium and Sweden 2 each, and Rumania 1. Guests were present from Argentina, Chile, China and Japan, and German, Austrian, and Swiss women also took part in the congress. All the delegates were representatives of trade-union organizations. The International Federation of Trade Unions was represented by Sassenbach.

The Congress adopted the report of the secretary, Dr. Marion Phillips, for the past two years, and then proceeded to discuss the work of women for peace, for legislation for the protection of labor, for the regulation of home-work wages, and for a family wage. In respect of all these questions resolutions were adopted, which were drawn up by special commissions. A point of special interest was the resolution respecting co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions. In this resolution the I. F. W. W. declared that it was prepared to transfer its work to the International Federation of Trade Unions on the following conditions:

1. That a special woman secretary should be appointed.
2. That an international women's committee should be appointed to co-operate with the I. F. T. U., and to arrange for a meeting with the latter whenever such meeting might be necessary, but in any case once a year.
3. That a special women's congress should be held every two years.

This resolution was adopted by all but the American delegation, which desired, although its decision on the subject was by no means unanimous, to retain the present form of organization.

Mlle. Burniaux, of Belgium, was elected president in place of Mrs. Raymond Robins. London is to continue to be the headquarters of the secretariat. Dr. Marion Phillips having resigned her secretaryship, her place will be taken by Miss Macdonald. The resolutions will be dealt with more fully later.

Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

Social Wages:

(1) The family allowances for women workers engaged in industry are to be regarded as a makeshift in order to overcome the difficulties inherent in the capitalist order of society. (2) The working classes must endeavor to obtain special State subsidies for motherhood, for assistance in case of unemployment, illness, or the death of the breadwinner of the family, such subsidies to be granted to all without exception. (3) It is the duty of the community to

take all necessary measures for the health, education, and general welfare of mothers and children. (4) The community must also see to it that every child is provided with the necessary quantity of milk and other food, as well as with the necessary school education. (5) A commission of inquiry shall investigate the practicability of a scheme in accordance with which the community shall have the obligation to care for the maintenance of children so long as these are normally a charge upon their parents.

Wages of Home-workers:

The Commission was unanimous in recognizing the impossibility of taking definite decisions concerning home-work in existing circumstances owing to the inadequate information available.

(1) It decided to request the International Labor Office to collect all existing documents on the subject and to conduct an inquiry as to the conditions in which home-workers of both sexes are working in all nations. (2) Where legal regulations affecting home-workers are already in existence, the Commission declares, that it should be the duty of a public authority to enforce the rates. (3) In view of French legislation concerning the right of Trade Unions to act on behalf of home-workers, the Commission desires to remit the question of the judicial powers of Trade Unions to the I. F. T. U. and the Workers' Trade Union League of America for consideration. (4) The Commission also considers that this whole question should be placed on the agenda of the next Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in order that they may arrive at definite decisions and a full knowledge of the facts.

Peace Treaty and Reparations:

The Congress is of the opinion that the payment of reparations should be restricted to a restoration of the material loss and damage inflicted by Germany upon France, Belgium, and Italy, and in such a way as to enable Germany to be free in the shortest possible time from all further financial obligations. We demand, furthermore, the revision of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, and Trianon, which have produced much more hatred than peace; also the cancellation of all war debts.

Occupation of the Ruhr:

The Congress condemns the military occupation of the Ruhr as being a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The occupation of the Ruhr is a menace to peace and has, moreover, helped to intensify the industrial crisis and lower the standard of life of hundreds of thousands of workers. It is now quite clear that the occupation is not an effective means of exacting reparations from Germany. Germany can only pay when it is in a position to work and produce under peaceful conditions. We therefore welcome all efforts toward a restoration of peaceful conditions, and we demand that the Ruhr be evacuated.

The Disarmament Question:

The Congress adopts the view that all international questions should be settled along the lines of open negotiations. The social and economic community of interests of the various nations necessitates the establishment of a universal permanent peace.

For the attainment of this end the Congress declares itself in favor of convening an international conference. The

Congress calls upon the governments to take the initiative for such a conference, and by means of inquiries and negotiations to determine the most effective way of bringing about universal disarmament by means of a mutual understanding between all the nations.

In order to attain this end, war must be regarded as a crime against humanity. We demand the settlement of all disputes by means of international regulations; also the setting up of an international court which shall have the power to compel all nations which violate the international regulations to recognize its decisions.

We recommend, furthermore, that the League of Nations be vested with full juridical powers in order that it shall be in a position to fulfil its functions in case an agreement is reached in regard to universal disarmament.

For hundreds of years war has been regarded not only as a means of "settling" disputes but also as a noble and patriotic occupation. This conception of war has had disastrous consequences for mankind. We therefore welcome the establishment of the triple alliance of the women, the teachers, and the young people, and we hope that just as other mistakes have disappeared with the advances of civilization so, also, by means of education the war spirit will disappear.

WOMEN AND PEACE

On October 22 President Coolidge received a delegation made up of members of the commission which the National League of Women Voters appointed last summer to study post-war conditions as they affect European women, and the prospects of better international understanding.

The delegation presented to the President a summary of the commission's report to the directors of the league. It reads:

The National League of Women Voters believes that to all thinking men and women peace must be a fundamental issue, because it is clear that, with the new methods of warfare, civilization cannot survive unless means are found to prevent war. The members of the League realize that peace must be worked for rationally, since injudicious efforts for peace may actually breed war. They also realize that enduring peace cannot be expected until a means is found of settling international disputes by peaceful methods and of lessening possible causes of friction before they reach the stage of active dispute.

With these convictions in mind, the National League of Women Voters at its convention last April requested some of its delegates to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Rome to talk with representative women of other countries, in order to get a better understanding of the effect of the World War on the status of women and of women's ideas about the prevention of future wars. Bankers, military men, economists, legislators, and social workers had brought back the results of study of European conditions, but no committee of women to talk to women had been sent, and the League believed that, since women in their capacity as women, with women's traditional training, have a definite point of view on many questions of government, a mission of women to women might discover opinions and attitudes of a kind special to women, which would be of value in developing rational means of preventing future wars.

The commission had an exceptional opportunity of meeting women from most of the countries of Europe, and from South America, Australasia, Africa, and Asia, at the congress in Rome, at which women of forty-three countries agreed on a program that affirmed the duty of all women to work for reconciliation among nations and for the substitution of judicial methods for force in the settlement of international disputes. Several incidents during the congress, as well as the resolutions which it adopted, showed the underlying unity of purpose of women and their realiza-

tion of a fundamental common interest in the maintenance of peace.

After the congress the members of the commission separated and visited England, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland. An informal questionnaire was used and interviews with women in these countries were directed, to the end of learning the attitude of women in organized groups toward peace and what the women of each nation are doing to co-operate with other women for the advancement of peace, as well as the details of the political and industrial position of women at the present time. Most of the women consulted were, in the nature of the case, those active in political, social, or philanthropic work. Members of several European parliaments were among them and women of various professional and commercial connections. It was possible also to visit homes in many countries and to talk with women whose background is purely social. As a result of its inquiry, the commission now reports that it found women in all the countries visited bound, as are men, by conditions which bear upon affairs in their own country. In many places their outlook is affected by the tremendous nationalistic spirit of the present moment, so that there is little place for constructive organization or sentiment regarding machinery for peace. It is noticeable, however, that women generally have a greater dislike of war than have the men of their group, although the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

It is true, also, that women supply the larger number of enthusiasts for peace and a smaller proportion of outright militarists. Seeing war in terms of sons, women everywhere have a certain common ground in their desire for peace. More than men, they dread war for its known effect on their special interests, the home and the children. European women feel that war has lowered moral standards and made it hard to train children in ethical ideals.

Women very largely believe that in time of peace we should prepare for peace, since it is too late to do so when quarrels have started. Women are not much given to talking about what should be done to settle existing difficulties, such as the Ruhr and Flume afford, but are more concerned with bringing about conditions to make future friction less likely.

The definite ideal of law as a substitute for war is most apparent in England. In other countries there is a great longing among women for an assurance of peace, but in the more perturbed countries women are wringing their hands in dread, seeing peace as far off. The suggestion that the next generation be taught to abhor war was frequently made by women who have no hope of peace as a blessing of their own generation.

As a result of many intimate talks with women in European countries, the commission is profoundly impressed with the necessity of cultivating a spirit of international understanding and sympathy. No movement for peace can hope for success without this basis. The commission believes that every opportunity to bring about such understanding should be encouraged to the utmost.

The commission is also convinced that it is of vital importance to develop the channels by which disputes between nations may be settled by process of law. Even though, under existing conditions, there seems little hope that any major controversies will be submitted to legal settlement, there are a host of lesser disputes, any one of which is capable of becoming a cause for war, which may be submitted. The chief hope for peace is that if lesser matters can be justly settled by judicial means the awakening public opinion of the world will compel the settlement of more vital questions in the same way.

For these reasons the commission recommends:

First. That all opportunities for co-operation with other nations in efforts for world betterment be welcomed.

Second. That individuals and organizations of all kinds take advantage of opportunities for international intercourse in meetings for common purposes.

Third. That children and young persons be trained to understand the importance of peace as an essential basis for civilization.

Fourth. That the United States enter the Permanent Court of International Justice on the terms proposed to the Senate by President Harding, because the World Court is the best existing application of the principle of law as opposed to force in the settlement of international disputes.

The commission to European women was made up of Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president of the National League of Women Voters, chairman; Mrs. James Morrisson, of Chicago, a daughter of William Dudley Foulke; Mrs. James Paige, of Minneapolis, member of the Minnesota legislature; Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Ann Webster, of New Mexico, chairman of the League's Committee on Social Hygiene; Miss Adele Clark, of Richmond, president of the Virginia League of Women Voters, accompanied the delegation to the White House.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

LORD CURZON'S SPEECH AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

The following is the section of Lord Curzon's address to the Imperial Conference in which he dealt with reparations:

I now turn to the Franco-German or, as I should prefer to call it, the European problem, for it is one that concerns not two or three States alone, but the whole of those powers that were engaged in the war and to whom reparations were allotted, and not least among them the British Empire. His Majesty's Government have consistently held the view that the final settlement could only be achieved by common action and common consent, and that the dispute is not merely a military or political conflict between contiguous States.

I cannot, in the small space of time available to me, narrate in detail all that has happened since we last met at this table, in June, 1921. At that date the German Government had just yielded to an Allied ultimatum which covered a schedule of payments for the discharge of the reparation debt, as well as undertakings by the German Government for the early execution of the military disarmament and other clauses of the treaty. The Reparations Commission, who had under the treaty been charged with the task of fixing the reparation debt, had estimated it at £6,600 millions—a total which has since in some quarters assumed an almost sacrosanct character, but which in reality bore no relation to what Germany could pay, but was arrived at by lumping together the demands of the various claimant powers.

This total, which is well known to be a quite impossible sum, and which no sane person has ever expected that Germany would be able to pay in full, can only be altered by the consent of all the powers. For a time in 1921, the ultimatum having been accepted by Germany and the policy of Dr. Wirth's Government being the fulfilment of the treaty, payments were regularly made. But the situation in Germany was unstable. The mark began the first downward movement of its finally catastrophic descent, German industry and high finance were stubborn and hostile, assassination found its first victim in Erzberger, to be followed at a later date by Rathenau.

Before the end of the year Germany made her first application for a reduction of the payments due in 1922. This request was discussed at Cannes in January, 1922, and certain concessions were made. More were then asked for, involving the grant to Germany of a more complete moratorium for the rest of 1922 and for the whole of 1923, 1924.

Productive Pledges Demanded

This was the situation when the Allied premiers met in London in August, 1922, to consider the request. M. Poincaré declared that if there was to be a further moratorium he must have productive pledges—i. e., the yield of certain

taxes and industrial undertakings as well as the forests and mines in the Rhineland and the Ruhr. These proposals were declared to be financially and economically unsound by the majority of the expert committee who advised Mr. Lloyd George in the matter, and no decision was arrived at. In the course of the autumn Dr. Wirth's difficulties increased. In November he resigned, and with his disappearance the policy of fulfilment, which had been his watchword, receded into the background. He was followed by Dr. Cuno.

At the end of the year, when a decision by the powers was necessary, since the next payments were due, a further conference of Allied prime ministers was held in London, followed a little later by a renewal of the meeting in Paris. By this time Mr. Lloyd George had ceased to be Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law had taken his place. Now it was that the Ruhr, which had been the background of all the French plans and proposals for two years, emerged into prominence as the sole French specific.

The Ruhr was to be occupied, preferably by the Allies; if not, then by France and such of her Allies as would go in with her, France's object in the move being to obtain immediate payment of the £1,300 millions which she claimed plus whatever sum might be required to pay off her debts to Great Britain and the United States. Put in another way, France would agree to no reduction of the total of the German reparation debt save as a set-off against the cancellation of her war debts to Great Britain and America.

British Objection to Ruhr Occupation

The British view, on the other hand, was that Germany was incapable of making large immediate payments, that the occupation of the Ruhr was not the right way in which to secure such payment, that by reducing the capacity of Germany to pay (owing to the loss of her most important industrial and economic center) payment would be indefinitely postponed, and further exasperation (and probably at a later date internal disruption) in Germany would be produced, and that grave economic loss would thus be entailed not merely on the occupying powers, but on Europe, viewed as an economic unit, in general.

Mr. Bonar Law therefore declined to join in the occupation and proposed an alternative plan for the reduction of the total debt to £2,500 millions, with an accompanying issue of bonds, a moratorium for a short period of years, and the institution of a drastic control over German finance. Further, if this proposal were accepted, he made the offer, startling though unrecognized in its generosity, to cancel the French and Italian war debts to us *in toto*. The French refused, and on January 11 the Franco-Belgo-Italian occupation of the Ruhr began. It cannot, I think, be denied that the sanguine expectations with which it was entered upon have been largely falsified by the results. As the net yield of the Franco-Belgian occupation became increasingly disappointing, so the treatment of the inhabitants by the Franco-Belgian authorities became increasingly severe. Thus there grew up a sort of deadlock or, if the metaphor be varied, a condition of embittered stalemate between the rival forces. The Germans took the view that the occupation was in direct violation of the treaty; they refused all voluntary reparation payments to France and Belgium, and they threw every possible obstacle in the way of the industrial exploitation of the region. The work of the military disarmament of Germany, provided for by the peace treaty, also came to a standstill.

Ruhr Legality Question

In the meantime, Mr. Bonar Law, in a generous anxiety not to frustrate by British action the success of a policy in the practical application of which he disbelieved, but the principle underlying which (*viz.*, the desire and necessity to obtain reparations) was equally accepted by ourselves, while wishing the French good fortune in their undertaking, took up an attitude of strict neutrality. That attitude we have maintained throughout the summer, retaining our army of occupation in the area the custody of which had been assigned to us by the treaty, endeavoring to hold the scales between the rival parties and hoping to bring them to an ultimate arrangement.

The fact that we learned from our law officers after Mr. Bonar Law's return from Paris, that the occupation was not in their opinion justified by the terms of the treaty, confirming the wisdom of the British attitude, was never concealed by us from our allies. On the other hand, public use was not made of it until M. Poincaré himself raised the legal issue by basing his case on the alleged illegality of the German action in resisting the occupation.

I am not here to apportion praise or blame between the various parties in the conflict. Our sentimental sympathy would always have been and was with our old and trusted ally. We had not the smallest desire to take the side of Germany or to let the Germans down easily, or to deprive France of her just due. On the other hand, we also had to consider our due, and viewing the matter, not through the glasses of sentiment, but from a severely practical angle, we regarded with increasing anxiety the prosecution of a policy that seemed to us to be productive of no good results and to be leading on to disaster and ruin.

Lord Curzon's Advice to Germany

In the course of the spring the German Government, under Dr. Cuno, made a number of rather ill-devised suggestions for compromise, which I need not summarize because they were in each case inadequate and stillborn. I did not think that their diplomacy in this respect was wise, and in my various interviews with the German Ambassador I never failed to impress upon him this point of view, and to urge that the duty of his government was threefold:

1. To pay their just debts.
2. Agree to the fixation of the payments by competent authority.
3. To offer specific and adequate guarantees.

Simultaneously His Majesty's Government never wavered in the assertion of their broad and general loyalty to the Entente, and more than once indicated to the French Government that if security rather than, or in addition to, reparations was in their mind, we should at any time be willing to discuss it.

The first definite move—again halting and ill-conceived—was made by Germany in the opening days of May last. It was promptly turned down with scorn by France and Belgium, and met with no approval from us. Then, in response to a suggestion made by His Majesty's Government, their second offer of June 7 came. This was more substantial, for the German Government now offered to accept the decision of an impartial international body as to the amount and methods of payment, they proposed certain specific guarantees, and they asked for a conference to work out a definite scheme. Here, at least, seemed to His Majesty's Government to be both the chance of progress and the material for a reply. Prolonged conversations with our French and Belgian allies left their views and intentions veiled in some obscurity, and accordingly we decided, with their knowledge, to draw up the draft of a joint reply with a view to securing the inestimable advantage of concerted action.

By this time the question of passive resistance, which had been continued with unabated intensity and had baffled all the French expectations, had assumed the first place in the outlook of our allies, and M. Poincaré more than once laid down with uncompromising clearness that not until it was abandoned would he enter into discussions as to the future. For our part we continued to give advice in a similar sense to the German Government, and in the draft reply which we submitted its abandonment, entailing the gradual resumption of civil administration and the progressive evacuation of the Ruhr, was put in the forefront of our scheme.

In our explanatory letter to the Allies we further made concrete proposals—viz., for the examination by a body of impartial experts, acting in conjunction with (and, if necessary, under) the orders of the Reparations Commission, of the question of German capacity and modes of payment, a similar examination into the question of the proposed guarantees and the summoning of an Inter-Allied conference to bring about a general financial settlement.

Rejection of British Proposals

I do not think, therefore, that it can be said of His Majesty's Government that they were either backward to initiative or barren of suggestion, and certainly our proposals appeared to us to be characterized both by impartiality and good will. They were unfortunate, however, in receiving an unfavorable reply from France and a not much more favorable reply from Belgium. These replies have been published to the world, and I need not recapitulate their nature. It is enough to say that not until passive resistance was definitely abandoned by Germany would our allies agree to make any move; our proposal for an expert inquiry was rejected; and the French and Belgian claims for repayment were restated in unqualified form.

I confess that my colleagues and I were greatly disappointed at the result of our sincere but thankless intervention. Once more we stated our case in the British note of August 11, a note revised with meticulous care, first by the Cabinet and then by the Prime Minister and myself, and once again we offered as the price of a settlement to cancel the whole of our claims except for the sum of £710 millions sterling to meet our debt to the United States Government. Moreover, if we could get a portion of the sum from German reparations, our demands upon our allies would be proportionately reduced. The replies of the French and Belgian governments have been published. They indicated not the faintest advance from the position already taken up. Our capacity for useful intervention was manifestly exhausted.

Is a Settlement any Nearer?

Meanwhile, as time passed, it became apparent that the German Government could not, even if they desired, persist in the policy of passive resistance, and at length, only a week ago, Herr Stresemann, who had succeeded Dr. Cuno a few weeks earlier, decided to surrender. I think myself that this surrender should have been made three months ago and was unwisely and foolishly postponed. But I have been told (and I suspect that it is the truth) that no German Government could at that time have survived which made the surrender. Whether Herr Stresemann, who had the courage and the wisdom to take this step, will survive is uncertain, as I speak these words.

And now what is the point to which we have come? We do not grudge our allies the victory—if victory it be. On the contrary, we welcome, just as we have for long ourselves advised, it. But are we any nearer to settlement? Will the reparation payments begin to flow in? What is the new form of civil administration or organization that is to be applied to the Ruhr? These are questions which it is vital to put and vital also to answer.

One of the results, at any rate, that we anticipated has already been brought about; for we see the beginnings of that internal disruption which we have all along feared, but which we have been consistently told to regard as a bogey. And let it be remembered that disruption is not merely an ominous political symptom. It has a portentous economic significance, for it means the ultimate disappearance of the debtor himself.

What, therefore, should be the next step? I have made no concealment of our view in my conversations with the French Ambassador, and it has the approval of the Prime Minister, who recently did so much by his visit to Paris to re-create a friendly atmosphere after the rather heated discharge of the rival guns. We have repeatedly been assured by the French Government that as soon as passive resistance definitely ceased the time for discussion between the Allies would have come. So far as I can gather, the German Government are sincere in their intentions and have taken the steps required of them.

In conclusion Lord Curzon said:

The French Government know, therefore, that we await and expect the next proposals from them. The contingency of the cessation of passive resistance must have long been anticipated at the Quai d'Orsay, and the consequent measures doubtless exist in outline if not in detail. We shall be

quite ready to receive and to discuss them in a friendly spirit. Our position at Cologne in the occupied area gives us a right to be consulted in any local arrangements that may be proposed, and that position we have no intention to abandon.

Our reparation claim, willing as we have been to pare it down in the interests of settlement, renders it impossible that any such settlement could be reached without our co-operation. Our stake in the economic recovery of Europe, which affects us as closely—and in some respects more so—as the immediate neighbor of Germany, makes us long for an issue. We have already shown our willingness by unexampled concessions to contribute to it.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

IN ITS NUMBER of September 16, the *Journée Industrielle*, a French journal, published an account of the attempts made at the Somme to make use of German labor for the reconstruction of the devastated areas. "From the technical standpoint, the Germans work very well and very rapidly. As to their relations with the inhabitants, it can safely be said that not a single unpleasant incident has as yet occurred." These remarks are confirmed by the results of an inquiry instituted by the Building Workers' Federation. The Secretary of this organization writes in an article published in *Le Peuple* on the 18th of September: "According to our delegates, the inhabitants in the neighborhood of Grivilles and Courtemanche have declared that the German workers have given no cause for complaint."

Unfortunately, it is but a small number of workers who are concerned in these attempts. It is well known that, when the French Trade Union Federation, assisted by guilds and acting in concert with the German labor organizations, offered to undertake the reconstruction of the devastated areas with the aid of German workers, the Minister of Reconstruction yielded to the wishes of the national block and the Industrialists and refused co-operation.

An article in *Populaire* of the 15th of September, entitled "A New Panama," shows in their true colors the workers' efforts and the tactics of the employers. It declares "that the northeast districts of France have twice been devastated: once by the most terrible of all wars and the four years of occupation, and again by the parasitism of high finance, which, in total disregard of the financial straits of France, robbed the country unscrupulously." The paper proceeds to enumerate various instances of this dishonesty, such as the act of the Industrialists of Roubaix-Tourcoing, who, despite the fact that most of their factories were intact, nevertheless received huge sums of money from the State. The Fives-Lille Co. possesses one factory in Fives-Lille and another in Givors. Their capital was in 1912, 12 million; in 1914, 15 million; and in 1919-20, 31 million francs. According to a report of a financial paper, the concern demanded a compensation of 250 million francs, of which it obtained 196 million. Other instances are also given of the same kind of thing. The article ends with the words "What a Panama!"

A SUNDAY-SCHOOL FLEET TO "GLASGOW, 1924," for the Ninth Convention of the World's Sunday School Association which will be held in Glasgow, June 18-26,

1924. The entire passenger space on three ships has been engaged for the Sunday-school delegates. These ships will all sail on June 7, 1924. The *Marloch* will leave from Montreal, the *Cameronia* from New York, and the *Columbia* from Philadelphia. The *Columbia* will call at Boston and depart from that port on June 9. Those who have used one of the chartered ships in attending previous conventions of the World's Sunday School Association are most enthusiastic in stating that they had much pleasure and profit by traveling with fellow Sunday-school workers. Blocks of reservations on other steamers have been reserved for those who wish to start earlier than June 7 and take one of the pre-convention tours either through Europe or to Palestine and Egypt. A tour bulletin, setting forth seventeen very attractive tours, with inclusive rates, has been prepared by the Transportation Committee and can be secured by writing to the World's Sunday School Association, 216 Metropolitan Tower, New York City.

BY THE LAW OF OCTOBER, 1921, Brazil established a social museum. Among other activities, this museum will serve as an institute for the prevention of labor accidents, for industrial hygiene instruction and education in general, and vocational training of the laboring classes. The museum will promote the investigation of matters concerning the moral, social, physical, and economic condition of the workers. It will maintain the following sections: (1) A library, with reading-room; (2) an exhibit of machinery provided with safety and hygiene devices; (3) an exhibition of plans, models, photographs and graphs, as well as of museum statistics; (4) an exhibit of occupational and other diseases and prophylactic measures to control such diseases; (5) a section for the testing of new machines and other apparatus. This social museum is maintained by budget appropriations, legacies, private donations, government, and other subventions.

THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT HAS NOW GRANTED to the Mussolini government the *Esercizio Provvisorio*—that is, authority to conduct the financial operations of the State until the end of the next fiscal year (June 30, 1924) without previous approval of the Budget. This has been the general practice since the war and does not mean that no estimate of receipts and expenditures is to be made; in fact, a statement has already been issued of the probable income and expenditures under various heads, and a reduction of the deficit to 1,187,000,000 lire has been promised. Previously the Government had the *Esercizio Provvisorio* extending to June 30, 1923, so that the new action is merely an extension of present privileges for another year.

THE POLISH DIET is witnessing attacks on the government primarily because of the depreciation of the national currency, the Polish mark rapidly approaching the state of German currency. In the meantime prices are rising alarmingly, in face of the fact that the Polish crops are so abundant that cereals are a superfluity. Poland seems to be suffering from a blight of profiteers. Mr. Hilton Young, an English financial expert, has arrived in Poland. There is a hope that he will be able to help in the readjustment of the financial situation.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE EVOLUTION OF HUNGARY AND ITS PLACE IN EUROPEAN HISTORY. By *Count Paul Teleki*. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. 312. Price, \$3.50.

The Kingdom of Hungary is the vital factor in the re-organization of eastern Europe today. Without some comprehension of its history, its people, and its economies, it is quite impossible to understand or to estimate the present occurrences or the future of that important group known as the Little Entente and of Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary. A book such as the "Evolution of Hungary," from the pen of one of Hungary's most eminent scientists and statesmen, is, therefore, an exceedingly important contribution to modern political literature.

A member of an old Hungarian family, Count Paul Teleki numbers, among the incidents of an eventful life, explorations in the Sudan, parliamentary life in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, active war service, professional geographical advisership to the Hungarian Peace Delegation, and the successive occupation of the Ministries of Instruction and Foreign Affairs. He became Premier of Hungary in December, 1920, retiring in the middle of 1921, as a result of his conduct in persuading King Charles to leave Hungary. Nevertheless, this act is considered to have been the wisest and bravest of Count Teleki's career.

Following his retirement, the ex-premier took the chair of geography in the faculty of economics of the University of Budapest, which he is the first to occupy. His book on Hungary is the result of a series of lectures delivered last year at the Institute of Politics, in Williamstown.

Many unusual features are presented in Count Teleki's work, including several important maps and diagrams drawn by the author on new principles. It is undoubtedly the most authoritative statement of the Hungarian case that has been made in America.

GERMANY'S CAPACITY TO PAY. By *H. G. Moulton and C. E. McGuire*. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York. Pp. 384.

This extraordinarily clear and unimpassioned study of the reparations question is the first publication to be issued by the Institute of Economics, which came into being some fifteen or eighteen months ago, in Washington, D. C., and is conducting a series of investigations in international economic reconstruction.

Written in the simplest and least technical language, Messrs. Moulton and McGuire's work has a peculiar value, in that it can be readily grasped by a reader of ordinary intelligence, but with no special training in economics. The basis on which the inquiry into Germany's capacity for payment was carried out, or, in other words, the fundamental economic laws governing the situation, is lucidly explained as a preliminary to the more detailed study. Facts regarding the economic situation of Germany prior to, during, and after the war, which have never before been brought to the attention of the lay mind, are here plainly and authoritatively stated, and the conclusions arrived at are coldly logical.

There is, therefore, a quality of permanence in this study which is unusual in works of this kind. Messrs. Moulton and McGuire's work is indispensable to students of the present situation, but it will also be indispensable in the future to students of economics in general, to whom such a record and analysis of the problems we now face will afford an invaluable light on the path to be pursued in the future.

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHISTS IN SOUTHERN ASIA. By *Kenneth J. Saunders*. Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. 76. Price, \$1.00.

THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE ORIENT. By *Masahara Anesaki, D. Litt., LL. D.* Pp. 77. Price, \$1.00.

The reading of either of these books should be preceded by a study of the life of Buddha and of his teachings, as

well as of Hinduism. The folk-lore of the Jataka tales it would also be well to know. The editors of Professor Saunders' book have happily, therefore, prepared a careful but brief bibliography.

This book on southern Asia is a most practical one. It is written especially for those intending to enter missionary work, but will be of interest to any one who wishes to know more of life in the countries described.

Mr. Saunders gives graphic word pictures of the daily life, and especially of the religious life, of Buddhist peoples in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam. Assuming the superiority of Christianity rather than arguing for it, the author discusses the best method of missionary approach in each country.

The tone of the book is deeply sympathetic with the Buddhist religion, which is so fine, in spite of apathy and despair. In fact, so appreciative is the study that the casual reader might, at first, wonder why missionaries need be sent to Buddhist lands at all. In the sixth chapter, however, the author does point to the definite respects in which he believes Christianity would benefit Asia.

The other volume, by Dr. Anesaki, analyzes in a philosophical spirit the problems which have arisen in Japan from the blending of oriental and occidental civilization. It consists of four chapters, first given in 1921, in California, as lectures on the E. T. Earl Foundation.

Dr. Anesaki is Professor of the Science of Religion in the Tokyo Imperial University and was, in 1913-15, Professor of Japanese Literature and Life in Harvard University. Mr. Saunders was instrumental in bringing the Japanese lecturer to this country.

Dr. Anesaki, in his book, frequently alludes to the essentially oriental nature of the Christian religion in its subjective and contemplative aspects. St. Francis' teaching is nearly akin to some of the Buddhist social ideals, and Tolstol is continually referred to as a philosopher quite oriental.

The modern restlessness and reaction from old religious tenets is quite as rife in Japan today as it is elsewhere. The young Japanese have seen that the civilization of Christendom, useful and necessary as it is, is not yet in key with any deep religion, be it Christianity or Buddhism. Therefore new religious sects are springing up; new social, industrial, and spiritual reforms are agitating the youth of the land.

Among many quotable paragraphs we note the following on the decay of the war spirit in Japan:

"The attraction that industrial life offers to talent, both developed and potential, is best shown, in Japan particularly, in the decrease of candidates for official careers and of applicants for the military and naval schools. This is deplored by the conservatives, as a sign of diminished patriotism; but there is no reason why business men should be held less patriotic than officials and officers."

BOOKS RECEIVED *

EXPENDITURES OF THE JAPANESE WAR. By *Gotaro Ogawa, D. C. L.* 257 p. Index. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York.

PRICES AND WAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1914-1920. By *Arthur L. Bowley*. 228 p. and index. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION. By *G. D. H. Cole*. 186 p. and index. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

TRADE UNIONISM AND MUNITIONS. By *G. D. H. Cole*. 251 p. Index. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

THE BRITISH COAL-MINING INDUSTRY DURING THE WAR. By *Sir R. A. S. Redmayne, K. C. B., M. Sc.* 348 p. Index. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

FOREIGN TRADE MARKETS AND METHODS. By *Clayton S. Cooper*. 440 p. Index and illustrations. D. Appleton & Co., New York. \$3.50.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Graham H. Stuart*. 404 p. The Century Co., New York. \$3.75.

HUMAN AUSTRALASIA. By *Charles Franklin Thwing*. 261 p. Index. The Macmillan Co., New York. \$2.50.

* A number of these books will be reviewed later.

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

(Adopted by the American Peace Society May 27, 1921)

The American Peace Society, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council, to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment wherever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for, and in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives;

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

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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.

This Society

Wishes for its friends an abiding hope in the tasks of every day, all possible joy in achievement, and every deserved triumph in the reach for those fine and abiding things especially longed for by a Christian world at Christmas time.

ANNOUNCES that the ADVOCATE OF PEACE will publish at the earliest possible time the plan selected by the jury of the American Peace Award, created by Edward W. Bok, and offering \$100,000 for the "best practicable plan by which the United States may co-operate with other nations looking toward the prevention of war." Members of the American Peace Society will be asked to vote for or against the plan and to submit reasoned views in support of their votes. At the request of the Policy Committee of the American Peace Award, this Society will send to its members the winning plan, a ballot, and a special letter setting forth the objects in view.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PLAN TO PROMOTE PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

THE AMERICAN PEACE AWARD competition, for which Mr. Bok, of Philadelphia, has offered a \$100,000 prize to the author of the best practicable plan by which the United States may co-operate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world, closed Thursday night, November 15, at 12 o'clock. We understand that over 20,000 plans were received. That, we should say, is hopeful business.

There is no reason for criticizing Mr. Bok for his attempt to bring the preachers of peace into the open. Truth does not thrive on despair. Constructive effort is based upon hope. Evidently Mr. Bok has been a gracious means of arousing thoughtful people to the expression of their hopes. In his way, we have no doubt, he has rendered a service, perhaps a very great service.

Elsewhere in these columns we are pleased to print a most thoughtful plan from the pen of J. Reuben Clark. We commend it for careful reading to every one of our readers.

The *Christian Science Monitor* points out that if the promise of personal profit in war, or in the threat of war, could be wholly removed, a great step would be taken toward the destruction of all incentives to war. This paper, therefore, suggests the following national action—the adoption of a constitutional amendment substantially as follows: "In the event of declaration of war, the property, equally with the persons, lives, and liberties of all citizens, shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the nation, and it shall be the duty of the President to propose and of Congress to enact the legislation necessary to effect this amendment." If such an amendment were accepted legislation would be adopted, thinks the *Monitor*, by which at a stroke the whole nation would be set to work to attain national victory. All possibility of personal profit would be eliminated. All of us would be enrolled in one common effort for the performance of all functions related even in the most remote way with the national defense. No profits, no war, seems to be the thesis.

The winning plan, under the terms of the Bok offer, will receive wide publicity. What will it propose? We venture to prophesy. While our own plan for the promotion of international peace is set forth regularly, with some detail, on the inside front cover of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, we submit in other language what seems to

us to be the essentials of any reasonable program calculated to win the support of our United States Senate and of the executive branch of our government. We suspect that the victorious plan will have to include substantially the following fundamental principles and program. In a short time we shall know how nearly right our prophecies are.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

There can be no abiding peace between nations except a peace of justice.

There can be no peace of justice except it be expressed in terms of international law.

Peace, that is to say any desirable peace between nations, must be the expression of those moralities and principles of justice capable of expression in rules of mutually accepted laws.

The purpose of international law, like the purpose of municipal law, must be the protection of certain fundamental rights, as the right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness, to property, all regulated by that other principle that governments are created by their people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These principles can become effective only through a voluntary union of all States, setting for its purpose the realization of a world order governed by laws rather than by men.

The way for the realization of such a governed world is plain. There must be periodic international conferences of duly chosen and instructed delegates of all States. These delegates shall together agree upon those principles of law calculated to govern their respective States in matters of international concern, with the understanding that these laws shall be returned to their respective States for ratification according to the regular constitutional methods peculiar to such respective States. When thus ratified, the laws become operative for the nations that have ratified.

Since differences of opinion may arise as to the interpretation of a given law, manifestly there must be a Permanent Court of International Justice where such questions can be heard and decided, quite as the Supreme Court of the United States hears and determines questions as between States of the American Union.

There can be no adequate development of these principles and agencies except through a mutually accepted machinery, backed by an enlightened good will.

THE PROGRAM

To these ends the United States of America should propose and support a conference of all civilized States for the following purposes:

1. Of instituting periodic conferences of duly appointed and instructed delegates from all of the nations,

freed from every form of tyrannical dictation, the function of which conferences shall be the restatement, amendment, reconciliation, or declaration of international law.

2. Of improving and extending the methods of diplomacy, of good offices, and of mediation.

3. Of extending the commissions of inquiry to which may be referred, for investigation and report, such differences of an international character as may not be readily submitted to diplomacy, arbitration, or other form of composition, as provided in the score and more of treaties already in force.

4. Of creating councils of conciliation, with the power to consider and to report upon non-justiciable questions not otherwise herein provided for.

5. Of utilizing more extensively the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

6. Of establishing an independent Permanent Court of International Justice, developed, if possible, from the existing Permanent Court of International Justice, with obligatory jurisdiction in disputes involving the interpretation of a treaty or of an international law. To this court all States shall of right have direct access for the submission of any justiciable dispute.

7. Of furnishing for these law-making and law-interpreting agencies an Executive-Secretariat to carry out the will of the international conferences and of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This Executive-Secretariat may be developed from the existing Administrative Committee existing at The Hague, from the Secretariat of the League of Nations, from both, or *de novo*, according to the will of the nations in conference assembled.

8. Of providing increasingly for adequate public instruction necessary to the creation of that international mind and enlightened public opinion which, as pointed out by the American Peace Society, "shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practical, obtainable, and desirable."

SUMMARY OF PLAN

The United States of America shall propose and support the calling of a conference of all States for the four following purposes:

- I. The establishment of periodic conferences of the nations for the advancement of international law.
- II. The improvement of diplomacy, good offices, mediation, investigation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement.
- III. The setting up of an Executive-Secretariat.
- IV. The advancement of education in world affairs.

A LETTER AND REPLY

PUBLIC AGITATION in behalf of a world at peace is most encouragingly rampant. It may well be rampant, if at the same time it be as intelligent as study and consecration can make it. Of all movements the peace movement can, like Antæus, be invincible only so long as it keeps its feet on the earth.

The aim of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is to voice the inherent and enduring wisdom at the heart of the movement to supplant the devastations of war with the healing processes of peace. To this end, we of this old Society aim to serve men and women of intelligence and good will to achieve something worth while and enduring in the realm of constructive international policies. We lay no claim to omniscience. We are always open to reasoned arguments against our position. We are concerned simply to accomplish something tangible in the realm of public opinion, in government action, particularly in the United States Senate.

We are just in receipt of a letter from a distinguished resident of Boston. This letter, followed by our reply, is so germane not only to the work of this Society, but to the general movement for greater world peace, that we publish both letters in full:

BOSTON, *November 5, 1923.*

To the Editor of the *ADVOCATE*:

Do you really believe that you are promoting the cause of the world's peace by disparaging the League of Nations? I am bound to believe that you do; but your attitude puzzles me. Surely you cannot have been deceived by the bogies and mare's nests that party politics, to say nothing of personal malice, found in it. The greatest international asset in the world is the moral influence of the United States. We have deliberately thrown it away at a time when, as events may prove, it was an indispensable factor in composing Europe and restoring the balance of the world. "There is no reason to doubt that if we had gone into the League we could have amended it to suit ourselves. Is there any reason to doubt that if our influence had been openly at work in the restoration of Europe the calamity that seems now to be impending might and probably would have been averted and Europe far on the way to social and economic order? I confess that your *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* appears to me very much like other advocates who are among the loudest for peace, but never willing that anything effective be done to bring it about. Very likely this is my own fault. I hope it is, but I have never been shown.

Reply

NOVEMBER 9, 1923.

DEAR SIR:

In reply to your letter of November 5, it gives us pleasure to answer your inquiries seriatim, as follows:

We believe that we are promoting the cause of world peace by pointing out from time to time, as best

we can, the absurdities embodied in the League of Nations.

We hope that we are not influenced unduly by "party politics" or by "personal malice."

We believe that "the moral influence of the United States" can best be expressed by faithful and consistent adherence to the principles upon which these United States are founded.

We do not agree that with reference to this "moral influence" . . . "we have deliberately thrown it away."

We do not agree that "if we had gone into the League of Nations we could have amended it to suit ourselves." Persia has just made it impossible for the League to amend article 10.

We are of the opinion that America has "been openly at work in the restoration of Europe," but as yet with little success. But because of our refusal to take sides in the broils of that stricken land, we have not whittled away our influence against the time when such influence will be acceptable to the European States.

As for peace, we are particularly, professionally, we hope devotedly, anxious that "something effective be done to bring it about." What can be done, we believe, is regularly set forth on the inside of the front cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. We believe this to be so because the principles therein set forth are the principles consonant with the history, aspirations, and practices not only of our America, indeed of Anglo-Saxon civilization, but of successful peace policies throughout the world.

WHO WRITES THIS?

WE ARE in receipt of a communication from Texas demanding "that there shall be no more war!" It is not written by "pacifists," commonly so called, by any women's organization, by conscientious objectors, or by any peace society as such. But let us note what it says.

It points out that from time immemorial men have made war on each other, that in the waging of war men have shown valor, courage, patience, love, sacrifice; but in the wake thereof have followed death, sorrow, pestilence, rapine, ruin, and red stark terror. The statement runs on: "In other times peace treaties have been made and signed by chieftains, kings, emperors, diplomats, and popes. These agreements, entered upon for family gain or national aggrandizement, not for the good of humanity and not representing the will of the people, have not been kept. Peace has not endured. Peace upon such foundations can never endure. . . . We demand this peace not so much for ourselves as for our sons who may be killed or crippled in war and our daughters who may be raped or widowed. We make this demand for the good of mankind, that civilization may prosper in all countries of the world. . . . We demand that there shall be no more war!"

The people who are sending forth these sentiments have organized a peace party. To this party they will admit no slackers, no conscientious objectors. The originator of the idea is a descendant of the fighting Huguenots and of a family that furnished Peter Maverick to the Boston Tea Party. He carries three scars from the Argonne, where he was reported among the dead, not to mention his citation for "bravery under fire and conspicuously fine action." The "party" is made up of veterans of the armies of all the countries of the late World War, "whether ally or enemy therein." Every member has an honorable discharge for the faithful bearing of arms in war. Soldiers all. They call themselves "The Soldiers' Peace." It is not a political organization. The members enter into no religious dispute. But they call upon political parties and upon all creeds to join in their movement. They have issued a call to the soldiers of the world to meet in Berne, Switzerland, on September 1, 1924, one decade after the huge armies first marched against each other. The purpose of the meeting in Berne shall be to present to the world a "united, positive demand that there shall be no more war."

It is a strange fact of human history that mankind is having so much trouble to overcome a hideous system so universally condemned, not by weaklings only, but by soldiers as well.

A SANE PEACE POLICY FOR WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

THERE is no doubt but that the European chaos is beginning to wear upon American nerves.

Every American who went to Europe this summer returned insisting that something must be done about it. If, prior to his departure, he advocated American entry into the League of Nations, he returns assuring the American people that they must, immediately, enter the League of Nations. If, when he left this country, he was opposed to the League of Nations, he comes back insisting that the League is dead and America must keep out of it. If the World Court attracted his wandering fancy, he re-enters New York Harbor singing the praises of the World Court. If he viewed the World Court with justifiable suspicion, he steps off the liner more suspicious than ever.

Intensive propaganda is being carried on, day in and day out, for the achievement of peace. Armament reduction, passive resistance to war, elimination of military records from children's history books, complete disarmament, no more war—all these policies, wise and unwise, are being urged upon the citizen from every side. At the same time the professional propagandist, the non-professional enthusiast, the so-called intelli-

gentsia, and others, raise their voices in mourning throughout the land.

Party politics add to the confusion. Democrats and Republicans maneuver to avoid, or to drag in, the League of Nations issue. Where the internal situation appears dangerous, foreign relations are used in the manner of the traditional red herring wherewith the voter's attention may be occupied. "Peace, Peace!" cries the world, while at the same time each separate element engages in bloody combat over the kind of peace desired.

It cannot be denied, however, that, especially in the United States of America, a wave of feeling is passing over the people. The ordinary citizen is appalled by the conditions abroad, and not without fear for the future in his own country. It is inevitable that politicians and propagandists should endeavor to utilize this feeling for their own peculiar ends. For this reason it is well to sound a note of warning, more especially to the great women's organizations. There has been no time in history when the practical good sense and caution of women have been more necessary to the common welfare than at this moment.

Undoubtedly every woman's organization should have, nay, must have, a peace policy. Nevertheless, if this policy be not sane, well considered, patient, and careful, the efforts of women in this direction will merely tend to plunge the world further into misery. The experience of 1918-19, when the same urgent desire for peace and good will filled the hearts of men, and was shamelessly utilized by scheming politicians to further their own ends, must never be forgotten. It is not enough to be well meaning.

In formulating a peace policy the following profoundly important considerations must be taken into account, namely, the policy must be clear, practical, flexible, sustained, based on historical experience, and on a knowledge of the conditions under which it must manifest itself. Let us analyze these considerations in detail:

It must be clear. The end to be achieved is the prevention of the catastrophes of war by the substitution of the healing processes of peace throughout the world.

It must be practical. These catastrophes will only be prevented by inducing nations to extend to 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; by the promotion of 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; and, as a most immediate

measure, by bringing about at the earliest practicable moment a conference of all the nations for the restatement, amendment, reconciliation and declaration of international law.

It must be flexible. In so far as it is possible to be friendly with other national or international groups whose aims may be similar, such friendliness should not be denied. In so far as it is possible to adapt the active policies of the organization, without infringing upon its principles, to meet present conditions, they should be adapted. In so far as it is possible to support adequate plans and proposals tending toward a world governed by laws and not by men, they must be supported actively.

It must be sustained. While the barriers against war cannot be reared intelligently when war actually rages, real precautions must be taken in times of peace to prevent the recurrence of war. Unfortunately, it is when the world is at peace that it is least interested in preventive measures destined to safeguard the future. A sustained policy must, however, be earnestly pursued, and that with sufficient patience and perseverance to arouse and keep the popular interest of a world at peace, while, step by step, the work of eliminating the possibilities of future war is carried forward.

It must be based upon historical experience. This generation is by no means the first to know the desire for peace. The American people have been peculiarly successful in achieving the fulfillment of their desire for peace between their States, and, indeed, throughout the Western Hemisphere. No policy aiming at world peace can be entirely sound which is not based upon a thorough knowledge of these experiments in international peace, as well as the causes underlying the failure of other schemes, such as the European Grand Plan, or the Holy Alliance.

It must be based upon a knowledge of the conditions under which it is to manifest itself. This premise not only calls for an historical background, but also for a knowledge of the current conditions and problems, whether economic, political or social, of our modern civilization.

The above analysis may appear somewhat formidable to the average clubwoman. It must be admitted that there is here nothing in the nature of a panacea guaranteed to secure immediate results. Work and study are the outstanding and immediate factors.

Panaceas, it will be acknowledged, have never been famous for their good results in international life. Peace between States is not a matter of enforcement so much as it is an affair of understanding. Disarmament, for instance, is not a basic consideration, for, as justice takes the place of force, expensive armies will,

automatically, become obsolete; but until then they must, and will, prevail.

During the century in which the American Peace Society, comprising not a few of the ablest men of the nation, has worked unremittingly in the interests of peace, many tremendous strides in that direction have been taken by this and other countries. Yet a fearful war recently shattered Europe. Other wars occurred during the period in question; other wars will, perhaps, occur again. But, as time goes on, the interval between wars lengthens, and the attitude of the peoples of the world toward war changes, so that they become more willing to consider the prevention of such a calamity.

All this would hardly be complete without a suggestion concerning the organization of peace work within clubs, lodges, and so forth. Taken on the broadest lines, it may be said that every woman's organization should include a department devoted to the promotion of the methods of peace, and charged with the duty of carrying out the policy formulated by the entire organization. This department would seem to divide itself automatically into two sections: one for the study of international relations in the widest sense of the word, and one for the active promotion of measures destined to preserve peace and to prevent war. The active work of the department should be based on premises laid down by the study section.

It should be added that the American Peace Society, whose headquarters are situated in the Colorado Building, Washington, D. C., views with interest and optimism the future of women's organizations as a factor in world peace. The Society stands prepared to co-operate in the fullest possible manner with all such organizations whose earnest desire it is to bend their energies toward such an end. Possessing, as it does, an extensive library on international affairs, with various types of literature for distribution, and publishing the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated magazine devoted to the elucidation of international problems in the world, this ancient Society affords an unparalleled opportunity to organizations desirous of assistance in their work.

SOMEbody has asked us if we agree with Mary Austin, as set forth in the September *Century Magazine*, that we are in need of a new religion. Mrs. Austin's exact words, about which we have been asked to express our views, are: "What the world and the church both need is a new revelation. It seems to be generally agreed that the teaching of Jesus is adequate for personal salvation. It is equally agreed, though not so openly admitted, that in respect to both the nature and method of social salvation some new light is indispensable."

We are not acquainted with the context from which

the quotation is taken, but taking the words as they stand, we cannot escape the conviction that she is quite right. "Revelation" is a process, and, in our judgment, for the individual, the church, and the world, it is an everlasting process. While we do not profess to know what is meant by "social salvation," it should be perfectly clear that what we all need is a quickening of the process.

THE POLITICAL situation in England presents livelier aspects than at any time since the organization of the Coalition Government in the midst of the war. From an international point of view, the most serious thing brought to our attention was Mr. Baldwin's remark before one of the largest and most impressive gatherings the House of Commons has ever held, in which he said: "I have spared no pains to let it be known to our Allies that the people of this country cannot continue indefinitely to maintain the spirit necessary for co-operation in the Entente if the present situation is allowed to continue very much longer." And yet we venture to forecast that there will be no irreparable break between London and Paris.

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, we are told, will make representations to the United States regarding the recent decision of the Supreme Court upholding California and Washington statutes which prohibit non-citizen Orientals from owning or leasing land in those States. Public opinion in Japan will not be pleased by the report that the Attorney-General of California declares that the Supreme Court decree authorizes California to evict all Japanese landholders or tenants who are now in the position of occupying soil "illegally." A former United States Senator cannot be said to have added any oil upon the troubled waters when, according to the dispatches, he said, "The Japanese in California must now take day labor or get out." The crux of the situation seems to lie in the fact that these State laws are aimed wholly at the Japanese. The laws do not exclude Italians, Haitians, English, French, or other people. To the charge that Japan discriminates against alien landowners, the Japanese reply that their laws apply to all aliens and not to any particular group. Too, foreigners may lease in Japan land for as long as ninety-nine years, or form corporations for owning land in fee.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE THEORY OF THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH UP TO DATE

William Z. Foster was recently invited by the Round Table, an association of students of Dartmouth College, to deliver an address at one of their meetings. A number of the alumni found it difficult to understand how the president of Dartmouth could allow this radical gentleman to speak to the undergraduates. President Hopkins explains the whole matter in a letter as follows:

DEAR PROFESSOR WOODS:

I am not surprised at the information which you gave me this morning that you had received inquiry as to the basis upon which Mr. Foster was coming before the undergraduates.

It happens in this particular case that I have a greater personal antagonism to the views which Mr. Foster holds, and a greater doubt in regard to the personal characteristics of the man, or at least his political and social tenets, than in regard to any man who has been before the college. It happens that I have, through my own work in industrial relations, acquired knowledge of and dislike for the theories and the practice characteristic of Foster, and among several men among the labor leaders for whom I have the greatest friendship, there is no one who is not antagonistic to Foster and all for which he stands.

I should not be willing personally to invite Mr. Foster to speak before any organization in which the inviting power resided in myself; but, on the other hand, I should far less like to become responsible for the attempt at repression or censorship that would be involved in my utilizing the power undoubtedly at hand, to say to the Round Table that they could not have the privilege of hearing one whom they wished to hear.

The Round Table is an association of students banded together specifically for the consideration of unfamiliar points of view in regard to social questions. It is not an official organization of the college, and is in no sense under administrative or faculty auspices, and is not subject to administrative control except as any undergraduate organization can theoretically be eliminated. This last, of course, usually means simply that the organization can be driven into hiding.

I should freely admit that if Dartmouth were a training school, trying to discipline men into an acceptance of the theory that all present-day procedures were desirable for permanency and for the advantage of group welfare, the college ought to definitely assume responsibility not only for what should be taught in every course, but what should be said by every member of the faculty, and what men should be allowed to speak before the student body even on invitation of independent undergraduate organizations. Believing definitely, however, that the function of an educational institution is to allow men access to different points of view, and to secure their adherence to conclusions on the basis of their own thinking rather than an attempt to corral them within given mental areas, I am bound to hold to the theory that freedom of speech and even the presenting of pernicious doctrine is not antagonistic to the college purpose so long as like access is given to the student to all points of view, and stimulation is given to his own mind to weigh these things for himself.

However, as a matter of practice, entirely aside from the theory which I have enunciated, repression and censorship never work within an intellectually alert group of boys such as constitute the college. As you know, this thing has been tried again and again in recent years in various colleges, and invariably has resulted in only one outcome, namely, that the man appeared either in the open air or in the nearest hall to college grounds, and that he benefited so much

by the martyrdom imposed upon him by the persecution of college authorities that his audience was many times that it would originally have been, and was favorable to him to a degree that would not have been possible under other circumstances.

Finally, I think that you and I would agree that the outside public entirely overestimates the influence of the spoken work, and entirely underestimates the discrimination and intelligence of the undergraduate.

During the years that I was in industrial work, I have seen in Chicago, in Pittsburgh, in Philadelphia, and in other cities the gates of industrial plants opening to boys and young men swarming out to listen to the earnest presentation of all sorts of wild social theories. I have attended workingmen's clubs evenings, in which I have heard earnest discussion of the same points of view, and I have seen uneducated and untrained minds groping their way through the maze of fallacies and partisan statements which were being fed to them day by day and night by night.

I cannot understand the attitude of men who wish their sons to go out into the world entirely uninformed in regard to what the demagogue and social critics are saying, and thus, without any consciousness of the kind of thing on which their industrial brothers are biting. It all savors too much of the idiocy of those States which, during the war, prohibited the study of German on the apparent theory that we would be less harmed by what our enemies plotted if we were unable to know anything of their actions or of their theories.

Thus it comes about that though I would not invite Mr. Foster to Dartmouth College, and though I have not the slightest desire to hear him present his theories, I have no intention of making any move which will deny a group of serious-minded men the opportunity of learning what Mr. Foster really thinks, and what he argues ought to be done. I am not so fearful in regard to the claims of intelligence and wisdom before an undergraduate body that I think these can be dispelled by the single appearance of one of Mr. Foster's type.

Trusting that this will answer the question which you raised in regard to the policy of the college, and the auspices under which Mr. Foster was to appear, I remain

Most sincerely yours,

ERNEST M. HOPKINS.

CONTEST OVER THE RUHR

The situation in the Ruhr is a developing thing. What it will develop into is not so plain. The French policy has been perfectly clear. This policy as originally enunciated by Monsieur Poincaré is found in these words: "After four years of all kinds of endeavors, of ultimatums not made effective, of conferences proposed by the British Government, whose decisions have not been applied, and of successive moratoriums granted to Germany, the French and Belgian governments reached the conclusion that for the future the methods of procedure used by Germany in 1871 were the only methods to be applied." After repeated announcements to the world, and after carefulest preparations, the French and Belgians took possession of the industrial and mining territory of the Ruhr. It was announced at the time that the occupation of that territory was simply for the purpose of obtaining payment of reparations, and that the territory would be evacuated when Germany had paid her debts. It was further clearly stated that the French would only relinquish the occupation in proportion as payments were made.

England refused to accept the French program. As a result the differences between France and England have produced strained relations increasingly. The British Government has looked upon the French action as inopportune and unwise, destined only to precipitate a serious European

crisis; but England has not seen fit to interfere with the French and Belgian plan. In the meantime Monsieur Poincaré has retained the support of the French Parliament and a controlling wing of the French people.

In Germany the result of the occupation has been to provoke rage, hatred, and rebellion. So far as we are able to gather, only Professor Foerster among the Germans has defended the action of the French. The French and Belgian governments justified their action in a note of January 10, 1923, addressed to the German Government, in which it was pointed out that Germany had defaulted with her payments in kind. Indeed, the Reparations Commission, on December 26, 1922, declared Germany in voluntary default in her timber deliveries for the year 1922. On January 9, 1923, the Reparations Commission held that Germany had defaulted in her deliveries of coal. These decisions of the Reparations Commission were made by a vote of three to one, the British delegate being the one. The French have pointed out that paragraph 18 of annex 2, part 8, of the Treaty of Versailles, provides that "the measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, and *in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.*" It is held by Monsieur Poincaré that the phrase, "in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances," justifies the occupation of territory. The French are therefore clearly convinced that the occupation of the Ruhr is due exclusively to German misconduct. The Germans, on the other hand, insist that France has no wish for peace, indeed that France is pursuing simply a policy of revenge, conquest, and destruction.

The Germans, consequently, pursued a policy of resistance to French aggression, the particular form of German resistance being an inflexible passive resistance, refusing to negotiate with the French and to carry on any work in the Ruhr. This German policy of non-resistance failed, relations between France and Germany having assumed a most serious character. Prof. Henri Lichtenberger, of the Sorbonne, in a pamphlet just published by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, summarizes the general results of this conflict as follows:

On the French side, particularly at the beginning, there may have been some illusions as to the ease with which the government's operation could be made effective. Public opinion was surprised at the bitterness and duration of passing resistance. It had been so often stated that the Ruhr was the "jugular vein" of German industry that many people expected almost immediate results from the occupation. In some quarters the strength of the individualist and anti-Prussian feeling in the Rhine valley or in Bavaria seems to have been much overestimated. In other circles it was thought that the working people in the Rhine districts, Socialists and anti-nationalists would prove less docile to orders from Berlin and would show greater interest in trying to find a means of agreement with the French authorities. Perhaps indeed certain optimists hoped that the exploitation of the territory seized as a pledge would give positive results more rapidly. Nevertheless, on the whole, it can be safely said that public opinion considered the Ruhr enterprise quite realistically, without confusion of thought, with fatalism and resolution and as an operation which evidently presented a certain risk but which could

not be longer postponed. With some bitterness opinion noted that the Germans, who declared that they could not possibly pay reparations, recklessly squandered billions when it became a question of fighting against us again and financing a resistance even more ruinous for them than for us. And thus the theory was confirmed that, under these conditions, it was necessary to see the thing through, that it was impossible to withdraw until the resistance opposed to us was broken, and that we should not evacuate the occupied territory until we had obtained from Germany the indispensable pledges, guarantees, and payments.

It appears that German opinion was misled by more serious and dangerous illusions. Up to the last moment the Germans appear to have preserved the hope that, in face of the opposition of England, France would never dare to enter the Ruhr. When the occupation became an accomplished fact they argued that the French could never maintain themselves there, that passive resistance would create an intolerable situation, and that the pressure of the world's opinion would soon become so forceful that we would be obliged to beat a prompt retreat. Now it is apparent that they deceived themselves on all these points.

In the first place, the movements of world opinion against the French action was neither as unanimous nor as decided as they thought. American opinion remained in large degree sympathetic to France, and in any case decidedly hostile to Germany, whose ill-will and dilatory measures had rendered the French action inevitable. In England an important fraction of opinion, particularly among the Conservatives, remained favorable to us, because of war comradeship, instinctive fidelity to allies and fear of German competition; although the city and the business men considered that British commercial interests required the economic restoration of Germany, and therefore criticized the methods of constraint applied by us in the Ruhr, general opinion, on the contrary, was very far from demanding that the Entente should be ruptured in order to aid Germany. As the weeks passed by, the German press was obliged to recognize, much to its pained surprise, that our action in nowise provoked that outbreak of indignation from all the civilized world on which Germany had believed she could count.

Later the Germans were forced to admit that France maintained the effort better than they had thought possible. They had persuaded themselves that passive resistance would create such disorder that we could never maintain ourselves in the occupied territory; that French railway employees could never succeed in operating the complicated mechanism of the Ruhr railway system; that we would be unable to transport to France the supplies of coal and coke; that our metallurgic industries, deprived of absolutely essential coke, would quickly become disorganized and would hasten to clamor for a settlement, and that French opinion would lose courage in face of the enormous expenditures necessitated by this resumption of the war. Now the matter did not result as they expected. Despite troublesome or painful incidents, order was nowhere seriously disturbed; the railroads were operated with reasonable success; increasing quantities of coal and other products were transported to France; lack of coke embarrassed our metallurgists, who were obliged to draw the fires in a number of furnaces, but nevertheless they continued firm in their support. When some supplies were exhausted we set to work to exploit directly certain mines and coke plants. The German press, which had proclaimed loudly the failure of all our attempts to gain profit from the pledge we had seized, was gradually forced to admit that we were firmly planted in the Ruhr; that it would not be easy to dislodge us; that we were acting methodically and tenaciously; that we were in position to exert formidable pressure on the population of the occupied regions, officials, railway employees, or workmen, and that passive resistance could not remain indefinitely the solid and invariable base of German policy.

In fact, German trade collapsed visibly during the summer under the crushing weight of the burdens imposed upon it by the Ruhr conflict. This was a result recognized by common sense as inevitable from the beginning of the conflict. Cut off from its principal industrial and mining center, deprived of its coal supply, and forced to import large

quantities of combustibles from foreign countries, Germany inevitably experienced increasing difficulty in replenishing her supplies of necessities of life, of coal, and of raw materials in keeping her huge industrial machine in operation. It became also more and more difficult in the financial field to meet the cost of passive resistance, to pay the salaries of officials and railway employees, to feed the inhabitants of the occupied regions, and to reimburse the manufacturers for the enormous losses suffered because of the French occupation and the cessation of all productive work. Under these conditions the crisis in public finance became a catastrophe. The value of the mark is rapidly approaching zero. The dollar, which was worth 7,450 marks on January 2, 1923, reached 10,000 on January 9, 50,000 on May 19, 100,000 on June 14, 1,000,000 at the end of July, 10,000,000 on August 30, 25,000,000 on September 5, 60,000,000 on September 7, and over 100,000,000 on September 12. A budget is no longer possible. The Reich, which is obliged to assume the deficits of the States and municipalities in order to avoid the collapse of the whole administrative edifice and, in addition, to assume the expense of a part of the cost of maintenance of all charitable institutions and public utilities and even of private industry, sees its expenditures swollen to incredible proportions, while its receipts steadily diminish; in the ten days from August 10 to 20, the expenditures reached a total of 248,000 billions, less than two per cent of which was covered by receipts or consolidated loans. The State is supporting itself almost exclusively by issuing paper money and treasury bonds. On August 31 the floating debt was more than 1,000,000 billion marks (1,196,300 billion), and this has since increased by 100,000 billion daily. The collapse of the mark and the development of inflation have caused a proportionate rise in prices; from the beginning of January to August 31 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* index figure for wholesale prices increased from 2,054 to 3,063,358, which signifies that prices have multiplied 1,500 times. It is impossible to conceal or even to minimize a crisis of this scope. In a courageous address before the Economic Council of the Reich (August 31) Minister of Commerce von Raumer portrayed with perfect frankness the terrible situation into which the country had fallen. "Since the crash of 1918," he confessed, "Germany has lived first on the losses inflicted on foreigners by speculation in marks, then on the capital of those who lived on investments, and finally on the reserves of its industries. Now nothing is left." He depicted the economic catastrophe which was advancing with rapid strides. Salaries were increasing even more rapidly than the depreciation of the mark; the German prices of some articles were higher than world prices. Under these conditions Germany could not export goods; the total of exports was reduced from 614 million gold marks in May to 380 million in June and 105 million in July. It is necessary to straighten out the finances at whatever cost, to make an end of inflation, to balance the budget by new taxation, and to stop the printing of banknotes; but all this is impossible as long as the Ruhr conflict daily engulfs enormous sums. Most disquieting symptoms multiply on all sides; there is the decrease of trade, the aggravation of unemployment, the closing of factories or shortening of the work day, the unchecked rise of prices and wages, the increasing difficulty of providing food supplies for the cities, the fundamental disturbance of all the material organization of existence, the disorganization of political life, the intensifying of party hatreds, the threats of Nationalist or Communist revolts, and the multiplication of strikes, riots, and troubles of every sort. Newspaper articles as well as travelers' tales and letters of German correspondents give evidence of intense feverishness and unlimited trepidation which may shortly provoke symptoms of collapse neither the violence, nature, or extent of which can be foreseen.

It is obvious that for some time German opinion has perceived clearly the gravity of the situation and is trying to find a remedy before it is too late. The Cuno cabinet, which, placing all its confidence in British intervention, allowed the crisis to continue without making any serious effort to settle it, fell unexpectedly under the general dissatisfaction. Abandoned by the Socialists, who condemned its "passivity" and publicly refused their support, it gave place to a coal-

tion ministry under Stresemann. This able leader of the Populists is trying to group under his direction all the friends of order for the purpose of restoring the financial situation, avoiding economic collapse and preventing civil war. The Germans are placing their supreme hope in him; they recognize that if he fails in his task there is no other political group capable of succeeding him. It is manifest that Stresemann feels the urgency of an arrangement with France; he makes no secret of this; the German press is preparing public opinion to accept the necessary sacrifices with courage. It is evident that Stresemann desires to avoid Ludendorff's mistake; he wishes to negotiate while there is still time to come to an agreement, lest instead he witness an unconditional surrender imposed as the result of a catastrophe like that of 1918.

Is an arrangement of this kind possible under existing conditions? When one compares the last French notes and the addresses of M. Poincaré with the recent declarations of Stresemann, Hilferding, and von Raumer, it is seen clearly that very serious differences still exist between the French and the German points of view.

(1) The Germans look upon the French as brutal creditors, inspired by a rage for mad destruction; the French consider the Germans as incorrigibly bad debtors, and believe that they are justified in taking precautions against the insolvency of a debtor who prefers to expose himself to all the evils inseparable from total bankruptcy rather than to pay his debt. It is evident that if the Germans maintain their point of view to the end, if they deny that the disastrous procedure of their business magnates is open to criticism, justifies suspicion and renders certain precautions legitimate, and if they refuse to admit that it is necessary for them to make some concessions to the French point of view and to give practical guarantees of their good will, the difficulty of reaching an understanding will be extreme because of the mutual suspicion which will prevent any agreement; the Germans will always be persuaded that we wish to ruin them, and the French will be convinced that the Germans are determined to cheat them.

(2) Another cause of misunderstanding arises from the profound disagreement between the Germans and the French as to the valuation of German resources. The Germans, as is natural, feel most keenly their actual exhaustion, the extreme lack of comfort which weighs over their country, and their inability to make the payments of money or goods demanded from them. The French continue to estimate at a high figure the real German wealth, and they argue that if, because of Germany's present bad economic condition, she is given too easy terms she will soon find herself in a better position than her creditors whom she will have defrauded of their due. In determining the obligations of the Germans, some allege their ruined condition as a reason for reducing their debt to a minimum, while others insist that the certain rehabilitation of the defaulting debtor be discounted before giving him a release. It results from those divergent points of view that Germany makes insistent demand that a new valuation of her capacity to pay be made, while France declares that such a valuation is impossible at present, that it would be ridiculous under existing circumstances, and that it can only be properly attempted when Germany shall have made the requisite effort to extricate herself from the financial chaos and the economic crisis with which she is now struggling. On this point, also, the antagonism of the two theories is clean cut and an agreement difficult to bring about without a serious application of good will by each side.

(3) The question of guarantees of payment which Germany must furnish to France and Belgium will not be easy of solution. The Germans are beginning to show a tendency to offer us, in exchange for the Ruhr, a collective guarantee from all German producers, which, on the whole, is analogous to a blanket mortgage covering all the property of the Reich. Now the Treaty of Versailles has already given us this lien on the property of the Reich. It is precisely because this general mortgage has produced no practical result that we have foreclosed on a concrete and limited pledge over which we can exercise real supervision. From this can be readily seen the serious difficulty which may develop.

There will be discussion as to the effectiveness of the guarantees which will be offered us, the French inclining to refuse as impractical such guarantees as are based upon property which is not under our control, the Germans inclining to suspect us of concealed annexationist ambitions if we demand specific guarantees or to accuse us of desiring to "Turkify" Germany if we demand the organization of an effective control. It is doubtful, on the other hand, if the desired goal can be reached by arranging for business co-operation between French and German industries—a suggestion which originated in Germany. Such co-operation, which is considered by the French to be entirely desirable and profitable, cannot, according to the French theory, take the place of reparation and guarantees, but should be voluntarily organized by the interested parties when the problem of reparations has been settled by the governments.

(4) It appears to us with growing certainty that the question of reparations is inextricably bound up with the question of the regulation of the interallied debts. The demands upon Germany by the Allies, and by France in particular, have a close relationship to the French debt to England and America. It is difficult to see how either of these problems can be definitely settled apart from the other. Recent controversies show that an understanding on the settlement of the interallied debts is far from being reached. Under these conditions it is difficult to see how the definitive total of German reparations can be irrevocably fixed at the present time. If a final solution is not reached immediately the Germans must understand that the responsibility for delay is not so much the fault of France as of her creditors. It is not for the pleasure of suspending over Germany's head the Damoclean sword of reparations that we refuse to give up the financial advantages stipulated in prior agreements, but just because we still feel weighing upon us the menace of our own war debts, and because France finds herself obliged to hold to those rights which it would be dangerous to abandon before knowing in what measure the Allies will make use of the rights which the indebtedness of France confers upon them.

(5) Finally, there is no doubt that if the position taken by England in the Ruhr conflict complicates its settlement. However little the German Government admits its desire to utilize for its advantage the differences of opinion between us and our ally, the conclusion of an agreement may find many obstacles. Germany runs the risk of arousing French suspicion if, in order to obtain more favorable conditions from us, she appeals to British intervention and if, for this reason, the peace of the Ruhr takes on the appearance of a French surrender to England. On the other hand, she can give umbrage to England if a direct Franco-German settlement can be presented as a continental alliance aimed against England. The present diplomatic situation is extremely delicate, and Germany will need much tact and finesse to give the impression that she is dealing frankly, that she sincerely desires a general peace, and that she is not endeavoring by subtle maneuvers to bring about a grouping of forces from which she can gain advantage either against us or against England.

On November 16 the French Premier took issue with the British Prime Minister as to who is to blame for the present Franco-British differences. Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, Monsier Poincaré declared: "I cannot let it be said that it is by our fault that an agreement has not been reached. For several years we have not ceased to make concessions from our rights, and it is not on our side that the attitude is uncompromising." He went on to say that it seemed to him that the difference between France and Great Britain is that France is insisting on what it regards as its full rights under the Treaty of Versailles, while Great Britain is disposed to ask only what she thinks Germany can accept in view of the German internal situation.

In the meantime the threatened discontinuance of financial support of the Ruhr district is rousing the strongest objection among the democrats in Berlin, who announce

their intention of withdrawing from the coalition if the plan is actually carried out. One of the leaders pointed out that all ways had not been tried to secure the necessary means for these payments, and so long as there is gold heaped up in the form of royal castles, and a single Rembrandt painting hanging on the walls of any German house, the Chancellor, Gustaf Stresemann, should not desert the Ruhr population.

Speaking at Neully, November 18, Monsieur Poincaré proclaimed an addition to the policy as enunciated nearly a year ago. He said that henceforth it should be considered that the occupied territory would be held by France not

only to obtain fulfillment of the reparations terms of the Versailles Treaty, but of all the other terms. It is becoming clearer that the main object of the French policy is security along her eastern border. Under no circumstances does France propose to allow Germany to have more than the 100,000 troops allowed under the treaty. For a generation at least France proposes that Germany shall not become a military menace to France. It is clear, therefore, that the French propose to stay in the Ruhr as long as there is any possibility of a German danger. This may be a very long time.

GENERAL ARTICLES

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MONROE DOCTRINE

AN ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES,
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE
UNITED STATES

Delivered before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis,
Minnesota, August 30, 1923, and Reproduced Here
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THE POSTULATES of our foreign policy were determined by the ideals of liberty. The dominant motive was the security of the Republic; it was a policy of "live and let live," with no imperialistic designs or thought of aggression. There was a deep-seated conviction that the opportunities of a hard-won freedom would be threatened by the ambitions of European powers constantly seeking their own aggrandizement by the forcible imposition of their will upon weaker peoples, and that the peaceful aims of the new nation could be achieved only by keeping clear of the toils of European politics and strife. It was this conviction of the necessity of maintaining an independent position which led to the declaration of neutrality in 1793 despite the treaty of alliance with France, which had sprung from the exigencies of the Revolutionary struggle. The words of the Farewell Address were more than a solemn admonition of the foremost American patriot—they set forth principles which those who established our foreign policy held to be its corner stone.

It is interesting to recall that the conduct of our foreign affairs was directed for many years by a few men, the most enlightened of our statesmen, and, considering the perplexities which vexed the new nation, exhibited a remarkable continuity and definiteness of purpose. Jefferson had been Secretary of State for about four years under Washington, and Hamilton had been a constant adviser. During the eight years of Jefferson's Presidency, Madison was Secretary of State; and, during Madison's two terms as President, James Monroe was Secretary of State for six years. Monroe had served as United States Senator and Governor of Virginia; had been minister to France, to Spain, and to England; had been engaged in the most important diplomatic negotiations; and in the midst of the War of 1812 had also served as Secretary of War *ad interim*. When he

became President, in 1817, Monroe appointed John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State. Adams had been minister to The Hague and to Portugal under Washington; had been transferred to Prussia by his father, President John Adams, and, under Madison, had been minister to Russia; and, after representing the United States throughout the difficult negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent, had been made minister to England. Adams served as Secretary of State until the end of Monroe's second term, in 1825, when he succeeded Monroe as President. In these close relations and continuity of service there was rare opportunity for the early development of a distinctively American policy reflecting the ripe wisdom of our ablest men.

The Monroe Doctrine had its dramatic setting as a striking and carefully formulated announcement, but it was in no sense a departure or something novel or strange engrafted upon American policy. It was the fruition of that policy, and the new definition was in complete accord with principles long cherished and made almost sacred by the lessons of experience. The people of the United States had watched with deep sympathy the long struggle of our southern neighbors for independence. "In contemplating the scenes which distinguish this momentous epoch," said President Madison to the Congress in 1811, "an enlarged philanthropy and enlightened forecast concur in imposing upon the national councils an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies, to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good will." But, notwithstanding our natural sympathies, we remained neutral in the contest. "All Europe must expect," said President Monroe in 1820, "that the citizens of the United States wish success to the colonies, and all that they can claim, even Spain herself, is that we will maintain an impartial neutrality between the parties. By taking this ground openly and frankly, we acquit ourselves to our own consciences, we accommodate with the feelings of our constituents, we render to the colonies all the aid that we can render them, for I am satisfied that had we even joined them in the war we should have done them more harm than good, as we might have drawn all Europe on them, not to speak of the injury we should have done to ourselves."

While Spain maintained a doubtful contest, it was regarded as a civil war, but when that contest became so desperate that Spanish viceroys, governors, and cap-

tains-general concluded treaties with the insurgents virtually acknowledging their independence, the United States frankly and unreservedly recognized the fact without, as Secretary Adams said, "making their acknowledgment the price of any favor to themselves, and although at the hazard of incurring the displeasure of Spain." And in this measure, he added with pride, the United States "have taken the lead of the whole civilized world." The Republic of Colombia was recognized in 1822, the Government of Buenos Aires and the States of Mexico and Chile early in 1823. Deeply interested as we were in the development of republican institutions, the United States did not hesitate because of the political form of government and was the first to recognize the independent Empire of Brazil in May, 1824, and this was followed by the recognition of the Federation of Central American States in August of the same year.

Meanwhile the Holy Alliance formed by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia had sought to enforce the divine right of kings against the progress of liberal principles. Joined by France, they undertook "to put an end to the system of representative government," and after France had proceeded accordingly to restore the rule of Ferdinand the Seventh in Spain, it was proposed to direct their efforts to the overthrowing of the new governments erected out of the old colonies of Spain in the Western Hemisphere. This was the situation 100 years ago—in August, 1823—when George Canning, British Foreign Secretary, wrote his celebrated letter to Richard Rush, American Minister in London, suggesting a joint declaration, in substance, that the recovery of the colonies by Spain was hopeless; that neither Great Britain nor the United States was aiming at the possession of any portion of these colonies; and that they could not see with indifference any portion of them transferred to any other power. Great Britain, however, had not at that time recognized the new States in Spanish America, and this made a point of distinction. You doubtless have in mind these familiar facts and will remember the correspondence which followed between President Monroe and Jefferson and Madison, whose advice he sought. It was after mature deliberation by the President and his Cabinet, which contained not only John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, but John C. Calhoun and William Wirt, that the American position was formally stated. It was deemed advisable to make a separate declaration of policy, and this was formulated in President Monroe's message of December 2, 1823.

The doctrine is set forth in two paragraphs of this message. The first of these had a genesis distinct from the situation of the former colonies of Spain. It grew out of the question of Russian claims on the northwest coast of North America. The Russian Emperor had issued a ukase in 1821 prohibiting citizens of other nations from navigating and fishing within 100 Italian miles of the northwest coast of North America from Bering Straits to the fifty-first parallel of north latitude. Protests had followed. In July, 1823, Secretary Adams informed the Russian Minister that the United States "should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we

should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." It was in connection with this pretension of Russia that President Monroe, after adverting to the proposal of arranging the respective rights and interests on the northwest coast by amicable negotiations, declared in his message:

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle, in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

The other paragraph of President Monroe's message bore upon the situation of our neighbors to the south, as follows:

"In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are involved or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more intimately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. . . .

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and have maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

That these statements not only constituted a separate announcement, but incorporated a distinctively American policy, is manifest. Canning himself, in his letter to Bagot, of January 9, 1824, pointed out that the general agreement between the sentiments of the governments of Great Britain and the United States as to the Spanish colonies was qualified, as I have said, by the most important difference that the United States has acknowledged their independence and the British Government had not. And with the portion of President Monroe's message relating to future colonization, which lay entirely outside the purview of Canning's suggestion, Canning was not at all in sympathy. This proposal, he said, was as new to the British Government as to that of France. The basis of the objection on the part of this government to future colonization by European powers was found in the fact, as Mr. Adams said later, when President, that "with the exception of the existing European colonies, which it was in nowise in-

tended to disturb, the two continents consisted of several sovereign and independent nations, whose territories covered their whole surface. By this, their independent condition, the United States enjoyed the right of commercial intercourse with every part of their possessions. To attempt the establishment of a colony in those possessions would be to usurp, to the exclusion of others, a commercial intercourse which was the common possession of all."

Not only did American statesmen fear the extension of European colonization, but they viewed with deep concern the possibility of the transfer of American territory from one European power to another. In 1811 Congress passed a resolution as to East Florida, stating that "considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the southern border of the United States may have upon their security, tranquillity, and commerce," the United States could not, "without serious inquietude, see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign power." The declarations in the messages of President Polk in 1845 and 1848 were so closely associated with the doctrine announced by Monroe as to be deemed to fall within the same governing principle. President Polk's reference to "the transfer of dominion and sovereignty" clearly stated opposition to the acquisition of territorial control by any means. And this position has frequently been reiterated by the Government of the United States.

It is not my purpose to review the historical applications of what is called the Monroe Doctrine or to attempt to harmonize the various redactions of it. Properly understood, it is opposed (1) to any non-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American States under any guise, and (2) to the acquisition, in any manner, of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power.

The Monroe Doctrine is not a legislative pronouncement; it has been approved by action of Congress, but it does not rest upon any congressional sanction. It has had the implied indorsement of the treaty-making power in the reservations to the two Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907, but it is not defined by treaty and does not draw its force from any international agreement. It is not like a constitutional provision, deriving its authority from the fact that it is a part of the organic law, transcending and limiting executive and legislative power. It is not a part of international law, maintained by the consent of the civilized powers and alterable only at their will. It is a policy declared by the Executive of the United States and repeated in one form and another by presidents and secretaries of state in the conduct of our foreign relations. Its significance lies in the fact that in its essentials, as set forth by President Monroe and as forcibly and repeatedly asserted by our responsible statesmen, it has been for 100 years, and continues to be, an integral part of our national thought and purpose, expressing a profound conviction which even the upheaval caused by the World War, and our participation in that struggle upon European soil, has not uprooted or fundamentally changed.

Taking the doctrine as it has been, and as it is believed to remain, I desire to comment upon certain points which, as I believe, deserve special emphasis at this time:

First. The Monroe Doctrine is not a policy of aggression; it is a policy of self-defense. It was asserted at a time when the danger of foreign aggression in this hemisphere was very real, when the new American States had not yet established a firm basis of independent national life, and we were menaced by threats of Old World powers directed against republican institutions. But the achievements of the century have not altered the scope of the doctrine or changed its basis. It still remains an assertion of the principle of national security. As such, it is obviously not exclusive. Much time has been wasted in the endeavor to find in the Monroe Doctrine either justification, or the lack of it, for every governmental declaration or action in relation to other American States. Appropriate action for our defense may always be taken, and our proper influence to promote peace and good will may always be exerted, with the use of good offices to that end, whether or not the particular exigency comes within the range of the specific declarations which constitute the doctrine.

In 1912 the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution, apparently having immediate reference to Magdalena Bay, "that when any harbor or other place in the American Continent is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government, not American, as to give that government practical power or control for naval or military purposes." It was explained in debate that this resolution, while allied to the Monroe Doctrine, was "not necessarily dependent upon it or growing out of it." It was said to rest "on the principle that every nation has a right to protect its own safety, and that if it feels that the possession by a foreign power for military or naval purposes of any given harbor or place is prejudicial to its safety, it is its duty as well as its right to interfere."

The decision of the question as to what action the United States should take in any exigency arising in this hemisphere is not controlled by the content of the Monroe Doctrine, but may always be determined on grounds of international right and national security as freely as if the Monroe Doctrine did not exist. The essential character of that doctrine is found in its particularization, in the definite and limited application of the general principle relating to national safety to a particular set of circumstances—that is, in the assertion and maintenance of opposition to the encroachment by non-American powers upon the political independence of American States and to the extension by non-American powers of their control over American territory. And in this pronouncement, as a phase of our exercise of the right of self-defense, there is no hint, much less threat, of aggression on our part. Said President Roosevelt: "It is in nowise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by any New World power at the expense of any other."

Second. As the policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine is distinctively the policy of the United States, the Government of the United States reserves to itself its

definition, interpretation, and application. This government has welcomed the recognition by other governments of the fact and soundness of this policy and of the appropriateness of its application from time to time. Great powers have signified their acquiescence in it. But the United States has not been disposed to enter into engagements which would have the effect of submitting to any other power or to any concert of powers the determination either of the occasions upon which the principles of the Monroe Doctrine shall be invoked or of the measures that shall be taken in giving it effect. This government has not been willing to make the doctrine or the regulation of its enforcement the subject of treaties with European powers; and, while the United States has been gratified at expressions on the part of other American States of their accord with our government in its declarations with respect to their independence and at their determination to maintain it, this government in asserting and pursuing its policy has commonly avoided concerted action to maintain the doctrine, even with the American republics. As President Wilson observed: "The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility."

This implies neither suspicion nor estrangement. It simply means that the United States is asserting a separate national right of self-defense, and that in the exercise of this right it must have an unhampered discretion. As Mr. Root has pithily said: "Since the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration based upon the nation's right of self-protection, it cannot be transmuted into a joint or common declaration by American States or any number of them." They have, of course, corresponding rights of self-defense, but the right is individual to each.

Further, in its own declarations the United States has never bound itself to any particular course of conduct in case of action by other powers contrary to the principles announced. In any such event it is free to act according to its conception of the emergency and of its duty. Dana, commenting upon this point in 1866 (in his edition of Wheaton), said: "The declarations do not intimate any course of conduct to be pursued in case of such interpositions, but merely say that they would be 'considered as dangerous to our peace and safety' and as 'the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States,' which it would be impossible for us to 'behold with indifference,' thus leaving the nation to act at all times as its opinion of its policy or duty might require." This is equally true today; but it may be added that this carefully preserved freedom does not detract from the tenacity with which the doctrine is held, but, like the doctrine itself, has been maintained as essential to our independence and security.

Third. The policy of the Monroe Doctrine does not infringe upon the independence and sovereignty of other American States. Misconception upon this point is the only disturbing influence in our relations with Latin American States. Great republics, whose independent sovereignty has been safeguarded by the historic doctrine, no longer fear the danger of encroachments and control by European powers, but look with apprehension

at the expansion, vast resources, rapidly growing population, and formidable strength of the Republic of the North. They do not feel the need of protection against European powers, and the Monroe Doctrine is apt to be conceived and criticized as a suggestion of a policy of interference in their internal affairs.

This notion springs from a misunderstanding of the doctrine itself and of our national sentiment and purpose. We have frequently sought to remove it, and we must continue our efforts to render futile the aspersions of the few, here and abroad, misapprehending or distorting American opinion. In speaking last year at Rio de Janeiro on the occasion of the dedication of the site for the American Centennial Monument, I sought to reassert what I believed to be the actual sentiment of the American people in these words: "We shall also be glad to have this monument associated in the thought of our friends with a true appraisal of our North American ideals and aspirations. You, my fellow-countrymen of the United States, know full well how sincerely we desire the independence, the unimpaired sovereignty and political integrity, and the constantly increasing prosperity of the peoples of Latin America. We have our domestic problems incident to the expanding life of a free people, but there is no imperialistic sentiment among us to cast even a shadow across the pathway of our progress. We covet no territory; we seek no conquest; the liberty we cherish for ourselves we desire for others; and we assert no rights for ourselves that we do not accord to others. We sincerely desire to see throughout this hemisphere an abiding peace, the reign of justice, and the diffusion of the blessings of a beneficent co-operation. It is this desire which forms the basis of the Pan American sentiment."

The Monroe Doctrine does not attempt to establish a protectorate over Latin American States. Certainly, the declaration that intervention by non-American powers encroaching upon the independence of American States will be regarded as dangerous to our own safety gives no justification for such intervention on our part. If such foreign interposition is deemed menacing to us, and our vigorous determination to oppose it serves to safeguard the independence of American States, they can have no just objection on that score, being the more secure to develop their own life without hindrance. The declaration against acquisition by non-American powers of American territory, even by transfer, might seem, at first glance, to furnish some basis for objection (although plainly in the interest of the integrity of American States) as an interference with the right ofcession; but even this theoretical objection disappears when we consider the ground of the declaration upon this point by the Government of the United States. That ground is found in the recognized right which every State enjoys, and the United States no less than any other, to object to acts done by other powers which threaten its own safety. The United States has all the rights of sovereignty, as well as any other power; we have lost none of our essential rights because we are strong, and other American States have gained none, either because of increasing strength or relative weakness. The maxim of the civil law—"sic utere tuo, ut alienum non laedas"—may be applied to States where their action threatens the safety of another State.

Mr. Charles Cheney Hyde, in his recent work on international law—a work which will be of lasting credit to the American bar—sums up the matter in saying: “It is subversive of justice among nations that any State should, in the exercise of its own freedom of action, directly endanger the peace and safety of any other which has done no wrong. Upon such an occurrence the State which is menaced is free to act. For the moment it is justified in disregarding the political independence of the aggressor, and in so doing it may be guided by the requirements of its own defense. . . . It is not, therefore, the broad ground of self-preservation, but the narrower, yet firmer, basis of one form of self-preservation, that of self-defense, on which justification rests.” Of the immediate application of this sound principle to the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Root has given a complete exposition. Speaking of the right of self-protection, as recognized by international law and as a necessary corollary of independent sovereignty, he says: “It is well understood that the exercise of the right of self-protection may, and frequently does, extend in its effect beyond the limits of the territorial jurisdiction of the State exercising it. The strongest example probably would be the mobilization of an army by another power immediately across the frontier. Every act done by the other power may be within its own territory. Yet the country threatened by this state of facts is justified in protecting itself by immediate war. The most common exercise of the right of self-protection outside a State’s own territory and in time of peace is the interposition of objection to the occupation of territory or points of strategic military or maritime advantage or to indirect accomplishment of this effect by dynastic arrangement.” The Monroe Doctrine rests “upon the right of every sovereign State to protect itself by preventing a condition of affairs in which it will be too late to protect itself.” This right we recognize in our sister republics of this hemisphere as we claim it for ourselves. American sentiment, it is believed, despite changes of circumstance, still regards the acquisition of additional control of American territory by non-American powers as a menace to our safety, and in asserting and maintaining this view, in the interest of our peace and security in the future, we not only do not interfere practically with the independence of our sister republics of the south, but we simply assert a right which corresponds to rights which they themselves enjoy, and hence even in theory this assertion does not infringe upon their sovereignty.

The declaration of our purpose to oppose what is inimical to our safety does not imply an attempt to establish a protectorate any more than a similar assertion by any one of the great southern republics of opposition to conduct on the part of any of the others endangering its security would aim at the establishment of a protectorate. I utterly disclaim, as unwarranted, the observations which occasionally have been made, implying a claim on our part to superintend the affairs of our sister republics, to assert an overlordship, to consider the spread of our authority beyond our own domain as the aim of our policy, and to make our power the test of right in this hemisphere. I oppose all such misconceived and unsound assertions or intimations. They do

not express our national purpose; they belie our sincere friendship; they are false to the fundamental principles of our institutions and of our foreign policy, which has sought to reflect, with rare exceptions, the ideals of liberty; they menace us by stimulating a distrust which has no real foundation. They find no sanction whatever in the Monroe Doctrine. There is room in this hemisphere, without danger of collision, for the complete recognition of that doctrine and the independent sovereignty of the Latin American republics.

Fourth. There are, indeed, modern conditions and recent events which cannot fail to engage our attention. We have grown rich and powerful, but we have not outgrown the necessity, in justice to ourselves and without injustice to others, of safeguarding our future peace and security. By building the Panama Canal we have not only established a new and convenient highway of commerce, but we have created new exigencies and new conditions of strategy and defense. It is for us to protect that highway. It may also be necessary for us at some time to build another canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans and to protect that. I believe that the sentiment of the American people is practically unanimous that in the interest of our national safety we could not yield to any foreign power the control of the Panama Canal, or the approaches to it, or the obtaining of any position which would interfere with our right of protection or would menace the freedom of our communications.

So far as the region of the Caribbean Sea is concerned, it may be said that if we had no Monroe Doctrine we should have to create one. And this is not to imply any limitation on the scope of the doctrine, as originally proclaimed and as still maintained, but simply to indicate that new occasions require new applications of an old principle which remains completely effective. What has taken place of late years in the region of the Caribbean has given rise to much confusion of thought and misapprehension of purpose. As I have said, the Monroe Doctrine as a particular declaration in no way exhausts American right or policy; the United States has rights and obligations which that doctrine does not define. And in the unsettled condition of certain countries in the region of the Caribbean it has been necessary to assert these rights and obligations as well as the limited principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1898 the United States intervened in Cuba in the cause of humanity and because of a condition of affairs at our very door so injurious to our interests that it had become intolerable. In view of the distress, miseries, and barbarities that existed, our action, as John Bassett Moore has said, “was analogous to what is known in private law as the abatement of a nuisance.” In the settlement that followed the establishment of Cuban independence Cuba agreed “that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba.” Cuba also agreed not to

enter into any treaty with any foreign power which would tend to impair her independence, "nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise lodgment in or control of any portion of said island." There were also restrictive provisions as to the contracting of debts. The United States thus holds a special position in relation to Cuba; but it should be pointed out and clearly understood that, while in view of this position we have acted as the friendly adviser of the Cuban Government, our action has been solely for the purpose of aiding in maintaining the independence and stability of Cuba, and thus not to create, but to preclude, the necessity of intervention under the treaty by encouraging the Cuban people to eliminate waste and corruption, to reduce public expenses to the normal requirements of government, and to secure the just and efficient administration which will safeguard the desired independence of Cuba and promote the prosperity which, with their abundant natural resources, the Cuban people are entitled to enjoy.

It is impossible for me to review in any detail the events which led to the occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti. In Santo Domingo, during the 40 years prior to 1907, there had been 16 revolutionary movements, and complete political and economic demoralization had resulted. The total debts of the Dominican Republic amounted to about \$20,000,000, and in 1907 a convention was concluded between the governments of the United States and Santo Domingo for the issue of bonds to that amount and providing for the appointment by the President of the United States of a general receiver of customs. The Government of the United States agreed to give to the general receiver and his assistants such protection as it might find to be requisite for the performance of their duties. While this arrangement was most advantageous to Santo Domingo and for a time there was an improvement in conditions, there was a recurrence of revolutionary disturbances and the Dominican Government failed to observe the terms of the convention. When civil war was imminent the United States landed naval forces to prevent further bloodshed and to protect the lives of foreigners. A military government was established in 1916 and until recent months was continued in the interest of public order.

This occupation was due to the demonstration, to use the phrase of President Roosevelt, of an impotence resulting in the lessening of the ties of civilized society and thus requiring intervention. But the point that I desire to make is that instead of using this opportunity, as has falsely been charged, to establish a permanent control of Santo Domingo, the Government of the United States has been solicitous to arrange for the termination of the occupation and the withdrawal of its forces and has devoted its endeavors, earnestly and effectively, to the assistance of the Dominican people in establishing a sound basis for an independent government. Accordingly, as a result of conversations with prominent Dominican representatives, a formal agreement was reached on June 30, 1922, upon a plan of evacuation. The plan provided for a provisional government which was to take over the executive departments from the American military government, the

American officials remaining in Santo Domingo only for the purpose of lending their assistance to the respective secretaries of the provisional government. The military forces of the United States were to be concentrated at not more than three places, and order was to be maintained during the tenure of office of the provisional government by the Dominican national police under the orders of the provisional government.

The provisional President was to promulgate legislation regarding the holding of elections and the reorganization of the government of the provinces and communes; he was also to convene the primary assemblies in accordance with the provision of the new election laws. Electoral colleges were to be elected and were in turn to elect the members of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies and to present the lists of the members of the judiciary to be submitted to the Senate. Provision was made for amendments to the constitution, the negotiation of an appropriate convention of ratification, and the establishment of a permanent government; whereupon the military forces of the United States would be withdrawn.

On October 21, 1922, the provisional President was accordingly inaugurated. Last March the new electoral law was promulgated. The provisional government has also promulgated legislation providing for the reorganization of the provincial and municipal governments of the republic. It is expected that elections in which the authorities of the United States will not intervene will be held about the middle of September and in due course the permanent government will be established. The United States intervened in the interest of peace and order, and when these are assured it is not only willing but glad to withdraw.

In order to understand conditions in Haiti, it should be recalled that since the Republic of Haiti gained its independence it has been the scene of almost continuous revolution. This is true of its recent history as well as of the earlier years. From 1886, when General Salomon completed his full presidential term, until 1915, every President except one had been overthrown by revolution, some escaping to near-by islands, others being assassinated. As the result of these successive revolutions the Republic, by the summer of 1915, had reached a stage of exhaustion and devastation more complete than at any prior period of its existence. It is unnecessary to review the causes of these revolutions; it is sufficient for the present purpose to state the fact. Between the years 1910 and 1915 the foreign relations of the Haitian Government became seriously involved because of the pressure brought to bear by the governments of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and the United States to obtain a settlement of the claims of their nationals. Because of the unwillingness or inability of the Haitian people to settle these claims in a satisfactory manner, there were armed demonstrations; armed forces of foreign powers had been landed at various points in Haiti, on the ground that lives and property of their nationals were in danger.

In 1914 and 1915 there were continuous disturbances, which culminated in the latter year in the murder by armed mobs of ex-President Oreste Zamor and President Sam, the latter having been dragged by a mob from the French Legation, where he had taken refuge,

and torn to pieces in the street. Following this the members of the cabinet took refuge in foreign legations or escaped from the country, so that there was no executive to assume direction of affairs. It was in this situation that on July 28, 1915, the U. S. S. *Washington* arrived and it was deemed necessary to land American forces. Within a short time the legislative chamber assembled and, under the protection of the United States marines, elected Sudre Dartiguenave, president of the former Senate, President of the Republic. In connection with the immediate exigency of preserving peace, it appeared essential from a humanitarian standpoint to aid the Haitian people to free themselves from the hopeless conditions which continued revolutions and a policy of despotic militarism had produced. In a large part of the island agriculture had practically been abandoned, and in the theater of the revolutionary disturbances the country was devastated. A treaty was negotiated by our government with President Dartiguenave shortly after his election to "aid the Haitian people in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis." Provision was made for the appointment by the President of Haiti, upon the nomination of the President of the United States, of a general receiver and the necessary aids for the collection of customs dues, and of a financial adviser, who was to devise an adequate system of public accounting, aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, and otherwise make recommendations in relation to economic requirements.

Conditions in Haiti have not yet permitted the withdrawal of American forces, as there is general agreement that such a withdrawal would be the occasion for revolution and bloodshed. The Government of the United States desires to effect a withdrawal as soon as this can be done consistently with the obligations it has assumed. The government is endeavoring to improve administration and to aid in establishing the basis for a sound and stable local government. Brig.-Gen. John H. Russell, who was sent to Haiti in the early part of 1922 as American High Commissioner, has steadily sought to bring about improved political and financial conditions, and his endeavors have already met with almost unhoped-for success. General Russell has worked in the closest cooperation with the local government. Peace and order have been established and there is safety of lives and property. The great mass of Haitians, who formerly had been completely at the mercy of a rapacious military oligarchy, which had exploited it to such an extent that there was no incentive, but rather a real danger, in producing or in owning anything beyond the merest necessities, are now free to engage in profitable activities. Graft and embezzlement have been eliminated by the customs service and the currency has been stabilized. The public debt has been appreciably reduced. Last October this government was instrumental in obtaining a loan of \$16,000,000 to Haiti upon favorable terms, and this has permitted the undertaking of numerous constructive works. A claims commission has been set up in Port au Prince, which is disposing of foreign and internal claims for debts.

The practice of financing the government by private and public loans at ruinous terms has been discontinued

and expenses have been kept within the bounds of the revenue of the country. Although the public debt has been decreased, large sums have been expended on constructive public works. Telegraph and telephone systems have been repaired and new construction has been extended to all the principal towns of the interior. Roads have been reconstructed and new construction has been undertaken so far as the financial resources of the country permit. A modern efficient sanitation system has been installed in the seaboard cities and in some of the large interior towns. I cannot attempt to enumerate all the improvements that have been attempted. They are gratifying, but they are not yet adequate and much remains to be done. An American legal adviser in Haiti is now endeavoring to establish a basis for a sound judicial system. Agricultural surveys are being undertaken in order that all practicable assistance may be given for the development of the resources of the island. The Government of the United States is seeking to make its relation to Haiti beneficial to the Haitian people; it has no other aim but to establish peace and stability. It does not seek to acquire or to control the territory of Haiti and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations.

The disturbed conditions and revolutionary tendencies in some of the Central American republics have given great solicitude to the Government of the United States, and its efforts have been directed to the promotion of tranquillity and stability. This is in the interest of the maintenance of the unimpaired integrity and sovereignty of these republics. The conference of 1907 and the treaties which were then concluded constituted an important forward step, but the objects sought were not attained, and it recently became advisable to call another conference. Accordingly the Government of the United States tendered an invitation to the governments of the Central American republics, which they accepted, and the conference met in Washington last December. Delegates of our government participated. The result was the conclusion of a general treaty of peace and amity and a series of conventions, among them being conventions for the establishment of an international Central American tribunal, for the limitation of armaments, for permanent Central American commissions, for extradition, for the preparation of projects of electoral legislation, for the unification of protective laws for workmen and laborers, for the establishment of stations for agricultural experiments and animal industries, and for the reciprocal exchange of Central American students. The treaty of peace and amity contained those provisions of a similar treaty of 1907 which have been found to be of practical value and additional provisions which the conference believed would promote the objects in view.

Reiterating the desire to maintain free institutions and to promote stability, the treaty provides that the governments of the Central American republics will not recognize any other government which may come into power in any of the republics through a coup d'état or a revolution against a recognized government, so long as the freely elected representatives of the people have not constitutionally re-

organized the country. This treaty and the conventions endeavor not only to assure amity, but to build upon this foundation in each of the republics an improved civic structure. In opening the conference it was my privilege to assure the delegates of the helpful spirit of co-operation which they would find in Washington. "The Government of the United States," I said, "has no ambition to gratify at your expense, no policy which runs counter to your national aspirations, and no purpose save to promote the interests of peace and to assist you, in such manner as you may welcome, to solve your problems to your own proper advantage. The interest of the United States is found in the peace of this hemisphere and in the conservation of your interests."

The difficulties of these republics, and of other countries in a similar condition, are due in no small measure to the lack of the development of their resources and to the absence of needed facilities of intercourse, such as highways and railroads. It is idle to expect stability unless it has a basis in education, in improved methods of agriculture and industry, and in the provision of instrumentalities of communication which give opportunities for reasonable economic satisfactions. Progress in these directions, however, cannot be achieved without the investment of capital, and this must be supplied from the outside until sufficient available wealth has been produced within these countries to permit their people to meet their own exigencies. It is not the policy of our government to make loans to other governments, and the needed capital, if it is to be supplied at all, must be furnished by private organizations. This has given rise to much misunderstanding and baseless criticism. We have no desire to exploit other peoples; on the other hand, it is surely not the policy of this government to stand in the way of the improvement of their condition. It is an inescapable fact, however, that private capital is not obtainable unless investment is reasonably secure and returns are commensurate with risks. There are always abundant opportunities for financial enterprise in our own country, and in other parts of the world, on these terms. We thus have the difficulty that the instability of governments creates a hazard which private capital refuses to ignore, while that very instability can be cured only by the economic betterment which private capital alone can make possible.

It must also be remembered that the Government of the United States has no power to compel its citizens to lend money or to fix the terms of their investment; nor is it in a position to control the action of other governments who desire to borrow. In this situation our government endeavors by friendly advice to throw its influence against unfairness and imposition, and it has at times, with the consent of the parties—indeed, at their instance—agreed to a measure of supervision in the maintenance of security for loans which otherwise would have been denied or would have been made only at oppressive rates. But anyone who supposes that this helpful contact and friendly relation are either sought or used by the Government of the United States for purposes of aggression, or with the intention of dominating the affairs of these countries or their governments, has slight knowledge of the aims and actual endeavors of the Department of State. We are not seek-

ing to extend this relation, but to limit it; we are aiming not to exploit, but to aid; not to subvert, but to help in laying the foundations for sound, stable, and independent government. Our interest does not lie in controlling foreign peoples; that would be a policy of mischief and disaster. Our interest is in having prosperous, peaceful, and law-abiding neighbors, with whom we can co-operate to mutual advantage.

Fifth. It is apparent that the Monroe Doctrine does not stand in the way of Pan American co-operation; rather it affords the necessary foundation for that co-operation in the independence and security of American States. The basis of Pan Americanism is found in the principles of the Farewell Address. There was striking prophecy in the hope expressed by Jefferson that we would recognize "the advantages of a cordial fraternalization among all the American nations," and what he described as "the importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy." That system is not hostile to Europe; it simply conserves the opportunity for the cultivation of the interests which are distinctively American.

With the aim of furthering this Pan American co-operation, there have been five Pan American conferences, the last of which was recently held in Santiago. The best results of these conferences are not to be found in any formal acts or statements, but in the generation of helpful and friendly influences which draw peoples together through a better mutual understanding. There is always a tendency in connection with this co-operation to emphasize plans and purposes of a political nature, and if these are not successfully developed there is a disposition to minimize achievement. The most fruitful work, however, is generally found along less sensational lines, where there is real progress in facilitating the interchanges of commerce and culture. Important as are these general Pan American conferences, I should give large place to the utility of special conferences to meet specific needs. Thus, one of the most promising results of the recent Santiago conference was in the provision for special conferences on the standardization of specifications of raw materials, tools, machinery, supplies, and other merchandise in order to promote economy in production and distribution; on public health; on eugenics and homoculture; on the codification of international law; on education; on electrical communications; on the uniformity of communications statistics; on automobile highways; and, last but not least, on the dissemination of news.

The essential condition of co-operation is peace, and this government is constant in its endeavors to promote peace in this hemisphere by using its good offices, whenever they are welcome, in eliminating the causes of strife, and in making provision for the settlement of disputes that cannot be adjusted by diplomacy. Almost all the boundary disputes in Latin America have been settled, and those that remain are in process of adjustment. Especially gratifying was the enlightened action of the governments of Chile and Peru in their recent agreement, concluded at Washington, for the arbitration by the President of the United States of certain questions growing out of the Treaty of Ancon with respect to the territory of Tacna-Arica. Such efforts are not

in strictness an application of the Monroe Doctrine, but they are facilitated by its recognition.

Finally, it should be observed that the Monroe Doctrine is not an obstacle to a wider international co-operation, beyond the limits of Pan American aims and interests, whenever that co-operation is congenial to American institutions. From the foundation of the government we have sought to promote the peaceful settlement of international controversies. Prior to the first peace conference at The Hague, in 1899, the United States had participated in 57 arbitrations. The United States became a party to the two Hague conventions for establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, at the same time safeguarding its historic position by stating, as a part of the ratification, that nothing contained in these conventions should "be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign States," or "be construed to imply relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

It should further be observed that the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, which might make available the facilities of a permanent tribunal (instead of the less satisfactory provision of temporary tribunals of arbitration) to governments desiring to submit their controversies to it, has been a distinct feature of the policy of the Government of the United States for many years. We are also interested in measures of conciliation and in the facilities of conference. Our desire to co-operate in maintaining peaceful relations, in removing the misapprehensions and suspicion which are the most fruitful causes of conflict, in relieving the burdens of injurious and unnecessary competition in armament, in maintaining the declared principles of fair and equal opportunity, is sufficiently attested by the treaties which were concluded at the recent Washington conference. Moreover, aside from that obvious field of international co-operation in which we have postal conventions, rules of navigation, protection of submarine cables, regulation of fisheries, preservation of rights of property, copyrights and trademarks, etc., our people have always and earnestly desired to join in the humanitarian endeavor of the nations for the elimination of common ills, the prevention of the spread of disease, and the restriction or prevention of abuses with which it is impracticable to deal effectively by the separate action of governments. This was shown many years ago, when we joined in international conventions for the purpose of putting an end to the African slave trade, and it has had very definite illustration of late in our endeavor to make international action effective in controlling the pernicious distribution of narcotic drugs.

Our attitude is one of independence, not of isolation. Our people are still intent upon abstaining from participation in the political strife of Europe. They are not disposed to commit this government in advance to the use of its power in unknown contingencies, preferring to reserve freedom of action in the confidence of our ability and readiness to respond to every future call of duty. They have no desire to put their power in pledge, but they do not shirk co-operation with other nations when-

ever there is a sound basis for it and a consciousness of community of interest and aim. Co-operation is not dictation, and it is not partisanship. On our part it must be the co-operation of a free people drawing their strength from many racial stocks, and a co-operation that is made possible by a preponderant sentiment permitting governmental action under a system which denies all exercise of autocratic power. It will be the co-operation of the people of liberal ideals, deeply concerned with the maintenance of peace and interested in all measures which find support in the common sense on the country as being practicable and well designed to foster common interests.

To such aims the Monroe Doctrine is not opposed, and with the passing of 100 years it remains a cherished policy, inimical to no just interest and deemed to be vitally related to our own safety and to the peaceful progress of the peoples of this hemisphere.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE TO IN- TERNATIONAL PEACE

(December 2, 1823-1923)

By JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY

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THE UNITED STATES in the course of its national history has had its wars, but regularly has been unprepared at their beginnings and has had to learn the art and logistics of war in the midst of campaigns. The natural reason for this situation is that as a nation we love peace and are opposed to war. We fought reluctantly but bravely the war for independence and gladly signed the treaty of peace. With Washington we desired to "cultivate peace and harmony with all," and endorsed the statements in Jefferson's inaugural address that among the essential principles of our government may be named "Equal and exact justice to all men;" "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations" and "the supremacy of the civil over the military authority." Such and similar principles, he asserted, are "the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

Yet in those post-revolutionary days we were not permitted to enjoy peace with honor. They were the years of the French revolution and the Napoleonic régime, and unwillingly we were involved in European complications and thrust into our own inglorious war of 1812. When peace was made and Napoleon was exiled to St. Helena, the United States heaved a sigh of relief and hoped for an era of peace. But soon disquieting rumors of further trouble came to its attention. The Latin Colonies to the south during the Napoleonic era had arisen in rebellion against Europe and sought to win their independence as we had. The island of Haiti-Santo Domingo achieved independence by 1803 and throughout Latin America, from Mexico to Chile and Argentina, colony after colony asserted its independence and sought peace with the sword. One by one they won their freedom and demanded from the United States, as the parent republic on this con-

continent, a recognition of their status as free and independent states.

But, unfortunately, in Europe autocracy voiced by the Holy Alliance was to the front and had as its announced policy the suppression of revolutions against legitimate authority and opposition to representative forms of government. Insurrections in Italy, Spain and Portugal were crushed by armed forces and consideration was then given to the problem of bringing back to their allegiance the rebellious colonies of Spain in the Americas. At this juncture (August, 1823) Great Britain informed the United States of the situation and suggested a joint policy in protest against such interference. For several months the United States hesitated. It was an opportunity for the two English-speaking nations to bury the hatchet and unite in behalf of struggling republics against the despotic autocracies of Europe, and it is not strange that most of our leading statesmen at first favored the proposition. Yet finally a wiser insight prevailed; England made secretly (in October) its own declaration of opposition to any action against Spain's colonies, and the United States on December 2, 1823, made its declaration of opposition through President Monroe in his message to Congress. The prestige of England and its dominant sea power put an end to the project of the Holy Alliance, but Monroe's message added its climax and incidentally resulted in the announcement of what has come to be the fundamental and permanent policy of the United States.

For President Monroe's message to Congress was not merely a caveat in behalf of the struggling republics against Spain and the Holy Alliance. America's opposition was relatively of small importance in comparison with a similar opposition from the wealthiest nation and the greatest sea power of Europe. Monroe's message was of far more importance than a mere objection to a proposed action, for it was a mature and thoughtful statement of policy in respect to the future relations of Europe and the Americas, aiming to inform the world that henceforth the Americas had come of age, that they declared their freedom from the entanglements of European politics and proclaimed the existence of an independent American system, and that the United States, as the oldest and most powerful state in the Americas, desired to notify the European powers that we should consider "as dangerous to our peace and safety" . . . "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere."

It was indeed high time that something was done. Russia was planning to push the southern boundary of Alaska farther south; England earlier in the century had made attempts on Buenos Ayres and already had large holdings in South and Central America and in the Caribbean. At any moment decrepid Spain might be compelled to surrender Cuba and Porto Rico to France or England. If France acting for the Holy Alliance should seek to subjugate the rebellious Spanish colonies, it would not unlikely secure for itself a good share of the spoil and thus once again would have the basis for an American colonial empire. It was entirely possible that the European powers, freed from wars among themselves, would proceed, under one pretext or another, to divide up among themselves the former colonial empires of Spain and Portugal in the Americas.

If so, this continent would become the center for territorial expansion and bitter rivalry among the powers and perennial wars would ensue, causing endless chaos. Such a situation undoubtedly would be dangerous to our peace and safety, to say nothing of the exploitation and demoralization of the freedom-loving colonists to the south.

It is hard to say how much of this was foreseen by the statesmen who united in formulating the Monroe Doctrine. Perhaps they had transient situations only in mind and built better than they knew. Yet it is more probable that they did have an appreciation of the importance of the policy about to be declared. For many years the best minds of the Americas, north and south, had had visions of the independence of the Americas from European control. Even as early as 1787 Hamilton in the *Federalist* had said,

"Let the thirteen States, bound together in a strict and indissoluble Union, concur in erecting one great American system, superior to the control of all transatlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the terms of the connection between the old and the new world!"

Washington's neutrality proclamation, Jefferson's "entangling alliances with none," Bolivar's dream of an American confederation, Henry Clay's ardent devotion to the cause of Latin colonial independence, and a national faith in democratic institutions and republican forms of government, all combined to develop a public opinion eager for just such a policy. When, therefore, the terms of the message became known, Americans, north and south, irrespective of race or politics, heartily and enthusiastically endorsed the President's stand, which also met with a similar approval from liberals in England.

In the United States this steady support of the Doctrine in public opinion has never failed. Particular interpretations are at times questioned, some have considered it wholly or in part obsolete, but every new crisis sinks it more deeply into the consciousness of the American nation, which is in full sympathy with President Cleveland's statement that "It was intended to apply to every stage in our national life and can not become obsolete while our Republic endures—."

Those who favor a thorough national preparedness for war as the best preventive against attack argue, and rightfully, that an aggressive nation would most carefully count the cost before it would venture to attack a fully prepared nation. But the Monroe Doctrine goes farther than this. For a hundred years it has stood as the fundamental policy of the United States, a policy developed primarily so as to ensure the safety of the United States and to secure the peace of the Americas. It has been interpreted and applied to many controversial situations so that its essential meaning has become familiar to the nations. In some cases this knowledge has not been palatable. Metternich, voicing the Holy Alliance, declared that "great calamities would be brought upon Europe by the establishment of these vast republics in the New World;" Bismarck, two generations later, is said to have called it "a species of arrogance peculiar to the Americans and quite inexcusable," and Professor Wagner alluded to it as an "empty pretension." Yet the Doctrine stands firm and is acquiesced

in by the international world. Its significance is comprehended and it is clearly understood that behind the Doctrine is the power and might of the United States. In other words, an historic policy like the Monroe Doctrine is itself a preventer of war and a preserver of peace, for every foreign nation knows that any attempts on its part to act contrary to that policy means war. In consequence, the Latin States to the south, notwithstanding their weakness in past years, have been guarded by a President's message as effectively as though they were protected by armies and navies adequate to defend against any possible attack.

The importance of the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine is seen by contrasting the fate of Africa, partitioned among the powers and fought over at the Councils of Nations; or of Asia and more especially China in the dark days that immediately preceded the "open door" declaration of John Hay. In viewing the situation of Africa and Asia who can doubt that, had it not been for the Monroe Doctrine, South and Central America, and Cuba and Mexico besides, would long since have come under the flags of foreign powers and that expansionist wars would have kept those lands in constant turmoil!

When Texas withdrew from Mexico and declared its independence, France and Great Britain took a keen interest in the possibilities of the youthful republic, but the Monroe Doctrine kept them from aspiring to any sort of territorial control in that region. England in the forties became profoundly interested in Central America and the Canal region, but the Monroe Doctrine said "verboden" and the British flag flew over no more territory in that region than England had in 1823. France, taking advantage of our civil war, invaded Mexico and set Maximilian on a puppet throne, but public opinion supported the House in declaring that "It does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchial government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of any European power." At the close of the war Grant, with an army of one hundred thousand men, was sent to the Rio Grande and Secretary Seward politely asked Napoleon to set a date by which time he would withdraw his army. The combination of Grant's army and national policy had proper weight and the French reluctantly withdrew their forces.

It is significant that, during this same period of civil war and reconstruction, other nations also tried to gain a foothold on American shores while the United States was preoccupied. England and Spain had at first united with France against Mexico, but withdrew when Mexico gave satisfaction for claims. Spain seized and held Santo Domingo in 1862 against our protest, but in 1865 it withdrew its troops. Spain also came to blows with Peru and Chile, but Secretary Seward assured the Latin states "that the republican system which is accepted by the people in any one of those states shall not be wantonly assailed, and that it shall not be subverted as an end of a lawful war by European powers." In 1870 the United States successfully mediated between Spain and the Latin States and brought the war to an end.

In 1895 arose the controversy with Great Britain over the Venezuelan boundary and after much tribulation

an agreement was reached that definitely aligned Great Britain henceforth behind the United States in its interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. This lesson was not lost on the powers and when in 1902 Germany, along with Great Britain and Italy, blockaded Venezuelan ports, it first consulted Washington and gave pledge that "Under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory." Obviously the lesson has been well learned—no foreign power, European or Asiatic, will ever be allowed, under the Monroe Doctrine, to subvert American governments and substitute others, or to occupy American territory in excess of what such nations may have owned in 1823.

A clear understanding of this sort makes for peace. When in 1900 the German Kaiser, through his naval program, challenged Great Britain's supremacy of the seas, it was virtually a declaration of war to be fought out in the future, since the supremacy of the seas is Great Britain's most fundamental policy. In the same fashion no foreign nation will for a moment think of endeavoring to enlarge its holdings or secure a foothold in the Americas, unless it desire *ipso facto* to engage in war with the United States. Even though a foreign power should make war against an American state and defeat it, the United States would see to it that the terms of victory involved no surrender of territory or sovereignty to that foreign power, which thus would rarely find it worth while to make war, since the fruits of victory would never include the accession of additional lands. As long as the United States retains the Monroe policy and is prepared to enforce it against foreign powers eager to expand their territories at the expense of the Latin States, a *pax Americana* may be assumed, since no possible gains in the Americas could compensate for the burden and danger of a war with the United States.

It may, however, be said with truth that the Monroe Doctrine is selfish in that the United States may do to the Latin States what foreign states are forbidden to do, and slighting references are made to the Mexican cessions to the United States in the forties, and the Panama episode in 1903. All this may be admitted and reference also made to Chile's seizure of the nitrate sea coast of Bolivia and part of that of Peru. The justice or injustice of such matters, however, is not an issue that can arise as a charge against the Monroe Doctrine, which simply aims to keep foreign states from territorial gains in the Americas on the ground that such action would be against the peace and safety of the United States. Within the Americas wars may take place and transfers of territory may be made, subject only to the pressure of international public opinion. In such matters Pan-Americanism with its stress of fraternalism and the equal sovereignty of all American States should see to it that disputes are settled by arbitration and expansionist ambitions discouraged.

President Roosevelt, in his first annual message (December 3, 1901), had asserted, "We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power." But the German-Venezuelan episode in 1902 brought home to Washington the conviction that,

"If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. . . ."

"We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. . . ."

This "international police power," mentioned in President Roosevelt's message, is, he affirmed, implied in the Monroe Doctrine. Implications of this sort are dangerous and might easily lead on to a policy of domination over weaker nations whose interest conflict with ours or whose territory we desire. This police power referred to might better be derived from the sovereignty of the United States and the inherent right of each state to take precautions against threatened danger by abating "international nuisances" near its borders. The United States exercised this power in connection with Cuba in 1898, in Panama in 1903, and in later years notably in Santo Domingo and Haiti. For justification it should appeal to public opinion and to the ethical nature of its actions, which should be above suspicion. This power wrongly used becomes dangerous to the peace of the Americas and should not shield itself under the name of the Monroe Doctrine, which is a policy of peace.

The real implication that may rightly be drawn from the Monroe Doctrine is the policy of Pan-Americanism, which goes back to the dreams in the early nineteenth century of peaceful co-operation among the American nations. This great movement includes within its scope Bolivar's Panama Congress, Blaine's Pan-American Congresses, and the Pan-American Union. This union, with its numerous bureaux and commissions, aims to unite the States of the Americas in permanent interests—economic, jural, scientific and social—so that the states as brother nations of the western hemisphere may work together in mutual helpfulness and amity. Pan-Americanism, voiced through Congress and Union, stresses arbitration and the processes of conciliation and mediation, and favors a helpful attitude toward the weaker nations, freed from all suspicion of exploitation and self-aggrandizement.

In the Americas the international police power of the United States should rarely, very rarely, be used; it is dangerous in its possibilities. The Monroe Doctrine as a policy for the preservation of American peace against the danger of foreign aggression is permanent and by its results has justified its existence. But in these troublous years, Pan-Americanism, the complementary policy to the Monroe Doctrine, should be kept well to the front, based as it is on the implication that there is an American system common to American states and

that these, as equal nations fraternally united for general welfare, should work together amicably—each for all, all for each.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES

By THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD PHILLIMORE

The First of Four Lectures Delivered at the Academy of International Law, The Hague, Holland, 1923

(Translated from the French)

I

IN THIS magnificent palace where we have been received, the principal room, known as the Japanese Hall, is found on the second floor, together with the Council Chamber and other important rooms. Entering through the vestibule on the ground floor, we find the library and the chambers of the courts. The first entrance is the vestibule; but to reach the principal room we must ascend the stairs. In the Temple of the Law I hold the stairs, a position which has been given to me by the curatorium of our Academy. My colleague, Baron Korff, occupies the vestibule. You have heard and you will again hear from him on the subject of the historical development of international law. My friend, Dr. James Brown Scott, will take you somewhat aside, and you will listen to his explanations of certain aspects of the philosophy of international law. But then, for the rest, for the various ramifications of international jurisprudence, you must ascend the stairs of the fundamental rights and duties of States.

These rights and duties, then, form the subject of these lectures.

And, to begin with, just what is a State? There are many definitions. I have gone through a number of them. Among others, those of Grotius, Vattel, Wheaton, Heffter, Phillimore (my father, Sir Robert Phillimore), Maine, Bluntschli, Calvo, Woolsey, Field, Holtzendorff, Fiore, Zaballos. All these writers have about the same conception of the State—the differences being mainly of language. I choose that of my father:

"But for all purposes of international law, a State may be defined to be, a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politic, exercising, through the medium of an organized government, independent sovereignty and control over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace, and of entering into all international relations with the other communities of the globe."¹

This definition must be slightly corrected, in ways which its author would have gladly accepted.

There are States whose sovereignty is qualified, such as the State under a protectorate or a mandate. In recent times there have been vassal States, part-sovereign States. We shall see that they have, in common with States whose sovereignty is absolute, international rights and duties; but these are always modified, subject to gradations, of which I shall speak later.

States, therefore, must be classified. There are sim-

¹ Commentaries, Vol. 1, Chap. LXIII.

ple States, such as Belgium and Norway; there are composite States.

Again, there are many kinds of composite States. The most familiar is the federation—*bundes-staat*. And among federations there are some more or less closely united. Take, for example, the United States of North America; those of Brazil, of Argentina, of Switzerland.

Besides these, we have at this moment, in the British Empire, a composite State which has many of the attributes of a federation without being a federation in the strict sense of the word. We have also the union of Denmark and Iceland.

As regards international rights and duties, it may be said that a composite State does not differ in any way from a simple State. This would be quite logical. In practice, however, as I shall indicate later, grades of difference may be found.

In the same way differences are to be found as regards non-federated States having important overseas possessions, such as Holland, France, Portugal.

A State, be it simple or composite, sovereign or part-sovereign, is a "moral person," according to Vattel; a "moral being," says Calvo. "States are the persons of international law," says Bluntschli. "Juridic persons" is the phrase of Zaballos. "The State is a person," says Fiore.

Thus the State finds itself in relation with other moral beings who form what Fiore and other writers call the "*magna civitas*" of the world. It may be said that it is impossible for it to avoid having relations with other States. Aristotle, in his great work on Politics,² uses the following apothegm:

"The man who can have no communication with those about him, who asks nothing because he is sufficient unto himself, does not form a part of society. Such an one must be either an animal or a god."

The same thing may be said of a State in connection with the "*magna civitas*." An isolated State might, it is true, be imagined. Let us take an island, so that there may be no question of frontiers or of neighboring countries, with the consequent necessity for relations between the inhabitants of the two frontiers. Suppose that this island produces everything needed for the simple life of its inhabitants, that these inhabitants do not require any luxuries, that they are not curious, that they do not travel, that they have no ships, and that their laws forbid the debarkation of strangers upon their shores. Then we might have a State with no desire for communication with its peers, sufficient unto itself. But at the present time there is no such State in the world. Even Korea, even Afghanistan, has international relations. Suarez has said:

"Humanum genus, quantumvis in varios populos, et regna divisum, semper habet aliquam unitatem non solum specficam sed etiam quasi politicam et moralem. . . . Quae propter licet unaquaque civitas perfecta, res publica aut regnum, sit in se communitas perfecta ac suis membris constans, nunquam illae communitates . . . sunt sibi sufficientes singillatim. . . ."³

Many writers place non-organized barbarous peoples, who could not be said to hold the position of nations or States in the true international sense of the word, in a special category. Calvo expresses himself on this subject in the following terms, with which I agree:

"Nomadic peoples, having neither territory nor fixed domicile, could not be considered as States, but they are treated on the same basis; international treaties are concluded with them when they have a political organization and express, by the intermediary of their chiefs or their assemblies, a common will. In any case, the States on whose territory they roam are obliged to make them respect the obligations imposed by international law, and regulate certain conditions with them by means of treaties which, like all others, have an international character."⁴

It is easy to perceive that each of these tribes, while it hardly constitutes a State in the absolute sense of the word, must have a quasi-national character in its relations with neighboring States, and that its reciprocal rights and duties must be ruled by principles analogous to those of States proper.

Here the most delicate question which we must treat presents itself when we discuss the right to acquire territory.

As to the individuals composing each tribe, who, by hypothesis, have not the plain rights of citizens or subjects of a State, it is a little difficult to give them a logical position.

To my mind, the rights of a man, as an individual, must be kept separate from the system of international law; and yet such an individual does not deserve to be placed outside the law. The tribe, for his protection, can act as a duly constituted State which, in return, can be made responsible for the excesses of its members.

But if the State be so barbarous that it has no organization at all, I am afraid such people must be referred to moral rights, and the principles of religion for their protection. The same principles come into play when the question of punishment arises.

States, then, are persons in international law. But it may be said that they are not the only persons affected by international law. There are institutions, powers of another kind; the heads of churches or of organized religions, such as His Holiness the Pope, his Beatitude, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and, for the Mohammedans, the Caliph. Each government which may include among its subjects a great number of Roman Catholics, of Orthodox Christians, or of Mohammedans, must enter into relations, therefore, with religious authorities. As regards the Pope, he may be treated as sovereign of the Vatican. This fact affects somewhat relations with the Kingdom of Italy. But the Pope's international position is wider than that.

In the second volume of my father's "Commentaries" will be found a detailed study of the international positions of the Pope and of the Patriarch, and among the writers on international law whose works have been published since 1870 will be found observations, and even important reservations, apropos of the Holy See, especially in the works of Fiore⁵ and Cruchoaga.⁶

² Book I, Ch. 2.

³ Deligibus et de Deo legislatore, London, 1679, II, C. 19, § 9.

⁴ Le Droit International, par C. Calvo, livre 2, Sec. 68.

⁵ Sections 698, 699.

⁶ Nociones de Derecho International, 3rd Edn., Madrid, p. 247. See also Bluntschli, p. 137; Heffter, p. 96, Sec. 41.

Besides these there have been, though there are none in existence at the present time, very important companies or associations for the exploitation of non-European countries, such as the East India Company in England, which, while they are subject to the sovereign of the country from which they received their charter, namely, their existence, conduct themselves toward other countries as part-sovereign States.

In times when communication was far less rapid than it is today, necessity obliged them to rule themselves, to make war and peace, to send diplomatic agents to neighboring countries, and to receive such agents themselves.

To my mind, however, the position of religious chiefs and great commercial corporations should not occupy us in this series of conferences, and I return to the State, in the true sense of the word, and, to begin with, to simple States, whose rights and duties we shall discuss.

In my opinion, rights and duties are mutual. The right of State A necessarily entails duties on the part of States B, C, D, etc., and *vice versa*. But these rights and duties can be understood more clearly if discussed separately, taking the same questions from both points of view.

But when I say this I make a pronouncement on a delicate and much-disputed question. To my mind there is no third party. The rights of States are their rights *vis a vis* with other States, and the same thing applies to duties. There is no question in international law of the right of the man, the individual, toward the man, nor of the duties of the State toward the man.

The man is a citizen of the State in question, and relations between him and his own State are matters of constitutional law. Or he is citizen of another State, in which case he must address himself to his own State, which will act, if it sees fit, for him.

I realize that there are some of the more modern jurists, such as Fiore, Cruchaga, and also, I think, Zeballos, for whom the man has rights of a supernational, rather than an international, order, which might be called constitutional rights under the *magna civitas*. This is a thesis which requires serious discussion, which I hope to engage on later. For the moment I shall suppose that the rights of a State are exercised *vis a vis* with other States, with reciprocal duties.

Writers have divided these rights into two classes: the first are original, primitive, immediate, fundamental, and absolute; the second are acquired, derived, arising from hypothecation or pledge, relative or eventual.⁷ Oppenheim opposes this distinction,⁸ which, nevertheless, has some *raison d'être*. It might be differently expressed. There are rights derived from very existence, and there are rights derived from agreements mutually made by States.

All the rights of the first class might be placed under one heading: the right to live, not only to exist, but to live, like a person who lives a natural life; extending, growing, assisting its citizens to acquire the means of living without hindrance from other States, but also without harming other States. As my father says:

"As it is ordained by God that the individual man should

attain to the full development of his faculties through his intercourse with other men, and that so a people should be formed, so it is divinely appointed that each individual society should reach that degree of perfection of which it is capable, through its intercourse with other societies.

"To move, and to live and to have its being in the great community of nations, is as much the normal condition of a single nation as to live in a social state is the normal condition of a single man."⁹

And, as each State has the right to live, it also has the right of beginning to live, the right of birth. The birth of a State may be observed as naturalists observe the birth of animals. Ordinarily it occurs either by way of aggregation or by fissiparous scission. I say ordinarily because, in rare cases, the State is formed by an organization of nomadic tribes, or adventurous individuals (Heimatlos—homeless ones) like the Barbary Corsairs, who constitute themselves into a State accepted and recognized, though censured (*fetri*) by European States. On this subject reference may be made to the pronouncement of Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell) in the affair of the "Helena,"¹⁰ as well as to the observations of my father.¹¹

Theoretically, the degradation or disintegration of a State may also be imagined, a dissolution of its citizens into separate atoms without mutual tie, where neither faith nor law will be found, such a catastrophe as recently menaced Russia.

But to return to more usual cases, history affords many examples of aggregation, the Anglo Saxon Heptarchy giving way to a kingdom; the union of England and Scotland; the separate provinces of the country wherein we now find ourselves uniting in a Netherlands Confederation, which later became the Kingdom of Holland; the Swiss grouping; the union of Castile and Leon, and of these two kingdoms with that of Aragon.

Shades of difference must be noted here. The unions which gave birth to England and to Spain and the union of Navarre with France are complete unions. A body was formed without internal distinctions. The union of Scotland and England is not quite complete. Scotland preserves her laws and her municipal customs.

The Confederation of the Netherlands was first, I fancy, a confederation of sovereign States. Now it is one people. The Helvetic Confederation undergoes, from time to time, important changes, as a result of which little States, originally united by defensive treaties, are consolidated, as it were, into one State, which, in all international relations, is a single entity.

Were it not outside the limits of my task, I might go with greater detail into the subject of the consolidation of States which were born as a result of fissiparous scission—that is to say, by the separation of a province from the body politic, and which have aggregated afterwards by means of mutual treaties, then confederated, then become consolidated.

The most interesting example is that of the thirteen colonies of North America, which, after some vicissitudes, became united in the Federal Republic of the United States. The history of this great Republic is a

⁷ Cruchaga, Sec. 205.

⁸ International Law, 2nd Edn. (1912), Part I, Chap. 2.

⁹ Sir Robert Phillimore's Commentaries, Vol. I, p. 3, VII.

¹⁰ 4 C. Rob. Adm. Rep., p. 5.

¹¹ Commentaires, Vol. I, Sec. 64.

progressive series of events constituting a national consolidation; such as the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall; the suppression of the revolt of the Southern States; the remarkable constitutional amendments recently made, especially that which lifted the prohibition of commerce in alcohol to the height of a Federal law.

Of the birth of two States by division we have many recent examples: the separation of Sweden and Norway; the Christian States taken from within the Ottoman Empire, Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and finally Czechoslovakia taken from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Poland is an example of both processes. The separation of Russian Poland from Russia, Prussian Poland from Prussia, Austrian Poland from Austria, and then the aggregation of these three fractions into a new State.

I must add that sometimes the division, at least at its commencement, does not always advance as far as an absolute separation. Argentina, I think, was first a simple State whose provinces were only municipal divisions. It is now a confederation of States. During the course of my lifetime the British Empire has changed from a simple kingdom to a true confederation. Let us hope that it will go no further along this path, and that the king will always remain king of the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominion, the Emperor of India.

Let us return to the birth of a State. Some writers hold as a preliminary condition to the establishment of a State that it must have been recognized as such by the other States of the world. This, in my opinion, is not so. It confounds what is only an indication or a proof of existence with the condition of life itself. It would mean submitting the rights of a nation to the pleasure of its neighbors. Recognition has a relative or a subjective effect. Once a State has been recognized, it remains a State for all the States which have accorded it recognition and for their subjects. This doctrine is accepted over and over again in English jurisprudence.¹² But a refusal to recognize the existence of an independent State does not harm its existence. If it exists in fact, diplomatic or commercial relations with it can be refused; but it still remains a State.

This, I think, is the opinion of Wheaton, who expresses it thus:

"The sovereignty of a State commences at the origin of the society of which it is formed, or when it separates from the society of which it was formerly a part."¹³

But I must admit that it is not the doctrine of Calvo or Oppenheim. Calvo says:

"But if the State exercises internal sovereignty from the moment of its constitution, such is not the case as regards its external sovereignty; this must be sanctioned by the other States, and until then the new State is not a part of the great legal society of nations. Each State is, without doubt, free to recognize or not to recognize the new State which is just formed; but, in all cases, it is obliged to undergo the consequences of the determination it takes."¹⁴

Oppenheim begins with assurance, but his conclusions are more doubtful. I cite the following:

"If the real facts of international life are taken into consideration, this opinion cannot stand. It is a rule of international law that no new State has a right toward other States to be recognized by them, and that no State has the duty to recognize a new State. It is generally agreed that a new State before its recognition cannot claim any right which a member of the family of nations has toward other members. It can, therefore, not be seen what the function of recognition could be if the State entered at its birth really of right into the membership of the family of nations. There is no doubt that Statehood itself is independent of recognition. International law does not say that a State is not in existence as long as it is not recognized, but it takes no notice of it before its recognition. Through recognition only and exclusively a State becomes an international person and a subject of international law."¹⁵

The weighty dictum of Holzendorff might be agreed with:

"The recognition of a newly constituted State is not necessary to it for its existence or for its future, but it is needed to regularize its participation in the community of States."¹⁶

One must not confound the question of the recognition of a new State with any question of the right of a State to have any new form of government which it gives to itself recognized.

I imagine that the birth of States has now been sufficiently discussed.

But, as the poet Beranger sings: "Being born is not all." Birth accomplished, the State begins to live; and it is its right to live, with all the ramifications and relations of this right which will now occupy our attention.

If the right to live is regarded as the trunk of a tree, from which goes a ramification of subordinate rights, the first branch in this ramification or development will be the right of sovereignty. Each State, by the very definition of it, possesses territory and citizens. On this territory and over these citizens the State is sovereign and the citizens are its subjects.

As to sovereignty over its territory, I have not much to say. Evidently, it owns and controls all the land and the lakes within the limits of the country. Fluvial waters are also in its possession. But the rights of other States, at the head or the mouth of each river, must here be taken into consideration.

Then, for maritime States, their sovereignty is extended over inlets of the sea, such as the roads of Rio de Janeiro or Sydney, the bays and the gulfs, if they are not too big, and the littoral of the sea for some distance, always excepting in so far as navigation rights must be preserved, and also the fishing rights of citizens of other States. I shall not go into much detail, as my hearers have already begun to enjoy the lectures of my learned colleague, Jonkheer van Eysinga, on international rivers and canals, and will soon profit by the teaching of my friend, M. de Lapradelle, on the free-

¹² See p. 19 MS.

¹³ Wheaton's International Law, par. 6, p. 32.

¹⁴ Calvo's *Le Droit International*, livre II, sec. 79.

¹⁵ L. Oppenheim: "International Law," 2nd Edition, London, 1912.

¹⁶ *Das europaische Völkerrecht*, Sec. 18.

dom of the seas. For those of my hearers who can stay for the second half there are the courses of Professor Wilson on territorial seas, closed seas, and straits. As regards the aerial space above the territory, I must, at the risk of anticipating the conclusions of Professor Garner, put before you some propositions.

At the beginning of aerial navigation some orators went astray, giving a false application to a seductive principle. They said "the air is free," and from this simple proposition they advocated the right of each aviator to drive his plane wherever he wished. But some distinction must be made between the air, an element composed of gas, oxygen, nitrogen, etc., or a draught of air, wind, etc., and the space filled by the air, "the air space," as they say in England, above the territory of each State. If a State had no sovereign rights over this space, if it was left open to the incursions of foreigners, perhaps with hostile intentions, a State would be half naked. All its forts, garrison depots, and so on, would be open to inspection from above. And, moreover, in time of peace it would be possible, purposely or accidentally, to let harmful objects fall from above, objects forbidden for fear of plague, whether human or bovine or vegetable, or to avoid customs barriers. Collisions with other planes might occur accidentally, which might result not only in costing the life of other aviators, but also in falling wreckage which might harm the inhabitants of the earth below and their property. Thus the international regulation of aerial navigation will be the subject of Professor Garner's lecture.

As to the inhabitants of its territory, the State is sovereign over all the human beings living thereon. These inhabitants are: subjects by birth or by means of naturalization; foreigners who may be classified as those who make this territory their ordinary residence (*com-morantes*); and those making a short stay, such as travelers. The foreigners (*sublimi temporanei*) must submit to its laws, and may demand from it security for their persons and their goods.

Thus over all its subjects by birth, and, with some slight modifications, over those who become its subjects, the State extends its protection as well as its imperium when they are in a foreign State. It may order them to return, so as to perform their civil or military duties. It may subject them to laws concerning family or inheritance and tax their property. On the other hand, as regards the foreigners on its own territory, the State recognizes that they are foreigners, subject to the laws of their own country in so far as they do not conflict with those of the State in whose territory they are, and that their country is entitled to protect them, and to demand that they be treated with justice and be given the protection of the country's laws.

Finally, there are conditions which may prolong the sovereignty of a State outside its own territory, such as vessels flying its flag. But here we touch upon a special phase of international law which I can only indicate to you.

And, having concluded my observations on the law of sovereignty, I must end the first lecture here.

THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES— A PROGRAM*

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A—SUMMARY

THE ATTACHED memorandum, after calling attention to some of the background—"The Grand Design" of Elizabeth and Henry IV, "The Holy Alliance," and "The League of Nations"—points out there are now before the American people, for their consideration, three proposals involving plans for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which, in the order of their announcement, are:

1. Membership in the League of Nations, which the people unquestionably rejected at the last presidential election.

2. The plan outlined in Senator Borah's resolution, providing for the "outlawry of war," the codification of international law, and the establishment of an international judiciary with affirmative (compulsory) jurisdiction.

3. The late President Harding's plan, of adhesion to or participation in the "Permanent Court of International Justice" established by the League of Nations, either as the court now is or after it has been separated from the League.

This Memo. sketches a plan—and gives reasons therefor—for consolidating the plans of the late President Harding and Senator Borah, and for amplifying the same in a way that will add to the machinery proposed by them a deliberative body—a World Congress—which shall have authority to consider general matters affecting the world or special matters referred to it by two or more of the nations, such a Congress to be composed of representatives of *all* the nations.

This plan is to be worked out—

1. By an international convention declaring international war a crime and its aggressive wayer a criminal, with possible reparations, restitutions, and penalties.

2. By an international convention codifying international law, so that, a judicial system being set up with compulsory jurisdiction, nations may be able to know, first, what they ought to do under a given set of circumstances, and, second, the rules by which their conduct under such circumstances is to be judged, if and when such conduct is called in question before the international judiciary.

3. By an international convention which shall accomplish the following purposes:

a. Perpetuate, as now constituted, the present Hague "Permanent Court of Arbitration" for such use as the nations may from time to time care to put it.

b. Create a new permanent World Supreme Court, to be constituted as follows:

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Its first members shall be the members of the present League "Permanent Court of Arbitration."

Members elected to take the place of these first members shall be not only nominated by the present Hague "Permanent Court of Arbitration," but shall be elected by that court also. For this purpose of election the Hague "Permanent Court" might, if such were desirable, be divided into a first and second electoral college, the memberships of each college being made up in some such manner as the League Council and Assembly.

This court should have compulsory jurisdiction in certain matters, perhaps those affecting interpretation of treaties and a part, at least, of those covered by the international code.

c. Provide for the creation of courts of first instance, which should sit in the capital of the defendant nation to the controversy, the members of the court (three) to be chosen, one by the plaintiff nation, one by the defendant nation, and a third, a national of neither party, to be one of the members of the World Supreme Court bench. The national members must be members of The Hague "Permanent Court of Arbitration" panel.

The jurisdiction of such courts should be compulsory, in some such manner as the Supreme Court.

d. Enlarge the functions of The Hague "Permanent Court" panel so as to make that body a deliberative assembly—World Congress—which should sit at regular intervals (American members to be appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate), and which should have recommendatory powers as to all matters coming before them, either of general import, considered on the initiative of the Congress, or on special matters referred to it by two or more powers.

Some of the advantages which such a combined plan, with the amplification suggested, would have are pointed out in the Memo.

B—MEMO.

Preliminary

"The Grand Design":

Certainly since the "Grand Design" (conceived, as it is said, by the brain of Elizabeth of England) was elaborated by Henry IV of France and published to the world by his great minister, Sully, statesmen and philosophers (obedient to the divine principles of Sinai and Gethsemane) have visioned and struggled for the abolition of war and the peaceful adjustment of international disputes.

The "Grand Design" provided for a disarmed, organized, leagued world, with national boundaries adjusted to fit the view—perhaps whims—of its proponents; it provided an international army to maintain the *status quo* which it was to establish; it set up an assembly of the representatives of the nations composing it, for the discussion and adjustment of international disputes; it operated upon the consciences of the constituent national peoples by fixing the religion to which they should belong.

The immediate purpose of the "Grand Design" was the curtailment of the power and influence of Austria; its impelling motives were fear and hate of the empire. It was in essence an alliance aimed against the then

great dominant power, which was to be stripped of possessions and confined within curtailed boundaries.

The "Grand Design" died with Henry.

"The Holy Alliance":

Two hundred years later, in the early part of the past century, a plan involving the basic elements of the "Grand Design" was insinuated into the visionary mind of Alexander of Russia, one of the most powerful and perhaps the most absolute of Europe's monarchs, who accomplished the formation of the Holy Alliance, which was to guarantee the territorial adjustments following the reduction of Napoleonic France through an international army made up of the allied powers, and was to maintain the existing governmental status and form.

The purpose of the Holy Alliance, though cloaked by words of beatific benevolence, was the destruction of the dominating military power and influence of France and the perpetuation of the prestige, influence, and paramourcy of the nations forming it.

The "Holy Alliance" crumbled and fell.

The League of Nations:

One hundred years later the same ideas became again current in world affairs and the League of Nations was organized to give a sanction to the Treaty of Versailles, the purpose of which was to destroy Germany and to give France (who was to be backed by Great Britain and the United States) that position of dominating influence in Europe at which Germany aimed.

In essence, the League of Nations is, by intention and by actual operation, a military alliance among the great powers of western Europe, which, with their possessions and dominations and the flattered weak and small powers of the world, have regrouped themselves in a new "balance of power" arrangement. The real purpose of this alliance is to make secure to themselves the world-wide territorial, strategic, political, economic, and financial gains with which, through the intervention of the United States, they were able to enrich themselves at the end of the World War.

These great powers (or at least France) hope, plan, and expect to retain these gains through the maintenance and enforcement of the pernicious, peace-destroying, yet so-called peace treaties, of which the Treaty of Versailles is the prototype.

To give to this purpose a semblance of respectability, legality, and justice, these powers work, when it best suits their ends, through the instrumentalities of the League of Nations. They manipulate at will, and have always done so, the Secretariat, the Assembly, and the Council; they even tamper with the Permanent Court of Justice itself. Behind this whole panoply of pseudo-world organization sits the Council of Ambassadors, successors of the Supreme Council—the "Big Four"—dominating, directing, compelling the course of Europe and of much of the world—all for the benefit of the newly grouped great powers. A narrow national selfishness, never exceeded in the history of the world, is the driving force of the whole system.

Thus the League of Nations perpetuates the worst features of the "Grand Design" and "The Holy Alliance" and adds no new fundamental element of virtue. If history repeats itself, the League must fall.

Present Situation

There are now before the American people for consideration (in the order of their presentation)—

1. The taking on of membership in the League of Nations.

2. The Borah Resolution plan, involving the outlawry of war, the codification of international law, and the establishment of an international judiciary with compulsory jurisdiction over international disputes.

3. The late President Harding's plan, of admission to or participation in the "Permanent Court of International Justice" established by the League of Nations, either as it is or after it has been separated from the League.

The vote cast against it by the overwhelming majority of the American people at the last election seems to eliminate membership in the League of Nations from present consideration.

This leaves the late President Harding's "Permanent Court" plan and Senator Borah's plan for further consideration.

In considering these two matters, there should be in mind certain existing international machinery framed to the same general end—that is, the machinery provided for or set up by The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

The First Hague Conference (1899), to which delegates were sent by President McKinley, framed, and the Second Hague Conference (1907), to which delegates were sent by President Roosevelt, amplified and amended the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This convention provided for three methods of peacefully settling international disputes, as follows:

1. Good offices and mediation on the part of disinterested nations.

The United States was the first to invoke this method of peaceful adjustment when it mediated between Ecuador and Peru, while Mr. Knox was Secretary of State, and by so doing prevented those countries from going to war.

2. Commissions of inquiry.

This machinery was used for investigating the Dogger Bank incident between Russia and Great Britain, during the Russo-Japanese War, and so averted what seemed to be an imminent possible war between Russia and Great Britain.

3. Arbitration.

The United States and Mexico were the first to use this method of adjustment under The Hague Convention, while Mr. Hay was Secretary of State, when the two nations took the Pius Fund case to The Hague.

The United States, as well as other powers, have since that time used The Hague Tribunal to secure the adjustment of a number of matters of the last international importance and danger.

The part of this Hague Convention which dealt with arbitration provided for the creation of what was termed a "Permanent Court of Arbitration," which consisted of (at most) four persons, nominated by each of the nations ratifying or adhering to the convention, the national groups so named by the nations constituting in reality a panel or list of persons from whom nations

desiring to arbitrate their differences under the convention were to choose a court to try and to adjudicate the controversy between them.

A special treaty (*compromis*) was usually framed for creating a court for a particular case. The "Permanent Court of Arbitration" had no compulsory (affirmative) jurisdiction.

The Second Hague Conference also framed a convention for the establishment of an international prize court,—which provided for compulsory (affirmative) jurisdiction in matters of prize.

The same conference also provided, in the convention respecting the limitation of the employment of force for the recovery of contract debts, that as to contract debts force might be used against a power which neglected to reply to an offer of arbitration or refused to arbitrate such a matter, or which, having agreed to arbitrate, refused to proceed, or which declined to carry out an award.

The statute creating the League Court provides that the personnel of that court shall be elected by the Assembly and Council of the League from a list of persons proposed by the various national groups composing the "Permanent Court of Arbitration" (described above) and by groups named by nations who are not members of that court.

A Suggestion:

The plans of the late President Harding and of Senator Borah should be combined, and then should be amplified by an incorporation therein of The Hague Tribunal, which should have its functions enlarged so as to provide for a deliberative World Congress that should have powers of recommendation as to the general matters coming before it or as to the special matters which might from time to time be referred to it by the nations.

To carry out such a plan, the necessary international conferences should be called to accomplish the following matters:

I. A convention (treaty) should be framed for adoption by all the nations of the world that should declare international war to be an international crime and the nation waging it an international criminal, to be punished by the nations in accordance with provisions and stipulations which the convention should set out and which might require the offending nation to make for its illegal action any or all of the following restitutions, restorations, and guarantees:

(a) To give up any and all advantages, whatever their nature or character, which it had secured through its illegal acts.

(b) To restore completely any and all property taken or destroyed in the course or as the result of its illegal acts.

(c) To pay the cost of all operations, of whatever kind, which were incident to the defensive or other measures taken by the other nations.

(d) To reimburse the nation attacked for all expenditures incurred by it in defending itself against the aggression of the offending State.

(e) To surrender, for a period of years to be determined by the World Congress, such and so many of its customs-houses as might be determined by the Congress, which should provide a system for administering the

same during the periods named, and which should apply the proceeds thereof to the purposes enumerated under (b), (c), and (d) hereof, unless sums sufficient therefor should be earlier paid by the offending State from other sources.

(f) To pay as a penalizing indemnity such sums as the World Congress might determine. This indemnity might be used for the development, particularly the building of lines of communication, of such of the poorer nations as might be designated by the World Congress.

(g) To have applied against it, in cases of great gravity where the laws of war had been broken, the doctrines of retorsion and reprisal, the World Congress determining the extent to which these doctrines should be applied.

(h) To deliver to the World Congress, for trial and punishment, those of its authorities who were responsible for the hostile acts.

But the convention should further provide that war waged as an act of self-defense upon attack, or as an act of self-preservation either prior to attack or otherwise, or as a means of compelling an aggressive belligerent to desist, shall be justifiable and shall not entail the punishment hereinabove provided for.

Intervention pursuant to the terms of a treaty obligation or right, and interposition for the protection of oppressed citizens and their rights, shall not be regarded as war within the meaning of the convention.

The convention should make provision for determining the aggressor, in case of threatened or actual international war (it might be done by the World Congress); and it must be considered whether it ought not also to make provision for concerting (when deemed desirable or necessary) common measures of defense or control by the defending or non-aggressive nation or nations against the aggressors, and for cumulative measures of pressure and restraint which the nations might use in their discretion to avert a threatened war.

While war will scarcely be abolished by resolution, and therefore the value of a convention outlawing war, judged as a measure to bring immediately the actual abolition of war, may be questioned, yet the making of such a convention would not be a vain thing, for it would crystallize a growing world sentiment against war, would declare a standard by which the nations and the peoples thereof would be entitled to judge every future war (condemning or otherwise the parties thereto in accordance with the standard set up), and would so give direction and form to the great operative moral forces of the world by which alone the ultimate disappearance of war from the earth may be accomplished.

II. A convention should be framed which should codify international law, both that relating to war and also, and particularly, that relating to peace.

While there may at first sight appear to be some incongruity in outlawing war and then providing rules by which war shall be waged, such an incongruity is rather a matter of abstraction than reality. The practical fact cannot be ignored that war will hereafter be waged, and it is of the highest importance that the rules by which future belligerents shall conduct their operations shall be laid down and agreed to beforehand. Otherwise future wars will be mere welters of atrocities.

That the rules of peace should be codified is also necessary, particularly and indispensably so if an international judicial system, with compulsory jurisdiction, is to be created.

Just as under our Constitution there are certain individual rights which are beyond the reach of law—for example, freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion—so there are among nations certain individual national rights which are not the subject of international law—for example, the control of immigration and of naturalization. Some such individual international rights are now recognized as beyond the scope of international law; but others are in the border land, and whether or not these latter should fall within the rules and prescriptions of international law, or should be left wholly outside its purview, and, if brought within, what should be the rule of conduct prescribed with reference thereto, are wholly unsettled questions.

Obviously, a compulsory jurisdiction over international disputes by an international judicial system must be predicated upon an accepted rule of conduct pursuant to which a nation may frame its course and according to which its course when taken may be judged by an international tribunal. No nation may safely submit its conduct to compulsory review when it does not know, first, what it ought to do or is expected to do under the given circumstances, and, second, by what rule its conduct under such circumstances will be judged.

This marks the true distinction between justiciable disputes—those concerning matters which may be determined under and in accordance with a recognized rule of law of which the offending nation knew and by which it should have guided its conduct—and non-justiciable disputes—those which concern matters as to which there is no accepted rule by which nations may shape their conduct or by which that conduct may be judged.

Thus a full codification of existing international law is indispensable to the creation of any wise and effective international judicial system with powers of compulsory jurisdiction.

III. A conventional arrangement must be made which shall set up an international judicial system with a compulsory jurisdiction covering as many subjects as it may be possible and wise so to provide for.

Senator Borah's resolution calls for such a court, but makes no specific provision therefor.

The late President Harding's plan contemplates participation in the "Permanent Court of Arbitration" set up by the League. The creating statute of that court provides a way by which its jurisdiction may be made compulsory.

While the late President Harding's original plan called for a limited membership in the League, his final proposal was to divorce the court from the League and to make it self-perpetuating. This would mean that the statute of the court should be so revised that any nation might—or if and in so far as compulsory jurisdiction were adopted must—submit its international controversies to this court for determination. After the re-creation of the court under such a statute, none of the nations would have anything further to do with it, except to support it financially, to obey its mandates, or to revise from time to time its statute.

Whether European powers will be willing to set up, and whether the United States ought to be willing to join in setting up, in the present state of world affairs, with its lack of prescribed international rule in so many matters of vital importance to the very life of nations, an independent, self-perpetuating small body of men, with the extraordinary, far-reaching powers which that body would possess, and which would inevitably touch on occasion the very vitals of national existence, may be legitimately and respectfully questioned. An apprehension is justified that such a plan will not be acceptable.

But, however that point may be concluded, neither the late President Harding's plan nor Senator Borah's plan makes provision for a further necessary element of a world organization that shall be responsive to the present thought and aspiration of the peoples of the world in this matter, in that no body is in contemplation by either of them which shall act as a deliberative body upon matters that are not strictly legal, but that affect and have to do with the general relations of all nations or the relations between groups thereof. The present League Assembly purports to act as such a body; but so many of the peoples of the world are outside of it (either from choice or because admission has been denied), it is so much a part of the political purposes, adjustments, and machinery of the Treaty of Versailles, and it is so completely, and under the circumstances inevitably, dominated by the local interests of Europe, that it fails adequately to respond to the requirements of a world organization.

It is, therefore, suggested that, to meet this further need, existing international instrumentalities be combined and their functions enlarged in order to provide, first, an international judicial system with compulsory jurisdiction, and, second, a deliberative world body—World Congress.

A new international Supreme Court should be created, entirely unconnected with the League, the members of which court should not only be nominated by the national groups composing The Hague "Permanent Court of Arbitration" (as is the case with the League "Permanent Court" under its statute), but also elected by The Hague Court panel. By thus conforming to the principles of organization which are already operative in the selection of the members of the League Court, the great hitherto-insurmountable obstacle—namely, how to choose the members of such a court in a manner satisfactory both to the large and small powers—would be overcome.

It is also suggested that courts inferior to the Supreme Court should be provided for, so as to localize international justice as far as possible (a principle that has gone far to establish justice in the lives of the great nations), and so as to curtail the expense of international litigation, which is almost prohibitive to the small, poor powers.

The jurisdiction of these courts of first instance and of the Supreme Court should be partly voluntary or permissive and partly compulsory (affirmative)—perhaps compulsory as to treaty rights and compulsory or voluntary (as and to the extent agreed upon) as to international law rights as defined by an international code to be framed and agreed to by the nations.

A sanction of force might or might not be put behind the decisions of the Supreme Court, and the final decisions (if any) of the courts of first instance.

The Hague "Permanent Court of Arbitration" should be left as it is, so far as its jurisdiction in international affairs is concerned, while its functions should be enlarged to make it a deliberative body, with the power of recommendation only as to its conclusions on general matters or on specific matters which may from time to time be referred to it by the nations.

In greater detail, this plan is as follows:

I. *The Hague Tribunal set up under The Hague Convention:*

This tribunal (that is, The Hague Court "panel") shall be continued as at present constituted, except that the members shall be appointed for a definite term of years (say five), and that American members thereof shall be appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The functions of The Hague Tribunal shall be—

1. To act as a court under and perform all the functions specified for it in The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. To have the following additional functions, to which it shall be duly authorized by an international convention:

- (a) To elect the members of a Supreme Court, hereinafter described, from a list of persons nominated by the national groups who are members of the tribunal and by national groups named (in the same manner as are The Hague Tribunal groups) by nations who are not members of the tribunal. (In order to simulate more nearly the League machinery for the election of members of the League "Permanent Court," The Hague Tribunal might be divided into first and second electoral colleges, which should, as to their component members, conform as nearly as possible to the groupings in the League Council and the League Assembly, and which should vote in electing court members in the same manner that the Council and Assembly now vote to elect members of the League Court.)

- (b) To meet in session at regular, prescribed intervals, and in special sessions upon the request of two powers, to discuss and recommend changes in an international code, to be drafted and agreed to by the powers, and to deliberate upon and make recommendations concerning matters referred to the tribunal by any nation or concerning such general matters as to the tribunal shall seem to call for consideration or action. All actions recommended by the tribunal shall be carried out as determined by the nations, either immediately or after consideration by international conferences specially called for that purpose by the interested nations.

II. *A world judicial system shall be created, consisting of three classes of courts:*

1. The Hague Court, which shall stand as it is and have the powers and perform all the functions specified and provided for in The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. Courts of original jurisdiction—that is, courts of first instance:

These courts shall sit at the capital of the defendant

nation; each court shall be composed of three judges—one member representing and chosen by the plaintiff nation, a second member representing and chosen by the defendant nation, and a third member who shall be a national of a third nation, neutral to the controversy, who shall preside over the court and who shall be chosen by the Supreme Court (provided for hereinafter) from among its members.

There shall be no fixed number of courts of first instance; such a court shall be constituted each time the need therefor arises by reason of a controversy between two or more nations.

Each member (other than the presiding member) of each such court must be a member of The Hague Tribunal panel.

If more than two States are parties to a controversy, then each additional State shall appoint an additional member of the court, of the same qualifications as the other national members of the court. In such an event the court shall sit at the capital designated by the Supreme Court.

3. A Supreme Court:

This court shall be of appellate and of original jurisdiction. It shall sit at The Hague, and be composed of nine (eleven) judges, who shall be elected for a term of six years by The Hague Tribunal from a list of persons nominated by the national group members of the tribunal or by national groups chosen by States not members of the tribunal, as heretofore set out. The original members of the Supreme Court shall, upon election, be divided by lot into three groups—A, B, and C; Group A's term to expire two years from the date of election; Group B's, four years; and Group C's, six years. The successors of the members of these groups (who serve out the group term) shall each hold office for a full six years.

This plan would call for the election of three members every two years.

No member shall be eligible for election to succeed himself more than once.

The initial constitution of this court might be accomplished by adopting as its members the members of the existing "Permanent Court of Arbitration" of the League of Nations. This would coincide with the plan of the late President Harding.

III. *The jurisdiction of the courts:*

1. Courts of first instance shall have permissive jurisdiction of all questions arising between States and involving the interpretation of treaties and the application of the rules and principles of international law as defined by the international code, and compulsory (affirmative) jurisdiction of all questions as to which an agreement for such jurisdiction has been reached between the parties.

These courts shall have authority to find the facts, determine upon and fix the remedy, and make an award. From the decisions of these courts an appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court unless otherwise stipulated by the parties.

2. The Supreme Court shall have permissive jurisdiction as to all matters of original jurisdiction, which shall comprise all matters referred to the court by the parties disputant, and compulsory (affirmative) juris-

diction (1) of all appeals from decisions of the courts of original jurisdiction except those as to which the parties disputant shall in each case expressly agree otherwise; (2) of all matters which the parties have agreed shall be referred to courts of first instance and which one of the parties afterwards shall refuse to submit to such a court; and (3) of all other matters as to which the parties have agreed a compulsory jurisdiction should attach.

Each party to a controversy before this court shall be entitled to have one of its nationals sit as a member of the court during the trial of such controversy, and if one of its nationals is not a regular member of the court, then the court shall appoint from The Hague Court panel a national of such disputant nation to sit with the court during the trial of the controversy.

In cases of original jurisdiction it shall have the same powers as the courts of first instance and its awards therein shall be final. In cases of appeals, this court shall have authority to re-examine the facts, redetermine and fix the remedy, and make a final award. The awards of this court may or may not have such sanctions as are specified in The Hague Convention covering the employment of force for the recovery of contract debts.

IV. *Compulsory (affirmative) jurisdiction to be given to courts of first instance and to the Supreme Court:*

Compulsory (affirmative) jurisdiction shall be given, after some such plan as is provided in The Hague Prize Court Convention—

1. Of all disputes regarding the interpretation of treaties, except those which the parties shall expressly reserve.

2. Of all disputes involving matters of international law as defined in and by an international code to be framed and agreed to by the nations, in so far as such jurisdiction may from time to time be agreed to by the nations.

Some Considerations Favorable to the Plan:

The foregoing suggestions provide a plan which will—

1. Build up The Hague Tribunal, which is an already existing and accepted institution to which all the nations of the earth (not a part of them only) are now or may become parties, and to which a great majority of the nations have consented and to whose functions they are accustomed.

2. Establish a world judicial system under conditions involving no new instrumentalities for the creation of the system. The Hague Tribunal groups already function in creating the League Court.

3. Involve no new principle in the election of the judges of the proposed Supreme Court. The judges of the League Court are now elected by representatives of the nations (in the Council and the Assembly), and this suggestion is to have them elected by the representatives of the nations assembled in The Hague Tribunal.

4. Bring international justice to the doors of the component national units by providing for local courts of first instance from which appeals may, in necessary cases, be taken to the Supreme Court (as in the American judicial system).

5. Make the initial trial of international disputes less expensive than the trial thereof before the Supreme Court in Europe. At present a small nation can fight a decisive battle for what it costs to try its disputes in Europe.

6. Provide a real compulsory (affirmative) jurisdiction in at least a part of the field of international relationships, instead of the weak and ineffective jurisdiction of the League Court, which has been strangled by the powers and not permitted to function upon any important controversy.

7. Preserve the great provisions of The Hague Convention relating to good offices and mediation and to commissions of inquiry.

8. Give to The Hague Tribunal certain deliberative, quasi-legislative functions which can serve as a safety valve for and a crystallizer of world opinion and as a formulator of desirable actions and policies, but without any sanction except the power to recommend, thus securing in these respects all the advantages of the League

Assembly without any of the disadvantages arising from the domination of the League Council and of the Council of Ambassadors.

9. Create a real judicial system with the minimum amount of innovation upon existing, accepted instrumentalities, and at the same time separate that judicial system from international political influences.

10. Eliminate entirely all connection with the League and with any and all of its instrumentalities, and thus eliminate all bases of criticism founded upon unwillingness to become affiliated with the League.

11. Eliminate all possibility of involvement in League matters, commitment to League policies, connection with the enforcement of the iniquitous, peace-destroying war treaties, and participation in the enforcement of the League sanctions in arbitral matters.

12. Provide a system of world association which shall in no way sacrifice our own interest, our free institutions, or our sovereignty.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

MONSIEUR POINCARÉ'S SUNDAY SERMON OF NOVEMBER 18

In a Sunday sermon at Neuilly of November 18, Monsieur Poincaré, after sketching eloquently the struggles of France in the war, said:

Poor France, dear France! How she has suffered, and with what difficulty she is curing the wounds she received! On the morrow of a long and painful effort to defend herself, which left her inhabitants decimated and her territory devastated, it seems as though she had a right to the sweetness of tranquillity and as though she should have been excused for seeking diversion from her sorrows and repose from her exertions as a consolation for the harshness of fate. It seemed as though she had a right to rest a while and not pick up immediately the tools she dropped to pick up the rifle.

But these temptations appealed only to a few flighty souls. The immense majority of the country rushed back to work. Farmers, industrialists, merchants and workers rivaled one another in zeal. Our fields were covered with harvests, our factory wheels were turning again, and all our citizens understood that, faced by their immense task, the first commandment of patriotism was not to fold their arms.

Saying that France today was one of the few staple countries in the world, he declared that if her late enemies had been actuated by the same noble sentiments there would be a different tale to tell.

And now when France demands execution of the promises made her she encounters not only the resistance of Germany but the indifference if not the sullen hostility of many other nations. When she invokes the treaty they accuse her of attaching too much importance to the text, of suffering from superstition of the written letter, of injecting a mean spirit into diplomatic affairs and of confounding international acts with private contracts.

Defending Rights of All the Allies

Nothing can be more unjust than these daily reproaches. If France insists on the pure and simple observance of treaties, it is because scrupulous respect of pledges has always been in her eyes an elemental principle of honesty. It is also because all the conventions made at Versailles,

Saint Germain, Trianon and Neuilly form in reality one edifice each of whose parts depend on the others and which cannot be weakened at one point without being shaken all over.

In defending our rights we defend equally the rights of our allies—Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. It is the status of the world which is at stake. We intend to remain its guardians. Open breaches of the Treaty of Versailles are already too numerous. How many concessions have we not made to Germany? How many insults have we not endured? How many proofs of patience and long suffering did we not give before we seized guarantees? And the day we, with Belgium, took guarantees we did not even have the good fortune to be approved by all our allies, and the resistance Germany has opposed to us for so long has certainly found regrettable encouragement in this public disapproval.

But events have shown we were right. Germany, who counted on the one hand on our supineness or on divisions among Frenchmen, or on the other hand on foreign interventions, finally saw she was wrong. She yielded, and if she had yielded sooner she would have spared herself vain expenses, painful disillusion and dangerous disorders. But if she finds herself in these troubles she must not blame us. We warned her. She knew we would not give way. She should have given us sooner and with better will the collaboration we asked.

Surrendered Through Necessity Only

Even with cessation of resistance she began to equivocate and cheat. It was only through necessity that she surrendered. Once more we showed we were firm, and so little by little she yields to the inevitable. The great industrialists who have the habit of ruling Germany have understood in spite of the new credit of 100,000,000 gold marks the Reich gave them yesterday that the time has come to consent to deliveries. They tried to throw upon their workmen the cost of their surrender. But we would not take part in any such egotistic combination and one after another most of the princes of German industry came, or are coming, to terms. Deliveries in kind are on the point of resuming their regular course.

M. Poincaré then told what he thought of the Experts' Committee proposal, stating frankly that he never thought much of the idea, and accepted it only as a bid for the approval of the British and American public opinion.

Recently there was proposed to us again, went on M. Poincaré, this conference of experts, which from time to time makes its reappearance in the speeches of statesmen and which has been so often presented to us as a panacea. The Commission on Reparations is totally surrounded by numerous commissions of experts, and each time it judges suitable to consider Germany's capacity for payment the commission is free to make use of all competent persons whose advice it desires. And so at first glance the Government of the republic did not see the usefulness of a new conference.

However, out of regard for our allies, we consented that the experts should meet provided they did not trample on the rights of the commission and that the inquiry take place under the conditions laid down by the treaty. At the same time we asked that they should deal with all the present fortune of Germany, which is to say not only with the resources which exist inside the Reich, but those which the German industrialists and bankers exported, with the property which they hid abroad, with the wealth placed in England, America, Holland, Switzerland and everywhere else.

Good Faith of Some Doubted

Our proposition was found too narrow in time because we did not wish to judge the future of Germany by the present; but I am not sure some did not find it a little too large in scope and that our intention to seek German wealth where it is did not disturb certain persons. And above all, when it was seen that we would not accept any indirect reduction of the German debt, the zeal first shown for the conference of experts was immediately chilled.

We can console ourselves because of this abortion. We would have been very happy to reach an understanding with our allies, but on condition of not having once more to bear all the expenses of this happy accord. Now we have only to go back to the treaty. The Reparation Commission will hear the Germans, will name the experts it pleases, will estimate the capacity of payment of Germany today, and again tomorrow, then later, and each time it thinks necessary. It will fix the figures it judges fair, and, with the guarantees we hold and which we will surrender only against definite payment, we shall succeed perfectly in forcing Germany to acquit her debt.

We do not despair of convincing our friends that our method is the best. Facts have already largely done this. Facts will enable us to complete the task.

In any case, certain of succeeding, we shall pursue our path peacefully, without worrying and without weakening.

Question of France's Security

At the end of his speech M. Poincaré made his declaration on security, which received prolonged applause.

Much as we stand by reparations, just so much we stand by our security. For some time Germany has been taking liberties with the stipulations guaranteeing our security. She has paralyzed the action of the Inter-allied commission of control. She has tried to rebuild her armament in the dark and reconstitute the military formations forbidden by the treaty. At the same time she has authorized to re-enter Germany the heir to the Imperial throne, he whose name is written at the top of the list of war criminals, he whom my fellow-citizens of the Meuse knew during a great part of the war.

Those things mean on the part of the German Government audacious defiance of the Allies, violent attacks on the treaty, insolent attempts against peace. Penalties are necessary. We shall impose them if we do not obtain satisfaction. Furthermore, we are resolved not to evacuate the territories occupied by virtue of the treaty before all the clauses signed at Versailles are completely executed, and we are solidly prepared against all new possibilities of aggression.

We do not wish the sacrifices of our dead to remain in vain. The blood they shed cries for justice. Justice they shall have. We shall not leave their work unfinished.

TEXT OF THE DISPATCH FROM LORD CURZON, FOREIGN SECRETARY

To the British Charge d'Affaires at Washington, Cabled October 12, Making Proposals to the United States Government in Regard to Reparations

The information which reaches America will have acquainted the American Government with the extremely critical economic position that has arisen in Europe, owing to failure to find any solution for the reparation problem, which daily becomes more acute as the financial and political conditions of Germany grow worse.

There does not appear to be among the European powers that unity of thought which either renders common action feasible or will be successful in finding an early solution. His Majesty's Government have during the past nine months made a series of proposals to their allies for meeting these difficulties, none of which has been so fortunate as to meet with a measure of acceptance sufficient to bring about common actions. And yet, without such action, not merely Germany, but Europe, appears to be drifting into economic disaster.

In these circumstances His Majesty's Government have for long entertained the belief that the co-operation of the United States Government is an essential condition of any real advance toward a settlement. America, by reason of her position and history, is more disinterested than any of the European powers. At the same time she is directly and vitally concerned with the solution of the European problem, if for no other reason, because in it is involved the question of the interallied debt.

When Mr. Hughes made his declaration in December last, both Great Britain and Germany made it clear that they would warmly welcome the proffered assistance; and whenever the suggestion has been revived it has met with the hearty approval of His Majesty's Government.

The French Government hitherto has taken a different view. This lack of unity is, so far as His Majesty's Government are aware, the sole reason why the proposal has not been proceeded with.

His Majesty's Government were already engaged in formulating an inquiry to the United States as to the manner in which, in the opinion of the latter, united action, which is the common desideratum, could best be brought about, when they read in the press yesterday morning a declaration, reported to have been made by President Coolidge, that the American Government would rest on their proposal of December last.

The government warmly welcome this declaration and hope that they are justified in deducing from it that if the European powers will join in such an inquiry America will render the promised co-operation. If the government have rightly interpreted the President's statement and if they may count upon an encouraging reception being given to such a proceeding, they will not hesitate to invite the immediate co-operation of their allies in Europe in an invitation by deputing a delegate, whether official or unofficial, to participate therein.

If, on the other hand, it were proposed to hold such an inquiry, although complete unanimity had not been forthcoming at this end, might His Majesty's Government and

the majority of the Allies still hope for American co-operation?

Alternatively, if it were proposed that such an inquiry should be entrusted to the Reparations Commission or to a body appointed by it, would America be willing to participate?

It is in the firm belief that the American Government have it in their power to render great services to the security and peace of the world that His Majesty's Government, speaking in the name of the whole British Empire, as represented in the imperial conference now assembled in London, desire to associate themselves with the renewed proposal of the President and they will be glad to receive from the American Government any suggestion that the latter may be disposed to offer in reply to the questions I have ventured to put.

TEXT OF SECRETARY HUGHES'S AIDE MEMOIRE

In Reply to Inquiries from Lord Curzon through the British Charge at Washington in Regard to a Reparations Conference

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *October 15, 1923.*

In reply to the communication of His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires of October 13, the Secretary of State desires again to express the deep interest of the United States in the economic situation in Europe and its readiness to aid in any practicable way to promote recuperation and a re-establishment of economic stability. The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern the lack, as His Majesty's Government expresses it, of that unity of thought on the part of the European powers essential to common action.

The views of the Government of the United States as to the importance of agreement among the Allies and the relations of the Government of the United States to the questions involved were set forth in the statement of the Secretary of State to which His Majesty's Government refers, and these views are still held.

It is observed that His Majesty's Government states that Great Britain and Germany made it clear that the proffered assistance would be warmly welcomed by them and that His Majesty's Government has always heartily approved the suggestion, then made by the Secretary of State, whenever it has been revived, and that so far as His Majesty's Government is aware, the sole reason why the proposal has not been proceeded with has been lack of unanimity among the interested powers.

It is believed that present conditions make it imperative that a suitable financial plan should be evolved to prevent economic disaster in Europe, the consequence of which would be world-wide. It is hoped that existing circumstances are propitious for the consideration of such a plan, inasmuch as the abandonment of resistance on the part of the German Government will present a freer opportunity and an immediate necessity for establishing an economic program.

The Government of the United States is, therefore, entirely willing to take part in an economic conference in which all the European Allies chiefly concerned in German reparations participate, for the purpose of considering the

questions of the capacity of Germany to make reparation payments and an appropriate financial plan for securing such payments. It is deemed advisable, however, to emphasize the following points:

1. Confirming what was said by the Secretary of State in his statement of last December, to which you refer, the Government of the United States has no desire to see Germany relieved of her responsibility for the war or of her just obligations. There should be no ground for the impression that a conference, if called, should have any such aim, or that resistance to the fulfillment of Germany's obligations has any support. It should be evident that, in the effort to attain the ends in view, regard must be had to the capacity of Germany to pay and to the fundamental condition of Germany's recuperation, without which reparation payments will be impossible.

2. Such a conference should be advisory, not for the purpose of binding governments who would naturally be unwilling to pledge their acceptance in advance, but to assure appropriate recommendations by a thoroughly informed and impartial body intent upon the solution of the difficult pending problems upon their merits.

3. The Secretary of State notes the observation in the communication of His Majesty's Government that the European problem is of direct and vital interest to the United States, "if for no other reason, because the question of the interallied debt is involved therein." The Government of the United States has consistently maintained the essential difference between the question of Germany's capacity to pay and of the practicable methods to secure reparation payments from Germany, and the payment by the Allies of their debts to the United States, which constitute distinct obligations.

In the statement of the Secretary of State, to which His Majesty's Government refers, it was said:

"The matter is plain enough from our standpoint. The capacity of Germany to pay is not at all affected by any indebtedness of any of the Allies to us. That indebtedness does not diminish Germany's capacity, and its removal would not increase her capacity. For example, if France had been able to finance her part in the war without borrowing at all from us—that is, by taxation and internal loans—the problem of what Germany could pay would be exactly the same.

"Moreover, so far as the debtors to the United States are concerned, they have unsettled credit balances, and their condition and capacity to pay cannot be properly determined until the amount that can be realized on these credits for reparations has been determined.

"The Administration must also consider the difficulty arising from the fact that the question of these obligations which we hold and what shall be done with them is not a question within the province of the Executive. Not only may Congress deal with public property of this sort, but it has dealt with it. It has created a commission, and instead of giving that commission broad powers, such as the Administration proposed, which, quite apart from cancellation, might permit a sound discretion to be exercised in accordance with the facts elicited, Congress has placed definite restrictions upon the power of the commission in providing for the refunding of these debts."

It is hardly necessary to add, as it has frequently been stated by the Government of the United States, that while the American people do not favor cancellation of the debts of the Allies to the United States or of the transfer to the people of the United States of the burden of Germany's obligations, directly or indirectly, the Government of the United States has no desire to be oppressive or to refuse to

make reasonable settlements as to time and terms of payment, in full consideration of the circumstances of the allied debtors. It may be added that the establishment of sound economic conditions in Europe, the serious reduction of military outlays, and the demonstration of a disposition of European peoples to work together to achieve the aims of peace and justice will not fail to have their proper influence upon American thought and purpose in connection with such adjustments.

In further reply to the communication of His Majesty's Government, it may be said that the Government of the United States is not in a position to appoint a member of the Reparations Commission, inasmuch as such an appointment cannot be made without the consent of the Congress. The Secretary of State has no doubt, however, that competent American citizens would be willing to participate in an economic inquiry, for the purposes stated, through an advisory body appointed by the Reparations Commission to make recommendations in case that course, after further consideration, should be deemed preferable.

As to the further question, whether American co-operation in an inquiry for the purposes described in the communication of His Majesty's Government could be hoped for in case unanimity of the European powers could not be had, the Government of the United States must again express the view that the questions involved cannot be finally settled without the concurrence of the European governments directly concerned. Other governments cannot consent for them; and it would manifestly be extremely difficult to formulate financial plans of such importance and complexity without the participation of those whose assent is necessary to their fulfillment.

In view of the existing exigencies, it is hoped that the project of such an inquiry as is contemplated, of an advisory nature, might commend itself to all these powers, and that the question suggested will not arise. But if it should arise, through lack of unanimity on the part of the European powers, the Government of the United States must reserve decision as to its course of action, in order that the developments in such a contingency may be fully considered and that course taken which will give best promise of ultimate success in securing the desired end of re-establishing the essential conditions of European peace and economic restoration.

To the attainment of that end, it may be repeated, the Government of the United States desires to lend its assistance in any manner that may be found feasible.

HOW FRANCE PAID UP IN 1871

This account of how France paid the German indemnity of 1871 is extracted from the official report made to the National Assembly in 1874 by Leon Say (*Rapport fait au nom de la commission du budget de 1875 sur le paiement de l'Indemnité de guerre et sur les opérations de change qui en ont été la conséquence*).

The following means were employed in paying and adjusting the indemnity which, with some interest and incidental costs, amounted to 5,315 million francs, or 4,250 million marks.

France surrendered to Germany the franchise right of that portion of the Railway of the East which was located in the ceded territory of Alsace Lorraine. This was valued

at 325 million francs. Since the French government did not own the railway it was necessary for it to undertake to pay the railroad corporation in due time the amount specified.

There was a minor credit balance of 98,400 francs due the city of Paris, from the German government. This was credited to the indemnity account.

France was, by special agreement, permitted to pay 125 million francs in paper money (bills of Bank of France).

The sum of 105,039,145 francs of German coin and bank notes, a large part of which had been brought into France by the German army, was collected by the French government, and turned over to Germany.

French gold to the amount of 273,003,058 francs was transferred to Germany. Of this 150 million was advanced to the government by the Bank of France.

Silver to the amount of 239,291,876 francs was paid, of which 93 millions were procured from the Bank of Hamburg.

The total of the above six items is 1,067,432,479 francs.

The remainder, amounting to 4,248,326,374 francs, was adjusted by turning over to Germany foreign bills of exchange.

France acquired the ownership of this foreign currencies, first, by the issue of two large loans, amounting, says Leon Say, to 5,724 million francs. Gaston Jeze says 5,792 million francs. Of this amount about two fifths, or 2,316 million francs were sold in foreign countries for foreign monies (forty per cent face value of two loans), and a considerable amount of this was sold in Germany. Approximately two billion francs foreign investments of French citizens were also utilized in the following manner: The government issued its own bonds and induced French citizens to buy them in exchange for foreign currency procured by the sale of their foreign holdings. Foreign bonds were also accepted direct payment. Thus, in one way or another, nearly all the funds used for paying Germany were borrowed by the French government, as follows: 325 million from the *Chemin de Fer de l'Est*; 805 million from the *Banque de France*; and all the funds required to procure foreign bills of exchange. Jeze and Liesse concur in stating that the French government went deeper into debt as a result of these operations than it got out of debt by paying the indemnity. Thus, French government floated two large bond issues. Face value first issue, 1871, 2,779.5 million francs, interest 5 per cent; bonds were sold at 82.5 yield 2,293 million francs. The second loan, July, 1872, face 4,140.5 millions, at 5 per cent interest, sold at 84.5, yielding 3,499 millions. Combined the government got from these loans 5,792 million francs, and increased funded debt by 6,920 millions. Add to the government debt the 805 millions from the *Bank of France* and the 325 millions from the *Chemin de l'Est*, which, all told, caused the government while paying off indemnity of 5,315 millions to incur new obligations of 8,050 millions.

Proportion Out of French Savings.—Of two loans, 5,792 millions, 2¼ billions subscribed by foreigners; 2 billions more through sacrifice of French foreign investments; possibly 1.5 billions through savings. Interest burden increased as follows: 346 million francs, annual charge on 6,920 million increase in public funded debt; 20.5 million annually to *Chemin de Fer de l'Est* as per agreement; 8.1 million (interest at 1 per cent) to *Bank of France*, total 374.6 million francs. In addition repayment of bank loan at 200 million per annum.

Furthermore, taxation in 1873 resulted in revenue 2,371 million francs, as compared to 1,805 for 1869, increase 566 million francs, leaving margin of 191.4 million over increased interest charges. Other revenues increased slightly, expenditures greatly increased. Government borrowed to meet ordinary fiscal requirements as well as pay indemnity, 70 per cent of first loan and 87 per cent of second, being all used for latter purpose.

The two loan interests, amounting to 277 million francs yearly, were provided for in French budgets until 1883. In 1883 funding operation reduced rate to 4½, and slightly reduced debt. From 1883 to 1894 annual charges were 245 millions. From 1894 to 1902 rate was three and a half per cent, and charge reduced to 190 millions. From 1902 to present time rate 3 per cent and annual interest 165 millions. Apart from any other circumstances, therefore, France adjusted her indemnity with Germany, at the cost of a huge annual indemnity burden from which she is not yet free.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

MR. BALDWIN, PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN, has outlined his social program as follows:

- (1) Peace at home and abroad.
- (2) That our national savings should be adequate to furnish the capital required for renewal and extension of our machinery of production.
- (3) That neither our employers nor our workingmen should be unfairly exposed to the merciless attacks of foreign competitors, who were able to shield themselves behind the walls of their own high tariffs.
- (4) Although late in the day, we should do our utmost to check that one-sided development of our industries, which had drawn millions of people from the land and upset the healthy proportions which ought to exist between the urban and the rural populations, and
- (5) That among the masses of our population, wherever they are situated, every effort should be made to save the standard of life from being reduced.

VIEWS UPON THE BRITISH IMPERIAL CONFERENCE are already widely broadcasted. One article has pointed out that Downing Street may have to choose between the dominions and Europe. Another magazine article points out the ultimate possibility that Britain may be obliged to give Gibraltar to Spain if she is to preserve peace in the Mediterranean. There seems to be a growing impression that the phrase "British Empire" must give way to "British Commonwealth of Nations."

LORD READING, THE VICEROY OF INDIA, was recently received at Lucknow, where he delivered a speech contrasting the system of government obtaining in India with that existing a quarter of a century ago. He declared that the age of tutelage had passed, and that its place had been taken by the age of test. He added:

To India has been granted a wide measure of new liberties, of new opportunities, of new privileges and dignities, and of new obligations. Her feet are set on the road which leads to full representative government and to the high destiny awaiting her in the Empire. May the people of India, in co-operation and harmony, without thought of communal

or party interests, and with true patriotism, work together to make her progress easy along the stages of her journey to her goal.

Lord Reading made eloquent reference to communal differences which stifled all hopes of political progress, and urged the audience, representing the national leaders of the two communities, to leave no stone unturned to secure a better mutual understanding. In this task they could rely to the fullest measure on the assistance of Sir William Marris and his government.

MR. HARVEY HAVING VACATED the post of American Ambassador in Great Britain and returned to the United States, the *London Times*, under date of November 8, points out that largely because of Mr. Harvey's work the feeling between the two countries has greatly improved since Mr. Harvey's arrival in England in May, 1921. The article goes on to point out that during Mr. Harvey's term as Ambassador the Anglo-Japanese has been merged into the Four Power Pacific Treaty; the Irish thorn has been drawn from the side of Anglo-American friendship; potential naval rivalry between the two powers has ceased; the British war debt has been funded. The *Times* goes on to say: "Our regret at losing this candid and able friend is tempered by the thought that he may still serve the common cause of Britain and America in Washington."

THE ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE the Serbian military attaché in Sofia early in November enabled Yugoslavia to send a Berchtold-Mussolini ultimatum to Bulgaria. The ultimatum demanded apologies within forty-eight hours, the rendering of honors to the Serbian flag, and the opening of an inquiry by the Bulgarian authorities, and the submission of the question of indemnity to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The Bulgarian reply accepted all the conditions of the ultimatum, in spite of the fact that the ultimatum arrived only twelve hours before the expiration of the time limit. The Belgrade press was unanimous in its praise of the government "for having shown the necessary firmness, with a view to obtaining complete reparations and also the safeguarding of the country's dignity."

THE VARIOUS DISASTERS IN GREECE seem to be increasingly attributed to the dynasty. It is possible now in Athens to hold popular demonstrations in favor of democracy, with crowds shouting "Down with the king; long live the Republic!" According to dispatches, the Veniselist party has issued a communiqué, in which it rejects the proposal for an amendment of the constitution by military force and also the taking of a plebiscite before the elections. It declares that the only course to be adopted is to discuss the subject in the next national assembly, which would have the right of deciding on a referendum, with the definite object of establishing the form of government best suited to the needs of Greece.

FROM THE FINANCIAL STANDPOINT, the Panama Canal netted a profit of \$12,063,880 from all sources, excluding the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, as compared with \$9,201,613 in the fiscal year 1922, and

traffic operations increased on a scale that has brought the waterway to a point of "rapidly overhauling the Suez Canal." The net income from tolls and other miscellaneous receipts grouped under the head of "transit revenue" was \$10,001,066 in 1923, as compared with \$3,466,674 the preceding year. The net profits from auxiliary operations totaled \$1,140,642, as against \$323,259, while those conducted by the Panama Railroad Company, excluding the steamship operations, showed a profit of \$922,171, against a loss of \$710,301 in 1922. Governor Morrow's report also shows that the number of commercial transits increased from 2,736 to 3,967; net tonnage from 11,417,459 to 18,605,786; tolls from \$11,197,832 to \$17,508,199, and cargo tonnage from 10,884,910 to 19,567,875.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE WOMAN OF KNOCKALOE. By *Hall Caine*. Dodd, Meade and Co., New York. Pp. 187. Price, \$1.75.

A new book by the veteran writer, Hall Caine, cannot be passed over without serious attention. This author has been writing for more than forty years, and in all that time not over a dozen novels have come from his slow and careful pen. In that time "The Deemster," "The Bondsman," "The Manxman," "The Christian," and other tales have, one by one, been greeted by the public with enthusiasm.

The present book maintains the writer's reputation for a simple, incisive style and for elemental human drama. It is an uncomplicated, relentlessly-moving tale of the hatreds engendered by war. A tale of the manner in which those hatreds wrecked the love-life of a young interned German engineer and a Manx farmer's daughter—the Woman of Knockaloe.

If, however, the story were really a parable, as the publishers in the editorial note claim that it is, then surely it should be told more broadly and with less circumstance. If, on the other hand, it is intended to be realistic, as the style of narrative implies, then one is not quite convinced.

There is, for instance, something in the nature and the overpowering number of misfortunes that fall upon the heads of the principals in the story which constitute a strain upon the reader's credulity. Something in the weakness with which the lovers crumple up under their troubles, which is morbidly out of key. We know that many marriages did take place between citizens of the warring countries during and after the war. We wonder why the loss of Mona's farm and stock, the loss of Heine's job, the refusal of his mother to welcome Mona in Germany, and the impossibility of going to America must needs have meant either the separation of the lovers or their suicide. Surely there were other spots in the world where both could have lived, worked, and waited till times were better.

Supposing, too, that the story, with the given characters, were psychologically possible, then the parable, if indeed it be one, would relate to the general incapacity of the race to manage its own destiny and not especially to the war and its hatreds.

On the whole, we are inclined to take the author's own statement, that it was all a bad-dream which he had one night and wrote out in the morning.

HUMAN AUSTRALASIA. By *Charles Franklin Thwing*. Pp. 261. Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.50.

KANGAROO. By *D. H. Lawrence*. Thomas Seltzer, New York. Pp. 421. Price, \$2.00.

These two widely different books on Australia give, strangely enough, many of the same impressions regarding this one of the several British democracies. Both tell of the vastness of the continent country, a land somewhat greater than the United States in extent. From both we get an impression of the wide unbroken wilderness, the mysterious "hush," of wide stretches of "unbreathed" air, and the wonderful brilliance of the night skies in this land under the Southern Cross. The population living in centers located far from one another is described by both authors, a population jealously watching the purity of its white race, insistent on liberty and on the rights of the common man. There is a restless Labor Party, thinks President Thwing, with no immediate solution of industrial unrest in sight. "Do-as-you-please liberty," Lawrence calls it, but with no abiding interest in anything ultimate.

When these likenesses between the two books are noted the comparison ends sharply.

"Australasia," by President-Emeritus Thwing, of Western Reserve University, is a book dealing with both Australia and New Zealand, though particularly with the former. Dr. Thwing has for many years been writing and speaking on educational and religious topics. He has long been interested in the relation of religion and education to social and

national life. Therefore his interest here naturally centers on the schools, colleges, and religious life of the people.

His attitude is the detached and somewhat academic one of the long-time scholar. His interest in the administration of a university determines to some extent the nature of the facts discovered.

The central administration of the schools in Australia leads, he finds, to a lack of local interest and public support. In fact, this strong centralization explains public indifference to many things which in America we manage locally.

While D. H. Lawrence's comparisons are naturally between Australia and Great Britain, those of Dr. Thwing are usually with the United States. President Thwing's criticisms, when he makes them, are always courteous, Mr. Lawrence's cutting and savage.

"Kangaroo" is, in fact, quite another style of book. Though practically without action or love-interest, it is a novel. Richard Somers, the hero, is evidently D. H. Lawrence himself, who, during a winter's sojourn in Australia, gropes in his own soul, as it impinges upon persons and social currents, striving to find some truth stable enough to claim his adherence.

He has been profoundly disturbed and embittered by the war; but the pathological condition of mind which seemed to snap its way through his American studies is here in process of healing. The thinking is more orderly, the effort more sustained.

Aside from Somers, most of the characters in this book are shadowy, except when they rise to vividness, now and then, as they threaten to influence him.

The book stands out largely because of its swift pictures of vast, straggling, half-indifferent Australia, "one step from the fern age"; for his keen comments on democracy, on the war psychology, and, principally, for his earnest, sustained effort to express something subtle, dragged up from his inmost self; his struggle to show forth, somehow, the worth of the "deep, dark God" within each man, to whom he must be loyal.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND OUR REVENUE PROBLEM. By *John Sturgis Codman*. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Pp. 64. Price, \$1.00.

At the precise moment when the Lloyd George system of high land taxation has had to be abandoned in Great Britain, not before it has practically ruined one of the most valuable and stable classes of the community, Mr. Codman comes forward with a scheme for taxation of land values in this country which, in his opinion, will do much, if not all required, to dispel the unemployment bog.

In his opinion, industry in this country is burdened by heavy restrictions in the form of taxes, what time those who "control opportunity" (namely, land) escape with but a trifling payment for the privilege.

In his view, therefore, as far as can be ascertained, all taxes should be lifted from industry and placed upon land-owners. Taxation of great estates in England has simply resulted in the breaking up of large estates, and the dispersion not only of those who owned the land, but of those who lived upon it. Land-owners usually provide the more conservative and reliable class in any community, and their loss to England means a definite loss of empire-builders, of rulers who ruled for duty and not for cash. What the result will eventually be is now hard to predict.

In the same way, the land-owner in the United States, while he may appear to enjoy a large gross income, really carries an extremely heavy risk and a great many charges. He is also a conservative element, and this country cannot afford to lose too much of such an element. Heavy taxation would undoubtedly result in such a loss. Estates, or land property, would simply be disposed of and the proceeds invested in something else. The results of such a movement have not been financially or socially happy elsewhere. On the whole, Mr. Codman's book bears the mark of formalism somewhat deeply imprinted. The situation is not as simple as he appears to imagine.

And why drag in German reparations?

