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Advocate of Peace

Vol. 91
1929

The American Peace Society

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WORLD JOURNAL ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



Washington Post

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

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

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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1929 FEARS AND HOPES

THE NEW YEAR comes, and not without its misgivings. There are the Balkans. Critical political conditions have prevailed in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, especially since the outburst of Croat opposition to Belgrade's sympathy with the Nettuno Conventions with Italy. The tension reached its breaking point last June, when a Montenegrin deputy fired five revolver shots into the benches on which the Croat faction was seated in the Parliament, killing two deputies, and wounding several others. The Croats withdrew from Belgrade and declared their refusal to have anything more to do with its "blood-stained Skupshtina." The Government having resigned, it was left to the King to bring order out of chaos. But tension still persists.

There are difficulties also between Yugoslavia and Albania, the establishment of Albania as a new kingdom under the control of Italy being viewed by Yugoslavia with disfavor.

The Macedonians are still a source of anxiety. Alexandroff's assassination in 1924, the assassination of General Alexander Protogueroff last July, the activities of the Macedonian revolutionary organization are provocative of further fears in the Balkans.

In Italy the Fascist policy of blind obedience is stronger than ever. The Fascist Grand Council has recently been given a constitutional status. Signor Mussolini in an address at the last sitting of the Italian Chamber of Deputies announced that Italy would shortly increase her armaments all around. The next parliament will be one hundred percent Fascist. The Fascists view the Kellogg Pact with disdain.

In his address to the Chamber, Signor Mussolini called attention to certain "realities," among which is the fact that the whole world is arming, that newspapers report every day the launching of submarines, cruisers, and other specific engines of war. He added "you have certainly followed the recent debates of other Parliaments, which show that the number of guns and bayonets is increasing. You must have no illusions about the general political state of Europe. The nearer the storm approaches, the more talk there is of peace and quiet. We do not wish to disturb the European equilibrium, but we must be ready." It is in this spirit that the governors of Italy are working for "the new and most glorious greatness on land or seas of Fascist Italy."

Italy's agreement to allow Hungarian goods to pass through the port of Fiume, under conditions peculiarly favorable to Hungary, following the abortive attempt to furnish Hungary with machine guns, is not calculated to ease feelings in Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia or even France.

All is not well between Belgium and Holland. Belgium still resents Holland's control of Antwerp's outlet to the sea. Belgium holds that the approaches to Antwerp are of no direct interest to Holland. Yet every project of improvement of the Scheldt arouses in Holland the opposition of Rotterdam.

The 1929 budget and discussion over the relative merits of a conscripted army and a professional volunteer force in France have had their repercussions in other countries. France proposes under the terms of the budget to increase expenditures for land fortifications, especially along the eastern frontier from thirty to fifty million francs during the next year. The War Ministry estimates have risen from four to seven milliards in the last few years.

Feeling between the United States and Great Britain has been disturbed by the naval conversations between England and France, and by the breakdown of the Geneva Arms Conference.

Fears of Russia continue, even in certain sections of opinion of our United States. Russian interests are working openly for the overthrow of capitalism in this country. The fact that the Communists were able to secure places on the ballots for their official candidates in thirty-two of our States last November is unmistakable evidence that these people are busy. The Communists are out to establish themselves everywhere, out for world revolution, out for the conquest of power on a world-wide scale.

But the new year starts far from morally bankrupt. As a matter of fact there is no war in the Balkans. Venezelos of Greece is not the only Balkan statesmen concerned to promote friendship in that section. The dispute between Zagreb and Belgrade has not stopped the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Union of

the Serbs, Croats, and Slovene peoples. Yugoslavia has wealth and man-power. In ten years Belgrade has risen from the ashes of herself to be an important and rapidly growing city. Railroads and highways are being rapidly developed. Telephone and telegraph services and public works of all kinds show the same advance. There is marked better relations with Bulgaria and Albania. The difference between the Croats and Serbs is an internal affair, not calculated to disturb the peace of the Balkans. The leaders at Zagreb will reopen their negotiations with Belgrade if the Skupshtina is dissolved and free elections are ordered.

So far, Signor Mussolini has not led his country into war. True, he electrifies everything he touches. His attempts to denationalize the Slavs of northeast Italy, his "persecution" of priests, teachers, and journalists on the ground that they are paid agents of Yugoslavia has stirred up a hornet's nest in that section. What Signor Mussolini's aims are in Dalmatia, we cannot say; but it does not stand to reason that the nation who successfully begged the United States to knock off sixty percent of her debt, a nation lacking in certain very fundamental necessities for a successful campaign, can seriously think of launching out at this time on any precarious war.

The difficulty between Belgium and Holland presents no threat of war. This problem has been up from time to time through many years. There is no doubt that it will be settled some day by treaty to the satisfaction of both parties and that without recourse to arms.

It is an encouraging fact that both Belgium and Italy have recently signed new compacts with China, under the terms of which they agree to abolish consular jurisdiction privileges. This certainly marks a new epoch for China. This example by

Belgium and Italy will not go unheeded by the other powers of the world.

The new year beholds no possibility of a rupture between the United States and Great Britain. These two countries are becoming better acquainted than they seem to have been for a time. England appreciates the economic, moral, and political authority of the United States, and wishes our friendship. *The Manchester Guardian* of November 16 said that "if the full force of the United States is brought to bear upon international relations, the cause of peace will be saved. But not otherwise."

This country is still willing to come to terms with Great Britain over naval disarmament. No one in America really thinks that this country is liable to be attacked. There are many thoughtful men in England who are quick to agree with the sensible persons of this country that the armed peace of Europe is no peace at all. So there is agreement between Great Britain and America on many other points. Flurries of criticism between these two countries seem always to have been inevitable. They present no cause for fears at this the beginning of 1929.

Russia's policies are too deep for us. As far as we understand them, we approve neither her aims nor her methods. Her tactics are offensively shallow and repellent. Working openly for the overthrow of our cardinal institutions, she is begging from us at the same time loans, credits, and political recognition. But we believe that our United States of America is too healthy to fear the "Communist revolution."

The Pact of Paris for the renunciation of war is sure to pass our Senate. This means that 1929 will mark on the calendar of all time the solemn agreement by all the nations of the world to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and,

further, to settle their disputes by pacific means. As far as agreements go, that would be enough for any one year of human history.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT MUST RECOGNIZE

THERE is a deep and abiding symbolism of glory in a nation's flag. In certain times and tempers that glory is intimately associated with war. In his Flag Day speech of 1915, President Woodrow Wilson pointed out that the "lines of red in our flag are lines of blood, nobly and unselfishly shed by men who love the liberty of their fellow men more than they love their own lives and fortunes . . . but if it should ever be necessary, that flag will be colored once more, and in being colored will be glorified and purified."

There have been times in the history of man when there has been no other law than that of all animals, the right of the strongest. The social purpose has been to create as far as possible a balance between the social groups. The effort to achieve this balance, as pointed out by Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, "in the moral as well as in the physical world, is seldom perfect and stable." The attempts themselves provoke perpetual sources of dispute. Thus "men from the time they enter Society are in a state of war, for war supposes for those who make it, if not an equality of strength, at least an assumption of this equality, whence arise the mutual desire and hope of conquest." In his "The Spirit of Laws," Baron De Montesquieu says:

"The life of governments is like that of man. The latter has a right to kill in case of natural defense; the former have a right to wage war for their own preservation.

"In the case of natural defense I have a right to kill, because my life is in re-

spect to me what the life of my antagonist is to him; in the same manner a state wages war because its preservation is like that of any other thing.

"With individuals the right of natural defense does not imply a necessity of attacking. Instead of attacking they need only have recourse to proper tribunals. They cannot, therefore, exercise this right of defense, but in sudden cases, when immediate death would be the consequence of waiting for the assistance of the law. But with states the right of natural defense carries along with it sometimes the necessity of attacking; as for instance, when one nation sees that a continuance of peace will enable another to destroy her, and that to attack that nation instantly is the only way to prevent her own destruction.

"The right, therefore, of war is derived from necessity and strict justice."

Again, in certain times and tempers, the philosophy of the distinguished Frenchman is inescapably true. The remedy is to avoid such times and tempers. To avoid such times and tempers it is necessary that nations shall have at hand other modes than war for the achievement of their interests. The establishment of such other modes and methods is the pabulum of the accredited peace movement.

In his Flag Day speech back in 1915, Mr. Wilson said: "God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the color of the flag." That, too, is a sentiment of certain times and tempers. At this, the beginning of another year, it is proper that the peoples of the world should sense this thing in them, for it is the very strength of their wings.

GERMANY'S desire for a union with Austria, if such an arrangement were possible, meets with the approval of Austria. The allied powers, however, view this *anschluss* with disapproval. It is urged in some quarters that Austria exploits the *anschluss* in order to lend weight to her

claims on the League of Nations. *The Central European Observer*, published in Prague, looks to *anschluss* as nothing less than a Pan-German idea, whose aims are to reduce Czechoslovakia to a state of vassalage and to surround Poland in hopes of regaining lost territory. This journal accuses Germany of hoping to draw Hungary closer to Germany with the view of eliminating French influence in the Balkan Peninsula and to spread German hegemony on to the Black Sea. It is the old policy of *Drang nach Osten* brought back to life. The realization of the *anschluss*, however, depends upon the action of the League of Nations. It is reasonable to suppose that at least France would oppose the scheme, and that, therefore, if submitted to the League, it would fail.

THE BUSINESS MAN OF OUR NEW YEAR AND WORLD PEACE

THE CONDEMNATION of war as a means of settling international disputes is more widespread on this new year than at any time during the history of the world. Men and women everywhere at last, even the most hard-headed, agree that the greatest of all human problems is to find acceptable ways of substituting the methods of reason for the devastating ills of war. This fact registers a marked advance over the public opinion of a century ago. In 1814, Noah Worcester found it difficult to find a publisher willing to print his now well-known pamphlet, *A Solemn Review of the Custom of War*, because of the prevailing notion that anti-war sentiments were mere fulminations of the crack-brained. Today sixty governments of the world are willing to sign a treaty renouncing all war as an instrument of national policy.

True, certain peace workers as such are still largely classified as "pacifists" and

pretty generally condemned as chimerical if not dangerous. This seems to be an expression in part of a widespread opposition to all theorists. The theorist finds himself fallen on evil days. This seems to be due somewhat to the spirit and achievements of modern science, and in some respects to the breakdown in 1914 of religions and philosophies. The creative men and women of today are inclined to leave the idealists to their absolutes, but to ban for themselves ideas and abstractions apart from the facts of experience. Even scientific theories arouse little public interest. The very useful Professor William Lyon Phelps of Yale estimates that: "The average life of a scientific theory is about seven years. A learned scientist spends his whole life on one problem . . . only to find that some accursed German has made a discovery that consigns his lifelong toil to the scrapheap." It is not surprising, therefore, that the peace theorist has a job of it to get a hearing before practical people. Business, another name for the twentieth century, derives its theories from the palpable facts and bases few of its operations on principles of questionable origin. Business men are pragmatists, for whom truth inheres only in the way things work. They conceive life to mean the cultivation of truth that works. They look at some of the peace proposals and find them beset with theories that don't and can't work. And so they dismiss the pacifist as an auto-intoxicated rhapsodist, or worse.

And yet these hard-headed men are themselves trying to phrase an intellectually satisfying condemnation of war. They are little helped in this effort by the ordinary arguments against war. When told that all wars are profitless to the victor as to the vanquished, they recall that wars have built up the British Empire, and added immeasurably to the territorial

possessions of France, Italy, and other Powers. The World War was a defeat for the martial spirit and a victory for republican forms of government. The United States was born from the womb of War. Our country was recreated and enlarged by war.

Again, that wars cost money is not a sufficing argument against that method of settling disputes. The World War did cost money. National debts jumped because of it from forty-five to two hundred sixty-five billions of dollars. The per capita debt of our United States increased from ten to over two hundred twenty-five dollars; of Great Britain from seventy-eight to eight-hundred-fifty dollars; of France from one hundred-sixty to eleven hundred-fifty dollars. The World War cost in money one thousand Panama Canals, and the costs are still mounting. But honest men, business men feel that there are evils worse than the loss of money.

War means death. But sensible men are not convinced that the killing of men means that war is never justified. They do not believe that soldiers are murderers by profession. As a result of the World War, thirteen million young men were killed and as many more ruined for life. Our United States War Department estimated in 1924 that there had been thirty-seven and one-half million casualties during the War. Of course, this was all a very terrible business. There is unloveliness enough about war to justify Emerson's indictment of it as "an epidemic of insanity"; Jefferson's "that it is the greatest of human evils"; Gladstone's "that it is the original sin of nations"; and George Washington's that it is a "plague to mankind." The practical man would agree to all of these sentiments. He would grant that the history of the last three thousand five hundred years with its thirteen years

of war to one of peace is a monstrous reflection upon the collective wisdom of men. But he insists that there are things worse than death. He refuses to condemn as murderers the men who fought on his side during the War of the Revolution, during the Civil War, or in any other war. He knows that human nature rises to great heights in time of war. He resents any reflection upon that son of his who gave up his life on some field in France. He will not listen with patience to any unqualified condemnation of that thing in our human nature which builds monuments to our soldier and sailor dead.

And still he is opposed to war, this our man of affairs. If pressed to state the intellectually satisfying reasons for his condemnation of war, he would say at the last that wars between nations are an evil because wars may be won and justice defeated. He would remind you that society has taken away from the strong man the right to control the little man. Disputes between persons are no longer legally adjusted with fists. Men insist that such disputes shall be settled by the principles of law and equity, and this in the name of justice. And so today in the case of disputes between nations no issue can be said to be settled until it has been settled right. War is no longer a guarantee of such a right settlement. Thus there is an intellectually satisfying condemnation of war. Wars may be won and justice defeated.

The practical man of today sees little hope of overcoming war by the incantation of phrases. He hears men saying that the cure of war is "education," others that it is "democracy," others that it is "international understanding," others that it is "constructive effort," others that it is "social justice," others that it is "the removal of the economic causes of war," others that it is to

"cut out military training in our public schools," others that it is "disarmament," others that it is "collective force," others that it is "religion," or "love." But the man of action feels that there is something hollow about these phrases. He seeks a method of overcoming war that squares with his experience. He would base it upon the most fundamental fact in the behavior of nations. He conceives that fact to be that states can be counted upon to pursue their interests as they see them. The one method of overcoming war, therefore, is to provide other ways for peoples to achieve their interests, lead them as best we may to prefer these ways, and trust habit to do the rest. For this reason, our most thoughtful men are peculiarly interested in that portion of the pact of Paris for the renunciation of war which limits the future settlement of international disputes to "peaceful means." After the adoption of this pact there will remain the job of clarifying, establishing, using these "peaceful means." If an aggrieved nation see that it can achieve its interests by methods duly set up and agreed upon without recourse to war, the chances are that there will be no war.

Since the practical man of affairs is most interested in the development of workable methods for this peaceable settlement of disputes, his first step is to examine the field and to find out what is already being done toward the development of these peaceful means. With Patrick Henry he is greatly influenced by the lamp of experience. He finds in the world a number of leagues more or less concerned to develop these peaceful means in many a specific instance. There is the British League of Nations with States in Europe, in the Near and the Far East, and some twenty dependencies in Africa, and others in the Western Hemisphere and Australasia, operating peaceful settle-

ments on a large scale. There is the Union of Soviet-Socialist Republics, including White Russia, the Ukraine, Uzbek and Turcoman, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republics, with its fourteen autonomous areas. There is the Republic of China, with its eighteen provinces, and its dominions of Sinkiang, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet. There is Continental Europe, outside the Union of Soviets, with its twenty-six states, operating together in a variety of ways, some of them little leagues within themselves with possessions in various parts of the world. There is the Pan-American Union with its twenty-one Republics organized with a common center at Washington, with recurring conferences in behalf of their common interest. There is the League of Nations with headquarters at Geneva, with its diplomatic, political, and quasi military alliance of some fifty-seven nations. There is our own United States of America with its union of free, sovereign, independent States. There is the history of our own country with its settlement of disputes with other governments by direct negotiations, by good offices, by mediation, by commissions of inquiry, by councils of conciliation, by arbitration and the judicial settlement of international disputes. There is our well-known faith in recurring conferences in the interest of international law and of the further processes of justice between nations. These facts are of importance to the business man who wishes to key his activities for peace to the known and tried.

Our hard-headed man of today is particularly impressed by the experiences of our States with each other. He recalls that we have been able to adjust the interests of large and small States, wholly to overcome the difficulties involved in the thorny problem of the equality of States.

He is encouraged by the fact that over one hundred twenty disputes between States of our Union have been settled to the satisfaction of all hands without recourse to war. He likes our method of settling such disputes in accord with the theory that we are a government of laws and not of men. He approves of our methods of settling disputes between States in accord with the principle of give and take in the interest of all, and of our emphasis on voluntary settlement. He is sufficiently familiar with our form of government to know that we have eliminated all thought of a Union of States with the view of coercing any one of them by force of arms. He looks with disfavor upon any proposal to set up an international organization of men with power to coerce States by guns and bayonets as an agency for peace. The thoughtful man finds the hopeful agencies for peace resting, like sovereignty itself, upon mutual consent. He looks upon our Government and finds that we have never had in America, for example, a compulsory labor law. Embarrassed as he often is by labor problems, yet he favors no such kind of law. The two watchwords of any hopeful peace movement for labor and capital, for nation and nation, are, first, desire; and, second, method.

Summarizing, therefore, the business man's outlook on the peace movement at this the beginning of another year, we find in that movement certain theoretical features that are discredited and some probably discreditable. There is, however, a common reason for condemning war, upon which all thoughtful business men can agree. The creditable way out of the world's maze lies along the habitual use by the nations of methods other than war for achieving their interests. It is not necessary to seek far for such methods. They are very close at hand.

TWO BASIC THINGS FOR THE ARBITRATION CONFERENCE

THE INTERNATIONAL Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration opened in the Hall of the Americas of the Pan American Union, Washington, at eleven fifteen A. M., Monday, December 10. President Coolidge addressed the meeting; as did Secretary Kellogg, President of the Conference.

The purpose of the Conference is to enable the American Republics to adopt obligatory arbitration as the means which they will employ for the pacific solution of their international differences of a juridical character. The Conference has divided this work into two parts, one relating to conciliation, and the other to arbitration. Mr. Hughes has already argued that the Conference at Havana adopted in its resolution a distinction between differences of a juridical character and those which are not of a juridical character. The learned jurist went on to point out that that leaves open for the Washington Conference the question "What are to be regarded as differences of a juridical character, and how shall they be defined, if a definition is tenable?"

Of course this is a lawyer's way of going about the business. But there are two much deeper things facing the Washington Conference. One is that there are no issues between States, political or whatsoever, which may not with the consent of the parties become juridical. This is true of issues between States of our American Union. As far back as 1838, our Supreme Court held that when two States submit a controversy between them to a court of law or equity, that they by that agreement give power to the court to decide according to the appropriate law of the case, and that in that way the court acquires jurisdiction over the parties by their consent and their delegated author-

ity. If this Conference, sustained by this fact in our practice, should extend the principle to cases between states of this hemisphere, there would then be for America no international controversies that may not be made juridical. When juridical, they would naturally be submitted for judicial settlement. If the states of our Western Hemisphere were to accept this precedent of our Supreme Court, their simple course would be to concentrate upon the machinery of justice. It appears to us that this Conference is peculiarly fitted to show the way for the further development of judicial processes in this Hemisphere. Not to do this would spell unnecessary failure for the Conference. There should be a Permanent Court of International Justice for the Western Hemisphere.

There is another fact which the friends of Pan America cannot ignore. It is of special importance for this Conference. That fact is that Pan-Americanism is unnecessarily impalpable. Professor Camilo Barcía Trelles, a distinguished Spanish authority on international law, is now in this country. Writing in *La Prensa* of New York, he has expressed surprise at the lack of any real organization among the American nations. His view is that without such organization it cannot be expected that difficulties arising between nations of the Western Hemisphere can be solved promptly and without recourse to the interposition of violence. He finds our boasted Pan-Americanism to be largely a theoretical creation, a diplomatic tendency, and rather artificial.

There is need for real constructive work in the interest of a creative plan. Such a plan would have to include a Convention of Arbitration without any denaturing reservations. Back in 1911, President William Howard Taft favored the arbitration of all international disputes.

Is there any hope that our United States has developed sufficiently to accept now the principle of arbitration for all conflicts? The friendly interest in the Kellogg arbitration pact would indicate that there is more hope now than seventeen years ago. The thorny question of intervention cannot be answered until this prior question, will we accept arbitration for all conflicts, has been decided. It all boils down to the proposal to eliminate once and for all the use of military coercion as an agency for the execution of policy. Then and not until then will Pan-Americanism rise to the importance which its friends desire for it.

Professor Barcía says in his article to *La Prensa* that Spain has been working out through the centuries a juridical interpretation of aggression. Her theologians and moralists have held that he who violates the rights of man stands accused by the community of peoples, and that he should make reparations for the wronged community. The professor points out that this position is gaining ground slowly in the League of Nations. In her attempts to decide what is aggression, Spain, it appears, has eliminated every difficulty, and that often in her relations with certain American Republics. She has achieved this by making arbitral conventions in which the contesting parties consent to settle juridically, that is to say intelligently, all questions of whatever nature that may arise between them, and that without exception. In that way Spain is giving substance to the phrase "impossible war."

The Washington Conference has already rendered a great service by showing Bolivia and Paraguay a way out of a very serious situation. From what is already known, it seems sure that conciliation and arbitration will be more fully clarified before these talented men return to their

homes. There remain, however, two other most important opportunities: to lay the firm and enduring foundations for the judicial settlement of all otherwise irreconcilable disputes; and, second, to build up the Pan American Union as an agency for the promotion of justice and the gradual elimination of military force as a dictator of policy in the Western Hemisphere.

Here is a chance for Mr. Hughes to sweep this Hemisphere, as he did the Washington Arms Conference, with the fire of a moral enthusiasm that will be irresistible, and plant forever another milestone along our winding road to a warless world.

TREATY IN THE SENATE

The multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war was reported to the Senate on December 19, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate recommending its ratification, with the vote of 14-2, two members not voting.

Simultaneously with the presentation of the report, Senator Borah, Chairman of the Committee, reported without recommendation the resolution introduced by Senator Moses, proposing to define the Senate's understanding of the treaty. Senator Moses wishes his resolution to be debated concurrently with the treaty, although he is willing to have the treaty and his resolution voted on separately.

It is clear that the treaty, either with or without the Moses Resolution, will pass the Senate. Since the Moses Resolution may be construed as a reservation of the Treaty, it is important to note what the resolution is. It is worded as follows:

"Resolved that the Senate of the United States declares that in advising and consenting to the multilateral treaty it does so with the understanding:

1. That the treaty does not impair or abridge the right of the United States to

defend its territory or other vital interests in accordance with the traditional American policies;

2. That the treaty imposes no obligation on the United States to resort to coercive or punitive measures against any offending nation;

3. That the treaty does not obligate the United States to the conditions of any treaty to which the United States is not a party;

4. The Secretary of State is requested to forward a copy of this resolution to the representatives of the other powers."

There is nothing in this resolution to disturb any friend of the treaty. Its views have been set forth in the correspondence between Mr. Kellogg and Great Britain and between this country and France. The treaty does not deny to any signatory the right of self-defense. There is nothing in it that carries an obligation, legal or moral, to wage war in its defense, or to support treaties to which the United States is not a party. In our judgment the Moses Resolution is quite unnecessary. If in order to assure the ratification of the Treaty by the Senate, the Senate should insist also upon passing the Moses Resolution, so be it.

RAILWAY LABOR DISPUTES AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The Board of Mediation, set up under the "Railway Labor Act" of 1926, is working out the problem of settling disputes between the employers and employees of our interstate railways, in accordance with principles some of which must apply in the settlement of international disputes. The fundamental purposes of the Board are to provide methods for settling questions arising between employees and carriers promptly and peaceably through the medium of conferences, adjustment boards, mediation, and arbitration; second, to provide, in cases of differences not adjusted

by a carrier and its employees, for the appointment of an emergency board by the President, who, in the language of Honorable Samuel E. Winslow, Chairman of the Board, "shall be advised by the Board of Mediation when in the judgment of such Board a substantial interruption of interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive any section of the country of its essential transportation service is absolutely threatening. The President may, therefore, appoint such number of persons as he considers desirable to serve as an emergency board."

It is provided in the law that this emergency board shall investigate the facts of a given case, and report within thirty days to the President. The board has no power to compel anybody to do anything. Its whole purpose is to be helpful, and to bring about as far as possible a voluntary agreement between the parties.

The law goes further. If an issue cannot be settled, a Board of Arbitration may be established at the request of the Board of Mediation.

The interesting thing about all this is that it is the product of experience. Everyone associated with the plan accepts the view that the more voluntary settlements there are between carriers and employees, the better.

In the earlier efforts at mediation in this class of cases, the words "fight" and "dispute" were freely used, both indicating that the parties approached each other in a spirit of hostility. The discussions were frequently between the carriers as representing "economic power," and employees as representing "numerical strength." Today the practise is to substitute for such thorny words the more appropriate terms "problem" and "discussion." The result of this new approach is already beneficent. The problems are discussed on their own merits in the in-

terest of all-around fairness. While no two cases are exactly alike, these simple, fundamental principles apply to them all.

Through the years there has grown up a variety of precedents and rules of procedure. These precedents and rules are being modified under the new methods of procedure. In this way there is developing a promising kind of law which will prove to be of service in the cases that are sure to come up in the future. In any event the processes now being employed by the Board of Mediation cannot help but promote friendly settlement and lessen the dangers and losses of strikes. There is more than one evidence that we have here a hopeful effort to bring about the establishment of respectful and accommodating mental attitudes, with the inevitable result that acrimonious activities must lessen, and the intellectual procedures of justice increase.

The most hopeful thing in the whole business is the elimination of all threats of coercion. Throughout the history of our Federal labor laws, Congress has consistently refused to pass any such laws with "teeth" in them. There is no demand in our public opinion for any such kind of a "league to enforce peace." The aim of the law is to bring about a desire and a method for the voluntary settlement of issues, if possible, without outside assistance or pressure. At the last there may be a necessity for some government agency whose findings can be accepted by both sides as fair and equitable. Changing of course to meet economic conditions, the abiding principle is that each party shall stand willing to give and take in the interest of all, including of course the public.

The men responsible for the carrying out of this law are interested in safeguarding the public interest, which means the well-being of the greatest number.

They believe that the fewer laws there are the better. They are aiming to promote goodwill between the employees and employer. The whole business is to promote the solution of problems in accordance with the principles of fairness, which are, of course, the essence of justice.

Here in a small compass are the spirit and the methods for the peace movement of the world, at this the beginning of a New Year.

MR. BRITTEN AND THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY Union has been brought so permanently to public notice by Congressman Fred Britten's proposal to Britain's Prime Minister that the problem of naval limitations be discussed directly by the representatives of our Congress and the House of Commons, that it is well to recall just what the Interparliamentary Union is. This is the more germane since Representative Britten, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, has announced that if no better plan presents itself, he will bring up the subject of further naval limitation at the Interparliamentary Conference in Geneva, in August, 1929. Congressman Britten evidently believes that only good can come from frank, open discussions by the chosen representatives of the people.

In a letter to a member of the British Parliament, December 15, Mr. Britten went on to point out that: "The time has passed when millions of men and women can be tricked or blundered into war by ambitious executives or irresponsible diplomats. Secret so-called diplomatic understanding and mysterious treaties affecting the very life of the nation are out of place in a world desiring peace and a world of opportunity.

"So long as no agreement is reached for at least a paper equality on the seas, every appropriation for warship construction in either England or the United States will be looked upon as money wasted in competitive construction; when, in fact, these appropriations might reasonably be construed in the interest of world peace. . . .

"I had hoped that members of the British and American Groups of the Interparliamentary Union might meet on equal grounds even before August of 1929, when parliamentarians from all leading nations will convene at Geneva.

"If no better plan presents itself, it is my intention to propose at the Geneva Conference the adoption and endorsement of frequent personal contacts between the representatives of two or more nations without waiting for our annual general meeting. Specific problems applying only to those nations may then be publicly discussed."

The Interparliamentary Union was formed upon the initiative of William Randal Cremer of the British House of Commons, with the cooperation of M. Frederic Passy of the French Chamber of Deputies, at Paris, in 1888. The organization which they planned and which they named "The Interparliamentary Conference for International Arbitration," held its first Conference in the City of Paris in 1899. The primary purpose of the founders was to promote arbitration treaties between the United States, France, and Great Britain. It was agreed at the outset that members of other parliaments, who had made themselves known by their devotion to the same ideals, should be admitted. This first Conference of 1889 was held, June 29 and 30, in connection with the Paris Exposition. There were delegates from France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Liberia, Spain, and the United States. Frederic Passy was elected Presi-

dent. The Conferences gradually took the form of a permanent organization.

Since the preliminary gathering of 1888, regular Conferences have been held as follows: First, in Paris, 1889; Second, in London, 1890; Third, in Rome, 1891; Fourth, in Berne, 1892; Fifth, at The Hague, 1894; Sixth, at Brussels, 1895; Seventh, at Budapest, 1896; Eighth, at Brussels, 1897; Ninth, at Christiania, 1899; Tenth, at Paris, 1900; Eleventh, at Vienna, 1903; Twelfth, at St. Louis, 1904; Thirteenth, at Brussels, 1905; Fourteenth, at London, 1906; Fifteenth, at Berlin, 1908; Sixteenth, at Brussels, 1910; Seventeenth, at Geneva, 1912; Eighteenth, at The Hague, 1913; Nineteenth, at Stockholm, 1921; Twentieth, at Vienna, 1922; Twenty-first, at Copenhagen, 1923; Twenty-second, at Berne and Geneva, 1924; Twenty-third, at Washington, 1925; Twenty-fourth, at Paris, 1927; Twenty-fifth, at Berlin, 1928.

While there was a representative of the American Congress at the first Conference, and other American representatives at Brussels, Christiania, Paris, and Vienna, it was not until 1904, largely upon the initiative of Representative Richard Bartholdt, that an American Group was formed. The Presidents of the American Group have been Mr. Bartholdt, from its organization to 1915; Representative James L. Slayden, of Texas, 1915-1919; Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois, 1919-1927; Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, 1927 to date. At the Twenty-third Conference in Washington in 1925, forty-one parliaments were represented.

Since 1899, the name has been the Interparliamentary Union. Prior to 1911, the Union devoted its attention to the pacific settlement of international disputes, the further organization of the Society of Nations, problems of neutrality,

the limitation of armaments, the laws of war, an international prize court, and private international law. It carried on studies in the methods of mediation, good offices, commissions of inquiry, Court of Arbitration, and the organization of an international judiciary. Later it concentrated upon the policies adopted at the Second Hague Conference and upon a provisional program for a third. There has been a tendency in later years to extend the work of the Union over other questions pertaining to the development of peaceful relations between nations.

The Union has achieved results. It had a direct influence upon the constitution of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, provided for at the First Hague Conference in 1899. It was primarily responsible for the calling of the Second Hague Conference in 1907. Its model arbitration treaty received at the Second Hague Conference the votes of 32 out of the 44 States represented. Perhaps its greatest achievement has been the promotion of intelligent relations between governments by enabling the parliamentarians of the world to get acquainted with each other.

The work of the Interparliamentary Union is carried on by a Bureau with headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. The Secretary-General is Dr. Christian L. Lange. There is a Council made up of two representatives of each of the parliaments, members of the Union. There is an Executive Committee, composed at present as follows: M. Fernand Bouisson, Speaker of the French Chamber of Deputies, President; Senator R. Dandurand, Canada; Dr. W. Schücking, Germany; Senator H. La Fontaine, Belgium; Dr. L. Moltesen, Denmark. Between conferences the work of the Union is carried on by six commissions, all with representatives from each of the parliaments, as follows: Political and Organization Ques-

tions; Juridical Questions; Economic and Financial Questions; Ethnic and Colonial Questions; the Reduction of Armaments; Social Questions.

Over fifty percent of the United States Senators and of the members of the House of Representatives are members of the American Group.

The officers of the American Group are as follows: President Theodore E. Burton; Vice-Presidents, Andrew J. Montague, Henry W. Temple; Treasurer, Adolph J. Sabath; Secretary, John J. McSwain; Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call; Executive Committee, Theodore E. Burton, *ex officio* Chairman, Fred Britten, Tom Connally, Henry Allen Cooper, Clarence F. Lea, James C. McLaughlin, Alben W. Barkley, Charles Curtis, Joseph T. Robinson, and Claude A. Swanson.

The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union has its office at 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

In the light of these facts it would appear that Congressman Britten, sensible of the spirit and purposes of the Interparliamentary Union, is bent upon enlarging its prestige and influence. There can be no harm in that. The executive and diplomatic branches of the governments will naturally wish to encourage this important collaboration with their efforts to promote international understanding and goodwill.

SENATOR THEODORE E. BURTON

December 15, last, Theodore E. Burton moved over from the House of Representatives to take up once more his duties as an Ohio member of the United States Senate. The day before, surrounded by his fellow members of the House of Representatives, he bade them farewell in a valedictory which we are pleased to print

elsewhere in these columns. His entrance once more into the United States Senate was but another step in an already distinguished career, lasting through forty years of notable public service. Elected to the House of Representatives for the first time in 1888, Mr. Burton became an expert in many fields, especially finance, inland waters, and international relations. From 1909 to 1915 he was a member of the United States Senate, where his experience in the House enabled him to be of peculiar aid to our country at a time of great storm and stress. He returned to the House of Representatives in 1920, where again his great familiarity with matters of finance and international affairs proved to be of inestimable benefit. He has frankly said on various occasions that his desire to return to the Senate is primarily because of his interest in the problems of international peace. His membership in the Interparliamentary Union since the foundation of the American Group in 1904, his many trips abroad, his presidency of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, an office which he now holds, his presidency of the American Peace Society during the years 1911-1915 and of 1925-1928, all these will stand him well in hand as he tackles the new problems of the new day.

Senator Burton will find no one in the Senate superior to him intellectually. He is a scholar in many fields. He is the author of a text on Financial Crises, of a life of John Sherman, of "Corporations and the State," of "Political Tendencies of the Time," and of many papers on a wide variety of themes. He is powerful and judicial in debate. His integrity is admired by all. Whether or not we call him a statesman of the old school, we must accept him as a statesman of the best school.

From a rather intimate relationship,

lasting through many treasured years, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* wishes the best of New Years, and all the joys commensurate with his life of great fruitfulness, to Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio.

INJURY OF PROPERTY SEIZED IN TIME OF WAR

THE ways of justice are sometimes far from simple. This fact stands out in a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States handed down under date of November 5, 1928.

It appears that a woman, citizen of the United States, married a German citizen. By that act she became a German subject. During the war she was the owner of a certain house in Washington. It was determined in 1918 that she was an alien enemy. Our Government seized the premises and occupied them for office purposes for considerably over two years. At the end of that time the custodian returned the property to the woman. During the occupation of the premises our Government made a number of alterations in the house. When the property was returned our Government paid the lady one hundred dollars a month for nine months—nine hundred dollars altogether.

The lady brought action in the court, asking that it should ascertain and fix the amount due her for the use of the building and fix the damages sustained by the property. Since this was in fact an action against the United States, the real defendant in the premises, and since the United States cannot be sued except with its own consent, and since in this case the United States had not given its consent thus to be sued, and since the plaintiff became by her marriage a citizen of another country, and since only a "person not an enemy or ally of an enemy . . . may institute a suit in equity . . . to establish the interest, right, or title to a claim," and since this particular action

is for a judgment for debt and damages, the woman's petition has been denied.

The Supreme Court itself has already held that Congress had authorized the seizure, use, or appropriation of such properties, without any compensation to the owners; and the court now holds that "there is no constitutional prohibition against confiscation of enemy properties."

From this settled fact it would appear that laws in time of war have different foundations from the laws accepted in times of peace. The so-called laws of war seem to have little relation to those great rules of nature upon which the laws of peace necessarily rest. In a fundamental sense, war is the negation of law.

THE NEW YEAR AND OUR OWN AFFAIRS

The American Peace Society faces the New Year encouraged by the support of an increasing number of our country's ablest men. From a sheaf of recent letters there is one from Thomas A. Marlow, accepting his election as Director of the American Peace Society. Mr. Marlow is President of the Montana National Bank, and Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Helena. He says: "I have known for many years past of your organization and have always been in full and complete sympathy with it." In a letter to Mr. Marlow, President Fortune wrote in part as follows:

"For one hundred years it (the American Peace Society) has been led and directed by men of national reputation for sagacious and sympathetic understanding of the cause of peace. . . . Statesmen of every generation have worthily aided it in its aims and purposes. In the century of its existence, it has pursued purposes that are wholly consistent with our national traditions and ideals. It constantly seeks wider support from men of ability whose patriotism and sincerity of purpose are beyond reproach in order that the greatest number of American citizens may

be brought to right thinking about international peace."

Mr. F. B. Caswell, Vice-President and General Sales Manager of the Champion Spark Plug Company, of Toledo, Ohio, is another one of our Society's new Directors. Mr. Caswell, long a member of the American Peace Society, traveled extensively in foreign lands, writes that he considers:

"This is a very high honor and will be pleased to accept if the Board feels that he can be of service to the American Peace Society in which he has been interested for an even longer period than his membership in the Society."

Mr. Arch C. Klumph, another one of our new Directors, is also a man of affairs. In addition to his numerous business connections, he has served as President of the Cleveland Board of Lumber Dealers, President of the Cleveland Rotary Club, President of the Cleveland Builders' Exchange, Director of Chamber of Commerce. As International President of Rotary, Mr. Klumph was largely instrumental in extending Rotary to all the civilized nations of the world. Mr. Klumph writes:

"I deeply appreciate my appointment as a Director of this venerable Society and hope that by some word or gesture I may be of use to it."

Mr. David W. Teachout, another distinguished business man of Cleveland, Ohio, writes:

"The American Peace Society over many years in the history of the United States has stood as a steady influence to avoid war as the method of solving international problems. If ever such an organization were needed, this year and the coming years should give evidence of this permanent organization. A sane service has been rendered and a more positive influence in the future must be exerted.

"As one of the Directors of the American Peace Society, I am ready to take my

part at all times in endorsing arbitration as a means for settling international disputes."

The press has never been more generous in its treatment of the American Peace Society than today.

There follows an editorial published on December 18, 1928, by the *Indianapolis Star* commenting on the cooperative relationship between the American Legion and the American Peace Society, and expressing approval of the purposes of the two organizations. The editorial entitled "*Partners of Peace*" follows:

"It is a peculiarly fortunate partnership which has been effected in the cause of peace between the American Legion and the American Peace Society. The mutual expressions of goodwill and the promises of loyal cooperation not only multiply the opportunities for fruitful endeavor, but enhance the prestige of both organizations in the eyes of the general public. Regardless of the unimpeachable motives of each, there are doubtless some who regard the program of the Legion as tending toward the maintenance of unnecessarily large armament. On the other hand, there are others who may be prejudiced against the peace society because of the pacifist motives which have cloaked the activities of several other groups operating under the alluring title of peace.

"The Legion and the American Peace Society see the pitfalls attending any revolutionary program in the interests of world amity. They realize that a militant nationalism, racial animosities and age-old suspicion—in other words, human nature—cannot be changed in a day. The security of the richest nation on the globe must be assured by reasonable armament, just as police are employed to protect individual life and property. The Legion, its war experience still fresh in memory, desires no repetition of that horrible period. The members of the peace society are laboring to promote international justice. The combination tends in every way to increase national confidence in the outcome of their common endeavor.

"It must be a source of gratification to every Hoosier that, by a particular coincidence, leaders of both these organizations come from Indiana. Paul V. McNutt,

active for several years in Legion and educational work, hails from Indiana University. William Fortune, recently honored with the presidency of the peace society, has participated in various civic movements in Indianapolis and has been especially identified with the work of the Red Cross. Their followers approach the problem with the same thought—that peace can be made possible only through applying the principles of justice in intercourse between nations."

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE when asked if the United States would help in the revision of the Dawes Plan toward the further settlement of the reparations problem in Europe has countered rather neatly. He would like to see the question of German reparations settled by the Europeans themselves. Of course, if they are unable to do this the United States would probably be willing to officiate at least unofficially. The President would like to have Europe understand that this country does not interfere in other countries unless it is obliged to do so; but if the Europeans cannot settle their controversy without help and the United States responds, the President does not see why the United States should be criticized in European quarters if it makes a like response when it is asked, say, in Central America. There is a certain inescapable logic in Mr. Coolidge's position. Too, we approve the President's desire, if the United States is asked to send experts to participate with others on the matter of reparations, that these experts should all come free to exercise their judgment, unhampered by instructions from the governments.

"LADIES FIRST," according to American methods, is all wrong in theory. At least that is the view of Mr. Kinsen Kubota, Director of the Promotion Section of the Matsuzakaya Department Store in Ueno, Japan. Mr. Kubota has recently

returned from the United States, where he studied our department stores. His views on our practice of "ladies first" are, according to *The Trans-Pacific*, as follows:

"Japanese educators, religious workers, and parents must see to it that Japanese girls do not adopt the manner of American women, particularly the creed of 'ladies first,' because such a mode of living for Japanese society would mean the downfall of the nation. I do not want Japanese women to be persecuted and abused as many of them were in the past, but the Japanese women should never be petted in the name of 'ladies first' as in America. I insist on justice and humanity first instead of 'ladies first.'"

THE NON-RESISTANT Menonnites living in Paraguay have found that changing one's geographical position is no sure guarantee of peace. Not so long ago these very Menonnites were living in Western Canada and in various parts of our Western United States. Since one of their fundamental principles is that they under no circumstances may bear arms, even in their own defense, they found themselves greatly disturbed during the World War. Shortly after the War, therefore, they sent investigators to various parts of the World, with the view of finding if possible a location for a colony where they might live in accordance with their principles of peace. They finally chose, about three years ago, to accept the grant of a large area of land in Paraguay, in about the center of the region known as the Gran Chaco. About two thousand five hundred of them moved to those lands, mostly from Canada, and they had come to believe that they had found at last the place they long had sought. Paraguay made a Covenant with them to give them the land, build forts, and establish military posts to protect them from the rather dangerous Indian tribes of that region. Paraguay also granted them and their

descendants immunity from bearing arms, even for the national defense of Paraguay. On December 15, Fort Boquerón, built and manned by Paraguay to protect these Menonnites, was the very first Paraguayan fort to be captured by the Bolivians in the recent outbreak of hostilities. In our modern world the ways of the non-resistant are indeed difficult.

THE Better America Federation of California, with headquarters at 724 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, sets for itself the following aims: To reawaken in America the realization of the responsibilities of statesmanship; to induce a more general and intelligent acceptance of those responsibilities; to oppose, through printed and spoken word, all efforts to substitute any other theories of government in place of the Constitution of the United States; to oppose the development of class consciousness and class domination of government, business or society; to demonstrate that the interest of employers and employees are mutual, and that the prosperity of both depends upon each accepting and adhering to the Golden Rule; to support the employer and employee in all the rights guaranteed them under the rights of the Constitution of the United States; to defend the right of private property as the only practical incentive to the full exercise of individual energy, skill, and thrift. We are glad to associate ourselves with these high purposes. We would that the Better America Federation of California might see fit to extend its program to include a finer relationship between our country and the other powers of the world.

ACT WELL YOUR part, there all the honor lies." Why not begin the New Year diary with that?

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

A WAR IS FORESTALLED

THE PAN AMERICAN Arbitration Conference, called to advance obligatory arbitration for the pacific settlement of international differences of a juridical character, met a concrete situation on its opening day. Distinguished delegates from twenty of the twenty-one American Republics were present, our Secretary of State and Charles Evans Hughes representing the United States. It was generally believed by informed persons that the conference would in all probability achieve results of importance. Mr. Hoover's tour of Latin America was happily timed to aid the conference. Of a sudden the conferees found themselves faced with an unforeseen problem, the prospect of war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

The issue between Bolivia and Paraguay, out of which sprang this threat of war, concerns the boundary between the two countries. The exact location of this boundary has been in dispute since these governments attained their independence. Territory to the extent of practically one hundred thousand square miles is involved. It appears that in the early morning of December 6, Paraguayan troops captured the garrison of twenty-five Bolivian soldiers at a military post called Vanguardia. Some Bolivian soldiers, including two officers were killed. The people of Bolivia were greatly incensed. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed. Bolivia insisted upon "moral reparations," which were interpreted to mean an apology. The apology not forthcoming, Bolivia attacked and captured a Paraguayan fort, with a number of casual-

ties on both sides. It all looked very much like war. Indeed President Siles of Bolivia ordered the Bolivian Minister to retire as delegate to the Washington Conference. On December 10, Dr. Maurtua, delegate from Peru, submitted to the Conference a resolution, which was seconded by Dr. Orestes Ferrara, the Cuban Ambassador. The resolution read as follows:

"The International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, assembled at Washington for the purpose of determining the procedure for the pacific settlement of their international difference,

"Unanimously resolves:

"(1) To express to the governments of sister republics of Bolivia and Paraguay the keen desire and the hope which it entertains that their present differences shall be arranged pacifically and in a spirit of justice, concord, and of fraternity.

"(2) To convey in a cordial and respectful manner to those governments, in conformity with the tradition of this continent and with the general practices of modern international law that nations under circumstances such as the present have at their disposal organisms and means adequate and efficient to find solutions which harmonize the preservation of peace with the rights of State.

"(3) To transmit this resolution by telegraph to the governments of Bolivia and Paraguay.

"(4) To form a committee which shall report to the conference with respect to the conciliatory action which, if necessary, it might render, cooperating with the instrumentalities now employed in the friendly solution of the problem."

On December 14, Secretary Kellogg, Chairman of the Washington Conference, sent in identical notes to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia and to the Min-

ister of Foreign Affairs of Paraguay the following message:

"I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the following report of the special commission of the conference together with a resolution, both unanimously adopted by the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, with the exception of Paraguay, which refrained from voting, and Bolivia, whose representative was not present."

Text of Committee Report

The committee report read as follows:

"The committee charged with reporting to the conference on the conciliatory action that may be appropriate with respect to the incident between the republics of Bolivia and Paraguay, after being informed of the replies received from both nations to the cable message sent by the chairman of this Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, considers that the conference in plenary session is called upon to decide upon the course which should be followed.

"Nevertheless, the committee deems it to be its duty to suggest to the conference a concrete proposal to the end that the principles of conciliation and arbitration in support of which it was convened may find their most sincere and their friendliest application in this case.

"In accordance with American tradition, in general, as shown by the antecedent expressions of hope, and Pan-American resolutions, and also in conformity with the measures adopted during the last years for the maintenance of world peace, the conference may take a prudent and effective course with the assurance of general approval of its endeavor.

"The friendly proceedings of an assembly of sister republics must find favorable echo and most sympathetic reception, especially in the spirit of the nations directly interested in the incident. Those proceedings show the degree of solidarity and affection by which the other countries of the hemisphere feel bound to them.

"Animated by these sentiments, and without assuming any political attitude beyond the appropriate purposes of this conference, the committee proposes to this

assembly that the conference proffer its good offices to the interested parties for the purpose of promoting suitable conciliatory measures with the aim of preserving the principle of conciliation and arbitration as a solid foundation of international life."

Text of the Resolution

The resolution reads as follows:

"The conference resolves:

"1. To proffer its good offices to the interested parties for the purpose of promoting suitable conciliatory measures, with the aim of preserving the principle of conciliation and arbitration as a solid foundation of international life.

"2. To continue the Special Committee charged with considering and reporting to the conference on the developments which may take place in the incident between the Republics of Bolivia and Paraguay."

And yet, as late as December 16, it was widely believed in Washington that war between Bolivia and Paraguay was inevitable. The League of Nations took action, sending communications to both belligerents. Argentina worked valiantly in an effort to avoid the war. Chile extended her good offices. The Pope sent a communication to the Presidents of Bolivia and Paraguay, urging them to do everything in their power to spare their countries and humanity the scourge of war.

December 18, the Bolivian Foreign Office made public its reply to Secretary Kellogg. The Foreign Minister said:

"This is to say that the Bolivian Government accepts the good offices of the Conference for Conciliation and Arbitration over which you preside.

"In this regrettable conflict created by the unjustified aggression on the part of Paraguay, the Bolivian Government limits itself to the stand imposed by the unescapable necessity to protect her dignity and sovereignty and to conform to the most rigid principles of international practice.

"Bolivia has not mobilized her army, as the conference knows. Paraguay after at-

tacking Bolivia, and for the purpose of minimizing the gravity of their offense, immediately took recourse to and solicited application of the Gondra pact which had not been ratified by Bolivia, and which it was not possible to accept because of the serious crisis in public opinion in my country caused by that act of violence.

Urge Attack Inquiry First

"On entering upon your good offices, Bolivia requires that you investigate in the first place the attack on Fort Vanguardia without involving in the preliminary inquiry the questions at the bottom of the dispute, which have been entrusted to arbitration within the procedure established by the Argentine suggestion of December, 1927, and which was accepted by both countries.

"My government has expressed to President Irigoyan of Argentina respect for his good offices for the purpose of renewing efforts for a settlement of the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

"Bolivia accepts the good offices of the Conference of Conciliation and Arbitration, renders homage to the spirit of the Americas and reiterates her adhesion to the principles of justice which inspired her conduct and policy."

At half past eight, December 18, Secretary of State Kellogg announced that he had received the acceptance from Bolivia of the good offices of the Conference. Since Paraguay had already accepted the good offices of the Conferences, the whole matter was then in the hands of the Conference. At this writing, there is where the matter stands.

It is not for us to decide the merits of the question involved between Bolivia and Paraguay. We are now of the opinion that neither side to the dispute contemplated war. What happened in the Gran Chaco has happened between many countries heretofore. Under what is called sometimes the law of the hot pursuit, or sometimes referred to as the law of necessity, governments carry on military activities of a very warlike nature without calling it war.

The encouraging fact is that there was a conference of representatives from all the American republics with the exception of Argentina, including indeed official delegates from Bolivia and Paraguay themselves, meeting in Washington; that this conference offered its good offices; that these good offices were accepted, and that there is now no war between these two countries.

OUR NAVY

THE PROPOSAL to increase the cruiser strength of our United States, at the same time we are approving the Paris Pact for the renunciation of war, has aroused considerable discussion in this country and abroad. Before considering the Cruiser Bill, which passed the House of Representatives, March 17, 1928, and is now before the Senate, our readers may wish to review something of our country's naval history. The original Coolidge Program of a year ago has been materially reduced.

The Original Program

The five-year naval building program submitted by the administration to Congress for enactment at the last session called for the construction of 74 new vessels, including three fleet submarines left over from the 1916 program, at a total estimated cost of \$740,000,000. The program was the largest ever proposed to Congress in time of peace. It is exceeded in the number of vessels proposed to be authorized only by the program adopted by Congress in August, 1916, seven months before the United States entered the World War.

The new program called for five aircraft carriers, to cost \$19,000,000 each, one to be laid down each year for five years; twenty-five 10,000-ton cruisers, to cost \$17,000,000 each, five to be laid down each year for five years; nine destroyer leaders, to cost \$5,000,000 each, four to be laid down the first year, four the second year, and one the third year; thirty-five submarines, to cost \$5,000,000 each, seven to be laid down each year for five years. Under the building schedule submitted by the Secretary of the Navy for the information of the House Naval Affairs Commit-

tee, which, he said, carried the "full approval of the President," the first vessels called for in the new program would be laid down during the fiscal year 1929; all would be laid down within five years, and all would be completed within eight years.

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur stated, in testimony before the House Naval Affairs Committee, January 12, 1928, that "we do not have today a first-class navy"—a statement Chairman Butler said would "shock the country." The vessels provided in the administration program were necessary, Wilbur said, to give the country a "first-class navy."

The program proposed, if carried out, will create a properly constituted fleet, will furnish sufficient strength to insure the protection of the legal rights of our citizens under international law, provide refuge in time of disorder, protect commerce, preserve our ocean routes of trade and provide adequate national defense. We have no such fleet at the present time.

The Secretary said the average annual expenditure for the first five years of the new program would be \$197,000,000, and for the eight years required to complete construction \$136,000,000, including outlays for ships already authorized. In 1913 expenditures for naval construction totaled \$29,436,786.

Construction expenditures during the last fifteen years are shown in the following table, furnished by the Budget Bureau. The second column shows expenditures for operation of the navy and all other purposes, and the third column the total of naval expenditure, including construction.

Fiscal year	Naval construction expenditures	All other naval expenditures	Total expenditures
1913	\$29,436,786	\$104,655,631	\$134,092,417
1914	31,728,367	108,814,693	140,543,060
1915	39,363,325	103,358,199	142,721,524
1916	37,079,261	118,803,934	155,883,195
1917	54,926,948	203,221,139	258,148,087
1918	353,532,156	1,016,945,252	1,370,477,408
1919	463,584,590	1,555,461,177	2,019,045,767
1920	243,370,338	389,319,929	632,690,267
1921	202,469,924	445,400,721	647,870,645
1922	143,028,025	315,766,787	458,794,812
1923	66,429,462	256,103,446	322,532,908
1924	54,650,913	269,479,084	324,129,997
1925	38,181,352	238,184,115	326,365,467
1926	31,265,246	280,346,448	311,611,694
1927	38,831,886	283,788,838	322,620,724

\$1,827,878,579 \$5,739,649,393 \$7,567,527,972

Appropriations for construction during the last fiscal year total \$43,285,000. Estimates of appropriations required for the construction already authorized for the fiscal year 1929, exclusive of that to be carried in the new program, total \$48,000,000.

Secretary Wilbur disclosed before the House Naval Affairs Committee that the five-year construction program at present proposed is a part of a twenty-year program formulated by the General Board of the Navy. "The 20-year program or plan . . . is not before Congress and the department does not at this time intend to present this plan to Congress," he said. Presumably this program, or an additional increment of it, will be submitted to Congress shortly before the expiration of the fifth year of the five-year program, at the end of the fiscal year 1933.

The average annual expenditure involved in this plan, which covers the construction of the ships proposed in the bill and the replacement of practically the entire navy as the ships become obsolete, including the replacement program, in the Washington Treaty, would amount to about \$129,000,000 a year at the present time.

No additional details on the twenty-year program were made publicly available by the Secretary of the Navy, but from the figure quoted it appears that the program contemplated a total expenditure of \$2,580,000,000 over the twenty-year period, assuming that present costs of construction remain unchanged. "Upon the completion of this twenty-year program," the Secretary said in another part of his testimony, "it would merely mean the beginning of another program. If we are to have a first-class navy we must continue building and replacing ships."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN NAVY

First steps toward the creation of an American navy were taken in October, 1775, four months after the battle of Bunker Hill, when the Continental Congress authorized the construction of two cruisers, to be employed "for the protection and defense of the United Colonies." In the ensuing six weeks the Congress

authorized the purchase of four vessels and the construction of 13 frigates, to cost \$66,666 on an average and to be ready by March, 1776. Misfortune attended the various attempts at ship construction during the war, so that the first American naval force consisted mostly of purchased vessels. These were badly built and badly fitted, in most cases, and in all cases insufficiently equipped and manned.

During the war a number of spirited engagements took place, of which the most notable was the victory of Paul Jones in the *Bon Homme Richard* over the British ship *Serapis*. Eight hundred vessels of all classes were made prizes by American ships during the course of the war and the British had 202 warships captured or destroyed. However, the American navy lost practically all of its vessels, either by capture or destruction to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British; so that the country was almost without a naval force during the latter part of the war. In the critical Yorktown campaign the Continental armies were compelled to rely upon the French fleet of Count de Grasse.

The Federal American Navy, 1789-1900

After the establishment of the Federal Government depredations of the Barbary pirates upon American commerce led Congress in 1794 to authorize the construction of six frigates, but peace was made with the Barbary States shortly thereafter and the number of vessels to be constructed was reduced to three. In 1797 the *Constitution*, the *Constellation*, and the *United States* were built to deal with depredations on American commerce, which led in the following year to the undeclared naval war with France. The Navy Department was established in 1798 and took control of the little American navy, which up to that time had been under the supervision of the Department of War. President Adams's farewell address to Congress in 1800 was a strong plea for military and naval preparedness. It would be "a dangerous imprudence," he said, "to abandon those measures of self-protection . . . to which . . . violence and the injustice of others may again compel us to resort. . . . Seasonable and systematic arrangements

. . . for a defensive war are a wise and true economy." He particularly urged the strengthening of coast defenses and the upbuilding of the American navy.

Fleets, vessels, or forces of the American navy have since been engaged in the following wars, campaigns, expeditions, and combats:

- 1801-05—War with Tripoli.
- 1807—*Chesapeake-Leopard* affair.
- 1811—*President-Little Belt* affair.
- 1812-15—Second War with Great Britain.
- 1815—War with Algiers. Demonstrations against Tunis and Tripoli.
- 1821-24—Campaigns against West Indian pirates.
- 1846-48—War with Mexico.
- 1861-1865—Civil War.
- 1863—*Wyoming's* action against Japanese pirates in Shimonoseki Straits.
- 1894—Rio de Janeiro affair.
- 1898-1900—Spanish-American War. Philippine insurrection.
- 1900—Boxer campaign.
- 1912—Nicaraguan campaign.
- 1914—Vera Cruz affair.
- 1915—Haitian campaign.
- 1916—Dominican campaign.
- 1917-1918—World War.
- 1919-20—Haitian campaign.
- 1924-28—Operations in Yangtze River.
- 1926-28—Nicaraguan intervention.
- 1927-28—Chinese expedition.

After the Civil War the navy was allowed to languish, but in 1890 renewed interest was created by the report of a naval advisory board recommending the formation of a fleet of 100 vessels, of which 20 should be battleships of the largest class. The rapid growth of the American navy dates from that year.

Interest in the navy was further stimulated by the Venezuelan incident in 1895, which led President Cleveland to address a special message to Congress declaring it to be "the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as willful aggression upon its rights and interests," the appropriation of any lands by Great Britain which of right belonged to Venezuela. Secretary Olney's assertion that "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent" came in the same year. Its fiat was law, he said, "because, in addition to other

grounds, its infinite resources, combined with its isolated position, render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all other powers."

The Spanish-American War completed the revival of interest in the navy. The acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines and the establishment of a protectorate over Cuba immediately following the annexation of Hawaii served to convince the country that a first-class navy was essential to the protection of American interests overseas. This conviction was strengthened with the commencement of construction on the Panama Canal.

American Naval Expenditures, 1900-15

American naval expenditures increased from \$22,006,206 in 1890 to \$55,953,078 in 1900—an increase of 154 per cent in a period of ten years. During the ensuing 10 years expenditures increased by 120 per cent and in the next five years by 15 per cent.

Fiscal year	American naval expenditures
1900	\$55,953,078
1901	60,506,978
1902	67,803,128
1903	82,618,034
1904	102,956,102
1905	117,550,308
1906	110,474,264
1907	97,128,469
1908	118,037,097
1909	115,546,011
1910	123,173,717
1911	119,937,644
1912	135,519,956
1913	134,092,417
1914	140,543,060
1915	142,721,524

In the early years of the present century the United States navy stood second among the navies of the world. By 1910, despite a huge increase in expenditure, it had fallen to third place. Germany had achieved second place in her naval competition with Great Britain. At the end of the next five years the American navy had fallen to fourth place and France stood third in naval strength.

The expenditures of the seven leading naval powers during the last fiscal year preceding the war the tonnage completed

it, and on July 1, 1914, are shown in the following table:

Power	Naval expenditure, 1913-14	Total Tonnage completed and building
Great Britain	\$237,645,795	2,714,106
Germany	112,091,125	1,306,577
France	90,164,625	899,915
United States	134,092,417	894,859
Japan	48,105,152	699,916
Russia	117,508,657	678,818
Italy	49,550,147	497,815

In considering the foregoing and other comparisons of naval expenditures given in this report, it should be kept in mind that costs of construction and the pay of officers and men are higher in the United States than in Great Britain, and higher in Great Britain than in any other country with the exception of the United States. In countries where conscription prevails the pay of personnel is a relatively small item.

Comparisons of tonnage likewise give only a rough measure of naval strength. Other elements to be taken into consideration are the number, armor, and ordnance of ships, their speed and cruising radius, the proportion to capital ships of lighter ships, their speed and cruising radius, cruisers, destroyers, fleet and coastal submarines, the location of bases and fuel supplies, oil reserves and coaling stations, merchant marines as naval auxiliaries and naval reserves. No exact appraisal of naval strength is feasible short of the actual test of war.

Naval Construction Program of 1916

During the early years of the war American commerce was subjected to serious interference by both belligerents. Great Britain seized American ships and shipments and arbitrarily extended the list of contraband. In 1915 the British were practically blockading neutral ports, despite American protests, and capturing the vessels of the United States and other neutrals wherever they liked. Germany was in no position to interfere with neutral trade by ordinary cruiser methods, and as an offset to the British system began the use of submarines as commerce destroyers—a practice which ultimately brought the United States into the war on the side of the Allies.

By the end of 1915 it had become clear that the war would be long and destruc-

tive, and that the United States might find itself involved. The whole world was taken by surprise by the new methods of warfare, and the United States was in no position to attack across the sea or to defend itself against the kinds of warfare then in progress in all parts of the world. It was in this situation that President Wilson presented his preparedness program to Congress in his annual message of December, 1915.

The naval program embodied in this message was the largest ever submitted to an American Congress. It was intended to provide an "incomparable navy," adequate to maintain the American claim to "freedom of the seas," and was generally accepted as a challenge to British naval supremacy. The phrase "incomparably the greatest navy in the world" was used by President Wilson in his speech at St. Louis, February 3, 1916, on his tour of the West urging naval preparedness. It was changed in the official version, published later, to "incomparably the most adequate navy."

The 1916 program, as enacted by Congress and approved by the President August 29, 1916, provided for a total of 156 war vessels:

- 10 first-class battleships.
- 6 battle cruisers.
- 10 scout cruisers.
- 50 torpedo boat destroyers.
- 9 fleet submarines.
- 58 coastal submarines.
- 3 fuel ships.
- 1 repair ship.
- 1 transport.
- 1 hospital ship.
- 2 destroyer tenders.
- 1 submarine tender.
- 2 ammunition ships.
- 2 gunboats.

156 vessels.

The battleships authorized were to have "as heavy armor and as powerful armament as any vessels of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action," and this same description was applied to various others of the proposed vessels. The President had laid out a definite year to year schedule in his message for the laying down

of the vessels all within a period of five years, but this was not included in the bill. It did provide, however, that 66 of the vessels were to be undertaken "as soon as practicable." The cost of the program was estimated at the time as \$686,000,000. In so far as it has been completed, to date, the program has cost \$984,000,000.

Status of World Navies at Close of War

The United States emerged from the war the second world power in naval strength. Great Britain still held first place, but all other navies were far behind.

The Russian fleet, after the revolution, had ceased, to all intents and purposes, to be of any importance, while the German Government had been compelled to surrender all its modern naval units and they had been sunk by their crews when placed in internment at Scapa Flow. The Versailles Treaty, in its provisions for permanent restriction of German armaments—

1. Prohibited submarines.
2. Restricted naval personnel to maximum of 10,000 men, on basis of long-term voluntary enlistment.
3. Reduced the navy to—
 - 6 battleships, maximum displacement 10,000 tons.
 - 6 light cruisers, maximum displacement 6,000 tons.
 - 12 destroyers, maximum displacement 800 tons.
 - 12 torpedo boats, maximum displacement 200 tons.
4. Defined in detail maximum ammunition and equipment permitted.

These provisions reduced Germany to a third-class naval power. When they were protested by the German delegates, it was pointed out by M. Clémenceau that they were "the first steps towards that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they (the Allies) will seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war." The treaty itself had stated that the disarmament of Germany was undertaken "in order to render possible a general limitation of the armaments of all nations."

The outlook for general limitation of naval armaments, however, was far from promising. The United States was con-

tinuing its gigantic 1916 naval building program, which had been delayed by the diversion of shipbuilding facilities during the war to merchant vessels and submarines. Japan in 1920 adopted its "eight-eight" program, which called for the construction of 16 capital ships. The British Government had curtailed construction after the war, but in 1921 resumed the building of capital ships. While the General Board of the American Navy pursued the purpose of giving the United States "a navy equal to the most powerful maintained," the British people were being warned by Winston Churchill that nothing "must lead you to abandon that naval supremacy upon which the life of our country depends." Then came the strain of this situation and, five years later, the Geneva Conference.

BUILDING PROGRAMS OF LEADING NAVAL POWERS

President Coolidge in his annual message to Congress, December 6, 1927, said the results of the Geneva Conference were of considerable value, although "they were mostly of a negative character." The United States had been granted a large measure of co-operation by Japan, but has been unable to come to an agreement with Great Britain.

We know now that no agreement can be reached which will be inconsistent with a considerable building program on our part. . . . Every one knew that had a three-power agreement been reached it would have left us with the necessity of continuing our building program. The failure to agree should not cause us to build either more or less than we otherwise should. Any future treaty of limitation will call on us for more ships. We should enter on no competition.

We should refrain from no needful program. It should be made clear to all the world that, lacking a definite agreement, the attitude of any other country is not to be permitted to alter his own policy.

In his 1926 message the President had said: "When it is considered that no navy in the world, with one exception, approaches ours, and none surpasses it . . . it cannot be said that our country is neglecting its national defense. . . . The country is maintaining the most adequate defense forces in these present years that it has ever supported in time of peace. . . . Particular points may need strengthening, but as a whole our military power is sufficient."

In the hearings on the naval building program submitted to Congress by the Navy Department on behalf of the President every effort has been made by Navy Department spokesmen to show that the program is in no sense competitive, that it has not been formulated for the purpose of attaining parity with Great Britain, but is conditioned solely upon the minimum requirements to give the United States a balanced fleet.

Expenditures Under 1928 Building Program

The construction plans of the navy under the 1928 building program, as shown in schedules submitted to the House Naval Affairs Committee, call for the following appropriations. The figures in parentheses show the number of each class of vessels to be laid down each year.

The following table shows the total number of vessels to be laid down in each of the next five years under this administration program, the cost per year of this program during the next eight years, and the cost of the additional naval construction heretofore authorized:

Fiscal year	Ships to be laid down	Cost of new construction	Cost of construction heretofore authorized	Total
1929.....	(17)	\$55,200,000	\$48,000,000	\$103,200,000
1930.....	(17)	110,400,000	37,000,000	147,400,000
1931.....	(14)	141,100,000	10,850,000	151,950,000
1932.....	(13)	141,500,000	.....	141,500,000
1933.....	(13)	139,000,000	.....	139,000,000
1934.....	....	93,800,000	.....	93,800,000
1935.....	....	48,600,000	.....	48,600,000
1936.....	....	10,400,000	.....	10,400,000
	(74)	\$740,000,000	\$95,850,000	\$835,850,000

Fiscal year	Aircraft carriers	Cruisers	Destroyer leaders	Submarines
1929	(1) \$5,700,000	(5) \$25,500,000	(4) \$10,000,000	(7) \$14,000,000
1930	(1) 11,400,000	(5) 51,000,000	(4) 20,000,000	(7) 28,000,000
1931	(1) 17,100,000	(5) 76,500,000	(1) 12,500,000	(7) 35,000,000
1932	(1) 19,000,000	(5) 85,000,000	... 2,500,000	(7) 35,000,000
1933	(1) 19,000,000	(5) 85,000,000	... ..	(7) 35,000,000
1934	... 13,300,000	... 59,500,000	... ..	... 21,000,000
1935	... 7,600,000	... 34,000,000	... ..	... 7,000,000
1936	... 1,900,000	... 8,500,000	... ..	... ..
	(5) \$95,000,000	(25) \$425,000,000	(9) \$45,000,000	(35) \$175,000,000

The foregoing totals cover ship construction only, and do not include the cost of the additional airplanes that will be required to equip the new aircraft carriers and cruisers, nor the cost of the additional personnel that will be needed when the new vessels are placed in commission. Rear Admiral Moffett, Chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics, estimates that the new construction program will call for 759 to 807 planes of all types, in addition to those authorized in the present five-year naval aircraft program.

The naval construction bill proposed by the administration would empower the President, in the event of a new international conference for the limitation of naval armaments, to suspend in whole or in part, at his discretion, any of the new construction authorized.

Aircraft Carriers and 10,000-Ton Cruisers

The five aircraft carriers provided in the administration program are designed to give the United States parity in this class of vessel with Great Britain and a 5-3 ratio with Japan. The aircraft carriers are the only vessels provided in the new program the total tonnage of which is limited by the Washington Treaty. The United States at present has three aircraft carriers, the *Langley*, the *Saratoga*, and the *Lexington*. The *Langley* is classed as an experimental carrier. It may be retained until the last of the new carriers is completed, but must then be scrapped. The present strength of the three leading naval powers in aircraft carriers is shown in the following table:

	Present aircraft carrier tonnage	Tonnage classed as experimental	Tonnage allowed by Washington Treaty
United States	78,700	12,700	135,000
Great Britain	107,550	70,350	135,000
Japan	63,300	9,500	81,000

Great Britain has six aircraft carriers built or under construction and one, on her announced program, to be laid down in 1929. The completion of the five aircraft carriers on the administration program would give the United States seven non-experimental ships of this type, with a total tonnage of 135,000, the maximum allowed under the Washington Treaty.

Cruisers are limited under the Washington Treaty to 10,000 tons maximum displacement and may be armed with guns not to exceed 8 inches in caliber. The treaty imposes no limitation upon the number of such cruisers. The American

navy is deficient in modern, fast cruisers. Twenty-five were proposed in the administration program, which would be of the maximum displacement and carry armament of the maximum caliber.

Modern Cruiser Tonnage

United States.....	(18)	155,000 tons
Great Britain.....	(56)	354,810 tons
Japan	(27)	196,205 tons

The effective life of a cruiser is placed at 20 years. The accompanying table shows the present strength of the three

leading naval powers in cruisers of the first line (27 knots plus and 3,000 tons or greater) built, building, or appropriated for and less than 20 years of age. The British total includes seven small cruisers built for the British dominions and two 10,000-ton cruisers building for Australia. It also includes three cruisers for which appropriations have been made and which were scheduled under the British program to be laid down this year.

The announced British building program calls for six additional cruisers, with a total tonnage of 52,000, for which no appropriations have yet been made. If the announced program, including the two cruisers not to be laid down this year, is carried out in full, Great Britain will have a total modern cruiser tonnage of 406,810. If the administration cruiser-building program is approved by Congress and carried out in full, the United States will have a total modern cruiser tonnage of 405,000. Should the two cruisers not to be laid down this year be abandoned and the American program be carried out in full, the modern cruiser tonnage of the

United States would exceed that of Great Britain by 16,110 tons.

The Japanese Government has announced no new cruiser-building program. On the basis of cruisers at present built, building, or appropriated for, the United States is seventeen 10,000-ton cruisers short of a 5-3 ratio with Japan. The completion of the American 25-cruiser program would require the construction of four or five additional cruisers by Japan to attain a 3-5 ratio with the United States.

Destroyer Leaders and Fleet Submarines

Construction of destroyers and submarines is not limited, either as to total tonnage or individual tonnage, by the Washington Treaty. The United States at present has a large excess tonnage of destroyers and a considerable excess over Great Britain in tonnage of submarines, but is deficient in destroyer leaders and fleet submarines.

The following table shows the present tonnage of destroyers and destroyer leaders, 16 years of age or under, built, building, and appropriated for by the three leading naval powers:

	Destroyers	Destroyer leaders	Total
United States	329,153 tons.	None.	329,152 tons.
Great Britain	192,650 tons.	31,500 tons.	224,150 tons.
Japan	93,470 tons.	40,800 tons.	134,270 tons.

The British figures include eight destroyers and one destroyer leader appropriated for. In addition to these vessels, the British construction program calls for one destroyer leader and eight destroyers to be laid down in each of the years 1928 and 1929. Japan has not announced any further destroyer-building program.

The destroyer leader, of which the United States at present has none, and of which the administration program calls for the laying down of nine within the next three years, is a vessel of about 1,800 tons. Its displacement is about 500 tons greater than that of the ordinary destroyer. It is steadier in operation and has greater speed than the ordinary destroyer, and thus is fitted to lead destroyer fleets.

The destroyer leaders called for in the administration program would have 2,000

tons displacement and would be somewhat larger than those in use by other nations. The first plan proposed by the General Board appears to have called for additional destroyer leaders, but these were eliminated from the program submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Navy with the approval of the President. Completion of the administration destroyer-leader program and of the present British program would leave the United States some 15,000 tons, or about 8 vessels, short of parity with Great Britain in this class of ship.

Submarine Tonnage

United States.....	93,364 tons.
Great Britain	67,688 tons.
Japan	76,407 tons.

The effective life of a submarine is placed at 13 years. The accompanying table shows the total tonnage of sub-

marines of all classes built, building, or appropriated for by the three leading naval powers. It will be seen that the United States has more than parity with Great Britain in submarines, but it would require about 34,000 additional tons to reach a 5-3 ratio with Japan. The administration program calls for 35 additional submarines, with a total tonnage of 59,500. This tonnage would be devoted principally to the construction of fleet submarines. The announced British program calls for the laying down of six submarines a year during the next two years, with a total tonnage of 18,000. The addition of these vessels to the present British fleet would give a total British submarine tonnage of 85,688. Admiral Hughes, Chief of Naval Operations, testified before the House Naval Affairs Committee that the 35-submarine program, if carried to completion, would give the United States a total of 52 submarines of about 84,000 tons, less than 13 years of age, in 1936.

Merchant Fleets of Leading Naval Powers

The American delegation at the three-power naval conference at Geneva laid great stress upon the importance of the British merchant marine as an element of British naval strength in time of war.* The British suggestion that cruisers be divided into two classes, the smaller class not to exceed 7,500 tons and not to be armed with guns in excess of 6 inches, was opposed by the Americans, partly on the ground that the British merchant marine contained a considerable number of swift vessels of large size which could be armed with 6-inch guns in time of war. These vessels could put up a stiff fight against a 7,500-ton, 6-inch gun cruiser, it was argued, but would be ineffective against a 10,000-ton cruiser armed with 8-inch guns.

In rather recent hearings before the House Naval Affairs Committee, Admiral Hughes was asked whether the nation which had the greatest tonnage in mer-

chant ships would not dominate the situation in time of war, in the face of an absolute parity in naval vessels. He answered that it would. "And in that respect Great Britain has a very great and distinct advantage over our country, has it not?" "It has."

British naval experts at the Geneva Conference referred to merchant vessels as "egg shells," which were of little or no value for combatant purposes in time of war. No vessels slower than 30 knots could be considered efficient for cruiser purposes, they argued, and the swiftest British vessels, the *Mauretania* and *Majestic*, could steam only 26 knots. There were in addition only two big liners, the *Aquitania* and *Berengaria*, and seven small channel boats with speed as high as 24 knots. They argued that the war potentiality of the British merchant fleet had been greatly exaggerated, as far as cruiser duty was concerned. Undoubtedly the merchant marine was one of the pillars of British sea power, but it offered no substitute for regular cruiser tonnage.

Pre-War and Post-War Naval Expenditures

During the thirteen-year period from the end of the fiscal year 1914, the last pre-war year, to the end of the fiscal year 1927, American naval expenditures increased by 140.5 per cent. British naval expenditures increased in the same period by 20.7 per cent and Japanese expenditures by 147.7 per cent.

The increase in foreign trade of the three leading naval powers since the last pre-war year is shown in the following table. British pounds and Japanese yen are converted into dollars at the average rates of exchange prevailing in each year.

American foreign trade, including trade with the Philippines and other overseas possessions, stood 103.3 per cent above the 1913 level in 1927. However, a substantial part of this trade is with Canada and Mexico and does not require naval protection. British and Japanese foreign trade is all overseas. British foreign trade increased by only 45.8 per cent from 1913 to 1927, while Japanese trade increased by 191.3 per cent.

No accurate figures are available upon the extent of British foreign investment,

*In this connection the current proposal of the American Brown Boveri Co. to build six 33-knot, 36,000-ton aircraft-carrier liners, with Government assistance, is of special interest.

Year	Foreign trade of the United States	Foreign trade of the United Kingdom	Foreign trade of Japan
1913.....	\$4,449,264,000	\$6,835,312,000	\$678,222,000
1921.....	7,292,550,000	7,298,902,000	1,381,830,000
1922.....	7,245,373,000	8,090,513,000	1,686,269,000
1923.....	8,344,371,000	9,066,493,000	1,666,970,000
1924.....	8,593,792,000	9,802,755,000	1,751,039,000
1925.....	9,539,074,000	10,858,477,000	2,000,081,000
1926.....	9,661,101,000	9,816,728,000	2,078,439,000
1927.....	9,049,000,000	9,970,557,000	1,976,244,000

but it is generally agreed by economists that British investments overseas in 1927 probably showed no very substantial increase over those of 1913. American foreign investments, on the other hand, are estimated to have increased from \$2,500,000,000 in 1913 to \$12,950,000,000 at the end of 1927, an increase of nearly 420 per cent. Of this total increase, a little over \$2,500,000,000 represented the increase in American investments in Canada. Japan

is a country which is inviting foreign investment, and therefore a debtor nation. It has no substantial investments overseas.

The increase in naval expenditures of the United States, the United Kingdom and Japan during the last six years over the expenditures of the last pre-war year is shown in current dollars in the following table:

Year	Total naval expenditures of the United States	Total naval expenditures of the United Kingdom	Total naval expenditures of Japan
1913-14.....	\$134,092,417	\$237,645,795	\$48,105,152
1921-22.....	458,794,813	393,067,205	241,070,000
1922-23.....	322,532,909	273,497,300	186,375,000
1923-24.....	324,129,998	255,977,900	137,159,000
1924-25.....	326,365,467	270,699,062	121,328,000
1925-26.....	311,611,694	290,320,790	112,342,000
1926-27.....	322,620,723	286,882,000	119,176,000

	American naval expenditures in 1913 dollars		British naval expenditures in 1913 dollars		Japanese naval expenditures in 1913 dollars
1913-14.....	(100) \$134,092,417	(100)	\$237,645,795	(100)	\$48,105,152
1921-22.....	(147) 312,105,314	(197)	199,526,500	(200)	120,535,000
1922-23.....	(149) 219,410,142	(159)	172,010,880	(196)	95,089,200
1923-24.....	(154) 210,494,024	(159)	160,992,389	(199)	68,924,200
1924-25.....	(150) 217,576,978	(166)	163,071,724	(206)	58,897,000
1925-26.....	(159) 195,982,197	(160)	181,450,494	(202)	55,614,900
1926-27.....	(151) 213,656,107	(148)	193,906,756	(179)	66,578,700

The foregoing totals for the United Kingdom do not include the naval expenditures of the British dominions. The inclusion of these expenditures would increase the totals by \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 for each of the post-war years.

The totals given in the foregoing table are converted into 1913 dollars in the table below. The figures given in paren-

theses represent the index of wholesale prices in each country for each year, taking the 1913 level of prices as 100.

American naval expenditures, when measured in dollars of the same purchasing power, showed an increase of 59.3 per cent in 1926-27 over the expenditures of 1913-14. Japanese expenditures in-

creased by 38.4 per cent in the same period when measured by the same standard. Great Britain, with the "pistol" of German naval competition removed by the Versailles Treaty, was able to cut the purchasing power represented by its 1913-14 naval expenditures by 18.4 per cent. German naval expenditures in 1913-14 totaled \$112,091,125. Estimated naval expenditures of the German Government in 1926-27 totaled \$48,432,730. Reduced to 1913 dollars, the German expenditures in 1926-27 were equivalent to \$36,143,850—a reduction of 67.7 per cent since 1913-14.

THE PRESENT ACT

The Act now before the Senate, having passed the House of Representatives, March 17, 1928, provides for the construction of certain naval vessels in the following terms:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to undertake prior to July 1, 1931, the construction of fifteen light cruisers and one aircraft carrier according to the following program:

(a) Five light cruisers during each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1929, 1930, and 1931, to cost, including armor and armament, not to exceed \$17,000,000 each.

(b) One aircraft carrier prior to June 30, 1930, to cost, including armor and armament, not to exceed \$19,000,000: Provided, That if the construction of any vessel herein authorized to be undertaken in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929 or 1930, is not undertaken in that fiscal year, such construction may be undertaken in the next succeeding fiscal year: And provided further, That the first and each succeeding alternate cruiser upon which work is undertaken, together with the main engines, armor, and armament for such light cruisers, the construction and manufacture of which is authorized by this Act, shall be constructed or manufactured in the Government navy yards, naval gun factories, naval ordnance plants, or arsenals of the United States, except such material or parts thereof as the Secretary of the Navy may find procurable by con-

tract or purchase at an appreciable saving in cost to the Government.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Navy is directed to submit annually to the Bureau of the Budget estimates for the construction of the foregoing vessels.

Sec. 3. The construction of the light cruisers and of the aircraft carrier herein authorized shall be subject to the limitations prescribed by the treaty limiting naval armament, ratified August 17, 1923, so long as such treaty shall remain effective.

Sec. 4. In the event of an international agreement, which the President is requested to encourage, for the further limitation of naval armament, to which the United States is signatory, the President is hereby authorized and empowered to suspend in whole or in part any of the naval construction authorized under this Act.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of the Navy is hereby directed to present to the Congress on or before December 10, 1928, preliminary plans, specifications, and estimates of cost for the construction of two salvage vessels for use in ship disasters.

Arguments for the Bill

The addition to our naval forces of these fifteen light cruisers and one aircraft carrier would help remedy the weakness of our fleet. It carries no proposals for laying down vessels after 1931, when there will be another naval conference in Washington. It is held that the cruisers are needed, first, for scouting and screening duties with the capital fleet; second, for dispersed cruising tasks such as protecting the Panama Canal, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, our merchant shipping, and other uses of the seas. It is held that five cruisers are required for every three capital ships. The United States Fleet contains eighteen capital ships. If these fifteen cruisers are completed, the United States will have only thirty-three modern cruisers, of which ten are of 6,600 tons displacement and carry but six inch guns. If they are not built the United States will have no cruisers for patrol duties. At the present time the United States has eighteen modern cruisers, built, building

and appropriated for, with a total tonnage of 146,000; the British Empire 63 with a tonnage of 386,636; and Japan 33 with a tonnage of 206,415. In numbers of these modern cruisers ranked in the order of importance, the ratio stands to-day as follows: The British Empire 5, Japan 2.6, and the United States 1.4.

Since the Washington conference, the armament of new cruisers in all navies has been greatly strengthened. Instead of cruisers with 6-inch guns, cruisers with 8-inch guns, having a range of 7 miles greater, have been laid down by the principal navies. During this period the United States has actually laid down only two such cruisers, the British Empire, 14; and Japan, 6. In addition, the United States has authorized and appropriated for six more 8-inch gun cruisers, the British, 1; and Japan, 2. The British have projected five more of this class to be laid down not later than 1929. During the six years from 1924 to 1929 the British program has averaged the laying down of approximately three 8-inch gun cruisers per year. If this rate continues during the years 1930 and 1931 the British in 1931 will have 26 such cruisers built, building, and appropriated for, whereas the United States will have 23 in a similar status, provided the cruisers in the accompanying bill are authorized, appropriated for, and laid down. Even this is not a complete comparison of the more powerful light-cruiser type, since no mention has been made of the four completed British cruisers of the Hawkins type, armed with 7.5-inch guns, displacing approximately 10,000 tons each, and to-day averaging less than seven years of age.

The completion of this program, calling for an expenditure of \$274,000,000, spread over a period of approximately six years, is said to be in no sense a competitive program, as there is no thought of trying to excel or outdistance any other Power. The friends of the Bill aim only "to support our policies and safeguard our interests throughout the world."

Since the right of self-defense will remain after the passage of the Peace Pact, the friends of the cruiser bill see no inconsistency in their course.

PROGRESS OF THE DAWES PLAN

On June 10, Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General for Reparation Payments, forwarded to the Reparation Commission his interim report, presenting the figures of payment and transfers for the nine months of the fourth annuity year under the Dawes Plan which have elapsed (the annuity year beginning on September 1), as well as a review of developments during the six months since the last annual report was issued. There are two features of outstanding interest: the Agent-General's cautious acknowledgment of improvements in German financial arrangements since his controversy with the Minister of Finance last autumn and his observations on the approach of the "standard" annuity year which begins on September 1 next. With the exception of the contribution from the German Budget, which will increase by 750 million marks in the fifth annuity year, all the payments which go to make up the Reparation annuity, he points out, have now reached their standard levels. The fourth annuity year, in other words, is the last year of the "transition period," the breathing space provided by the Experts' Committee for the recovery of German economic life. In the first years, 1924-1925, the annuity amounted to 1,000,000,000 marks; it has risen by stages to 1,750 million marks in the fourth annuity year, and the "standard" annuity will be 2,500 million marks.

Success of the Plan

Although the maximum burden, apart from any automatic addition which the application of the "index of prosperity" may provide in favorable economic circumstances, has nearly been reached, the Agent-General is able to report that the plan has continued to operate successfully in the field both of reparation payments and of transfers. Germany has made the required payments regularly and punctually and the Transfer Committee has been able to make full transfers of the payments received without endangering the currency. Deliveries in kind have substantially increased with the increasing shares of the creditor Powers, and at the same time it has been possible to increase the transfers in foreign currencies "until

they are now running at somewhat more than half the total transfers." The specific securities have developed in a way that gives increasing assurance of their ability to provide the "standard" payments. "The assigned revenues are yielding a return which would cover with a margin of more than 100 per cent the standard budget contribution."

The plan, the Agent-General remarks, has continued to realize the two main objects which the experts were appointed to consider, the balancing of the German Budget and the stabilization of the German currency. The Reich mark continues to satisfy all the requirements of stability. The position of public finances is less clear, as they are still under the influence of the tendencies towards overspending and overborrowing to which the attention of the German Government was called last October. But the Agent-General notes that the Reich Government has at last assumed a definite leadership in the exercise of restraint and in impressing its importance on other public bodies. He mentions a few practical results, such as the stricter control of foreign borrowing and the restriction of expenditure in the Extraordinary Budget, although he points out that there has not yet been time to tell to what extent it will be possible to make the policy effective.

The Fundamental Problem

Thus, in his conclusions, the Agent-General has no reason even to hint at any revision of the plan itself. He confines himself to repeating the opinion expressed in his last report that a reconsideration of the general reparation problem might be advisable at a suitable moment. Fundamentally, he says, what the plan has done is to re-establish confidence and to permit Germany's reconstruction as a going concern. In so doing, it has marked a turning point in the reconstruction of Europe and it has also achieved its primary object, by securing from the very beginning the expected reparation payments and transfers to the creditor Powers.

The report continues:

But the success of the plan should not obscure its true nature. The experts themselves did not recommend the plan as an end in itself, but rather as the means to meet

an urgent problem and to accomplish practical results. They aimed primarily to provide for the recovery of Germany's reparation debt to the Allies and more broadly to provide for the reconstruction of Germany, and not merely as the means of securing the payment of reparations, but also as "part of the larger problem of the reconstruction of Europe." I believe, as indicated in the conclusions of my last report, that from both standpoints the fundamental problem which remains is the final determination of Germany's reparation liabilities, and that it will be in the best interests of the creditor Powers and of Germany alike to reach a final settlement by mutual agreement "as soon," to use the concluding words of the experts, "as circumstances make this possible."

Need of Economy

Although the Agent-General gives the German authorities credit for having initiated improvements, he still contends that much remains to be done. The revenues of the Reich, he says, continue to show great vitality, but "the figures show a constant tendency to use up all the additional revenues in fresh expenditures, grants, and subsidies," and such information as is available suggests that State and municipal expenditures are still in many cases in excess of current revenues. He considers that a further compression of non-recurrent and extraordinary expenditures may be necessary if the Budget is to be balanced. Again he strongly recommends a definitive settlement of the financial relations between the Reich and the States and the municipalities, an opportunity for which will occur with the expiry of the present provisional arrangement in March, 1929.

With regard to foreign borrowing, the Agent-General notes that foreign loans, by their volume and frequency, have tended to stimulate economic expansion and that the general formation of capital within Germany has been larger than the accumulation of foreign debts. It is to be hoped that the domestic fund of credit will ultimately be large enough to take care of domestic requirements. In his concluding remarks on foreign borrowing, Mr. Parker Gilbert says that, in order that in the meantime essential foreign credits shall be forthcoming, the confidence of the foreign investor must be fully maintained, and he

gives this as one reason why the final determination of Germany's reparation obligations becomes a matter of growing practical importance.

The circumstances of the Reich Government's refusal to authorize the increase of rates desired by the German Railway Company are discussed in detail in the reports both of the Agent-General and of the Railway Commissioner.

PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION

By PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

(At Washington, at 11:15 o'clock, Monday, December 10, 1928, before the Pan American Conference on Arbitration and Conciliation, President Coolidge spoke as follows:)

Gentlemen of the Conference:

It is to no ordinary occasion that I am privileged as President of the United States to bid you welcome. There are represented here twenty nations of the Western Hemisphere, who have a common purpose to advance the cause of civilization by substituting the obligation of reason for the coercion of force. It is an effort to raise humanity to a higher level of existence, where nations may dwell together in peace and harmony according to the principles of liberty and equality under the fostering influence of justice and equity. It is impossible to conceive of a more inspiring motive for an international conference. Here is no shadow of past conflict and no thought of future conquest. All is peace, and all thoughts are bent on establishing a better method through which a higher degree of justice may be done each to the other.

From the earliest period of their independent existence the Americas have held an advanced position in their advocacy of the orderly settlement of international disputes. It is a record calculated to stir the pride of all those who love peace and justice. The world has had no more devoted adherents to the principle of arbitration. The countries of South America led all the world in their contribution to

But now, it is assured, the Dawes' Plan is to be revised. A Commission, to consist in part of Americans, is soon to be at the job. France, with her debt to the United States still unsettled, and a bill to this country of four hundred millions due August first next, is anxious to get something done. Germany, too, wants greater certainty. Indeed, all hands are for a change.

this cause. The treaties of 1822 of Greater Columbia with Peru and with Chile, of 1823 with Mexico, and of 1825 with Central America, set new standards in the conduct of international relations. It is a notable and significant fact that at the first conference of a Pan American character, held at Panama in 1826, a treaty was signed which declared:

"The contracting parties solemnly obligate and bind themselves amicably to compromise among themselves all differences now existing or which may arise in the future, and in case no settlement can be reached between the disagreeing powers the question shall be taken for settlement to the judgment of the assembly, whose decision shall, however, not be obligatory unless said powers shall have expressly agreed that it shall be."

History clearly asserts that at this early period the Republics of America made both conciliation and arbitration integral parts of their national policy. What contributes even more remarkably to their force is the fact that this was done at a time when these two principles were practically unknown in other sections of the world.

It is, moreover, a most notable circumstance that whenever the nations of America have assembled they have given preferential attention to the peaceful settlement of the questions arising among them. I have already referred to the labors of the Congress of Panama. The Congress of Lima of 1847 established the principle

that all differences that may arise between two or more of the American Republics shall be settled without recourse to force, and that if the parties cannot reach an agreement by diplomatic negotiations or through the interposition of the good offices of other nations for the purpose of conciliation, such questions shall be submitted to the arbitral decision of one of the Republics or to a Congress of Plenipotentiaries.

Declarations of a similar nature were made at the Congress of Santiago of 1856, the Congress of Lima of 1864, the Congress of Caracas of 1883, and at the series of international conferences of American States beginning with the Conference of Washington in 1889, and including the recent conference at Habana in January of the present year.

Nor has the United States been remiss in the furtherance of these great principles. As early as 1794 in a treaty with Great Britain, usually referred to as the "Jay Treaty," it became the privilege of this Government to introduce into modern diplomacy the principle of arbitration, and throughout the period of nearly a century and a half which has elapsed since that time we have supported our sister republics in upholding this great cause.

It is a mistake to suppose that it was much easier to adopt conciliation and arbitration on the American Continent because of the absence of any outstanding inter-American disputes. The history of this continent discloses the presence of as large a number of difficult and delicate questions as in any other section of the world. The uncertainty of the boundaries of the American States after their successive declarations of independence from Spain and Portugal gave rise to a large number of territorial disputes which belong to the class usually arousing the most deeply rooted national feeling. The fact that most of these have been settled by direct negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration will forever be one of the glories of the Americas as well as a constant reminder that the nations of this continent have dedicated themselves to the ideals of peace and are willing to exercise the self-control and make the

sacrifices which the maintenance of these ideals imposes.

Some of the countries here represented have added further strength to the principle of arbitration by making it a fundamental tenet of their political constitutions. Among these are Venezuela, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and Uruguay, who have set an example by raising the arbitration of international disputes to the dignity of a mandatory constitutional principle.

It may be said, therefore, that the foundations for your work have been laid by the unbroken practice and policy of the American Republics. In the domain of investigation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, a long series of bilateral and multilateral treaties represent the milestones which mark the way to future progress. The importance and significance of your work is enhanced by the recent movement for the renunciation of war as a principle of national policy, which by necessary implication involves recourse to the orderly processes leading up to arbitration.

It is by the adherence to such methods that nations as well as men develop a peaceful character. In a civilized community functioning under an established government the individual has no necessity for taking the law into his own hands. Tribunals have been established for the purpose of doing justice between man and man, so that when some one feels he has suffered a wrong he has a process by which those who have wronged him can be summoned to the bar of justice and ordered to make reparation. When this principle has been well established, when it has had the benefit of experience, it becomes so much a habit of thought that the people feel no inclination to resort to some method of direct and personal action. To do so would be to stamp themselves as dangerous persons, and they would feel active disapprobation, probably inflicted with the penalties which organized society bestows upon violators of the public will.

The great value of the plan for arbitration lies in the fact that it both furnishes knowledge and assurance that differences will be adjusted and also adjusts them. This has a very large influence

on the public temper. Nations do not explode all at once without any previous warning and begin to attack each other. Such action comes as the culmination of a long series of irritating incidents. If these are adjusted as they arise, there is no fuel to feed the explosive elements when some difference of larger importance may occur. Two nations which have adjusted all their disputes except the one which has arisen in the immediate past will be on such friendly terms that war between them is almost impossible.

Slowly but surely modern thought is bringing the different nations of the world to corresponding standards. Governments are coming to see that it is by no means in derogation of their dignity to submit their differences with each other to the decision of an impartial tribunal. The disposition to pursue hasty action is disappearing. The desire to bring differences to mutual accord and satisfaction by negotiation, rather than by conflict, is more and more apparent. We shall greatly promote this spirit if we provide ourselves before the event with the necessary judicial machinery and promulgate rules of procedure to govern the composing of differences. Neither individuals nor nations could make much progress in this direction if, when a dispute arose, it was necessary to establish a tribunal and determine on the rules of action before anything could be done about the real controversy. To be compelled to stop to go through that process would probably result in having not one dispute, but many differences of opinion. An implement becomes manifoldly more valuable if it is already at hand when needed.

But in discussing ways and means of procedure we should not overlook the tremendous significance that attaches to this conference. It has come into existence because the governments and the people which it represents want peace and justice with each other. Every sovereign nation here represented has sent its delegates because it is animated with that spirit. All have come voluntarily with a fixed desire to contribute to that end. The publication to the world of that fact alone is resplendent with a new hope of peace and

goodwill. Its deeper meaning lies in the undisputed ability of mankind slowly but surely to secure what they most want.

It is in this part of the world that this movement has the greatest promise of success. The people of the Western Hemisphere have been bred for generations to cherish, not animosities, but deep and abiding friendship for each other. There is not a nation among us that cannot point to a long list of friendly offices that have been bestowed upon it by its neighbors. We have no historic and inbred hatreds. As we look across the boundary lines of each other we do not behold any great array of armaments declarative of a hostile intent, but rather the peaceful occupations of people preparing to benefit each other by the mutual exchanges of a benign commerce. Happily, all the advantages of development and trade lie on the side of concord and tranquility. Such rivalries as we entertain are not of a hostile nature, but the beneficial strife of the market place carried on to determine who can give the largest portion of our mutual production for the smallest price in return. In this conquest the vanquished often receive the largest spoils.

These present prospects and these inspiring records of the past place upon us of this generation a heavy responsibility. We must not only maintain the traditional policy established by the founders of our republics, but we must also carry the procedure of conciliation and arbitration to a new and higher sphere. The world has the right to expect that the mission undertaken by the early statesmen of this continent shall be carried to completion. Our history, our national ideals, and the standards of our international intercourse make this a solemn obligation.

Gentlemen of the conference, lovers of peace throughout the world will follow your deliberations with the deepest interest and with the highest hopes. It is with an abiding faith in the mission of Pan America as the standard bearer of peace and good will that I wish you the fullest measure of success in the discharge of the important duties that have been entrusted to your keeping.

ITALY IN THE AEGEAN

By C. D. BOOTH

MIDWAY between Greece and Egypt, on the direct sea route from Athens to Alexandria, lie the twelve Aegean islands called the Dodecanese. Their proximity to the Anatolian coast makes them in some respects a part of Asia Minor, but their Greek population and Italian political status bind them to continental Europe of which they may be said to form the south-eastern outposts.

Since the cession of these islands by Turkey to Italy in the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923) they have had little attention from political students; but now—Italy having signed a treaty of friendship with Turkey (May 30, 1928), and Greece being in the process of negotiating at Angora with a similar object—we may expect a revival of the Dodecanesian question with awakened interest in the islands and their inhabitants.

Two of the group only, Rhodes and Cos, have importance in an economic sense. These support a combined population of 66,000. The remainder, Symi, Calymnos, Leros, Cassos, Carpathos, Chalki, Tilos, Nisyros, Astypalaia and Patmos are, for the most part, barren and rocky with a total population of less than 40,000 fishermen and goat-herds. Leros, one of the northern islands, has a fine harbor in Port Lakki which is being converted into a strong naval and seaplane base by the Italians who have also fortified its eastern coast.

From earliest recorded time the strategic value of the Dodecanese has been recognized. They were occupied in turn by Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines. The Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem selected Rhodes as a base in their wars against Islam, and the Venetians and Genoese used several of the others as starting points for economic and political penetration of the whole Levant.

Italy first came into possession of the Dodecanese in May 1912, when she landed a force there during the Italo-Turkish war for Tripolitania. At the close of this conflict, by the Treaty of Lausanne (Ouchy, October 18, 1912), she under-

took to withdraw all her forces from the Dodecanese immediately after the evacuation of Tripoli and Cyrené by the Turks. The entry of Italy into the Great War, on August 21, 1915, found her still in occupation. In the meantime the position with reference to the islands had changed, the Allies having offered them outright to Italy as one of the inducements to secure her active assistance against the Central Powers. This transaction was embodied in the Secret Treaty of London (April 26, 1915), a clause of which states, "that Italy shall obtain all the twelve islands now occupied by her in full possession."

After the conclusion of the War visions of expansion in Asia Minor combined with the skilful advocacy of Mr. Veniselos induced Italy to sign the Tittoni-Veniselos Agreement (July 29, 1919), whereby the sovereignty of the Dodecanese—with the exception of the Rhodes, for which special provision was made—was ceded by Italy to Greece. About a year later (July 22, 1920), the Italian government, thoroughly embittered over the distribution of territories by the Peace Conference, withdrew her promise advising the Greek government, in a letter, that she reassumed full liberty of action on all points relating to the Dodecanese. On receipt of this letter Mr. Veniselos protested, pointing out, that, since the islands were inhabited by Greeks who ardently desired union with the mother country, Italy's retention of them against the wishes of the inhabitants would cause constant friction between the Greek and Italian peoples. To strengthen his position in the face of the change in Italian policy he withheld his signature from the Treaty of Sèvres for several days.

This firm attitude coupled with the intervention of British diplomacy resulted in the signing of a new Greek-Italian Pact which formed a protocol of the Treaty of Sèvres and was signed on the same day (August 10, 1920). By Article 1, of this Convention, Italy formally and definitely renounced, in favor of Greece, all her rights and titles over all the Aegean islands except Rhodes which was to remain

in Italian possession until Great Britain declared her intention of giving up Cyprus to Greece.

That for some time Italy took her engagement with Greece in good faith is shown by the acts of her administration in the islands. On the following day the signature of the Pact passports given to Dodecanesians were changed to read, "not valid beyond the date of cession of the islands to Greece." Time passed and the handing over of the islands was not carried out although the Greek premier Mr. Gounaris made diplomatic overtures to this end.

Meanwhile matters in Asia Minor had taken a turn against the Greeks, and Italy quietly withdrew her forces from Adalia having decided to give up, for a time, her adventures on the mainland of Turkey in Asia, and to retain the Dodecanese as a starting point for some future expedition. The new situation provided a good opportunity to denounce the Italo-Greek accord, and Marquis della Toretta, then foreign minister, took advantage of it to inform the Greek Minister in Rome that, "the approach of a conference to settle affairs in the Near East on the basis of a new situation essentially different from that envisaged by the Treaty of Sèvres made Italy consider the special accords with Greece on the subject of the Dodecanese as no longer in force."

The Treaty of Sèvres had not been ratified and this gave Italy her excuse for using the argument "*rebus sic stantibus*," in denouncing the agreement, which, though signed on the same day, was actually independent of the Treaty. To this second breach of faith, Greece, in her weakened military and diplomatic position, was unable to make any adequate reply, and when the Powers finally reached a basis for treating with the Turks, which resulted in the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923,) she had no alternative but the signing of this very unfavorable document.

By Article 15, of the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey renounced in favor of Italy all her rights and titles in the twelve islands, and in Article 16 their future lot is mentioned in the following words, "the future of these territories and islands be-

ing settled or to be settled by the parties interested." From this vague phrase the Greeks inferred that, as one of the parties interested, they would have an early opportunity of treating with Italy in order to reach a final solution of the question. Accordingly the Hellenic Delegation to the Peace Conference addressed a letter to the President of the Delegation of the Great Powers in which he "reserved the right of the Greek Government to engage in amicable conversations necessary for the determination of their future lot." And there the matter ended.

Examination of the controversial clause (Article 16) does not clearly reveal its meaning; but all phrases in treaties, be they ever so ambiguous, are designed to convey an idea, and this particular phrase has been taken by the best authorities to mean that there are at least two "interested parties." Since Turkey's interest ceased with her unqualified cession of the islands to Italy by virtue of Article 15, there remain Italy and Greece, even if the Dodecanesians be left out as being completely disinterested.

That the British Government adopted Greece's interpretation of Article 16 is shown by the action of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who, in treating with Italy, linked the question of Jubaland with that of the Dodecanese only settling the former after a definite promise was obtained from Italy to enter into negotiations with Greece over the final attribution of the islands. These negotiations have not taken place, and the Italian government, up to a few months ago, considered the situation as closed.

The general reshuffle of political alliances in the Near East has left Greece in a very favorable diplomatic position. Nineteen hundred twenty-four closed with Greece on bad terms with all her Balkan neighbors. Yugoslavia had refused to renew the military alliance of 1912 at a time when the Serbian friendship was considered so desirable that the Greek dictator Pangalos was prepared to mortgage the national sovereignty over Salonika to retain it. Pangalos fell and his Conventions remained unratified in spite of insistent pressure from Belgrade.

Suddenly the situation changed, and in

January of this year after his return from Rome, Mr. Michalocopolous the Greek Foreign Minister, speaking at Salonika, took a firm stand declaring the Pangalos Conventions to be "an unacceptable servitude." In April he informed the writer that Mr. Marinkovitch was now more reasonable, and that he had every hope of adjusting the Salonika question in a manner entirely satisfactory to the Greek people.

How far the Greek position has altered may also be judged by the Foreign Minister's remarks regarding the Italo-Albanian relations embodied in the two Treaties of Tirana. Referring to these Mr. Michalocopolous stated that "Italy's special interests in Albania had already been recognized by international agreement," and that "Albania in any case was a sovereign state and could make any treaties she thought advisable." Considering the history of Greek efforts in Albania and the affair of Northern Epirus a more critical tone might reasonably have been expected.

Italy on her side has not been backward in showing her changed attitude toward Greece. Following the conference of Signor Mussolini and Mr. Michalocopolous last April rumors were current both in Rome and Athens that a secret agreement had been signed in which the Italian dictator had promised to cede the Dodecanese to Greece in return for aid in a proposed Anatolian adventure from which both countries would profit. With the vivid memories of the disastrous events of 1922 it is not probable that Greek statesmen could be induced to consider such a proposal.

Shortly after the Greek Foreign Minister's visit to Rome the disastrous earthquakes at Corinth gave rise to new proofs of Italy's esteem for her Hellenic neighbor. On this occasion Admiral Lodolo commanding the relief flotilla accompanied his material aid by a speech in which he stated that, "Italy was the most Philhellene of all nations."

Although the Greeks are undoubtedly glad to have Italy as a friend especially when this Power now seems to have the support of England they are nevertheless somewhat suspicious. The Hellenic people

have not forgotten their unredeemed islands, nor have they forgiven the recent bombardment of Corfu. The Greek refusal to be hurried into a tripartite pact with Turkey and Italy is evidence of this suspicion, and of their inclination to bargain before committing themselves. That the status of the Dodecanese will be the subject of this bargaining is almost certain. Indeed, according to Mr. Politis, the Greek Minister in Paris, there is already a marked change for the better in Italy's administrative methods in the islands, which until very recently were a source of frequent and critical comment in the Athenian Press.

In the oft repeated public declarations of the Greek Foreign Minister, the desirability of friendship with Italy is now stressed, and no mention is ever made of the Dodecanese. Mr. Veniselos, that sturdy defender of the islander's rights, appearing again on the political scene, has also allayed any Italian anxiety as to his attitude by thoroughly endorsing the policy of Mr. Michalocopolous in an interview with the *Gioranle d' Italia*.

Only in unofficial conversations can anything be learned of the real attitude of Greek statesmen regarding the Dodecanesian question. On such occasions they state that Italy will abandon the Aegean islands when the achievement of her principal aims in the Mediterranean basin makes their retention no longer a matter of strategic necessity. In the meantime they hope that the improved Greco-Italian relations will bring a great amelioration in the lot of the inhabitants.

That Italy has now any aims in the Levant which make the possession of the Dodecanese a matter of strategic necessity has been denied by Signor Mussolini, and by some such aims would be regarded as inconsistent with his signature of the Italo-Turk Treaty of friendship.

Reviewing the history of Italy's operations in the Near East since 1915, one is prompted to ask whether the new Italo-Turk Treaty may not be one of those international engagements to which the Duce refers as being neither sacred nor unbreakable.

For example; the secret Pact of London (1915) included a number of ter-

ritorial clauses which promised that, in the event of the partition of Turkey in Asia, Italy would receive an equitable share in the Mediterranean region adjacent to Adalia. Following this came the Treaty of Saint Jean de Maurienne (April 17, 1917) upon the terms of which Italy based her hopes for control in Asia Minor including the town of Smyrna.

At the close of the War when President Wilson announced his policy of self-determination for small peoples as the basis of an enduring peace, the Allied and Associated Powers at the Peace Conference found themselves seriously embarrassed by the existence of these secret agreements which caused much delay and no little jealousy between the victors. Whilst the negotiations were in progress Italy hoping to gain her ends by a *coup de force* landed an army in Adalia, at the same time pressing through diplomatic channels for fulfillment of the undertakings made in the unratified treaty of Saint Jean de Maurienne.

The Allies, more especially the Greeks, became alarmed at this, and fears were expressed that Italy would occupy Smyrna thus complicating an already delicate international situation. Mr. Veniselos, taking advantage of these fears which created an anti-Italian atmosphere in Paris and London, had no difficulty in persuading the Allies to send Greek troops to occupy Smyrna on the pretext that Greek and other Christian communities there were in danger.

Accordingly, on May 5, 1919, a Greek expeditionary force was landed in Smyrna under the cover of French, British, and American warships. This landing and the events which followed it, including an extension of the Greek zone of occupation beyond the limits designated by the Allies had the effect of consolidating Turkish resistance and was perhaps the principal cause of the disastrous Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922).

From the earliest days of this conflict the Italian government made every possible effort to embarrass the Greek forces in Anatolia, supplying arms and ammunition to the Turks and inciting the population to resist. Mr. Veniselos, seeing that success would be impossible in the

face of Italian opposition, then entered into negotiations which culminated in the Tittoni-Veniselos agreement.

During the months which followed the fortunes of war turned against the Greeks, and the Allies, having failed to arrange a satisfactory peace at the conference held in February, 1921, washed their hands of the whole affair by issuing in May of that year a formal proclamation of neutrality.

Earlier in 1921 Italy quietly withdrew her army from Adalia after making a friendly arrangement with the Kemalists. From then until the collapse of their army in 1922 the Greeks fought a losing campaign against a Turkish army, largely provisioned and equipped by their former allies. When the débacle of Smyrna took place Greece, deserted by her friends and crippled by the incompetence of her home government, appeared as the tragic victim of an ill-considered imperialist policy for which she was least to blame.

Followed the Treaty of Lausanne that gave to Italy full possession of the Dodecanese and Castellorizo, thus supplying a base from which further adventures in Asia Minor could be launched.

Turkish suspicion and mistrust have been the natural consequence of Italy's policy. The definite installation in the twelve Aegean islands of an absolute régime and the elaborate military and naval works executed on the island of Leros have kept alive the Turkish fears that Italian expansion was directed toward their rich but sparsely populated country. There have even been periods of thinly veiled hostility between the two countries. More than once the Anatolian coasts have been armed and the Turkish reserves mobilized against attack from Italian forces reported to be concentrating at Rhodes.

Although the government at Rome has been singularly reticent regarding Eastern Mediterranean affairs Italian authors, whose work bears the stamp of unofficial approval, make no secret of their country's attitude toward the Dodecanese as a factor in its general policy. Vittorio Alhadeff, an eminent barrister of Rhodes, who has recently been decorated by Signor Mussolini says in his book, *Ordamento Giuridico di Rodi* (1927):

"The scope which Italy wishes to attain has only been strategic (the creation of a naval base at Leros) as is shown by the dependence of Rhodes upon the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

C. E. Ferri writes in an article published by an Italian political magazine known to be inspired by the government:

"The problem of the Dodecanese constitutes for Italy the pivot of its policies in the Eastern Mediterranean and not for its economic or industrial value. No one would desire to affirm seriously that the Dodecanese interests Italian politics as a final point of an historic development; the value of the islands arises from their geographic military position which enables us to make of them a base for our future expansion."

Nor are the military functionaries in the islands any less frank in declaring the aspirations of their country. In a conversation with the governor of Leros last year I asked bluntly why the island had been chosen as a naval and air base. His reply was startling in cynical abruptness: "These islands are for us an excellent base to be used in the event of a war against a country with a negligible fleet." And as he spoke we both looked across the straits at Anatolia not twenty miles to the east.

The Italo-Turk Pact it is claimed has put an official end to all the Turkish fears; but Italy still holds the Dodecanese and the warlike preparation of Leros continues. In these circumstances will the Turks be entirely satisfied that Italy has relinquished her former aspirations?

MR. BURTON'S FAREWELL TO THE HOUSE

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON

From the Congressional Record of December 14, 1928

MR. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that our distinguished and revered colleague the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] be allowed to address the House out of order. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House, this is at the same time a most happy occasion for me and a melancholy one. I can not exaggerate my reluctance in leaving this body, and on the kind suggestion of the gentleman from Connecticut I prize most highly the opportunity to address a few words of greeting to my colleagues on this the last day of my service in the House of Representatives.

My membership in this House has lasted for 24 years, in three different periods. It commenced 40 years ago the coming 4th of March. There is no one else in House or Senate whose tenure of office commenced at so early a date except our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. TUCKER]. As I look over this body I recognize how many were born after I first came to this House,

how many of the multitude with whom I have served have come and gone and how many have passed on. My association here has been with Presidents of the United States, with men who have occupied a most notable position not only in the legislative halls of the House and Senate but in the executive departments of the Government. I have been acquainted, with some degree of intimacy, with every President, beginning with Benjamin Harrison.

In this period of 40 years how wonderful are the changes that have occurred in our own country and this great world of ours! I feel sometimes as if I were moving in a different universe from that which existed when I first came to Congress, and I again refer to the many who have passed on with whom I have associated. I can say in the language of the great German poet:

They hear not the following words
The souls that listened to my first.

As one of long experience here I feel it perhaps a duty to offer certain words of advice and injunction to those with whom I have served. I do not wish that there should be forgotten the causes that I have advocated. In most instances the mem-

bership of the House has agreed with me; in some it has not, and I have accepted its dissent with the spirit of a genuine sport. I sincerely hope that no measure may be passed increasing the size of this House. [Applause.] When my membership commenced there were 325 only as against 435. On each occasion when there has been an increase it has been the distinct promise of those who favored it that there should be no further addition to the membership when the succeeding censuses were taken, but there was an increase in 1890, 1900, and 1910. I can not too strongly emphasize the disadvantages in the transaction of public business in a large House as compared with a smaller House, and I must again, with some delicacy, refer to the diminished prestige that belongs to the membership with every successive addition.

May I speak rather bluntly, my colleagues? You have served with me, so let me leave this injunction: Be courageous in voting upon all the questions coming before the House. There are some who in forgetfulness neglect to realize how much the average citizen prizes courage. Do not yield to the sudden impulses of an uninformed public opinion. Do not listen to the selfish propaganda of groups and different elements. If I leave the House with one disposition of regret it is that I have seen some Members, perfectly well intentioned and seeking to do their duty, overborne by propaganda in the advocacy of measures here or policies which mature consideration would have taught were not for the best interests of the people and of the whole people. The voice of conservatism is that not always the first but sometimes the second voice of the people is the voice of God, and while I would not advise you to adhere to any hide-bound conservatism, I would ask you to stand by the things which should not be shaken.

I have taken great interest here in our foreign relations, always with this one central idea: America first and patriotism our chiefest duty. [Applause.] But I have sometimes seen a spirit of distrust and unkindness for other members of the great family of nations, which I regret. The world is becoming more and

more one great social and economic republic, and to occupy our proper place in the sun we must harmonize with every other people. If we have that commercial supremacy which we desire we must be fair to every other people. If we have that respect which we earnestly wish we must show ourselves deserving of respect by fairness and even by generosity in our dealings with the other countries of the earth. Of we assume that leadership which, I think, proudly our own America should assume, we must show that, by our disposition toward other peoples, by a constant spirit of justice, goodwill, and a desire for cooperation, we are worthy of that leadership.

Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's and truth's.

It is better to face defeat in an election than it is to swerve one iota from the path of principle and that which commends itself to the conscience of the individual members.

I am sincerely hoping that in the very near future progress may be made in the cause of international peace. To speak to you freely, one reason why I sought to become a Member of the Senate was because it has so much larger part in international relations, though we have tried here to do our best in that regard. I trust you may not be misled by the din of armies and by any pride about supremacy on the sea to adopt legislation which shall prevent us from taking that part we should as a peace-loving Nation and as one that deserves the support of other countries in assuming that leadership which we should enjoy. [Applause.]

The year is closing with two directly antagonistic facts in view, one the Briand and Kellogg treaties, which are more than a gesture. They are a declaration by more than 50 nations that war, as an instrument of policy, shall be condemned. I can not believe this declaration to be insincere or without the most salutary results. On the other hand, between two nations of South America there is a very bitter controversy. The whole framework of methods for conciliation and the avoidance of war is at stake in that controversy. Both countries are members of the

League of Nations, and it is our earnest hope that the League will vindicate itself as an agency for peace in preventing armed collision between those two countries. Both are parties to treaties that promised, by conciliation, to avoid the outbreak of war. If in spite of these two facts war should break out, the question will be agitated the world over: Are your treaties for commissions of inquiry and are your memberships in the League of Nations any guaranty against nations flying at each other's throats and engaging in war, or is it true in the case of these two countries that they are less advanced in civilization and in the factors which make for world comity and for peace? We ask that question with the utmost deference.

I have sought to maintain here a rational economy. I have opposed extravagant measures. We must, on the other hand, realize that this is a great and expanding country, that the activities of the Federal Government are gaining larger volume year by year, and while public expenditures should be watched with the utmost care, it is only the most sanguine who can expect that their volume will be decreased.

I do not wish to detain you too long. I wish this parting to be without formality. I do not wish that anyone should feel called upon to respond to my remarks. I will only say good bye. I can not say farewell to many lifelong friendships, so large a number of pleasant associations. I shall hope to linger near you in the years of my life that are to follow. I shall make a constant study of your transactions. I hope at times to come in among

you and see what you are doing. Health, happiness, prosperity to you all, every one.

I can not omit to state that the goodwill which has been manifested for me has been irrespective of party, irrespective of locality.

It is a wonderful responsibility you have to America and to the world. May your deliberations be with dignity, with the avoidance of petty squabbles or personal recrimination, with temperance in language used regarding those outside of this body, for these characteristics are worthy of a great body like this.

The future of our country, which we hope will be far better than the past, rests very much in your hands. Face this responsibility, I pray you, with courage, with wisdom, and while I would not decry partisanship, let not bitter partisanship be the motive which actuates any of you. It is with the highest hopes that I utter these words, with the hope that in the future this great House of Representatives may be worthy of its traditions in the past, that as I think of those who have gone before I am not like one speaking to a banquet hall deserted, but worthy successors are coming with each successive election, that those upon whose brow rests the dew of youth will gather with those of maturer age in the making of this House what it should be, a great factor for human betterment, for human progress, for equality of opportunity, for constant addition to the advancement and the glory of our own United States, which we have promised to serve. [Prolonged applause, all Members rising.]

WANTED—A PACT TO OUTLAW PEACE!*

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON

NOW that we have signed a pact outlawing war as an instrument of national policy, it occurs to me, Lector, that we should do well to sign a pact outlawing peace as an instrument of national policy.

The proposition is startling, Scriptor, but I think I perceive its meaning. Perhaps the significance of that phrase is more profound than appears at first sight.

Paradoxes, my dear Lector, are often not merely a pleasant and a striking method of conveying the truth, but the only way of conveying the truth. The time has, perhaps, come to consider what we intend by peace. I presume that if the man who does not think is content with peace

* From *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5, 1928.

for the sake of peace, the thinking man desires peace as a condition of the establishment of justice. Now, it is possible that astute diplomacy may, in certain circumstances, discover that the perpetuation of peace is equivalent to the perpetuation of injustice. Such astute diplomacy, finding that a particular country has obtained everything it wants, deserved or undeserved (and sometimes by the agency of war), would naturally ask nothing better than peace which would secure the preservation of the *status quo*. Thereupon, in order to digest its ill-gotten gains, it would range itself on the side of pacifism. That is what I mean by using peace as an instrument of national policy.

That is truly and forcibly put, Scriptor, but should we not welcome as an ally in the cause of peace even an astute diplomacy that has a selfish purpose to serve?

Certainly, we should welcome assistance from every quarter; and since our object is to attain peace, it is also good that a new Machiavelli should be convinced of the advantages of renouncing war. Yet there are, looking at this matter in the abstract, a number of qualifications to be made. If astute diplomacy is thinking not so much of forwarding a moral conception of peace as of preventing the other fellow (as we may call the less satisfied nation) from fighting, and at the same time means to refuse the other fellow any redress for proper grievances, then, while striving all the harder for real peace, we may have doubts whether astute diplomacy is really working on the right lines. We want peace, but do we want peace to be used as a diplomatic weapon—as, in the words of the pact recently signed, an instrument of national policy.

The question, Scriptor, is difficult to answer. What is your own view?

My view, Lector, is that unless we strictly define our terms we shall end in logical confusion. It is clear that astute diplomacy which uses peace as an instrument of national policy will be equally prepared, at a given moment, when the weapon is blunted, to have recourse to the weapon of war. Motives count for much in the long run, and it is for us to take long views. If we discover, for example, that any one while talking of peace is preparing for the eventuality of war, we shall not be quite complacent.

Tangible Evidence Wanted

In other words, we should like to see tangible evidence of a new state of affairs; we should like to see disarmament accompanying or following the signing of peace pacts; we should like to see the erection of suitable machinery for the revision of unfair provisions of existing treaties. Peace, in the narrow immediate sense, is not enough. We must ascertain whether, at the same time, there is being set up an association, a tribunal, an international court, for the peaceful solution of interstate problems.

Are these remarks to be taken as pessimistic? Are we to understand, Scriptor, that such machinery is not being created? Are we to believe that peace, in this connection, is simply tactical, and that war is just as likely to occur as ever?

You misconceive me strangely, Lector, if you suppose that I am pessimistic. On the contrary, I think the outlook is better than it has ever been. Let us assume, for the moment, that astute diplomacy has recognized the advantages of temporarily outlawing war, but is at the same time keeping a number of reservations which will enable it to make war when it pleases—let us, for the sake of argument, assume this. Nevertheless, the moral effect of an insistence on peace will unquestionably be considerable.

People Want Peace

As a result of recent discussions and pacts, it will hereafter be much more difficult to persuade the peoples of the necessity of war. The peoples take no heed of the reservations. They believe that the world is being assured of peace, and they would be rightly resentful if there were a reversal of policy. Thus, whatever may be the calculations of any particular person, the great masses will bring those calculations to naught. In reality, you cannot cry peace one day and war the next. Moreover, you ask if machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, for the peaceful revision of treaties, for the readjustment of obsolete arrangements, is being erected. It is. That necessary corollary of peace is being consolidated; at least theoretically, treaties may be revised.

It follows, Scriptor, that even if a certain diplomacy is insincere it will be effective in the cause of peace?

I do not say it is insincere. I do not think it is insincere. I merely contemplate the existence of a certain diplomacy which, while sincerely advocating peace, does so because, for the time being, it is regarded as helpful to national policy; and I repeat that, whatever may be the object, this advocacy will, in fact, assist in the permanent promulgation of peace, since the peoples will not permit lightly a departure from these precepts. Further, the Briand-Kellogg Pact helps the idea of peace by putting in black and white the aspirations of the world; and the League of Nations and The Hague courts are, though as yet inadequately, supplying the world with machinery by which, if it should be thought fit, even the *status quo* can be pacifically changed.

Peace and Political Wiles

In the meantime, however, there is no doubt that there are statesmen in Europe and elsewhere who are all in favor of peace, provided it facilitates their policy, but who still assert that peace is a synonym of the *status quo*.

Will you be good enough, Scriptor, to elaborate that statement?

Certainly, Lector. You may roughly divide European nations into two categories—the dynamic nations and the static nations. The static nations are those which are contented with what they have and wish to sit down quietly to enjoy their possessions. For the most part, they are the nations which emerged victoriously from the war. There are, however, exceptions. Italy is an exception. Italy, unlike France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, did not receive in the peace-making everything to which it thought it might properly pretend. The dynamic nations, who are mostly the defeated countries, are those which feel they have been deprived of privileges and possessions to which they have a right. There is Germany, for example, which lost much territory, both in Europe and in Africa, and which suffers under imposed disabilities. There is Hungary, reduced from the status of partner in a vast empire to a

third-rate country, with its nationals residing in land attributed to the members of the Little Entente, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania. These countries, which I have called dynamic, make a number of demands. Some of those demands are, *prima facie*, just. Will they be granted—or at least examined? I believe they will, but this will be an innovation in European diplomacy. Hitherto nations with grievances have chosen a favorable moment to go to war. Now it is to be hoped their demands will be, as occasion offers, examined and, as far as is possible, granted.

Soft Words vs. Hard Blows

Is it your conclusion, Scriptor, that while those nations which desire the *status quo* wish for peace, those nations which want to see the *status quo* changed are prepared to go to war?

Not at all, Lector. The dynamic countries realize that the best way of obtaining their *desiderata* is to cultivate *rap-prochements*. Hungary and Germany, and particularly Germany, have discovered that peaceful methods are better than warlike methods. They are more likely to obtain some of their demands by soft words than by hard blows. Yet I would add that sometimes Germany, for instance, which has truly learned the lesson that peace, besides being in itself a good thing, actually pays—even Germany is inclined to use peace rather too cunningly as an instrument of national policy. Take the question of disarmament. Germany was disarmed by the Versailles Treaty. A promise was made that other nations would follow suit. There are all kinds of complications and the promise is not easy to keep. Thereupon clever German statesmen clamor loudly for immediate disarmament of other nations, at the risk of wrecking the Disarmament Conference by its premature convocation. Why? Because if the other nations disarm Germany will be, in respect of armaments, on their level. If the other nations do not disarm, then Germany, in virtue of the broken promise, will affirm its right to rearm up to their level. Here you see an instance of what I have called peace as an instrument of national policy.

You are impartial, Scriptor, and lump the victors and vanquished together.

Better Conception of Peace

Not for a moment do I cast stones at one or the other. I am only pleading for a better conception of peace. When France and the Little Entente and Poland link themselves together with the determination, at all costs, to preserve the *status quo*, I consider that they are not quite consistent with the higher conception of peace, because they would build the temple of peace on foundations which may be good, but which may also be bad. When Germany calls for disarmament with the possible view to increasing its armaments, or at any rate of putting its

armaments on the same strength as others, I maintain that this attitude is not quite consistent with the higher conception of peace. Yet in all this there are distinct evidences of progress, and it is better that we should be in some doubt about what is meant by peace than that we should be made acquainted again by painful experience with the dread meaning of war. I do not criticize. I would only indicate that true peace is not the mere absence of war, is not a negative but a positive thing, and is the reign of justice. It may be excellent, in the present stage, that peace should be an instrument of national policy, but some day it should become wholly an instrument of international justice.

EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SAMOA*

By MRS. H. R. WILSON

PRIOR to the arrival of the missionaries in Samoa, about 1830, the Samoan people had no written language. These early Christian missionaries studied the native tongue and in a few years gave to the Samoan people a written language. The Bible was translated and printed in Samoan. They picked out the most apt amongst the natives and gave them intensive training in reading and writing. As fast as they became proficient they were sent to the village as teachers. In a few years there was a native missionary-teacher in each village. This was the beginning of schools in Samoa.

Today there is a school in each village, conducted by the native pastor, in which the children are taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic, and a little geography, in their native language. There is no English taught in these schools. Due to these missionary schools the great majority of Samoans are able to read and write Samoan.

In spite of the many appeals to the United States, made by governors and

people of American Samoa for assistance in the establishment of schools, no aid has been received from the federal government.

It is due to the great interest in educational matters and the various attempts made to remedy the situation by governors and commandants with the hearty support of the Samoan people, that Samoa now has its present public school system, consisting of nineteen schools; fifteen on the island of Tutuila and four in the Manua group.

The first public school was opened in Fagatoga on April 11, 1904; by 1914 there were eight schools in Tutuila in addition to the village pastors' schools.

The first public school in Manua was opened on June 30, 1908, on the island of Tau; and was taught by a native pastor with sufficient English for the purpose.

In April, 1906, the Marist Brothers opened a school at Leone, Western District, in accordance with a contract made between the chiefs of the Western District, Tutuila, and the Order of Marist Brothers in 1903; which was later given over to the government of American Samoa to be the party to this contract with the Order of Marist Brothers. This school from

* From advance sheets of the proceedings of the Pan-Pacific Woman's Conference last August in Honolulu, Hawaii. The final report of the Conference will soon be available. Price \$1.25. The Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu.

then on (1921) was added to the public school system.

At the request of the island government in 1921 the convent school for Catholic girls at Leone, Tutuila, became a public school for all the girls of the district under the supervision of the Department of Education.

One of the many governors interested in educational matters for Samoans went so far as to ask the help of the Hilo Boarding School, Hawaii, and having received a satisfactory answer, three Samoan boys were sent in February, 1913. Two of these boys later in 1918 became assistant teachers in the new government school in the Eastern District of Tutuila, now known as Poyer School, in honor of the governor whose untiring efforts built it.

The public school system was completed in 1922. The Board of Education appointed by the governor has the general supervision of the Department of Education. The Board of Education consists of the following members: The secretary of native affairs (civilian chairman), the superintendent of education (chaplain of naval station), the public health officer (senior medical officer, naval station), and three Samoan chiefs, representing the three districts of American Samoa. The board meets regularly once a month.

All schools have a chart and primer class, the entrance age being six. The law requires all children to be taught up to and including the fourth grade. The Poyer and Leone schools teach all grades up to and including the eighth.

Instruction is given in reading, oral and written English, grammar, arithmetic, hygiene, geography, history, physiology and music; both in the Poyer School (the central unit of the public school system) in the eastern district; and in the Leone Boys' School taught by the Marist Brothers in the western district. Manual training is also taught by both these schools.

Agriculture has been encouraged since May 1, 1925, on a plantation of about 40 acres at the Poyer School. The idea is for the pupils of the boarding school to work before and after school on this plantation for their food. Thirteen schools

have small plantations, cultivated by teachers and pupils.

Sewing has always been part of the course at the Leone girls' school taught by the Marist Sisters. The same course is taken up in the Poyer School and other public schools in the eastern district whenever a competent teacher can be found.

Each child receives free medical treatment at the Samoan hospital and is inspected at school by representatives of the department of health as to vaccination, condition of teeth, skin, eyes, etc. The law requires each school to be visited at least once a quarter by the Director of Education, when examinations are held.

The teaching staff consists of 42-38 Samoans (35 men and 3 women) and 4 white (2 Marist Brothers and 2 Marist Sisters). The native teachers do good work within their limitations. The majority would be unable to pass, with credit an examination in work of the fourth grade.

A high state of morale is maintained among the Samoan teachers, to which their uniform, teachers' pins, and teachers' associations all contribute.

A training course for native teachers was started in 1925. This course opens December 1st and continues, with the exception of two weeks Christmas vacation, through February.

Instruction is given in phonics, reading, oral and written English, formal grammar, arithmetic, hygiene, and music. Methods of teaching are outlined and discussed. This course of training for Samoan teachers has long been needed. The main reason why the people are not satisfied with public schools taught by the Samoan teachers is that the latter do not know enough English, and the people of the islands want their children to learn English. The greatest drawback to the advancement of the Samoan people is the lack of competent teachers and money. If the Samoan is to successfully hold his own with his white brothers he must have an education. He cannot succeed in this without a competent knowledge of the English language. That the Samoan is earnestly desirous that his children learn English and have the advantage of an education is amply shown by his support of

all efforts made in that direction, as well as his approval of a tax of three dollars a year for each family for the upkeep of public schools.

There seems to be an honest difference of opinion in Samoa, as well as in Washington, as to whether or not the Samoan people should receive outside aid in education. Former Governor Bryan states in "American Samoa, A General Report By The Governor 1927," "This continued failure of Congress to help education was deemed a great handicap for many years. It is possible now to look upon it as a blessing in disguise."

More observing people fail to discover the blessing. It is indeed well disguised. The facts are that after 2 years of American rule, without the help of Congress in education, the same former governor states (page 90 same report) that (speaking of the Samoan school teachers), "The majority of them would be unable to pass, with credit, an examination in the work of the fourth grade in English."

If, as stated by a former Cabinet officer, the Samoans are wards of the United States, it is time Uncle Sam did something in an educational way for his wards.

Ellis in "Polynesian Researches," said nearly a hundred years ago: "Their inquiries show, if evidence were wanting, that their mental capabilities are not contemptible. Their method of computing time is matter for astonishment, and shows they must have existed as a nation for many generations, to have rendered it so perfect."

Still quoting Ellis: "These statements warrant the anticipation that they will attain an elevation equal to that of the most cultivated and enlarged intellect whenever they shall secure the requisite advantages."

The Samoans, being an intelligent people and anxious to learn, having such opportunities as mentioned, in time will be able to take their own place in the world.

Something has been done for education in Samoa, considering the means available. Much more could be done with a little Federal aid.

The present governor, Capt. Stephen V. Graham, U. S. N., takes a keen interest in the education of the Samoans, for he realizes that in that direction lies progress. He is our loyal friend and champion in this.

In conclusion, in all honesty the future of education in Samoa looks very hazy. With more eighth grade graduates it would be possible to fill the teaching positions with men and women better able to instruct the rising generation of our people. But the Samoan people cannot carry a heavier burden in the way of taxation to support schools, for they are very poor and their opportunities for increasing their resources are small indeed. An improved educational system naturally means a larger outlay in money.

The Congress of the United States, which has never provided a cent toward the budget of the island government, must aid us if we are to go forward.

TENDENCIES OF THE NEW EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN JAPAN*

By FUSA ISHIKAWA

THE MODERN school system was adopted in 1872, by the wise and farsighted Emperor Meiji. Ever since that time people, even in remote villages, have been receiving the benefit of learning. Education is being promoted rapidly with the development of national power and

national culture. Some defects in our modern civilization naturally exist. In trying to follow in long strides the materialistic Western civilization, we have neglected to cherish our own spiritual culture. The result is that we have arrived at a somewhat unsatisfying social order. Some of the farsighted scholars have been awakened by an irresistible desire not only to reform the educational method but also to remove social defects.

* From advance reports of the first Pan-Pacific Woman's Conference held last August in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Thus the so-called new movement in education was started by those men.

Some Examples

In 1917 at the time of the World War, the late Dr. Masataro Sawayanagi, a leader in the new movement, in company with Dr. Shigenao Konishi and others of the same sentiment, established Seijo Primary School in Tokyo with the hope of breaking down the present defects and educating children in an international spirit, and of making us avoid the calamities of war by the connection of humanistic relations all over the world.

In the educational reformation under his leadership there is a distinct change from the former system of education. For example, the number of children in one class is not allowed to exceed thirty, whereas there are more than sixty children in a public school class. As the minister of education, Dr. Sawayanagi prolonged the period of compulsory education. As the president of Tokyo Imperial University, he opened the doors of the institution to women, and worked constantly for the promotion of education of girls. To the principles and ideality of such a great educator and to the man of refinement, a great many of the best scholars and men of high ideals gladly gathered, giving up honorable positions to help Dr. Sawayanagi with their utmost energy.

Another illustration of the change made by this new movement is that it opposed the unified method which had been formerly used and substituted a method to develop the individuality of each student; not to suppress the fresh ingenuity; not only to emphasize the acquiring of knowledge but to develop the inward tendencies; to improve one's capacity; to cultivate one's own nature; and thus he touched the fundamental problems in educating mankind. He aimed to correct the mistaken idea giving knowledge the first place and emphasizing materialism. Under this plan, children are taught to cultivate the feeling and will to honor God and crave truth. Emphasis is placed on spiritual development, and a healthy body with knowledge and virtue. Thus it makes the first consideration the bringing up of true men and the training of

civilized, hopeful, and cosmopolitan men. The managers of this school are steadily working to expand its sphere and to accomplish its ideals. Such an earnest effort is beginning to show its effect. Primary grades have been added to the original work in kindergarten. It is hoped to go later into high school work and finally to college and university grades.

Unfortunately Dr. Sawayanagi died in 1927, but he contributed to our educational circle by furnishing a turning point in our school education.

Another example is the "Infant's Village School." The aim and principle of this school is to bring the individuality in a child up to its full extent. The education is said to be complete only when the freedom of children is acknowledged and insured. Again, they say that the purpose of education is accomplished when self-activity is thoroughly thought of and the inner tendencies of children are spontaneously aroused to the subject by lively guidance. Thus the purpose of this school is that education should be based upon self-activity. Consequently its method of teaching is centered around the interest of the children. They are left to study by themselves, so that it does not agree with the established system of using text books, schedules, and following particular rules and syllabi of education, the system of examination, and the adoption of rewards and punishments. As it values the self-activities of children, it places less emphasis upon teaching in the classroom. It aims at creativity in children working on the problem in which they find interest, for which they should be in a suitable environment: these are believed to be the highest aims in education. It trusts nature as a valuable teacher, therefore, children are not to be confined in classrooms, but are to go into the open air, there to act freely. They are to develop by themselves according to the regulations they find by themselves. There should be as little formed regulations as the condition allows, but if there must be such regulations they should be negative. If the regulation is negative it gives so much room for the children to be positive. Here the children are able to be lively.

The ideals of Mr. Entaro Noguchi, the acting director of the Imperial Educational Society and the founder of the Infant's Village School, are almost the same as those of Dr. Sawayanagi. He gave up his own large and elegantly built Japanese style house in Ikebukuro, a suburb of Tokyo, to be used for classrooms. There the children are left freely to act as they please under the principle of the new method of education. Mr. Noguchi and his family are satisfied to stay in a small, crudely built, Western-style house in a corner of the lot.

The school was opened in April, 1924, with twenty students. There is Josei Institute of high grade for any children who have finished the primary grade of the school. As yet there is not a high school for girls, but it is planned to build it in the near future.

Last year Mr. Noguchi announced at the conference of national education, his new plan, as a move to remodel the present primary school system and the system of education. We are looking forward to the prospect that in the not distant future a new order will be established in the educational system.

There is a sister school in the healthy place of Ashiya, a borough between Osaka and Kobe, which is managed by Mr. Sukeo Sakurai. Each school building is elegantly named, such as: "The House of the Lark," "The House of the Woodpecker," etc. There the children can enjoy the benefit of nature as much as they please.

The third example of this sort is Myojo Gakuin (Morning Star Institute). This was established about four years ago by Mr. Yonekichi Akai, the former secretary of Seijo Primary School and whose irresistible desire for application of the new teaching method cause him to make up his mind to found a new school.

This school is located in a beautiful wood and water district near Ino-Kashira Park in the outskirts of Tokyo. The children can bathe in fresh air and warm sunlight at their will. Full of zeal for new ideals, a new school atmosphere, a lively doctrine, with young and pure but unspoiled spirit, it is truly the ideal place to bring up better social being for the future. Each class is limited to fifteen

boys or to as many girls as case may be.

Here we see two educational movements which are seemingly different from each other but which are the same in their fundamental purpose. Those schools mentioned in the preceding paragraphs are all opposed to the defects of a uniform educational system. They are trying to remodel such by introducing a new system, aiming to take away a gloomy atmosphere by teaching children justice and to bring men into fresh mind and refined spirit. Finally, to bring perpetual peace for which all men in all countries have striven, but have failed to gain because they are either motivated by some selfish intention or by jealousy and suspicion of each other. However, this school desires to succeed in remodeling educational methods from which may come a social reformation.

The other trial of reformation in education is to improve, and not oppose, the established system, by changing the method of presenting subjects. This is being tried at the primary department in Nara Women's Higher Normal School. This new movement is led by Mr. Kishie Tezuka who formerly founded Jiyu-Gakuin (Hill of Freedom Institute), in an open part of Musashi. Although this work was once much heard of, it lately has not been so much spoken of.

There are other instances of this sort of trial. The attached list of primary schools of Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools, the primary schools of Mikage, Akashi and Toyama Normal schools, Mikuni Primary School in Fukui province and Tajima Primary School in Kawasaki, a city near Yokohama, are good examples of this second type of reformation. There are still others that are trying to make education efficient by following the Dalton Plan, or by taking up other means of experimental education, moral education, and artistic education.

General Tendencies

As the general trend is such as mentioned above, public schools do not escape the current. They have adopted some of the spiritual and formal sides of both movements, so long as they do not offend

the formulated regulations and system of education.

To say in one word what the ideal method in teaching should be, is well expressed in the creed which follows:

1. Education which centers in children.
2. Improvement of the self-restrained life.
3. The establishment of a social self.
4. Constant improvement.

The creed, however, requires a certain direction in leading, as, for instance:

1. Respect for individuality.
2. Regard for instinct.
3. Attention to work.
4. Repetition.
5. Artistic education.
6. Cultivation of social attitude.

Again the accomplishment of such ideals is found in:

1. Mutual leading.
2. Sectional group to study teaching subject.
3. Literary society of each class.
4. Class contests.
5. Self government among classmates.

"Reflection" should be the standing motto for class spirit.

As a consequence of the awakening of the public mind the entrance examination of high schools was abolished and our education became decidedly humanistic. The world at large also will become, some day, internationalistic by the guidance of the new movement in education, and racial prejudices will be discarded to bring true peace into the world. In order to develop this tendency a special effort will be made by the Sawayanagi Memorial Foundation.

The women educators of Japan would like to cooperate with other Pacific women to carry out in the future the same spirit, though it is neither easy, nor one to be realized at once. Our Emperor Meiji acknowledged the freedom of creed and religion in his constitution. The forms of our belief may differ but we are the same, no matter what creed we profess, in our desire to love justice and the human race, and also in hoping to acquire world peace.

PEACE

By ADMIRAL MARK KERR *

Bear it, O winds, around the world,
Carry it, sea, to distant shore,
That blood-stained banners all are furled
And wars shall be no more.

Rise up, ye sprits of the dead,
Who died to set your brethren free,
And Peace will crown each glorious head
With diadem of victory.
Come in the gentle robe of Peace,
Close-knit with threads of untold worth,
And enter God's own oratory;
Full sure that He has cleansed the earth
And wars shall cease.

Shine out, O Sun that recreates,
And whisper soft, ye myriad stars;
New men shall rise in place of these

Great fallen on the Fields of Mars.
Prophetic let the joy bells ring
For out of death new life will spring.

And we who reap the rich reward
Our noble dead for us have wrought,
Shall we forget the blood outpoured?
The Justice, Faith, for which they fought?
Shall Sacrifice be all in vain?
For naught the world been steeped in pain?

Stand up and face the valiant dead
And swear their heritage to keep,
That ne'er again will impious strength
And vileness cause the world to weep:
Ambition has been taught that might
Shall evermore give place to right.
A new and better world shall be
Outcome of Peace and Victory.

* Mr. F. B. Caswell, of Toledo, Ohio, sent us this poem with a letter in which he says: "I am sending with this letter the original contribution by Admiral Mark Kerr, who, you will remember, was very prominent in the Navy during the recent war.

"Immediately after the Armistice was signed, the writer had the pleasure of being on the *S. S. Megantic* with the Admiral when he wrote in longhand this poem on 'Peace'; and the writer had it printed by the ship's printing department. It was distributed on board the ship, and signed personally by the Admiral."—EDITOR.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

EMPEROR DELIVERS IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

Calls on People of Japan to Aid Him in Furthering Welfare of the Country

Reminding the people of Japan of the charge imposed upon him by his Imperial ancestors to carry on the unbroken line of Emperors of his land the Emperor Hirohito in the Imperial rescript read at the Sokui-rei on November 10, pledged himself to endeavor to promote the moral and material betterment of his subjects to the best of his ability.

The rescript follows:

Accepts Sacred Symbols

"Our Heavenly and Imperial Ancestors, in accordance with the Heavenly Truths, created an Empire based upon foundations immutable for all ages and left behind them a throne destined for all eternity to be occupied by their lineal descendants. By the grace of the Spirits of Our Ancestors this great heritage has devolved upon Us. We hereby perform the Ceremony of Enthronement with the Sacred Symbols.

"In building up the Empire and in reigning over the people, Our Ancestors looked upon the state as their own household and the people as their very children. This tradition has been followed from era to era so that the virtues of benevolence and magnanimity shown by their sovereigns have deeply influenced the people who in turn are united in reverence and loyalty to the throne. This spiritual union between sovereign and people is indeed the essence and flower of our nationality and should remain unchanged as heaven and earth.

"Our Imperial Grandfather, wisely choosing between the old and the new, decided to enter upon the great work of the Imperial Restoration and, giving due regard to the conditions both at home and abroad, adopted the far-sighted system of constitutional government and by virtue of civil as well as military achievements completed a task seldom paralleled in history. Our Imperial Father who followed in the footsteps of his great Predecessor built upon and added lustre

to this glorious bequest. Being called to the throne at this juncture, We are only too sensible of Our own failings and therefore it is Our ardent desire that We may have the protection of the Spirits of Our Ancestors and the support of Our beloved millions, and thus may be enabled to discharge Our sacred duties in a manner not unworthy of the great past.

"It is Our resolve to endeavor to promote, within, the education of Our people and their moral and material betterment so that there may be harmony and contentment among them and power and prosperity for the whole nation, and to cultivate, without, friendly relations with all nations, thus to contribute to the maintenance of the world peace and the advancement of the welfare of humanity. We call upon you, Our beloved subjects, to be of one mind and, sinking selfish aims for the public service, to work with one accord, in helping Us to attain these Our aspirations in order that We may in some measure add to the illustrious traditions to which We have succeeded and that We may with good conscience face the Heavenly Spirits of Our Ancestors."

Premier Replies for Nation

The Premier's address of congratulation follows:

"Your Imperial Majesty, having, in fulfillment of the Great Precepts of the Heavenly and Imperial Ancestors, succeeded to the Throne destined for all eternity to be occupied by one unbroken line of Imperial Descendants, hereby graciously perform the Ceremony of Enthronement. There is not one in the millions of Your Imperial Majesty's subjects who is not filled with joy at this great and auspicious event.

"When the first Heavenly Ancestor sent her Heavenly Scion down to this land, she provided him with the Sacred Symbols and commanded him to reign over these islands as a realm belonging to him and his descendants for all time to come. The heavenly benevolence being co-extensive with heaven and earth, the foundations of the Empire were everlastingly fixed.

"When the first Imperial Ancestor embarked upon the work of stabilizing the land, he brought peace to all the provinces and, cultivating the virtues inherited from his Heavenly Predecessors, accomplished, as the first Emperor, the task of building up this Empire which has endured and which shall endure through all ages.

"All the Imperial Ancestors following exercised one after another the sovereign virtues of benevolence and love toward their people who again showed the deepest loyalty and affection to their sovereigns, so that the entire nation may be regarded as one family in which the sovereign and the people form one perfect union, the people looking upon their sovereign as their father, and loyalty to the sovereign being one and the same thing as piety to the father. It is just this aspect of our nationality which we hold to be most sacred and for which we can find no parallel.

New Era Was Formed

"The Emperor Meiji who, endowed with supreme virtues, ruled with unmeasured wisdom and tact, inaugurated the great era of the Imperial Restoration and, adjusting affairs of state both domestic and foreign, and harmonizing the old with the new, succeeded in completing the stupendous task upon which he so wisely entered. In his great Rescript on Education he gave to the nation the standard of national virtues. The Constitution he granted has forever stabilized our political system. During his reign, the instruments of government and all institutions of culture and civilization were completed. It was under his guidance, moreover, that the martial strength of the nation was never allowed to express itself except in the most justifiable of causes. Neither did he neglect measures at home for the improvement of the economic conditions of the people. In fact, during his lifetime, the glory of the Empire was raised in the eyes of the whole world and its foundations were permanently consolidated.

"The Emperor Taisho, richly inheriting the wisdom and virtue of his great Father to whose memory he was always faithful, did so much not only in maintaining intact but in improving upon what was handed down to him that, during his illustrious reign, the civilization of the nation and the prestige of the Empire were greatly enhanced.

Lauds Emperor's Benevolence

"Your Imperial Majesty, likewise endowed with virtue and wisdom, gave ample evidence thereof as Crown Prince when Your Imperial Majesty was called upon to discharge the duties of Regent in the administration of affairs civil and military. On succeeding to the throne, Your Imperial Majesty, not unmindful of the origin and tradition of the Imperial rule, has graciously made a point of showing benevolence and magnanimity in governing the people and, faithful to the teachings of the previous Emperors, is bringing the greatest care and diligence to the administration of affairs. The whole people are taking joy in this enlightened reign and the lowest as well as the highest of your subjects are benefited by these illustrious virtues of Your Imperial Majesty.

"In the Rescript which Your Imperial Majesty has graciously granted to the nation, Your Imperial Majesty refers to the laying of the foundation of the Empire by the first Heavenly Ancestor and the establishment of the Imperial rule by the first Imperial Ancestor, and history of our nationality, thus showing the fundamental principles of our national government as well as the cardinal rules which the people shall follow. Your Imperial Majesty has also been pleased to express a desire for the maintenance of friendly relations among nations and for advancement of the welfare of mankind.

Promises Diligence and Loyalty

"We Your Imperial Majesty's servants, are deeply impressed by these gracious sentiments and are determined to do all in our power to give effect to Your Imperial Majesty's desires and, by dint of diligence and loyalty, to repay in some measure the unbounded favors so graciously bestowed upon us.

"Being allowed to assist at this auspicious ceremony and looking up to the High Throne of Heavenly Origin, I, Your Imperial Majesty's servant, and overwhelmed with joy, and on behalf of the whole people of the Empire, beseech permission to offer to Your Imperial Majesty the most respectful congratulations on this happy event and to give expression to the most ardent wishes for the eternal prosperity of the Throne and for a prolonged reign of Your Imperial Majesty."

News in Brief

THIRTY TREATIES IN THE INTEREST OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE between the United States and other countries had been completed by the Department of State before the opening of Congress on December 3, and were ready for the action of the Senate.

A SERIES OF RADIO TALKS on foreign affairs is given over station WEAJ, every Monday evening at 7.30, eastern time, by Mr. James G. McDonald, Director of the Foreign Policy Association. A list of books to be read in preparation for the lectures is recommended by Mr. McDonald and circulated gratis by the World Peace Foundation each week. South American countries furnish the topics for December.

THE FIRST PAN PACIFIC WOMAN'S CONFERENCE was held in Honolulu, August 9-19, under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union. About 100 overseas delegates attended, coming from Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, Samoa, the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, Canada, and the United States. Plans were drawn for the study of problems relating to woman and the home, diet, living conditions, and their relation to wages. Education, social and industrial conditions were some of the problems considered.

IN BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION, the Department of State has sent invitations to all governments with which our country has diplomatic relations, to send representatives to a hospital congress to be held next July in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

THE NICARAGUA ELECTORAL MISSION has ended its work. It made its report, on December 17, to Secretary Kellogg, and expected to reach home late in December. The electoral returns show a total registration of 148,831 and a total vote of 133,663, or 89.7 per cent of the registration. The vote this year was approximately 50,000 more than in 1924.

SPAIN HAS SET UP A COMMISSION OF TECHNICAL EXPERTS to study anew the project of a tunnel under the straits of Gibraltar.

A NEW POISON GAS to obliterate armies has been invented. Thousands of tons can be manufactured in a day, much more cheaply than powder or guns, according to Dr. H. I. Jones, a research chemist, before the Executives' Club in Chicago, December 14. He also told of a new metal twice as strong as steel, but only half as heavy as aluminum. The combination of these two inventions might easily, he said, destroy the world if war is not abandoned.

EMILIO PORTES GIL, Secretary of the Interior in the Calles cabinet, took the oath of office as Provisional President of Mexico on November 30.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES of Honduras have signed a "pact of peace and sanity," under which they outlaw war as a means of settling political difficulties.

A SCHOOL FOR EMIGRANTS has lately been established in Deva, northern Spain, whence many boys emigrate to Latin America. The school is liberally endowed and gives commercial and language courses as well as general instruction. Preference is shown to those who through poverty are unable to secure education elsewhere. A similar school has for some time existed in the province of Leon.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY is to conduct a round-table course on Latin America and its problems, this winter, open to any who wish to attend. The instructor in Latin American history, Professor Belaunde, is responsible for inaugurating the course.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, it was announced at the United States State Department on December 12, has adhered to the treaty for the renunciation of war. On the same date the Cuban senate ratified the treaty.

A NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION OF "WORLD FRIENDSHIP," a brochure first published in 1927, has recently been issued. The book is written largely by teachers and is for the use of teachers. It is brought out through the efforts of the Committee on World Friendship of the Los Angeles City school District. The previous edition was translated in part by the Pan American Union, for circulation in Latin America. English

copies were ordered by the Institute of Politics in Hamburg, Germany; by several normal schools in the United States, by teachers in Geneva and other foreign cities.

A PROPOSAL TO PREVENT WAR by an international police force of aviators was submitted to the League of Nations December 14 by Col. Clifford B. Harmon, of New York, president of the International League of Aviators.

A "SAVE-OUR-SCHOOLS COMMITTEE" has lately been organized. Its purpose is to rouse the country to the danger threatening our schools and colleges because of their use for "propaganda." Bishop Francis J. McConnell is national chairman, and Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, first vice-chairman. It is claimed for the organization that it is non-partisan, non-sectarian, and committed to no economic theory. Its members come from some twenty-five states and many leading colleges and universities.

MR. T. A. SMIDDY, who has represented the Irish Free State in Washington since that legation was established, will be transferred to London, where he assumes the position of High Commissioner.

THE POST GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, in Geneva, which was founded in 1927, offers annual and semi-yearly courses in both French and English to students who have had adequate specialized study in political economy, modern history or law.

A LEAGUE COMMISSION on a draft convention to control the manufacture of armament met in Geneva on December 4, but adjourned on the 6th without reaching agreement on a text. New studies by technicians will be required before an international conference will be worth while, is the opinion of the commission.

THE BULGARIAN MINISTRY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION has appointed a library specialist to reorganize the libraries throughout the country. There are libraries in every school and town, but except the new appointee, who was educated in the University of London, there are no trained librarians.

A MEDAL FOR GOOD DICTION ON THE RADIO is offered by the American Academy of Arts and Letters. The winner will be chosen from official announcers of the radio stations

in this country. Medals for good diction on the stage have already been awarded to Walter Hampden, Edith Wayne Matthison and Otis Skinner.

PREMIER MUSSOLINI, who is already minister of foreign affairs, interior, war, marine, aeronautics, and corporations, as well as premier, has now taken over the portfolio of colonies. This makes the eighth ministry, in a cabinet of thirteen, under the management of Mr. Mussolini.

A NEW PARLEY ON GERMAN REPARATIONS with the view of revising the Dawes Plan is soon to be called. The United States is invited to participate in the deliberations.

BOOK REVIEWS

NAPOLEON. By *Emil Ludwig*. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Pp. 682 and index. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1926. \$3.00.

All preconceived notions of the man Napoleon, all easy characterization of him as a gory monster, or even as a self-seeking military genius must be profoundly modified by a reading of Ludwig's interpretative biography. We seem to see here just about how things looked to the little Corsican, himself. The book is in no sense a military study. Campaigns are relegated to a subordinate position. The growth and development of the man himself, principally because of his own inherent qualities, but also as influenced and conditioned by events, is what the reader sees in this portrait.

It would be, naturally, a non-French biographer who would emphasize the Italian, indeed the semi-tropical blood of Bonaparte. This Italian background perhaps accounts for his patriarchal care of his family, of his interesting mother, indeed, of all his relatives, some of them troublesome ones, when he attains the power to confer benefits. Even his somewhat pathetic longing for a son, so that he may found a dynasty, seems to root in Roman tradition. It was indeed, thinks Ludwig, his Italian background which gave him his unbounded admiration for the Roman type of leader, which guided his military

genius and fired his imagination; that it was because of his non-French origin that he was so well able to read and manipulate the French people, as their leader.

Of limitless self-confidence and energy, and the dignity born of these, the warrior grew in his thinking until he became almost a great statesman. But not quite, because his theory that wars of conquest were continually needed to hold the eye and allegiance of the people was his final undoing.

Yet he accomplished great legal reforms. The Code Napoleon is still in many ways a model. He visioned, too, a United States of Europe, though under his own dominance. "We need," said Napoleon, "a European legal code, a European court of appeal, a unified coinage, a common system of weights and measures. The same law must run throughout Europe. I shall fuse all the nations into one." Commenting on this statement, Ludwig says that Europe was to Napoleon plastic material, "and Bonaparte is the Emperor, the legislator, the great orderer, the enemy of the anarchy out of which he sprang, the modeler who would mould the clay into a splendid whole." The pity of it was that he, who was well aware that the spirit would ultimately "overpower the sword," tried to establish this "by force, with the aid of eight hundred thousand men," when one day it would come into existence "as a voluntary amalgamation based upon reason and necessity."

This is a brilliant book, built solidly upon scholarship. It shows Napoleon a genius, but human and explicable. It is a swift-running, exciting story, yet accurate, analytical, and interpretive. A history, not only of a man but of an epoch.

THE DOCTRINE OF NECESSITY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *Burleigh Cushing Rodick*. Pp. 156 and index. Columbia University Press, New York, 1928. \$4.00.

The author here canvasses the extent to which the doctrine of necessity in international law may be said to possess some legal validity. He reviews the cases in which pleas of necessity have been used to justify armed force in situations involving national jurisdiction on sea and on boundaries, protection of nationals, and the like. Expulsion of unacceptable aliens, intervention, and neutrality all seem to be susceptible of modification by the idea of necessity. It is that

law which may take cognizance of such necessity that he discusses.

The book is somewhat technical in manner, but it may be studied with considerable ease by those not legally trained.

Since the laws discussed here are those which would touch upon self-defense and some other questions raised in the discussions on the Paris peace pact, the book is particularly timely at the moment.

THE INTELLIGENT WOMAN'S GUIDE TO SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM. By *Bernard Shaw*. Pp. 470 and index. Brentano, New York, 1928. \$3.00.

A lady, once upon a time, asked Mr. Shaw to write her a letter explaining Socialism. But in all the books to which he might refer, he could find none which explained with clarity the simple question, "What is socialism?" and only one that plainly defined capitalism. "Stanley Jevons," says Shaw, "remarked casually that capital is spare money. I made a note of that." So he wrote a book himself on the topic.

In spite of its Alice-in-Wonderland simplicity of diction, this volume requires strict concentration to read. The uninitiated, who is not supposed to have thought much about social politics, has a whole new world spread out before him. But the economist, no less, must read with close attention because of the original manner in which the subject is presented. It is, obviously, a work of severe labor, surprising to those who know Shaw only for his darting and iconoclastic wit. The Puck in him, however, flashes out at times here. In the foreword for American readers, "I have been asked," he says, "whether there are any intelligent women in America. There must be; for politically the men there are such futile gossips that the United States could not possibly carry on unless there were some sort of practical intelligence back of them."

As a Fabian, Shaw is utterly opposed to any forceful revolution to bring about an equalization of income, which is his idea of a more perfect society. "We can fight our way every step of the gradual process if we are foolish enough," he says, in the chapter on Revolutions. "But at the end of the fighting we shall all be the poorer, none the wiser, and some of us the deader. If the Socialists win, the road to socialism may be

cleared; but the pavement will be torn up and the goal as far off as ever."

Another statement which will surprise some readers, is, "We must build up capitalism before we can turn it into socialism. But meanwhile we must learn how to control it." That, according to Shaw, is the crux of the Russian troubles. The Soviets had no capitalist machine to take over. And, too, the methods of violence have discredited the communist doctrine.

There will be many non-socialists who will agree with parts of Shaw's book. The "Finger of God" explanation of poverty is long out of style. The doctrine of everybody at work in some way is nothing new for Americans, though there may be considerable doubt as to whether an abundant income would be, of itself, uplifting enough to do away with the laziness of a shirk.

Shaw definitely separates the idea of Church, which he considers unfit to educate children for socialist government, and that of religion. "If," he says, "your religion is compatible with equality of incomes, there is no reason to fear harm for it from socialism." The state church of England, however, is at the back of any Briton's mind when he says Church.

A diatribe against the third international as "a Marxian church," dangerous and contradictory, sufficiently clears Shaw's case from Bolshevik leanings.

It is an interesting book from start to finish, and that whether one goes all the way with the author or not. An excellent index is signed by the indexer, and a brief appendix, instead of a bibliography, is done in typically Shavian manner.

JUDICIAL INTERPRETATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Charles Pergler*. Pp. 212 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1928. \$2.00.

International law extends its ramifications far below the laws of war and neutrality. Dr. Pergler shows how often it has governed decisions in controversies within the state. The United States judiciary, from the Supreme Court to state courts, have often had to invoke international law in making decisions. In fact it has, in many cases, been taken for granted that international law is a part of the law of the states.

The book is filled with summaries of cases showing how international laws on sover-

eighty, jurisdiction, extradition, citizenship, aliens' duties and disabilities, embargo, and other matters frequently come before judicial tribunals in this country.

A brief summary, which will be of particular interest to the general reader, showing the place which international law has in common law and in the constitution itself, precedes the consideration of the other topics and cases.

THE SANCTITY OF LAW. IN WHAT DOES IT CONSIST? By *John W. Burgess*. Pp. 335 and index. Harper & Bro., N. Y., 1928. \$3.50.

Science and the scientific method have done apparently iconoclastic things in many departments of human thought. Just now it is law and order which are challenged. Why, say the rebels, must we reverence law? Why be hampered by it? Here as in other similar departments of knowledge and theory, two schools of thought have taken the lead. On the one hand is the conservative branch, tending to horrified suppression of individual freedom of thought; on the other hand the untamable inquirer for truth who fears nothing in the world except that which hinders his search for it.

In order that the honest seeker may not be obliged to become a revolutionist, Professor Burgess believes that a sensible running over of the history of the sanctity of law and the newer methods of arriving at laws will be beneficial to both parties in the dispute.

His book is clear in definition, easy in style, not too technical, and, at the moment, exceedingly timely. It briefly traces the growth of the idea of sanctity of law from Roman times through the following empires, the Renaissance and many revolutions—a zig-zag course, but one of essential evolution—until the world war, and the concluding "wrongly named treaty of Peace" gave a set-back to the whole idea of the legitimacy of source of the law, and that all over the world.

Then he scrutinizes the League of Nations, finds it at present mainly a scheme for Balkanizing Europe, and without any shadow of sovereignty; still he conceives it as possible that the covenant may yet be built up into an antidote for the errors of the rest of the Versailles instrument. He looks forward to the time when human reason may emerge

from the present struggle bearing new principles of truth, right, and law, whose legitimacy of origin and rational content will be manifest. Then and not till then will law regain its sanctity and imperative.

ADVENTURES IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1896-1906. By *Alfred L. P. Dennis*. Pp. 530 and index. E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y., 1928. \$5.00.

Beginning with an explanatory chapter, in which he outlines the plan of the book, Professor Dennis of Clark University, proceeds to take up, one after another, the chief diplomatic problems which our government had to solve during the decade considered. It was a time of rapid change in our diplomatic experience, one of swift, almost alarming growth in world power. It was the time of the Spanish-American war, the Panama canal, the Alaska boundary dispute, the open door policy in China. These Professor Dennis takes up, one by one.

In each case there is a pungently written summary of the situation and many illustrative quotations are given from previously unpublished papers of Secretaries of State, Presidents, Ambassadors and foreign officials, with fuller quotations following the chapter.

The Hay papers of the Roosevelt administration afford a particularly rich fund of historical lore.

It is in no sense a polemical book and on the whole quite unbiased. Yet on such subjects as, for instance, the Monroe doctrine in its application to the subjects discussed, there is valuable comment and personal opinion. In the opinion of Professor Dennis the United States would do well to enlist the cooperation of stable and established Latin American nations in applying the Doctrine to the hemisphere.

It is an interesting period in our history and an illuminating study of the diplomatic side of it.

WAY OF SACRIFICE. By *Fritz von Unruh*. Translated from the German by C. A. McCarty. Pp. 181. Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1928. \$2.50.

When, early in 1916, the German general staff felt that something should be done to bolster up the morale of their troops, they appealed to the young dramatist, von Unruh, for a book to circulate. He was of a military

family, his father had been a general and the governor of East Prussia. But though trained in the rigid military tradition, the young German saw with agonized vision the futility of war; he had already published a drama which aimed to strip the glamor from officialdom.

The book, which he presented to his superior officers, therefore, was so pessimistic, so realistic, so wildly infurated against the waste and horror of war, that the book was suppressed and the author pronounced insane. Indeed he may well have been. It reads like the work of a man out of his mind. The persons of the narrative, when one can see them in the welter of jerky sentences are, however consistently conceived. In fact the obscene horrors of the Verdun battle front are very well depicted by the half wild style and the disconnected, incoherent paragraphs. Possibly the diction is better in the German than in the wretched English of the translation. One sentence will suffice to show the quality of this. "Breath, that all-pervading force, sighed out of his friend's breast, forcing it to conserve life without cease." There seems no adequate reason for the publication of a translation of such character.

It seems however to be a vivid piece of war portrayal and human revolt against the whole institution of war.

THE SPANISH PAGEANT. By *Arthur Stanley Riggs*. Illustrated. Pp. 403 and index. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind., 1928. \$5.00.

"Somewhere between the spattery sunshine of the two weeks tourist and the gray texture of the historians, economists, and politico-religious thinkers, lies the real Spain, the Spain which, after a collapse such as no other nation in the world could survive, not only still lives, but reigns." The writer of these words has wished for twenty years to write a book on Spain. And the many years of such preparation in the way of sympathy and understanding have fruited in a true and beautiful book. Without apparent effort, but with obviously well-digested knowledge of his subject, Mr. Riggs has here interpreted fluid, elusive Spain. If, as he admits, he, being an outsider, can never hope to present fully the "personality and fiber" of another race, he has yet interpreted as much

of these to other outsiders as we can probably assimilate.

Based as they are on thorough scholarship, the chapters belong also to the type of creative literature; written with restraint and tempered emotion, they are yet discriminating, picturesque and dramatic.

It is an unusual book of charm and intelligence, and it really tells of Spain, her past, her present, her country, her people, her drama and, we believe, her soul.

THE INQUIRING MIND. By *Zechariah Chaffee, Jr.* Pp. 265 and index. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

LET FREEDOM RING. By *Arthur Garfield Hays.* Pp. 341. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

AMERICAN INQUISITORS. By *Walter Lippmann.* A commentary on Dayton and Chicago. Pp. 120. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$1.25.

In the American melting pot, "continually," says Oliver Brett, "at the boiling point," there are many forces at work, dissolving old certainties, relighting old traditions, moving and altering old social ties and relations. In this disturbing and shifting process the Western World finds itself frequently lost in complexities. Wishing to hold fast that which is good and tried, the thoughtful American wishes also to move out toward that which is better. He finds himself pursuing a difficult course often, between two extremes; for truth, he believes, lies midway between bigotry on the one hand and fanaticism on the other.

The three books listed above, written in different tempers, are all earnest and sincere attempts to explore the possibility of and the menaces to freedom of thought and liberty of discussion in the America of today.

Professor Chaffee, who is in the Department of Law at Harvard, puts into the essays gathered in his book pleas for an open mind and for the promotion of discussion. While he does not, himself, adopt all sorts of radical views, as witness his chapter, "Liberty under socialism," he presents such themes as the decisions of the Supreme Court as they have touched on civil liberty,

since 1920, and certain injunctions and prosecutions. He leaves basic questions open frequently for the reader's own decision. The book is unemotional, temperate in tone, but liberal in background. His own idea is that "the alternative policy to sedition laws is fairly simple": toleration, an efficient police to put down violence, good arguments against revolution, and the best argument against it of all, good government, with, in addition, stimulating education. The alternative policy to our present method of handling industrial disputes is still uncertain, but, whatever it be, it must surely be complicated.

The present conflict between liberty and suppression will, he believes, not be useless if it stirs up and educates those who are now indifferent and unthinking and who fall an easy prey to the first propagandist who appears.

Of the other two books, the former is also by a lawyer, one of the associates of Clarence Darrow in the Scopes trial. The book ranges over many recent incidents threatening liberty of discussion. It varies from a rollicking, serio-comic discussion of the Scopes case to a bitterly sharp chapter at the end on the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts.

The dangers inherent in our American experiment in democracy based on freedom are freely admitted by Mr. Hays. He admits that there are some advantages even in the Fascist dictatorship. But his notions of freedom seem to us to give too little emphasis to the uses of moderation and a slight degree of conformity. However, one must share his regret that the battle for liberty of thought and speech is so largely left to the defenseless and poor, and to those revolutionary radicals who would gladly destroy American institutions.

Mr. Lippmann's book is a series of lectures to teachers, given in the University of Virginia. He pictures the teacher's dilemma between the body of scientific information and American majority rule, using the Scopes trial and the Chicago anti-British campaign as illustrative material. Through the method of the Socratic dialogue, he analyzes in sprightly manner, but keenly, the situation. He reaches the conclusion that, while in the main the teacher must

obey the behest of her employer, the majority, there must be, in the realm of moral authority at least, some check on the power of the majority. After all, majorities are shifting and we are all groping, rather at sea, making a chart as we go; for democracy itself is still an unfinished experiment.

The three books are valuable in leading one to think upon one of our fundamental principles, its possible limitations, and to find, if possible, a sane path between extremes of behavior.

LAWRENCE AND THE ARABIAN ADVENTURE. By *Robert Graves*. Pp. 394 and index. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, 1928. Price, \$3.00.

Of all the remarkable stories that came out of the war, that of Lawrence and the Arabian revolt is at first glance one of the most astounding. This is so more because of the complex and dynamic character of Lawrence himself than because of the astonishing things he accomplished. Seldom, indeed, has a European been adopted as trusted comrade and leader by free wandering tribes of the desert. That Lawrence accomplished this feat, resulting in the capture of Damascus by the Arabs, all the world knows. He has told the story himself in ten volumes, privately circulated, and in an abridgment, "The Revolt in the Desert," which has been reviewed in this department.

The book by Graves, however, tells much more about the man Lawrence himself. He is modest, avoiding publicity, despising pecuniary profit, looking only for the accomplishment of some achievement, and then asking merely to be let alone while he applies himself earnestly but quietly to some other search or purpose. In this he reminds us of the American Lindbergh.

Graves shows Lawrence as an archeologist of original genius, a complex personality not easily deflected from his course by other men, friendly to the humble, cool and resourceful, without pose and hating adulation. The Arabian adventure is more coherently told here than in Lawrence's abridged narrative, and with a better appraisal of his work in Arabia and elsewhere. The biographer, however, indulges in no superlatives. He understands and respects his friend's dislike of all that. Yet his own appreciation cannot be altogether disguised. The book carries events further than the "Revolt in the Desert," tell-

ing of Lawrence as Feisal's interpreter at the Paris Peace Conference, his dissatisfaction with the outcome of that conference, and his refusal of all decorations until such time as Britain had conceded to the Arabs a fair settlement of their claims. Finally, however, says Graves, he felt that "Minister Churchill's settlement had honorably fulfilled our war obligations." Whereupon he quit the game, took, in the interests of privacy, another name, and joined the royal air force as a private.

The book leaves the reviewer wondering what peace-time cause might conceivably engage the powers of this unique person. As a leader, he should not be lost. But is there in the European world any problem which would arouse his enthusiasm and utilize his signal but original abilities?

PROBLEMS OF PEACE, SECOND SERIES. Pp. 379. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1928. Price, \$3.00.

The addresses delivered August, 1927, at the Geneva Institute of International Relations are here gathered together and published for general reading. This, the second volume of the Institute, gives considerably less space to the discussions that followed the papers than did the volume for the preceding year. This is regrettable, but probably necessary on account of space limits.

The first two sections of the book concern the evolution of the League of Nations and some of its present lines of work. It is largely informational in character. Then comes a section on current political developments. In this Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University, speaks for the United States on "America and the post-war world." His paper is direct and able, an explanation of the manner in which our foreign policy works, as it differs from the procedure of some other governments. He analyzes the basic principles underlying our relations with Latin America and illustrates by a brief treatment of our recent dealings with Mexico and Nicaragua. Nothing is definitely stated as to American rejection of the League, except in the final paragraph. Here he says: "Some day we shall discover the fundamental identity of purpose and need, and perhaps then find the resulting union of forces the stronger and mutually more helpful because we have trod the preliminary paths separately." . . .

Other addresses, "Germany in the League," "Post-Revolutionary Russia," "The British Commonwealth," and other papers are by well-chosen speakers, informative in character.

The Institute promises to fill a useful place in international interpretation.

UNDERSTANDING AMERICA. By *Langdon Mitchell*. Pp. 249. George H. Doran Co., New York, 1928.

Mr. Mitchell begins these delightful essays on America with a chapter in which he says: "The fact is, outside of England, no one understands America or knows anything about it that is worth knowing. If they know anything, it is always something which is not so." He follows this with the shrewd suggestion that if we are to explain our country to Europe it might be well for us to be, ourselves, less ignorant of Europe. Then he proceeds to write humorously but wisely on such topics as "The American Malady," "Comedy," "Puritanism," "The True America," Walt Whitman, "Washington," and "Lincoln."

Stating at the outset that "internationalism, on which the pacifist tendencies idly base themselves," is "strange, flat, and unprincipled," he asks for a better culture, a better art, a more joyous but less hectic way of life. It should be, he argues, based upon our own locale, our own history, and our own republican institutions and free American spirit, than which there is none freer on earth.

A genial, fine, and nourishing book.

AMERICA AND FRENCH CULTURE, 1750-1848. By *Howard Mumford Jones*. Pp. 572, bibliography, and index. University of North Carolina Press, 1927. Price, \$5.00.

We hope that this brilliant study is to be followed by a second volume, bringing the subject down to date. Yet the period covered here, ending in the mid-nineteenth century, embraces the historical beginning of American culture. It is because of Mr. Jones' analysis of the complicated background of that culture, as well as for his tracing of the French elements in it, that the book is chiefly remarkable.

The "changing panorama" of life in this country, the stresses between the cosmopolitan spirit of the seaboard, the frontier spirit developed by the waves of migration to the

West, and the middle-class spirit evolving in the wake of traffic between the other two, the dominance of first one then another, but the vitality of them all, could hardly be better exemplified than in the reception that they gave to or withheld from French civilization during those early years.

The early immigrants from France are described, as to personnel and distribution; also those Frenchmen who flocked to our assistance in the War of the Revolution. A few artists influenced America, notably Major L'Enfant, who so beautifully laid out the city of Washington. Jefferson naturally was the main point of contact with France during the years immediately following the Revolution, and the study of his influence is admirable.

"The great obstacle to a sympathetic reception of things French by the Americans," says Mr. Jones in summarizing, "has been, it appears, a sense of religious difference." On the whole, it is in the field of manners and fashion that up to 1848 France most notably touched American culture. This influence, however, frowned upon by religious and moral reformers early in the last century, has definitely entered the American conduct of daily life and insensibly rendered it more gracious and kindly.

BACK OF WAR. By *Henry Kittredge Norton*. Pp. 356. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

Denying that "man is war" and also that "man is peace," Mr. Norton enumerates and analyzes the most conspicuous causes of war—social, economic, and political. Then, in part two, he runs rather rapidly but graphically through the outstanding problems of the great powers and certain regional questions which might conceivably, if mis-handled, start another war.

The book is incisively and brilliantly phrased. Its particular contribution, however, seems to be its emphasis upon the fact that no one nation, theory, or method can possibly untangle the unhappy network of international complications still existing. The job will have to be done, he believes chiefly, not by those gentle souls who hope to manage the world by moral precepts, but by workers who will get back into the tangle of economic and psychological motives and co-ordinate them into an orderly and continuous structure.

THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the good offices of one or more friendly nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

EDITORIAL discussion of current events is ticklish business. As pointed out by the prolific Louis Blanc, in his history of the decade from 1830 to 1840, to write contemporary history is both "delicate and perilous." The reason for this seems to be that we are all beset with self-interests and vigorous prejudices. It is difficult for human beings to look upon their fellows who differ from them on the problems of the hour with very much scientific detachment or complacency.

And yet we make bold to address ourselves to a difference of prime importance, especially just now, between the major states of what we call Europe and our own United States of America.

We say that this difference is of first importance. Upon it hangs nearly all the reasons for our political frictions and estrangements abroad. Indeed, it was this difference, rather than distance, which must have been in Washington's mind when he issued his proclamation of neutrality, on April 22, 1793. It undoubtedly influenced him also, when, in his farewell address, he warned that: "We should have as little political connection as possible with Europe," and that "we should steer clear of permanent alliances." It must also have been in Jefferson's thought, when in his first inaugural he said: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none";

and when, later, he said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe." This most material of all differences between the United States and Europe, which we have in mind, was a cardinal reason for the announcement and continuation of the Monroe Doctrine. So important was this difference, always in the background of American thought that it, more than any other one thing, has kept us out of the League of Nations, and, thus far, from the Permanent Court of International Justice. It is important, therefore, that we recognize it, and learn, if we can, its meaning for the now and for the future of our world.

There are a number of misinterpretations as to what this difference is. It is not, as widely believed, a difference in our common natures. At heart the men and women of our United States are controlled by the same abiding interests, the same elemental motives, as the human beings of every other land and clime. One does not have to travel very extensively or intensively to discover that the good people of Europe are trying to raise the standards of life and to lower the costs of living, just as we are trying to do. They love over there, beget children, and try to bring them up in the ways they should go, quite naturally and canonically according to our best accepted standards. They labor, create, buy and sell their goods and services, and save for the most part with a finer thrift than we. They, too, are trying to know increasingly the truth with scholarly

exactitude. They worship beauty, nature, holiness, and reach out toward the unknown with as much sincerity and passion as we. European natures do not differ radically from ours.

The difference between the people of our country and those of Europe runs not in the matter of tastes. Of course tastes are various, and it may be that there is no accounting for tastes. But these things are not more true of one people than another. The fundamental tastes of Europe are the fundamental tastes of America. Rachmaninoff, the master pianist, recently said in Paris that America has become the music center of the world. If this be true, it is because we have the money and not because of our greater taste for music. The opera is as strong as ever in Vienna, Berlin, Milan, Paris, and throughout the less widely known musical centers of Europe. A large proportion of our musical treats in America are still offered by Europeans. The art galleries of Europe have not ceased to grow. Some ten thousand sculptors and an equal number of painters are laboring, for example, in the one city of Florence, and shipping their products throughout the world. The arts of Europe are not dead. European interests in high behavior, in the realms of culture, are as keen and lively as in the days of Madame Sévigné or the Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, and probably a bit more intelligent withal. It is time for books to be written about those heroic women of France, Germany, England, and other lands, women who have taken up the poor broken threads of civilization and with quiet but glorious nobility are weaving the fabric of a new and better day for the homes of those sorrow-stricken lands. The tastes of Europe in all fundamental particulars are the tastes of America.

Neither are we socially so different. We of America seem to crave the society of Europeans. We travel to their shores every

year by increasing thousands. We associate with them in conferences, postal, financial, commercial. We buy or imitate their styles in dress. We crave to know them in their homes, and we invite them to our own firesides. When royalty appears in our midst, we strain our eyes to see, quite as if we were subjects. Little differences in architecture, in mechanical skill, in household ways, reveal no basic social differences between the peoples of Europe and the men and women of Syracuse, New York, or Terre Haute, Illinois.

We have no vital resentments against Europe. In no sense, except the political, can we be said to be isolationists. There is an abiding will in our country to help Europe. There is no doubt that we helped in the World War. We have lent many billions of dollars to struggling European enterprises. Because of our efforts to aid Europe, we jumped our national debt from one to over twenty-six billions of dollars. We have tried to help them at every point consistent with our Constitution. It was with American aid that Germany's regular payments for reparations were fixed, that Germany's recovery was made possible, and that an international political wrangle, mounting to serious proportions, was appeased. Those achievements opened the way for Locarno, paved the way for Germany to enter the League of Nations, and made possible the Kellogg Peace Pact.

We are interested, we are concerned in the problems of Europe. We would that our friends over there could agree upon Germany's total liability and solve the problem of the troops on the Rhine. We confess to a feeling of uneasiness at the continued attempts at outside control of the German Republic with its more than sixty-two million people. We cannot help noticing England's continuing policy of trying to maintain the balance of power on the Continent. We cannot avoid hearing it said in Europe that the solution of the

problem of reparations depends upon the attitude of our country toward the debts owed to us by European governments. When it is pointed out darkly in Geneva, that in addition to Germany's army of 100,000 that most powerful nation of Europe, outside Russia, is scouting reservists at night, building strategic highways and railroads, extending her chemical industries in terms of synthetic rubber, the distillation of coal, and of other potential war materials, and that she is extending her power in the air and on the seas; and then when we hear of the speeches by some of the nationalists of that land, it cannot be said that we are uninterested. We are writing books in this country on the pros and cons of the German war guilt, of the Polish Corridor, of the Austro-German *anschluss*, and many other phases of the European situation. Economic pressures in Europe vitally effect our purchases and sales abroad. Where there are conflicts of interest over there, we feel the effects here in terms of dollars and cents. Injustices, especially international injustices, on one side of the Atlantic have their repercussions on the other. Movement of population over there affect legislation and popular opinion over here. Raw materials are of international concern. Preferential practises, tariffs, and exchanges give rise to problems that affect us all. We are equally concerned with Europe, therefore, that there shall be expert impartial studies, setting forth the facts of history and of present practice, and that there shall be a wise development of accepted principles of economic policy.

In spite of our political aloofness, it is inevitable that we should have political interests in common, especially where competition ends in conflict or the threat of conflict. We have our common fears, sometimes intimately associated with the development of armaments, which often relate to policial policies there and here.

Certain uninformed persons in our midst profess to believe that Europeans are bloodthirsty, and that we are not. But when it comes to complacency, ignorance of other peoples, prejudices, distrusts, the inertia of war habits, an overemphasis on rights, and a disposition to forget duties; when we discover skepticism, lethargy, crudities in hopes and plans, there is a striking similarity between the peoples of Europe and the people of America. The uninformed saints and the all-too-well informed sinners seem to be about equally distributed over our wondering world.

While there may be certain diversities, such as we mention, they cannot be said to constitute any palpable difference between the peoples of Europe and those of America. The radical difference, the difference which more than all the others combined affects our relations with Europe, is as real as it is ignored.

To put the matter bluntly, the crucial difference between the states of Europe and the states of the United States of America is all bound up in the much abused word "Security." Over there they find it difficult to conceive of any plan for the maintenance of peace between states except it be some sort of an alliance backed by a club.

This fact has a long historical background. It goes back at least to the Roman Empire, with its Pax-Romana, based primarily upon military force. The Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, extended their armies into Asia Minor, Africa, and almost to Vienna in their attempts to imitate the Roman experience. The extension of Russia in the middle of the Sixteenth Century under Ivan the Terrible, was another attempt to apply the same political theory. The British Empire, now the British Commonwealth of Nations, is a result of the same practice. Spain's empire under the Hapsburgs was the same sort of thing. The imperialisms

of Austria, of Germany under the Hohenzollerns, of France under Louis XIV, and again under the first Napoleon, were also of the same cloth. The principle of the Balance of Power, of the Holy Alliance, of the Concert of Europe, of the various alliances, of the League of Nations, of the Geneva protocol, of the Locarno treaties, are all based upon the theory that peace between states can be assured only by the coordinated coercion of arms. When a European-minded gentleman of New York, President of the International League of Aviators, proposed on December 14, to the Council of the League of Nations at Lugano, that there should be an international police force of aviators as a means of preventing war, it was reported that the French Foreign Minister, M. Aristide Briand, received the suggestion "with enthusiasm." Indeed, the Associated Press reported that the idea seemed to catch the fancy of many delegates. Probably so, for here is the European view in all its nakedness.

The American point of view, on the contrary, found expression in the United States Senate, on January 15. It came out in the discussion on the Kellogg Peace Pact. The speaker was Senator William Borah of Idaho. In his final remarks on the treaty, we find this sentence: "I do not hesitate to say that a scheme which undertakes to build security upon international force is a mad delusion." This is American doctrine, pure and simple.

It seems to be necessary to remind the political doctrinaires of this fact frequently. Writers and public speakers faced daily with evidences of the police power, with its legal coercion of individual offenders, are quick to conclude that there is the process by which offending states must also be brought to book. This slip in logic seems to be as easy as it is natural to uninformed thinkers. In issues that arise between the sovereign states

of our American union, final settlement is reached in our court of last resort, namely the Supreme Court. Neither the court nor the executive branch of our government claims to have any power to coerce an offending state by force of arms. Nothing in our Constitution provides for such a process. It was clearly pointed out in the Federal Convention of 1787, when our Constitution was being formed, that any union of states based upon the military coercion of any one of them could only end in self-destruction. The practicability of making laws with coercive sanctions against the states of our Union as political bodies was "exploded on all hands." George Mason, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison saw clearly that force could not be exerted against a state except in terms of war. Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut pointed out, and his view was accepted by all of the founding fathers, that there are only two ways by which a state can be coerced: One, by arms, which is war; the other by law. Our Union of states is based upon the principle that when any one of the states becomes recalcitrant, it shall be coerced by law. The sanction behind that law is the will of the people; nothing else. This, we believe, is America's supreme contribution to the peace of the world. Alexander Hamilton referred to the plan for a coercion of states as "one of the maddest projects that was ever devised . . . the thing is a dream, it is impossible." When Mr. Borah characterized any scheme to build security upon international force as "a mad delusion," he was but repeating the sentiments of Alexander Hamilton. More, it was the unanimous view of the men who drafted the Constitution of the United States.

It is because of this fact that we of this country are so frequently unable to join with our friends of Europe in their attempts to achieve what they call "se-

curity" by some form of military alliance with the power to coerce offending states by force of arms. This cardinal difference between American and European ways must have been in the mind of George Washington when he aimed to steer us clear of permanent alliances, and later in the thought of Thomas Jefferson when he warned us never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our Monroe Doctrine is an expression of our will to keep the European force systems out of this Hemisphere. We are not in the League of Nations because our American people have no faith in political or military alliances in the interest of peace between nations. A widespread objection to our joining the Permanent Court of International Justice is that it is an agent of the League, which in a number of articles contemplates the coercion of states by force of arms.

We are not alone in our theory that there should be an equality of states before the law. We are not the only people who maintain a democratic control of foreign policy. Other peoples as well as we believe in a government of laws and not of men, laws based on the consent of the governed. Other governments are established to preserve a balance between anarchy and tyranny. We differ, however, from most of the European states in our firm conviction that a compact to keep the peace, as far as states are concerned, is more promising than compacts to enforce peace. We have more faith in the processes of justice than in the mandates of fear. Any plan for the maintenance of peace between nations depends: first, upon a desire to have a plan; and second, upon mutually accepted methods for the settlement of international disputes by methods other than war. And so in our international relations we can trust to law, to the judicial interpretation of the law, and to the sanc-

tions of public opinion. Security can be achieved in no other way.

The real difference between Europe and the United States, then, is that Europe can conceive of no state security save in terms of some form of combined military force. While in America we can vision no international organization in the interest of a hopeful and desirable peace between sovereign states save it be limited to legislative and judicial processes in the interest of justice, all backed by voluntary acceptance and goodwill.

MR. HOOVER AND THE GENERAL PACT FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR

THE future of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War, approved by the Senate, January 15, and ratified and confirmed by President Coolidge two days later, will in the nature of things be greatly influenced by Herbert Hoover. Indeed, it may be easily demonstrated that because of this Pact President Hoover will be confronted with one of the greatest opportunities ever facing a President of this Country.

This challenge to President Hoover is not found in Article I of the Pact renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. Nothing remains to be done under the terms of this article except that it be ratified by Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India, Japan, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. But Article II, providing for the settlement of all international conflicts by "pacific means," opens up a vista indeed to the man who in all probability is to occupy the office as President of these United States for at least the next few years.

It is assumed that the original signatories will approve the treaty. When so ratified, fifteen of the leading nations of

the world, our own included, will be under contract to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and to settle all disputes of whatever nature, by "*pacific means*."

Many things have been said and written about this treaty. But, as held by our Supreme Court, in the case of *Tucker vs. Alexandroff*, "As treaties are solemn engagements entered into between independent nations for the common advancement of their interests and the interests of civilization, and as their main object is not only to avoid war and to secure a lasting and perpetual peace, but to promote a friendly feeling between the people of the two countries, they should be interpreted in that broad and liberal spirit which is calculated to make for the existence of a perpetual amity, so far as it can be done without the sacrifice of individual rights or those principles of personal liberty which lie at the foundation of our jurisprudence." In his *Commentaries* Chancellor Kent says: "Treaties of every kind are to receive a fair and liberal interpretation according to the contention of the contracting parties, and are to be kept with the most scrupulous good faith. Their meaning is to be ascertained by the same rules of construction and course of reasoning which we apply to the interpretation of private contracts." Such is our American doctrine as to treaties.

No graver question will face the incoming President of the United States than, What ought this country to do under the terms of Article II of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War?

We beg leave to offer a humble suggestion, to wit: That Mr. Hoover appoint a commission representative of the best in our American life; that this commission shall be charged with the study of the relations of our United States to the League of Nations; that the report of this Commission be submitted by the President to the Committee on Foreign Relations of

the Senate; that he, with the advice and consent of the Senate, draft an inquiry to the League of Nations as to what changes, if any, the League would be willing to make in the terms of its Covenant, with a view of enabling the United States under the provisions of its Constitution to join the League.

The General Pact for the Renunciation of War, if it means anything at all, creates an unparalleled situation in the history of our world. This pact is no more idealistic than any other treaty. The obligations to abide by it are as strong and binding as in the case of any other contract. And, as pointed out by Mr. Borah, "there is nothing behind any treaty save the honor and good faith of the nations signing the treaty." Since there is nothing in this pact which restricts any nation's right to self-defense, which affirms any obligation to go to war, which violates any existing treaties; since a violation of the treaty by one nation would release all the others from any obligations to the treaty-breaking state, since the treaty is practically universal in its applications, and since under its terms all the nations are under bond to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and, quite as important, to seek the settlement of any dispute in no way other than "*pacific means*," it ought not to be difficult to eliminate from the Covenant of the League those sections often construed as authorizing war. While it would be difficult, we dare to believe that it may now be possible to eliminate from Articles X, XI, XV, XVI, and XVII, their threats of military force. The League has never seen fit to make use of these force sections. There is much less reason now for expecting that it will ever need to do such a thing.

In discussions over the pact, it has been pointed out by some that it is easier to enlist the passions of men for war than it is to line them up in the interests of

faith. Addressing himself to these, Mr. Borah was quick to say: "I challenge the proposition. . . . I say that the most searching, universal, and profound passion in the human breast today is the passion for peace, and if it is organized and directed as we organize and direct the passion for war it will dominate and control international affairs, and the great object and purpose of this treaty is to organize the peace forces, to organize the moral influences in behalf of adjustment of difficulties without conflict. Its great purpose is to let the peace machinery of all peace plans work—to utilize the everlasting real aspirations of the human family."

It was argued by some that there is no "security" in the Pact, that there is no safety in it, that people are "signing with their tongues in their cheeks." What Mr. Borah said upon this point should be read around the world. His words follow:

"For decades and decades nations and people have been persistently and pathetically pleading for security, for safety, for some kind of understanding which would give them security; and they are entitled to it. Particularly has that been the problem since the World War. Fear and distrust and suspicion and hatred have tortured and tormented the human family long enough. They are entitled to the security for which they plead. But how are they to get security? How are they to get protection?"

"I do not hesitate to say that a scheme which undertakes to build security upon international force is a mad delusion. Any such scheme carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Nothing could better illustrate this than the happenings of a few months ago at the Geneva assembly. The premier of the British Government, speaking on behalf of his Government, declared that the British Government could not and would not undertake to go further in extending that kind of

security to foreign governments, that it would not undertake to go further in furnishing an army or a navy or giving the protection of its strong and mighty arm, and in effect he declared that to do so would imperil the existence of the British Empire itself.

"To those who believe that security can be based upon international force I say, here is the fatal weakness. No responsible government will undertake to give an unlimited promise for the use of its fortunes and its people, no responsible government will undertake to pledge its army and its navy to another power, except upon the theory that it is necessary to its own immediate protection and defense.

"When we pass outside of a certain range, a certain territory, or a certain latitude, no government will undertake to pledge security beyond that limitation. The result is that when we are building security upon force, we break the world up into groups and alliances and balances of power which in themselves breed distrust and suspicion, and, at last, hatred and war. This scheme brings into existence the very conditions which inevitably breed war.

"Mr. President, that has been the history of Europe for these thousand years, and what is happening in Europe today? They are seeking security, based upon international force, by building up new groups and new alliances and new balances of power, and a whole continent is again being saturated with suspicion and distrust."

In the light of this situation, it is not unreasonable to expect that the General Pact for the Renunciation of War will lead the statesmen of Europe to welcome a reconsideration of their treaty arrangements under the terms of which they have tried so unsuccessfully to establish their security in terms of alliances to enforce peace.

The League of Nations, of course, is a

fact. It is achieving many excellent results. It is a going concern. It does not operate, however, under those provisions of its Covenant which contemplate the employment of force. It can not. To eliminate these provisions from the Covenant would not alter the practice of the League. The United States is perfectly willing to send delegates to international conferences for the upbuilding of international law and the extension of the ways of justice. The League is in many respects that sort of an organization. To change the Constitution of the League to fit its activities ought not to be impossible. It is doubtful, however, that the present members of the League would take the initiative in such a direction. If approached, however, by our coming President, in some such way as indicated above, Herbert Hoover might be instrumental in making of the second article of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War the most important agreement in the history of the world.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION FOR THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

IT WILL be difficult to overestimate the importance of the two general treaties, one in the interest of inter-American arbitration, and the other of inter-American conciliation; both signed at the International Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, at Washington, January 5. We are pleased to print these documents elsewhere in these columns, for every thoughtful American will wish to study them with care. They mark a distinct advance toward the development of those "pacific means," mentioned in the Kellogg Pact. Indeed, they are in the way of a fulfillment of that pact.

The treaty on arbitration, if ratified by the Parliaments of the signatories, will find twenty of our twenty-one Republics bound to arbitrate all their differences

which may arise by virtue of a claim of right, when it is not possible to adjust such differences by diplomacy or otherwise. These claims of right include questions arising under the interpretation of a treaty; any question of international law; the existence of any fact constituting a breach of international obligation; and the nature and extent of the reparation to be awarded for the breach of an international obligation. There are but two exceptions to these stipulations: First, questions outside international law and wholly within the domestic jurisdiction of any of the parties; second, those which affect the interest or refer to the action of the state not a party to the treaty. It will be noted that there is no reference in these exceptions to "national honor," to "vital interests," or to the Monroe Doctrine. It is all a clear-cut advance, therefore, toward the reign of justice between the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

This arbitration treaty is built upon solid facts of experience. The method of selecting the arbitrators involves no new principle. The method of defining the controversy, of establishing the seat of the court and the rules of procedure, all questions of interpretation or execution, are clearly set forth quite in accord with familiar and accepted practice.

If the treaty be approved by the United States Senate, the processes of arbitration can go on without further reference to that body. The Senate may object to this provision and insist upon its consent in each instance of arbitration. We hope, however, that the Senate will not insist upon such a reservation. The time has surely arrived when we of this Hemisphere may all well agree to the processes of arbitration of all juridical disputes under the terms of this treaty.

The general convention of inter-American conciliation is designed for the purpose of bringing about the specific settlement of differences between states of this

Hemisphere, which do not naturally come under the arbitration treaty and which for any reason cannot be settled by the ordinary processes of diplomacy. Here, too, is a way for condemning war as an instrument of national policy, and for developing international methods for the pacific settlement of differences between states.

This, too, is a natural development, for it grows out of the so-called Gondra Treaty, signed at Santiago, Chile, May 3, 1923, a treaty which was approved by our United States Senate March 18, 1924, and ratified by the President April 21 of the same year. This Gondra Treaty provides that all controversies which for any cause whatsoever may arise between two or more of the nations of this Hemisphere, which it has been impossible to settle through diplomatic channels or to submit to arbitration, shall be submitted to a commission for investigation and report. It provides, further, that in case of dispute neither party shall begin mobilization of troops nor engage in any hostile act until the Commission has rendered its report. This new treaty of conciliation supplements the Gondra Treaty by providing that the permanent commissions set up under that treaty shall be bound to exercise conciliatory functions upon their own motion if need be, or at the request of the parties in dispute, until the special commission be organized. This special Commission of Inquiry will be at liberty to start its work with a view of arriving at a settlement. It will be at liberty to endeavor to conciliate the parties at any time it may consider favorable; but it shall be bound to carry out its functions within a period of six months, unless the time be extended upon an agreement by the parties to the dispute. In other words, the Commission of Inquiry, provided for in Article IV of the Gondra Treaty, assumes under this treaty the character also

of a Commission of Conciliation. It not only may examine the facts in a controversy, it shall propose to the parties a basis for settlement.

Secretary Kellogg was probably well within the realm of measured restraint when, at the closing session of the Conference, he expressed the view that its work would go down in history as having accomplished the greatest step forward in conciliation and arbitration; that the two multilateral treaties were "the most advanced and complete ever adopted by the nations of the world." He was also quite well within the truth when he went on to say that: "The action of this Conference will have a profound influence not only on the public opinion of this Hemisphere but on all the world." We bespeak for these treaties the friendliest consideration by our United States Senate.

A DICTATORSHIP IN YUGOSLAVIA

THE Yugoslavian Constitution was suspended and its Chamber of Deputies dissolved by royal decree on January 6. General Zivkovitch, the King's Adjutant, intimate friend, and Commander of the Royal Guards, has been made Premier and Minister of the Interior. The municipal councils throughout Yugoslavia have been dissolved. The same fate has been meted out to the district and county councils. The newspapers are subjected to a censorship. The racial and religious parties are abolished. A new cabinet of fourteen members has been formed. Of the new Ministers, Father Anton Koroshetz of Slovenia, is an ex-Premier; four are Croats, and the rest Serbs. All the ministers are responsible only to the King. Parliament is closed, guards watching over the empty building.

This has all been brought about by a royal manifesto, posted in the principal

streets of the larger cities. Some such step has been expected in well-informed circles for months. Since the formation of the Kingdom ten years ago, it has been increasingly clear that the Parliament with its topheavy bureaucracy, shot through with political corruption, was wholly inadequate as an instrument of government. It has sinned in the direction both of stupid repression and of a vacillating weakness. The first ten years of Yugoslavia has been a series of crises, with a change of cabinets averaging nearly three a year.

The King's order, establishing the new regime, reads as follows: "I, King Alexander, in order as quickly as possible to realize the formation of those institutions of state administration and state organization which will best answer the general need of the nation and state interests, have decided that the Constitution of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom of June 28, 1921, ceases to be in force. All laws of the land remain in force until suspended by decree. New laws will be made in the same manner."

There is a new law, defining the powers of the King, which places in his hands all executive and legislative authority. With this *coup d'etat* Yugoslavia joins Italy, Spain, Poland, and other states governed by dictatorships. Since three of the most important seats in the new cabinet are concentrated in the hands of generals, it is largely a military dictatorship. An interesting fact in the situation seems to be that the change is generally welcomed throughout the country. There is no question of King Alexander's popularity. This is a fact not only throughout Serbia, but Slovenia and Croatia, and an encouraging fact, for the King is a tactful, honest, and resourceful man.

The trouble with the Yugoslav Parliament has not been its corruption alone.

It has been one sad decade of a developing division, inefficiency, and nepotism. Membership has been looked upon more as a source of personal revenue than as a call to serve the nation. The members for the most part were not trained for their work. Their experience as peasants—particularly true of Serbia—was not sufficient background for a career as statesmen. The problems of organizing a centralist rather than a federal government out of the materials collected by the Paris Conference of 1918-19 proved to be too difficult for Mr. Pashitch. It was impossible for his weakly successors. A dictatorship under King Alexander is now seen to have been inevitable from the outset.

There is no reason for believing that this dictatorship will be permanent. With the passing of the old order, the corroding antagonisms will tend rapidly to disappear. With the new men at the helm, resolved upon work rather than self-exploitation, it is reasonable to expect that these trying experiences of the hour will open the eyes of a new citizenry with an increased capacity for cooperative effort and self government. This will mean later the establishment, and that we hope before long, of another and more promising parliament.

THE ANTI-PARLIAMEN- TARIANS

THE overthrow of the Parliament of Yugoslavia has aroused a feeling of joy among the anti-parliamentarians of Europe. The disciples of dictatorships in Spain, Poland, Turkey, Hungary, Germany, and in a lesser degree, Belgium, France, and the U. S. S. R., are vocally gleeful. The Italian Fascists are especially elated. They profess to see in this complete right about face in Yugoslavia a distinct European trend away from the democratic principles associated with the

American and French Revolutions. News from south-east Europe make it clear to the western world why it is that the Interparliamentary Union has found it advisable from time to time to place upon its program for discussion the parliamentary system and the reasons why parliamentarism needs re-examination, if not as to its theory at least as to certain aspects of its practices.

It is natural that Italy should feel flattered by this imitation of her at Belgrade. The Italian press rings its changes in terms of "I told you so." The Fascists are strengthened in the belief that the trend of the world, at least the European world, is a vindication of Premier Mussolini's system of government.

It is true that dictatorships with their concentration of power in the fewest possible hands, seem to be necessary in the case of certain kinds of crises. The parliamentary system often breaks down under the stress of acute situations, especially in time of war. Since this is so, the anti-parliamentarians are quick, as at the moment, to point out that the parliamentary system must contain inherent defects as a system. The Fascists grant that certain great powers like the United States and England may afford the expense of parliaments; but they insist that that method of government is too costly for the less favored countries. The recent events in Yugoslavia have strengthened the Fascists of all Europe.

It is difficult for us in America to understand this aspect of European problems. It is important, however, that we try to understand. There is no reason for considering parliaments as inherently sacrosanct. Even governments, of which parliaments are but parts, are not entities outside and above their peoples. When Walt Whitman remarked that "This America is only you and me," he expressed a universal truth, applicable to

every nation. Governments do not rise above the qualities of the governed. That they have the power to bestow felicity upon humanity is an outgrown myth. A parliament is simply a method of giving form to the aspirations of a people. When it becomes anything else, it is quite liable to do more harm than good.

Objections to the parliamentary system did not arise as the result of the World War. During the last twenty years of the last century many writers criticized severely the whole representative system. These criticisms were not confined to Europeans. They found expression in plays and novels in the Western Hemisphere. Difficulties of our own still stare us in the face. The problem of representation, for example, is a very present one in our United States. The last word has not yet been said upon authority, responsibility, public order, legality, separation of powers, and other postulates of political organization. There is everywhere a wide separation between facts and ideas, reality and fiction. Changes in populations, in economic conditions, in industrial and financial life, require changes in institutions, the parliamentary institutions not excepted.

There are sound reasons for demanding that the members of parliament should have greater organic relations with the Executive. Research departments should be developed increasingly, that legislators may act upon exact information. The increasing pressure upon modern parliaments must be relieved by conferring greater powers upon local assemblies. In our rapidly developing social milieu it is important that parliaments should convince their constituents that they are reconstructing their methods in terms of the new needs. That some have not done this is the primary cause for the anomalous rise of dictatorships in our modern world.

BOLIVIA VERSUS PARAGUAY

THE issue between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco has been referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague, upon the proposal of Bolivia. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, telegraphed the Bolivian offer, on January 15, to Ascuncion and to all the nations, members of the League. Paraguay accepted, January 17.

This plan does not exclude the investigation of the Commission of Investigation and Conciliation set up at the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration. The terms of the submission of the case to the Court have not as yet been announced.

The issue as presented to the Commission of Investigation and Conciliation, set forth in the protocol of January 3, is comparatively simple. Bolivia claimed that, in spite of the agreement signed at Buenos Aires July 12, 1928, whereby both countries obligated themselves to settle their territorial differences by peaceful means, Paraguay, in violation of that agreement, attacked and razed the Bolivian outpost known as "Vanguardia"; and that these acts of violence and hostility by the Paraguayan Army took place on the fifth of last December. Paraguay denied that she committed any aggression whatever; that, rather, it was Bolivia that carried on acts of provocation by moving armed forces into Paraguayan territory; that in the Vanguardia case it was Bolivian forces who first opened fire upon the Paraguayan troops; that, indeed, before that time Bolivia had made several incursions in Paraguayan territory where she established new outposts; that after the Vanguardia experience the Bolivian regular army invaded Paraguayan territory and bombarded Paraguayan positions.

There is involved in this issue, there-

fore, the question of responsibility and the amount of reparations.

The Commission on Investigation and Conciliation, made up of two delegates from the governments of Bolivia and Paraguay and one delegate appointed by the government of each of the following, United States of America, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, and Cuba, was set up to investigate the facts and to determine which of the two powers was the aggressor. It was proposed that the Commission should settle the incident amicably under conditions satisfactory to both parties, if possible. If not, the Commission was simply to render its report setting forth the results of its investigation and the efforts made to settle the incident. The Commission was empowered in case it should not be able to affect conciliation to establish both the truth in the matter investigated and the responsibilities which, in accordance with international law, may appear as a result of its investigation.

Both parties to the disputes bound themselves to disband all hostilities, pending the report of the Commission.

It was understood that the work of the Commission should not include or affect the territorial question, as contended by Bolivia; the question of boundaries as contended by Paraguay; and that the findings of the Commission should not include or affect agreements already in force between the parties. It was agreed, however, that these matters would be settled by judicial means in the spirit of peace and friendship. Thus the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague will pass upon territorial and boundary questions; and the Commission will continue its work as originally established.

The Bolivian-Paraguay Commission, established by the Protocol, has been constituted as follows: Dr. Enrique Olaya, Minister to Washington from Colombia;

Honorable Manuel Márquez Sterling, former Minister to Mexico from Cuba; Dr. Fernando González, delegate to the Washington Conference from Mexico; General Frank R. McCoy of the United States; General Guillermo Rupprecht, ex-Minister of War of Uruguay; Dr. Eusebio Ayala, diplomat of Paraguay. At this writing Bolivia has made no appointment.

The decision to refer the controversy over the Chaco to the Permanent Court of International Justice, followed a difference of opinion over the Paraguayan Reservation to the arbitration pact, signed at Washington, on January 5. The Foreign Office at La Paz wired the Bolivian Legation at Washington, under date of January 10, that Bolivia considered the Paraguayan reservation to prevent any arbitration of the dispute in regard to territory. Two days later the Legation of Paraguay in Washington refuted the Bolivian statement and expressed the view that Paraguay's reservation included the Chaco question as a matter for arbitration. On January 15, the Bolivian Foreign Office officially notified the League of Nations that Bolivia wished to submit the entire controversy over the Chaco to the Permanent Court at The Hague. Two days later, Paraguay announced that she accepted the proposal.

It would seem, therefore, that the whole difficulty between Bolivia and Paraguay is now on the way to a final settlement.

AN ART LESSON FROM DENMARK

ART, the world's outstanding international language, best finds a national expression within the boundaries of a small state. This was true of Athens. It is the fact in the case of Denmark.

The Danish Art League—*Dansk Kunst Liga*—formed last September by a representative circle of artists, is now en-

gaged in furthering interest in Danish Art, both at home and abroad. The League is thoroughly comprehensive, embracing sculpture, painting, architecture, literature, music, and the scenic arts. A special office has been opened to organize exhibitions, lectures, music, dramatic performances, and the like. An exhibition on a comprehensive scale is to be held in the "Forum," Copenhagen, in the Autumn of 1929, when visitors will have an opportunity to see representations of modern Danish sculpture and painting; and to witness performances of the works of some of the best dramatists and other artists of the past half century.

The unity of the Danish art spirit has found expression heretofore. In 1848, for example, the Danes completed one of the world's most appropriate memorials to a great artist. Albert Bertel Thorwaldsen, the noted Danish sculptor, had died in 1844. The Danes wished to give an appropriate expression to their love and admiration of their prolific genius, who had given to the world such masterpieces as "Night and Morning," many classic statues, "Christ and the Twelve Apostles," "Preaching of John the Baptist," and the many others. Thereupon, they completed that museum at Copenhagen, next to the Parliament Buildings, which stands today, solemnly and impressively, perhaps the world's finest expression of a nation's tribute. The building, Greek and Etruscan, is rectangular. It encloses a Court, in the middle of which, on an ivy covered mound, is the tomb of the sculptor. In the vestibule and throughout the rooms surrounding the court are the statues—originals, or in casts—friezes, the many smaller reliefs and busts, all the creations of the master. Thorwaldsen's rich personal art collections and belongings are also appropriately displayed throughout the upper rooms. Nowhere is there a more unified and impressive national ex-

pression of a people's veneration for a man than in this most fitting memorial.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

INDIVIDUALLY we achieve civilization by meager means. Persons plow and sow and harvest in patches. Here and there is a man who can make a better mousetrap than his neighbor. Only now and then, however, the hero appears, leading the many to wider visions of the human spirit.

Collectively we build greatly. Our Thermopylaes and our Argonnes, our productions and our transportations, our cities and our states, our arts and our religions, are collective achievements. The years 1776, 1783, 1787, epochal in American life, followed long periods of collective labors. The year 1619 witnessed the collective energy that brought African slaves to America, and, interesting coincidence, the collective aspiration that began, in Virginia, our institutions of liberty and self-government.

Out of a religious and economic collectivism which brought men and women to Plymouth Rock in 1620, there came out of England in 1638 to Hingham, Massachusetts, a certain Quaker, one Samuel Lincoln. Descendants, fired by an epic pioneer unity in our country's earlier romantic migrations, went on to New Jersey, to Pennsylvania, until an earlier Abraham Lincoln, descendant of the Quaker, Samuel Lincoln, and grandfather of the sixteenth President of the United States, moved in 1780 from Virginia to Kentucky.

Our Abraham Lincoln, born from the loins of a new and untainted world amid the humblest surroundings of hills and broad prairie stretches near Hodgenville, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, found himself faced increasingly with the challenge of a widening, and for the most part friendly environment. It was in part due

to the spirit of his day that he is found utilizing intensively the few schools and books obtainable, turning an honest penny on farm or boat, trying his hand at store-keeping, aspiring to be a blacksmith and attaining only a seat in the Congress.

Abraham Lincoln was the product of his place and times. Geography and a new social order enabled him to weave out of the "short and simple annals of the poor" those strands of character and genius which together became mastery and eloquence, gifts which made it possible for him to defeat in debate the polished and sophisticated champion of the Nebraska Bill, leading orator of his day. Consistent response to the surging events of a rapidly developing democracy brought this man at the age of fifty-two to the east front of the Capitol at Washington, March 4, 1861, President of the United States. In a sense, we collectively achieved Abraham Lincoln. Note how, through his lips in that first inaugural address, the best in America spoke and still speaks:

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Colossal crises in our American life led this product of a virgin soil to become great in the realm of letters. In many things he had failed. He entered the Black Hawk War a captain and returned a private; he spent seventeen years paying "the national debt" incurred in an unhappy mercantile venture; his surveyor's chain and compass were sold for

debt; he failed in one campaign for the state legislature, and in another for the nomination to Congress; he failed in his attempt to become Commissioner of the General Land Office; he failed in 1856 to get the nomination for Vice-President. But in spite of these reverses, and in part because of them, he was twice elected to the highest office in the gift of the people. That was achievement; but other and lesser men also have been honored thus. It was he, and only he, who could place among the permanent possessions of the world the grandeur of the Second Inaugural and the Attic eloquence of the Gettysburg Address.

Abraham Lincoln was the product of American collective aspiration and effort. Because of the Fathers of this more perfect Union of states; because of the Declaration of Independence; because of the Constitution of these United States; because of human slavery and the threat against the integrity of the Union, he became the great man of his age. Had Carlyle been writing of Abraham Lincoln instead of the characters set before us in his "Heroes and Hero Worship," he would not have been forced to stretch and distort as he did the meaning of the word "hero." Considered as a man of ideas, a man of action, a man of letters, Abraham Lincoln was a hero.

But not only was this hero a product of America; in no small measure we of the United States are what we are today because of Abraham Lincoln. We are a reunited Union of states, North and South. Because of him we are a finer breed. We, the children of his generation, are more kindly earnest, we are braver, we are more far-seeing, poised, patient, because he was supremely these. Abraham Lincoln,

. . . "dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first
American."

It is in these ways that America pays her best tribute to Abraham Lincoln. Because of him our Whitmans will go on through the ages singing of the port, the bells, "the people all exulting." Our Lowells up the generations will hang their wreaths on his world-honored urn. Men and women will despise poverty less, admire sincerity more; they will temper their intelligence with a kindlier humor, overcome their timidities with a finer self-reliance, and be more sagacious because of the amplitudes in that life, interpreting as they do the spirit of America to us and to the generations of the ages. That marble reminder of the Greek penetration and poise of him, surrounded by those Doric columns at Washington, is a reflection of the Lincoln in us. We bow naturally before the Atlantean character, and warm our colder souls beside the human sympathies of this man. There is a masculine sweetness in his plain pioneer virtues that is powerfully contagious. He lifts us all. And that, perhaps, is our truest and most abiding tribute to him who, with firmness in the right, had nothing but charity for all, to him who desired above all to "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

THE problem of reparations, it is hoped, is on its way to final settlement. The experts will open their sessions in Paris, February 9. The Reparations Commission, meeting in Paris, has formerly announced the personnel of the experts committee. J. P. Morgan and Owen D. Young will serve as unofficial American members, Thomas W. Lamont and Thomas Nelson Perkins serving as American alternates. It appears that the problem of the debts owed by foreign governments to the United States will not be discussed. It is reasonably clear that one object of the Committee, namely, the fix-

ing of the total amount Germany is to pay will be settled. Whether or not an attempt will be made to commercialize the whole German debt by floating bonds, sixty per cent in Europe and forty per cent in the United States, is still undetermined.

THE completion of a tunnel, started long since under the English Channel, linking England with the Continent by rail, has been revived in London with strong support in the Parliament. The enterprise, abandoned because of a fear that France might some day use it for an invasion of England, meets now with the favor of the Tory Government. It is thought that the building of the tunnel might help toward the solution of England's problems of unemployment.

THE relation of the radio to international peace opens up new fields for controversy. Already there are pleas for the control of the air for the protection of one nation from distasteful propaganda broadcast by another. It is argued that nothing but "the truth" should be sent over the air from one nation to the citizens of another, yet it is reported that the Roumanians and Poles are broadcasting propaganda distressful to the Russians. Not so long ago the Bolsheviks were charged with broadcasting objectionable propaganda over Europe. Germany has had experience with a man who captured a Berlin broadcasting station and spread red doctrines over Germany. But how broadcasting can be limited to "the truth" is of course the problem. What International Commission can be trusted to censor out all but the truth, on an international plane from week to week? If such a Commission were possible, how could its "truth" be broadcast from the people of one nation to those of another without the aid of some universal language? And so,

"double, double" come trooping along our "toil and trouble."

THE University of Frankfort-on-Main is offering a course of lectures on the political, economic, and cultural problems of the United States. In eleven weekly discussions, which began in December and will last into February, the United States is being analyzed by professors, parliamentarians, editors, former cabinet ministers, and under-secretaries of State, most of whom have visited the Western Hemisphere.

THE Near East Colleges Association has succeeded in raising \$10,250,000 towards its endowment fund. The total amount needed for endowing the six institutions in the Near and Far East, the Woman's College at Constantinople, Robert College also in Constantinople, the American University at Beirut, the College of Athens, the International College at Smyrna, and the American School in Sofia, is \$15,000,000. Of the \$4,750,000 which must be raised to complete the fund by July 1, 1929, it is hoped that \$1,000,000 will be given for endowing professorships in the six colleges. The American Peace Society is especially interested in the development of this educational work, particularly because it is being carried on under the worthy leadership of descendants of David Low Dodge, in whose home a century ago the American Peace Society was founded.

THE CONSCRIPTION of capital and labor in the event of war, as set forth in the so-called Capper Bill, is receiving the support of the American Legion and other persons. One of the main purposes of the plan is to remove from war the prospect of profits. It is proposed that in time of war, men, material and money shall be conscripted for services in

the interest of victory. There is no reason why, in time of war, the government should be obliged to buy material in the open market at highly inflated prices. There is no reason why one branch of the government should bid against another. An agreement on the part of the government to purchase manufacturer's products at the manufacturing cost plus ten per cent for profit, as during the world war, led contractors to realize that their profits increased as their efficiency diminished. It's hard to defend the equity of paying civilians \$15 a day for working side by side in a shipyard with soldiers who receive only \$1 and keep. There are sound arguments in favor of universal conscription when once war has been let loose.

THE Inter-Collegiate Peace Association aims to arouse among the undergraduate students in the colleges and universities an interest in the problem of international peace. The Association is especially interested to develop habits, theories, and effective thinking on right international relations. Professor Stephen Weston of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, is Chairman of the Executive Committee and Executive Secretary. We have known of Professor Weston and his work for many years. Working without salary, he now asks for the "expenses" of his work for one year, an amount which he estimates at four hundred dollars. Both Professor Weston and his labors deserve far more.

THE possible relation of food to international peace is, as far as we know, a new problem. Investigations and experiments carried on for several years in Japan and India seem to have discovered that nourishment has a direct relation to race characteristics. By feeding Japanese children on a diet like that of races with

greater stature, the results show an increase of several centimeters in height and several pounds increased weight. A military physician in India has achieved similar results with certain Indian tribes.

To carry the investigations further, a litter of rats, whose metabolism is similar to that of mankind, was taken. One-half were fed with food such as the Sikhs and Pathans use, and the other half with normal Indian food. Frequent experiments showed that the "Sikh-Pathan" group attained a considerable size, while the other group remained much smaller.

THE tariff question between the United States and Argentina is one of the problems facing Mr. Hoover. Economists estimate that the United States will become less and less an exporter of agricultural products, and that our markets for food will increase with our growing population. This may result in more pressure for higher tariffs on imported foods. Argentina is far from reaching the peak of her agricultural surplus for export. Her manufacturers are getting started. There may, therefore, be a greater insistence by Argentina upon a higher tariff against our manufactured exports. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the desire of the United States to protect her farmers against foreign competition may be met by Argentina's desire to build up her manufactures. This may end in losses in markets on both sides. Mr. Hoover, who believes in a tariff on agricultural products as a measure of farmer relief and who is greatly interested in furthering our export trade, has here a neat problem not so easy to solve. The importance of this lies in the fact that Argentina is one of our most promising markets for manufactured products, and at the same time one of the strongest potential competitors of American agriculture.

THE Theory of Security as understood in Europe ranks with the English schoolboy's reply to the question, "What do you understand by the Theory of Exchange?" when he wrote, probably with profound truth, "The Theory of Exchange, as I understand it, is not very well understood."

AN International Police Force of Aviators as a means of preventing war has been submitted to the League of Nations by Clifford B. Harmon, of New York, President of the International League of Aviators. The plan proposes a new force of aviators from all nations to aid the League of Nations in enforcing peace. Mr. Harmon is quoted as recommending that each nation interested in maintaining peace would eventually place at the disposal of the League of Nations a certain proportion of its best pilots, both military and commercial, who, in an emergency, would serve to carry messages of peace, and if necessary, play the rôle of air police wherever a threat of war should develop. "Their primary duty would be to keep populations informed in an aggressor country regarding their danger, and if need be they could be used to carry a threat which would be sufficient to preserve peace." He went on to say:

"I know that the question of an international army was discussed at the Peace Conference and met with insurmountable opposition, and that the same idea has been brought up in the League of Nations, both in secret sessions and in the disarmament discussions. But it appears that what is unrealizable for all forms of arms might be effectively accomplished in aviation alone, which is the most mobile branch of warfare.

"I do not underestimate the difficulties, but I believe that with the support of public opinion, the proposal should receive serious attention by the peoples and their governments."

Mr. Harmon proposes that the pilots should have special uniform insignia, and he suggests the name "Silver Wings of Peace" for their service.

Does anyone believe that Great Britain would agree to hand over to a group of men sitting in Geneva the right to send a fleet of aviators to drop bombs on London? How can an American citizen contemplate with seriousness the prospect of the United States Senate, of a President of the United States, of the public opinion of this country agreeing to pass over to a group of foreign gentlemen the right to drop bombs on cities of the United States? Absurdity could scarcely go further than this new proposal by the American president of the International League of Aviators.

HONORABLE NEWTON D. BAKER, former Secretary of War, advises, according to the Associated Press, that the United States recognize the umpire's decision whenever two nations attempt to settle a dispute by arbitration. So far, so good. But Mr. Baker is quoted as going on to say, "This would do a great deal toward establishing peace, for every nation would feel that it could not depend on the United States for vital assistance in a military emergency and therefore would move cautiously before engaging in war." Surely there is something left out here. It is also said that Mr. Baker advises that in the event the culpable nation goes to war in defiance of an umpire's decision, the United States would not insist on its rights of neutral trade, but, instead, would refuse to sell munitions or supplies or food to the nation at fault." Such a plan would, of course, put the United States in the position of a judge quite outside the processes of law. Again, there must be something wrong in the report, for the Honorable Newton D. Baker is too good a lawyer and too well versed in the proc-

esses of justice to recommend any peace plan such as this.

THE International Bureau of Telegraph Union, with headquarters at Berne, Switzerland, advises that a European Broadcasting Conference will be held at Prague, Czechoslovakia, from April 4 to April 13, 1929. The agenda of the Conference will be as follows: (a) Allocation of wave lengths for European broadcasting; (b) allocation of waves attributed to telegraphy; (c) other questions concerning which suggestions were welcomed up to December 31st.

The American Minister at Berne has telegraphed our Department of State that

the following governments will be represented at the Conference:

Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, Spain, Estonia, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, Servia, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Russia. The American Legation at Prague advises that an invitation will be extended to the United States to send non-voting observers to this Conference. The United States is in charge of matters relating to the International Radio Convention and Regulations until the Conference scheduled to be held at Madrid in 1932.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

MARITIME POLICIES

THERE is considerable sentiment in the United States Senate, a sentiment shared by such men as Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Lee in England, that an international conference on sea policy, and in the interest of changes in maritime law, is an immediate need. It is being pointed out frequently that if Great Britain and the United States should come to an agreement as to the rights of neutral commerce in time of war or peace that the whole question of relative ship tonnage could be easily settled. It is becoming increasingly clear that the relative strength of fleets always depends in the last analysis upon policy, affecting such divergent problems as "fighting strength," "protection of commerce," "blockades," and the rest.

Both Houses of our Congress, in an Amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill in the Spring of 1921, favored with practical unanimity a Conference of Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, in the interest of a reduced naval expenditure. This was followed by the Washington Conference on the Limita-

tion of Arms. Following the submission by the Administration of a \$740,000,000 naval building program, Senator Borah introduced a resolution looking to a conference of the great naval Powers to restate the law governing neutrals and belligerents at sea in time of war. There is an amendment to the present cruiser construction bill pending in the Senate, declaring that the Congress favors a re-statement and re-codification of the rules of law governing the conduct of belligerents and neutrals in war at sea, and that such a conference should be brought about prior to the next conference in 1931 on the limitation of armaments.

United States and Sea Law

The problem of neutral rights at sea is a very old one. Pericles, who ruled in Athens some four hundred fifty years before Christ, introduced a bill calling for a conference at Athens, according to Plutarch, "to deliberate . . . concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace." There was a codification of the laws of the sea in time of war, published at Barcelona as

early as 1494. Two conflicting interests have persisted through the years: First, the interest of neutrals in continuing their trade in time of war, as in time of peace, without interference; and second, the will of belligerents to prevent their enemies from obtaining aid from neutral sources.

The United States has insisted from the beginning that it should enjoy the rights of a neutral in time of war between European powers. This is the so-called doctrine of the freedom of the sea.

Benjamin Franklin favored a clause in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, providing that "all merchants or traders with their unarmed vessels, employed in commerce, . . . shall be allowed to pass free unmolested." The failure of this provision, made the War of 1812 possible; indeed, it was a failure to observe this principle that brought on the naval troubles between our country and France in 1798.

Due to the opposition of Great Britain, the attempts of our statesmen to readjust the principles of maritime law in the Treaty of Ghent, signed December 3, 1815, ended in failure. Our country reasserted its position on neutral rights at the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, but to no purpose. The United States was willing to surrender its rights to employ privateers on the condition that other Powers would accept the American claim to full freedom on the seas as a principle of international law. Nothing came of this proposal.

When the Powers met in Paris in 1856 to liquidate the Crimean War, they set forth in the Preamble to their "Declaration of Paris" the belief that the differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents should be adjusted in terms of a uniform doctrine. The declaration set forth that: Privateering should be abolished; that a neutral flag protects enemies goods with the exception of contraband; that neutral goods, with the exception of contraband, are not liable to capture; that blockades can be effective only when maintained by a force competent to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. The United States objected to the first provision on the ground that it is as injurious to a private shipper to have his goods seized by a privateer as

by a man of war. In other words, the United States would give up privateering if the other Powers would grant the immunity to all non-contraband private property, whether on neutral or enemy ships. In 1858 the United States returned to the problem of neutrality by proposing to Great Britain a treaty along the lines of the "Declaration of Paris." Britain refused.

In 1860 an effort was made in the House of Commons to bring about an agreement upon the complete immunity for all merchant ships, but without avail.

During our Civil War, our Government turned from its traditional policy, and emphasized its rights as a belligerent. The ports of the seceding States were closed by decree, and our Government devoted its energies to an effective blockade. British traders adopted a scheme of sailing to Bermuda and other West Indian ports, on the theory that they would thus avoid capture for carrying contraband or for "running" a blockade. International law recognized no right of a belligerent to interfere with commerce between two British or other neutral ports. To meet this situation, the United States evolved the "doctrine of continuous voyage." Our Supreme Court declared that, notwithstanding a stop in a neutral port, there was one continuous voyage from England to the belligerent. This doctrine proved to be embarrassing to the United States during the World War when American vessels bound for European neutral ports were held by the British to be subject to the rights of belligerents to search and seizure, under our own "doctrine of continuous voyage."

In 1899, John Hay, Secretary of State, instructed our American delegates to the First Hague Conference to push the project for complete immunity of private property at sea; but they met with little success.

In 1904, our Congress passed a resolution calling upon the President to obtain the "incorporation into the permanent law of civilized nations of the principles of exemptions of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerent."

In 1907, Secretary Root instructed the American delegates to the Second Hague Conference to urge the adoption of the

following articles: "The private property of all citizens of the signatory Powers, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure at sea by the armed vessels or military forces of the said Power. However, this provision in no way implies the inviolability of vessels which may attempt to enter a port blockaded by the naval forces of the above-mentioned powers, nor the cargoes of the said vessels." This proposal was opposed by the British delegation, with a counter proposal that Great Britain was ready to abandon the principle of contraband in case of war between the Powers which may sign a convention to that effect; with the further proviso that the right of search would be exercised only for the purpose for ascertaining the neutral character of merchant ships. The British proposal was also defeated.

During the World War

The "Declaration of London," signed in 1909, setting forth existing rules of international law at some length, was never accepted by any of the Powers. At the outbreak of the World War, however, President Wilson proposed to the belligerents, under date of August 6, 1914, that both sides agree to be bound by the provisions of the "Declaration of London." To this proposal Germany and Austria agreed; but the British Government practically refused. The United States thereupon withdrew its suggestions and served notice that it would insist "that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States, irrespective of the provisions of the 'Declaration of London.'"

The law of the sea was "interpreted" by the principal belligerents and "adapted to modern conditions" in such ways as to bring a continuous series of protests from the United States against violations of established neutral rights. The contraband lists were extended by leaps and bounds from the earliest days of the war and the age-old distinction between absolute contraband and conditional contraband was soon obliterated. The final British contraband list, as published July 3, 1917, covered thousands of articles

beginning with "abrasive materials" and ending with "yeast." Neutral vessels, instead of being searched at sea, were taken to British ports and often held for months while evidence to justify the seizure of their cargoes was accumulated. The burden of proof in prize courts was shifted from the captor to the captured. The doctrine of "continuous voyage" was revived and indefinitely extended to justify interference with American trade with European neutrals.

The British extended their blockade almost to American ports, and in the case of European neutral ports little attention was paid to the principles of international law. Rights of neutrals were wholly ignored. But in the case of Great Britain no American lives were lost, the losses being confined to American property. The violation of international law by Germany, however, involved not only the loss of property but the loss of American lives, a circumstance which led the United States to enter the war on the side of the Allies. When the United States took this step she accepted, in effect, the Allied interpretations of the law.

Our Neutrality

By the terms of a diplomatic agreement, effected by an exchange of notes, May 19, 1927, Great Britain and the United States have agreed to press no claims on behalf of any national claiming loss or damages as a result of war, each government undertaking to satisfy the claims of its own nationals. Under the terms of this diplomatic arrangement, both Great Britain and the United States reserve the right in any future war to assume the same position as to neutral or belligerent rights that it maintained during the World War. The meaning of international law at sea in time of war is left in complete uncertainty and this in spite of President Wilson's insistence among his "Fourteen Points" on January 8, 1918, of the: "Absolute freedom of navigation on the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for enforcement of international covenants." The British Admiralty successfully blocked all attempts to

deal with the freedom of the seas issue in the Treaty of Versailles. President Wilson explained, however, that this was of no importance because upon the acceptance of the League of Nations, "if there should be war, there will be no neutrals." Since the United States has rejected the Treaty of Versailles, America's policy of political isolation and her views of neutrality stand as before the war. The United States seems bent upon retaining its neutrality in any future outbreak of war.

ANTI-WAR TREATY IS DEFINED IN STATEMENT BY SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

A REPORT of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, at which it was stated that it was the opinion of the Committee that the Kellogg treaty for the renunciation of war does not impair American rights under the Monroe doctrine or national defense, was submitted to the Senate, January 15, prior to the ratification of the pact. The report also stated that the Committee's interpretation of the treaty was that the agreement does not bind the United States to resort to punitive measures against any nation which might violate the treaty.

The full text of the report of the Committee follows:

Your Committee on Foreign Relations reports favorably the treaty signed at Paris, August 27, 1928, popularly called the multi-lateral or Kellogg-Briand treaty.

The treaty in brief pledges the nations bound by the same not to resort to war in the settlement of their international controversies save in bona fide self-defense and never to seek settlement of such controversies except through pacific means. It is hoped and believed that the treaty will serve to bring about a sincere effort upon the part of the nations to put aside war and to employ peaceful methods in their dealing with each other.

The Committee reports the above treaty with the understanding that the right of self-defense is in no way curtailed or impaired by the terms or conditions of the treaty. Each nation is free at all times and regardless of the treaty provisions to de-

fend itself, and is the sole judge of what constitutes the right of self-defense and the necessity and extent of the same.

The United States regards the Monroe doctrine as a part of its national security and defense. Under the right of self-defense allowed by the treaty must necessarily be included the right to maintain the Monroe doctrine, which is a part of our system of national defense. Bearing upon this question and as to the true interpretation of the Monroe doctrine as it has always been maintained and interpreted by the United States, we incorporate the following:

"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. . . . It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness." (President Monroe's message, December 2, 1823.)

"The doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a Nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinct form of government." (Message of President Cleveland, December 17, 1895.)

"The doctrine is not international law, but it rests upon the right of self-protection and that right is recognized by international law. The right is a necessary corollary of independent sovereignty. 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. . . .

"Since the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration based upon this nation's right of self-protection it can not be transmitted into a joint or common declaration by American States, or any number of them.

"It is to be observed that in reference to the South American governments, as in all other respects, the international right upon which the declaration expressly rests is not sentiment or sympathy or a claim to dictate what kind of government any other country shall have, but the safety of the United States. It is because the new governments can not be overthrown by the allied powers 'without endangering our peace and happiness,' that 'the United States can not behold such interposition in any form with indifference.'" Hon. Elihu Root, July, 1914.)

"There are now three fundamental principles which characterize the policy of President Monroe as it was and as it is. First, the Monroe Doctrine was a statement of policy originated and maintained by reason

of self-interest, not of altruism. Second, it was justifiable by reason of the right of self-defense (which is a recognized principle of international law). Third, it called no new rights into being; therefore, whenever it oversteps the principle of self-defense, reasonably interpreted, the right disappears and the policy is questionable, because it then violates the rights of others. . . .

"The Monroe doctrine is based upon the right of self-defense. This is the first law of nations, as of individuals." Prof. Theodore Woolsey, June, 1914.)

The committee further understands that the treaty does not provide sanctions, express or implied. Should any signatory to the treaty or any nation adhering to the treaty violate the terms of the same, there is no obligation or commitment, express or implied, upon the part of any of the other signers of the treaty to engage in punitive or coercive measures as against the nation violating the treaty. The effect of the violation of the treaty is to relieve the other signers of the treaty from any obligation under it with the nation thus violating the same.

In other words, the treaty does not, either expressly or impliedly, contemplate the use of force or coercive measures for its enforcement as against any nation violating it. It is a voluntary pledge upon the part of each nation that it will not have recourse to war except in self-defense, and that it will not seek settlement of its international controversies except through pacific means.

And if a nation sees proper to disregard the treaty and violate the same, the effect of such action is to take it from under the benefits of the treaty to relieve the other nations from any treaty relationship with the said power.

This treaty in no respect changes or qualifies our present position or relation to any pact or treaty existing between other nations or governments.

This report is made solely for the purpose of putting upon record what your committee understands to be the true interpretation of the treaty, and not in any sense for the purpose or with the design of modifying or changing the treaty in any way or effectuating a reservation or reservations to the same.

This report of the Committee, submitted to the Senate, was not acted upon. It forms no part of the Treaty.

BRITISH EXPORT CREDITS

IN ORDER to facilitate the British export trade, the British Government has had, for several years past, a system of government guarantee for export credits. Last year a special form of contract between the government and the exporter asking for guarantee was introduced, and recently another form of contract was worked out, which, it is believed, will afford still greater facilities for the British exporters. The scheme under which these contracts operate expires in September, 1929, but the government has introduced a bill in Parliament for its prolongation for another two years. By September, 1931, the scheme will have been in operation for five years, and it is expected that sufficient experience will then have been accumulated for a decision as to whether or not the system shall be continued in the future.

Character of the Contracts

The new contract, known as "B" to distinguish it from Contract "A" or floating contract introduced in 1927, differs from the latter in several important respects. The floating contract, under which, during the 15 months of its operation exports have been facilitated to the extent of five million pounds sterling, is in the nature of an insurance policy which provides exporters with insurance against the risk of bad debts contracted while trading abroad. Exporters, under the floating contract, can obtain cover on each of the markets with which they do business on the basis of bills of exchange. The Department of Overseas Trade, which administers the scheme, agrees to guarantee bills drawn by an exporter on a list of customers in a particular market, up to limits which are indicated in the schedule to the contract, and within a total amount of bills for the whole. The contract normally covers shipments over not more than six months forward. This, it is claimed, enables an exporter to examine offers of business from a foreign buyer, knowing in advance that he will be covered on that name up to certain limits.

But this form of contract is subject to certain conditions, any of which, if broken,

may invalidate the contract. The Government has received representations from all quarters urging that, if Great Britain is to maintain her place in the struggle for international trade, British exporters must be able to offer credit terms where necessary. But in order to give credit an exporter must be able to obtain it, and experience has shown that many reliable exporters, with sound foreign trade connections, have found it difficult to obtain credit adequate for the business offered to them, and this has had the effect of restricting their exports. It has been urged that if these exporters could offer their banks further security of undoubted value, they could increase their credit limits.

Government Guarantee

In order to meet this point of view discussions have been going on since the beginning of 1928 to see whether it was possible to produce a new form of contract. There have been long consultations with the representatives of the leading banks—including the "Big Five," and also the important oversea banks—and as a result, Contract B has been framed, and has been accepted by the banks as a perfectly satisfactory form of security. In addition, it maintains the insurance cover and all the other advantages of Contract A. It gives an unconditional guarantee to the bank—the guarantee of the British Government. The contract is self-liquidating in a short period, and thus will secure the bank against the locking-up of its funds. The contract also secures the client of the bank against loss and frozen assets.

The Department's guarantee covers the export of goods to clients whom the exporter and the Department believe to be reasonably sound, and covers either a specific name or a list of names for deliveries over a forward period. Through Contract B an exporter can, at the beginning of the buying season, cover the whole of his deliveries over many months ahead, with the certainty that, to the extent of the Department's guarantee, he is protected against risk of loss through bad debts; he is given facilities for obtaining advances from his bankers at fine rates without recourse to himself; and he is assured that those advances can be liqui-

dated at their due dates with certainty. The exporter is thus enabled in advance to meet any expansion of trade or other fluctuations in conditions which may render further credits necessary for a time. It will be seen, therefore, that this new form of contracts is a valuable asset to an exporter who wishes to obtain credit in order to give credit in developing a sound export trade, and, at the same time, desires to strengthen his own position by insuring the credit risk.

As in the case of Contract A, each application will be considered on its merits and the premiums fixed accordingly. The amount of the guarantee will still be on the 75 per cent basis. The Department of Overseas Trade has announced that it will not in any circumstances encourage trade with speculative, doubtful, or irregular customers, as its policy is to help in the development of sound oversea trade and thus aid employment by placing the exporters of this country in a position to meet foreign competition and secure orders for British workpeople.

Guidance for Exporters

The following extracts are taken from an official circular which has been drawn up for the guidance of exporters and bankers when submitting proposals for guarantees:

Special consideration will be given to exporters who:—(a) Offer the Department the whole of their turnover in a particular market; (b) give full information about their trading experience in that market, including a record of their turnover and bad debts in recent years, and the names and addresses of their agents.

Length of credit.—It is against the policy of the Department to encourage the granting of longer credits than are customary for the trade and country concerned, *e. g.*, for textiles up to six months maximum. For the heavy industries credits up to five years may be considered.

Lists of names.—An exporter who submits a list of names of customers, or proposed customers, with a credit limit for each, will require a contract to cover his expected turnover on those names. In such cases the total amount of the contract should bear a reasonable relation to the total of the credit limits

on the importers, *e. g.*, if the exporter sends a list of 20 names each for £1,000, the Department is not likely to give a contract for a total turnover as small as, say, £5,000.

Countries where protest is not customary.—Special arrangements can be made to cover certain Latin American countries in which it is not the normal practice of banks to protest unpaid bills. Russia and some of the Far Eastern countries are specifically excluded from the operation of the scheme.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN CHINA

FOLLOWING the removal of the Chinese capital from Peking to Nanking, the Chinese leaders have been busily at work constructing a new scheme of government. They have now worked out the main outlines of the new system, which is functioning under the name of the National Government.

The National Government

The character of the new National Government in China is not at all clear from available reports from Nanking. One thing is certain, and that is that the Kuomintang retains supreme control over the machinery of government through an intricate hierarchical system of "conferences" and "councils." General Chiang-Kai-Shek is the President, or titular head, of the government and holds power at the will of the Kuomintang. The Cabinet of Ministers is a purely administrative body, composing the Administrative Council of the government.

On October 25 the following Ministers took their oath of office: T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance; C. T. Wang, Foreign Affairs; Feng Yu-hsiang, War; Yi Fei-chi, Agriculture; H. H. Kung, Industry; Chiang Meng-ling, Education; Sun Fo, Railways; Yen Hsi-shan, Interior; Wang Po-chun, Communications; Hsueh Tuh-pi, Health.

The oath was administered by President Chiang-Kai-Shek, who admonished the new ministers to memorize the words "integrity," "caution," "industry," "discipline," and "vigilance."

In the working out of the new system no attempt has been made so far to define

the relationships of the central government and the provinces, or to set a time limit for the term of office of any individual, "council," or "conference."

Policy of the National Government

On October 28 the National Government issued a manifesto, detailing at great length its program of internal reform. This was its first official pronouncement since its formation. The first essential, says the manifesto, is to cut down the Army, "for our past experiences have shown us that militarism is the cause of our national bankruptcy." With this end in view a conference of all the military commanders would be convened soon at Nanking. A million and a half dollars was suggested as the limit of military expenditure a month. Then came the abolition of *likin* and other irregular levies and the promised institution of a new national tariff and currency reform.

The manifesto also forecast a gradual system of local autonomy to pave the way for the "political regeneration of the country." Railroad development, river conservancy, and a large scheme of education and physical training are other matters which had a place in this program.

On January 2, a conference on national military reorganization and demobilization met at Nanking. In a memorandum submitted to this conference of military leaders, Mr. T. V. Soong, Finance Minister, strongly urged centralization of the control of finances as the only way to prevent early bankruptcy and the early disintegration of the present federation.

Dr. Soong pointed out that China is spending 41 per cent of her total revenues to support military activities, compared with 8 per cent in the United States, 9 per cent in Japan, and similar small percentage in other nations.

The Minister's memorandum outlines five basic points for the foundation of financial stability, namely:

"First, all national taxes should be collected only by Finance Ministry agents, with military and local authorities both strictly forbidden to interfere in any way.

"Second, the Minister of Finance should have undivided control of the appointments of finance officers.

"Third, provincial subsidies to the armies should be remitted to the Treasury, which would be responsible for the payment of all military expenses.

"Fourth, the provincial gendarmerie should be paid from provincial revenues.

"Fifth, the conference should apportion definitely the military allowance of the different armies and detail the procedure for payment of each unit, which plan would be strictly followed by the Finance Ministry."

"If the five conditions are accepted, the Finance Ministry will be ready to meet regularly its obligations in addition to reasonable disbandment expenses. If not, the future is dark indeed."

Dr. Soong points out that the Nationalist Government has existed for the past year on loans, asserting that nearly half of the national revenues was gained from taxes. He points out also that the new tariff, to be in effect February 1, is hardly expected to increase revenues materially in the first year due to an abnormal rush of imports in the past few months to beat the raising of the tariff wall.

Dr. Soong frankly warned the military leaders attending the conference from all areas within the federation that "it is time finances were centralized."

"Otherwise," he continued, "only bankruptcy can result. The recent financial panic in the North was a warning sign that something must be done or we have no hope of maintaining even the present unsatisfactory condition, not to mention reconstruction, education, and reform."

Dr. Soong estimated the revenue for the year at \$457,000,000. Expenditures were estimated at \$507,000,000, indicating that there would be a deficit of \$50,000,000.

Dr. Soong pointed out that the allotment for military expenditures, while equivalent to 41 per cent of the estimated gross revenue, is actually 78 per cent of the net revenue, after deduction of fixed charges such as loan interests and sinking funds. He said that any scheme for meeting the defaulted loans needs a large additional outlay.

The memorandum expressed regret that there has been no improvement in finance since warfare ended, many provinces hav-

ing entirely appropriated national revenues.

In order to meet urgent administrative expenses, the government has been compelled to pledge the 2.5 per cent customs surtax and the tobacco and stamp taxes.

Dr. Soong expressed the belief that if his recommendations were followed the national revenue might be doubled in two years without undue hardships to the people. Constructive aid to educational measures could then be safely embarked upon and the general industrial and commercial development might be expected to increase by leaps and bounds. Without these reforms, Dr. Soong said in conclusion, "the future is dark indeed."

Manchuria Adheres to Chinese Federation

Settling a long controversy and finally giving definite evidence of adherence to the Nanking National Government's federation of all China, the Manchurian régime announced December 29 that it was officially flying the Nationalist flame-red banner with a white star on a blue field in the upper left-hand corner, replacing the original five barred emblem of the first republic.

Coming on the heels of the ten tariff autonomy treaties, Manchuria's alignment under the national flag is hailed in Chinese circles as a further achievement of Dr. C. T. Wang, the Foreign Minister, particularly, facilitated by the foreign press as well as the Chinese generally.

The Mukden-Nanking agreement is understood to provide that instead of the Manchurian Peace Preservation Committee, which was formed after the assassination of Marshal Chang with Young Chang as its chairman, the ruling body in Manchuria becomes the Northeastern Frontiers Defense Commission. Young Chang will remain as chairman of this commission, and the personnel will be virtually the same as that of the old body.

The leaders of the new Manchurian régime are all former followers of Chang Tso-Lin, Chang Tso-Hsiang remaining overlord of Kirin and Wan Fu-Lin overlord of Heilung Klang.

It was stated here that the hoisting of the flag December 29 instead of on the New Year as had previously been planned

was done because Nanking insisted in making 1928 a complete year of Nationalist triumph by the reunification of all Chinese dominions under the Kuomintang aegis.

One of China's Most Important Years

Revision of virtually all the old tariff compacts except the Japanese, and the adherence of Manchuria to the Central Government, are hailed as auspiciously closing one of the most important years in the history of China.

The third national Kuomintang convention is scheduled for March 15. Incidentally, Tong Hao-yi, former Premier at Peking, one of the abler elder statesmen of China and a personal friend of Herbert Hoover, was appointed high adviser to the State Council December 29. His appointment is regarded in some quarters as a gesture to utilize his influence as a peace-maker among the hot-headed factions within the Kuomintang.

TROTSKY'S PHILIPPIC AGAINST STALIN

A REMARKABLE book has just made its appearance in Berlin under the title, *Die wirkliche Lage in Russland* (The True Situation in Russia). It is by Leon Trotsky, written by the banished communist leader at his place of exile in Central Asia and smuggled out of the Soviet Union by Trotsky's friends. The book is permeated by a consuming hatred for the present leader of communism, and its guiding theme is summed up in the concluding sentence of the book, in which Trotsky says:

"Fully conscious of my responsibility for what I am now obliged to say, I declare that the Communist Party principally and before all owes to Stalin the cruel massacres of the Chinese proletariat and the suppression of the Chinese revolution, the strengthening of the Trades Union minions of the English Imperialism after the General Strike of 1926, and the general weakening of the position of the Communist International and of the Soviet Union."

Lenin's Warnings on Stalin

Trotsky's book tells the story of Lenin's political testament contained in a letter,

the existence of which was denied after his death by the Political Bureau because it was directed against Stalin, the Secretary-General of that organization. The letter is dated December 25, 1922, and in it Lenin still in the possession of his mental faculties, warns his followers against the danger of the feud between Trotsky and Stalin, for even then the two were in conflict. He wrote:

I believe that the chief danger and the key to future consolidation lies with the members of the Central Executive, Stalin and Trotsky. The menace of a cleavage is, I think, far more than half due to the relationship between them. . . . Comrade Stalin as the Secretary-General has concentrated a formidable power in his own hands, and I am not at all certain that he will always know how to use this power with the necessary prudence. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, . . . is not only remarkably clever—he certainly is the cleverest man in the Central Committee—but he knows his own value and possesses a complete understanding of the administrative side of State economics. The differences between these two most important leaders in the present Central Committee (adds Lenin prophetically) may bring about an involuntary cleavage, which will take place quite suddenly, if the party does not take any steps to prevent it.

Lenin's letter has a tragic postscript, dated January 4, 1923. The apostle of bolshevism feels his end approaching and sees that his colleagues have paid no heed to his warning. In the interval Stalin has on several occasions shown his brutal and uncompromising desire for autocratic power. Lenin writes, evidently after much thought:

Stalin is too uncompromising. This defect can be tolerated in the relations between us Communists, but in the office of Secretary-General it makes him impossible. I recommend to our comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that post and to replace him by a man who in every respect should be more patient, more loyal, more polite, more attentive to comrades, and less capricious, &c. These things may seem to be trivial. . . . but they may assume a decisive importance.

Trotsky asserts that Lenin's decision to oust Stalin from his influential position because he considered him to be a danger to the final success of the Soviet experiment, was reached after mature consideration and after weighing carefully all the pros and cons of the case. However, in the last period of his life Lenin's influence had waned and Stalin was able not only to maintain himself in power, but even to suppress all public knowledge of Lenin's last wishes. In his book Trotsky, though in disjointed fashion, describes the gradual growth of Stalin's autocracy. Among his accusations against Stalin is the story of the suicide of Adolf Joffe, Lenin's old friend and ally. Joffe shot himself in November, 1927, because owing to his opposition to Stalin and his group he was refused permission to go abroad to be treated for a serious and painful disease which endangered his life. A commission of Communist doctors had urged the necessity of his immediate removal to a sanatorium in Berlin, but Stalin would not let him go and ordered that he should be brought, by force if necessary, to the State hospital in the Kremlin. Joffe's wife had implored the dictator to permit her husband to go abroad for treatment if only for a few months. Joffe, seeing that no mercy could be expected, blew out his brains, but he left on the table a letter for Trotsky which revealed the agony of his last days.

Failure of Bolshevism

Several chapters tell the story of the fight of the "Trotskist" opposition with the ruling group in the Kremlin. Some of the facts are new and others are for the first time told in full detail. The sociologist of the future will find in them much light on the internal decay and gradual decline of a power which at one time threatened to overrun Europe. But what is particularly interesting is Trotsky's account of the present state of Russia. He ascribes to Stalin alone the responsibility for the disastrous conditions which now prevail. He may be right, but for the foreign observer what is more interesting is the confession from the lips of Lenin's principal helper that the regime which was to have been the foundation of a new society was a complete failure.

In spite of official optimism, which recalls the optimistic views held until the end by the last Tsar, Trotsky proclaims that private capital has not been destroyed in Russia, and that, on the contrary, it is increasing. The chief source from which capitalism receives fresh forces is the "25 million peasant proprietors," who form a mass in which a process of primitive accumulation of capital continues, deeply undermining the position of Socialism. Lenin, says Trotsky, believed in the possibility of the final victory of Socialism "if the Socialist State, after having put down the resistance of the profiteers . . . can place industry as a whole on the foundation of large-scale collective production according to modern technical methods and based on the total electrification of the country." For "only in this way can the towns hope to be in a position to give such technical and social assistance to the backward and undifferentiated rural areas as will be a foundation for a colossal increase in the productiveness of the small peasant . . . the way being thus prepared for a change over to agriculture on collective mechanized lines." Trotsky declares that the policy pursued by the Stalinites is not Socialism at all in the meaning of Lenin's doctrine. Under a mask of Socialist formulas is hidden a state of affairs most dangerous for the Soviet régime. The miserable condition in the eleventh year of the Bolshevik régime of the working class and the trade unions of Russia proclaims this danger.

Russia Today

Trotsky proves that the working proletariat in the cities is worse off than it was in the first years after the revolution of 1917, and he predicts that, if Stalin and his friends remain in power much longer the position will become much worse. "Rationalization" brings only increased unemployment, and the scale of wages, especially those of women and children, is being depressed. To this must be added the alarming increase of drunkenness, encouraged by the Government because the sale of vodka is one of the chief sources of revenue. The state of workers on the land is even worse, and

on the average their wages are not more than 63 per cent of what they were before the War. The hours of work are practically unlimited, and the Government takes no steps to protect the poorer peasants against exploitation by the richer classes in the villages. The housing situation is bad and is a danger to the development of industry. The number of unemployed is growing—it is now more than 2,000,000 and soon will reach 3,000,000. Strikes are increasing. The management of industrial undertakings is becoming less and less satisfactory. The workers are at the mercy of the directors, and the relationship between the rank and file and the foremen is often no different from what it was before the War. The factory committees are paralyzed, and the interest of the working mass in the administrative meetings is disappearing. Schools are not provided, and the problem of educating children is annually becoming more difficult.

Unrest is growing among the proletariat, but fear of administrative repression drives it underground. Trotsky passes under review various sides of national life, and proves that where there is no regression there is at least stagnation. The chief cause is the existence of an omnipotent bureaucracy, which with Stalin's assistance has managed gradually to substitute itself for popular government, and even for the Communist Party, Stalin sees his advantage in having to deal, not with Communists conscious of their political rights, but with officials whose existence depends on his favour and who recognize no master but the man who provides their bread and butter. The Soviets—that is, the Assemblies—which in Lenin's mind formed the backbone of the régime, have lost much of their importance:

The Soviets have less and less to say in the decision of important political, economic, and cultural questions. More and more are they becoming appendices of the executive committees and of the presidium. The power of government is concentrated in the hands of the presidium. Elections are held at increasingly long intervals, and the discussion of problems in the meetings is perfunctory.

FRENCH INDUSTRY ADVANCES

GERMANY is not alone in the rehabilitation of Europe. There has been notable improvement in basic economic conditions and further progress towards permanent and healthy prosperity in France during 1928.

The successful stabilization of the franc marked the beginning of a new epoch, ending the danger of harmful credit inflation and removing important elements of uncertainty which had hampered the normal expansion of activity, says a report from Commercial Attache H. C. MacLean, Paris, with cooperation of Consuls Harold Pleyter, Lille; Hugh H. Watson, Lyon; and John D. Johnson, Strasbourg, to the U. S. Department of Commerce.

With a stable currency, a balanced budget, abundant credit at low rates, and a new feeling of confidence on the part of the consuming public, French business, with few exceptions, is declared to have developed satisfactorily, despite the continued heavy burden of taxation. Industrial production has been steadily maintained at a high level. The iron and steel industry made new records for the year as a result of the increased domestic demand. The engineering trades, especially manufactures of machine tools, were active, following a large demand for new productive equipment. There was an increase in the output of automotive vehicles.

In the coal industry an improvement took place as a result of larger sales to metallurgical establishments. Despite slackness during the first quarter, the chemical industry experienced a successful year, with a record production in most categories, and profitable selling prices. At the present time production, consumption, and prices of chemical products are stable at a high level.

Despite a midyear depression in general conditions, the wool industry had a satisfactory year. Silk and rayon establishments were exceptionally active, but the outlook for the immediate future is less favorable. Only the cotton mills report an unsatisfactory year, manufacturers claiming that prices were unremunerative.

The government's ambitious housing program insures prolonged activity in the building materials and construction trades, it is said. There is greater evidence of a labor shortage and the tendency of both wages and prices is upward. Car loadings and port traffic both reflect an increasing volume of trade, and although higher imports and the reduced value of exports caused an unfavorable visible foreign trade balance during 1928 as compared with the preceding year, this was due entirely to lower export prices, inasmuch as the tonnage of exports increased. Although the major cereal crops made a good showing, the price situation was highly unsatisfactory, and the prolonged summer drought caused serious damage to other crops.

A statement of the Bank of France

for January 4 as compared with that of December 28 showed a gold reserve of 32,680,000,000 francs, an increase of 700,000,000 francs. Sight deposits abroad totaled 13,547,000,000 francs, an increase of 36,000,000 francs. Negotiable foreign paper declined by 714,000,000 francs to 18,416,000,000 francs. The item comprising exchange sold under a repurchase agreement has been entirely wiped out. Discounts at 4,547,000,000 francs, were 1,200,000,000 francs lower, and advances on securities increased 100,000,000 francs to 2,326,000,000 francs. The note issue stood at 64,183,000,000 francs, an increase of 267,000,000 francs. The current account of the Treasury at 6,160,000,000 francs, showed a decrease of 670,000,000 francs.

THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT UNION

By THORVALD SOLBERG

Register of Copyrights of the Library of Congress

THE principle of literary property protection has made slow progress in the United States. Within a few years a century and a half will have elapsed since the enactment of our earliest copyright legislation. The resolution adopted by Congress on May 2, 1783, recommended the several states to secure to the authors of new books the copyright of such books for a certain time. Twelve of the thirteen original states enacted such legislation, and our first Federal Copyright Act followed on May 31, 1790.

These early laws confined the rights granted to authors who were citizens of the United States and the Federal Act of 1790 contained a provision excluding from this legal protection the foreign author's work and expressly permitting the importation, reprinting, and selling of his work in the United States.

The early state laws on copyright contained in their preambles a statement that it was agreeable to the principles of natural equity and justice that every author should be secured in receiving the profits that might arise from the sale of his works. But in these very enactments care was taken not only to deny such se-

curity to foreign authors (by express statement in some of them) but it was further enacted that the protection in any state for the works of an author living without the boundaries of that state should depend upon the existence of reciprocal protection in such author's own state.

In the amendatory legislation following the Act of 1790 and especially in the various acts of revision passed in 1831 and 1870, and in our Revised Statutes of 1873 the same general provisions are found repeated; a specific limitation of the grant of copyright to works by citizens of the United States—and making the protection to depend upon compliance with purely technical formalities that have nothing to do with the principle of copyright protection. When finally, after long and strenuous endeavor, congressional enactment was secured to extend copyright to foreign authors, not only were the previous technical requirements reenacted, but exact compliance therewith by transatlantic authors was demanded and other new and burdensome conditions were imposed. Literary-property protection for the foreign author

was not to be secured except upon the manufacture in the United States of the author's book for which protection was desired; and while extending to the foreign author a protected market for his literary production in the United States, he was expressly excluded from supplying that market with copies of the original edition of his work, and could only arrange to have sold for his benefit in such market copies of his book which were actually produced in the United States. This requirement of American manufacture and the prohibition of importation of copies of the foreign author's work was modified by the legislation of 1909 so far as books printed in languages other than English were concerned. But up to the present time it is still a necessity in order to secure copyright protection in the United States that any work by a foreign author which is originally produced in the English language must be re-manufactured in the United States, and it is only when it has been so re-manufactured that a continuing copyright protection can be secured, and during the full period of that protection the copies of his authorized, original edition are excluded; except that an American reader or student may import "for his individual use and not for sale" one copy of such author's book.

The Copyright Act of 1891 permitted the foreign author to claim protection for his work in the United States, but only when the foreign country of which such author was a citizen granted,

"either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens, or copyright protection substantially equal to the protection secured to such foreign author under this Act or by treaty."

The Act provided that the existence of this required reciprocal protection was to be made known by a Presidential Proclamation. Since 1891, such copyright proclamations have been issued in behalf of the nationals of some 30 foreign countries. These copyright relations are based upon an understanding that in return for the extension to our nationals of the rights and remedies accorded by the copyright laws of such foreign countries, au-

thors who are citizens of such foreign countries are entitled to claim all the rights accorded by our copyright laws. It is, of course, necessary for the foreign author to comply fully and exactly with the conditions and formalities prescribed by our copyright laws, and for our citizens to do the same in each foreign country where copyright protection is claimed. Hence the protection is not automatic, but depends upon exact compliance with any requirements prescribed. It is, therefore, neither a very practical nor a satisfactory procedure. An American author if he wishes copyright protection in certain foreign countries is obliged to ascertain just what he may be required to do in each of such countries, and within what interval of time he must do it. It is not the automatic protection which might be secured by means of a treaty or convention.

The European countries, recognizing the disadvantage incident to copyright laws providing copyright for differing periods of protection, covering diverse subject-matters of copyright, and accorded upon compliance with different conditions, united in formulating an International Copyright Convention, under which there was instituted in 1887 an International Copyright Union, and the authors of any one of the countries within this Union are protected, automatically in each of the other countries of the Union, which now includes 33 countries; the United States, together with China and Russia not being members.

The creation of this Copyright Union is the most noticeable forward movement with respect to copyright protection that the world has seen. It is a very practical method of securing for all authors that respect for and the legal protection of their created works throughout practically the entire world. It has no doubt done more to foster authorship, to promote literary, artistic, dramatic, and musical production than any legislation enacted by the countries independently.

The United States has not yet entered into this Union. It has been persistently invited to do so. Our Minister to Switzerland attended the formative conferences held at Berne, Switzerland; the Register of Copyrights was present at the Conference of revision held at Berlin

in 1908; and at the recent copyright conference in Rome the United States was represented by a delegation comprising the American Ambassador there, the Counselor and the commercial attaches of the Embassy, the Hon. Sol Bloom, and the Register of Copyrights.

The question of adherence to the International Copyright Convention by the United States has become more insistent with the passing of time. Originally it was of more importance to European countries than to the United States that the latter country should become a member of the Union; but with the great development of literary, musical, and dramatic production in the United States and the creation of the very great interests of motion-picture producers and phonograph-record makers, it has become very desirable that all intellectual producers should become entitled to this assured, automatic protection throughout all the countries of the Union.

The purpose of international copyright is to secure such general protection for the author's works *everywhere*. The product of an author's mind is property of a kind that lends itself to such world protection. Under modern conditions an author can send his work to all parts of the world, but he should be assured that it will be respected wherever it goes. If his work is a book, copies of it can be sent into all the countries of the International Postal Union upon payment of a few cents of postage. It is reasonably contended that an author's book should be thus fully protected everywhere, and, as a corollary, that authorized copies of his book should be permitted to go to every part of the world.

In the various European countries, after their domestic legislation had accorded protection to authors of such countries, it was found desirable that this protection should be extended to authors of countries with which there had been developed a close literary intercourse. The result was a series of copyright treaties or conventions between different countries. Presently it was realized that it was feasible for a number of countries to agree to offer copyright protection in each of them for the works of the authors of all of them, and the idea of a general copyright treaty led to a proposal

in 1882 for such a Convention as the basis for an international copyright union. This idea was developed in conferences held at Berne, Switzerland, for several years in succession and resulted in 1886 in the signing of the International Copyright Convention by ten European countries, such countries becoming thereby the initial members of the resulting International Copyright Union, which went into effect on September 5, 1887.

This Convention was revised at Paris in 1896, at Berlin in 1908, and at Rome in 1928, and this final revision was there signed on Saturday, June 2d last. Such countries as have signed this Convention and ratified it are according to the Articles of Convention "constituted into a Union for the protection of the rights of authors in their literary and artistic works." Authors belonging to one of the countries of the Union enjoy for their works not only the rights accorded by the country where the work is first published but in all the other countries of the Union such rights as are accorded by the domestic legislation of such countries to their own authors. The enjoyment and the exercise of such rights are not subject to any formality. The extent of the protection, as well as the means of redress to safeguard the author's right, are regulated exclusively by the legislation of the country where the protection is claimed and the period of protection is also governed by the provisions of the domestic copyright law of each country, although there has been adopted as a desirable period of protection what is called the Union-term of copyright, namely, life of the author plus fifty years. Such are the essential provisions of the Articles of Convention upon which this Copyright Union is founded.

In the interval between 1887 and 1928 one country after another has become a member of this Union until 33 states are now included. The delegates upon the part of the United States who were in attendance at the Rome Conference were without authority to vote upon proposed amendments or to sign the adopted convention. But until the first day of August 1931 the United States may enter the Copyright Union by means of ad-

hesion either to the Convention of 1908 or to the Convention of 1928.

Many reasons may be advanced why the United States should become a member of this Union. Our entry is demanded as an act of fairness upon our part. Our authors may now automatically secure protection for their works in all the countries of the Union, although the United States is not a member of such Union, by first or simultaneous publication in any one Union country. To a certain extent the United States has taken advantage of this means of securing the privileges accorded by the Articles of Convention by first publication in England. It is preferable that the United States should secure the advantages accorded by membership in the Copyright Union by actually becoming a member, not depending upon the friendly aid of other countries.

One of the most fruitful agencies for bringing about friendly relations between different peoples is found in their printed literature. There can be no question of the distinct advantage of a free and full exchange of books and magazines between the United States and European countries. One great hindrance to such a reasonable and beneficent exchange is the present lack of adequate and truly reciprocal copyright protection. Nothing so surely makes for the production and the wide circulation of books as adequate and assured security for the rights of their authors, and not only so, but their sacredness as literary property is necessary to their just appreciation. Books which may be reprinted without regard to their authors are necessarily tinged with the disrespect which goes with the act of misappropriation.

The United States has just accepted by a vote in the Senate of 85 to 1, the Treaty for the Renunciation of War. The President's letter to the Senate transmitting the text of this treaty for its Constitutional action, gives the names of 15 countries signing this treaty on August 27, 1928, and he states that since the date of signature 44 other powers have communicated the information that they have taken the necessary steps to adhere to the treaty or that they intend to do so. The United States has thus entered upon a new and important asso-

ciation with all these foreign countries. They include probably all the European countries which are members of the International Copyright Union. It is very obvious that all the Union countries adhering to this new peace pact would warmly welcome the entrance of the United States into the Copyright Union and the establishment thereby of a new international bond of commercial and cultural relationship that would go far towards creating those feelings of friendly regard and respect which lead most directly to the renunciation of war.

PEACE AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES

I

NATIONAL PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

- American Committee for the Outlawry of War
134 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.; 4006 Woolworth Bldg., New York City
- American Foundation (Maintaining American Peace Award)
565 Fifth Ave., New York City
- American Goodwill Association (Franco-American Branch)
50 East 42d St., New York City
- American Friends' Service Committee
20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- American Peace Society
613 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.
- American School Citizenship League
405 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.
- Arbitration Crusade
114 East 31st St., New York City
- Association for Peace Education
5733 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
- Catholic Association for International Peace
1312 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C.
- Church Peace Union
70 Fifth Ave., New York City
- Committee for International Cooperation
101 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
- Committee on Educational Publicity in the Interest of World Peace
305 West 113th St., New York City
- Committee on Militarism in Education
387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City
- Concord Fratres Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of America
Care Prof. Thos. E. Oliver, 1004 West California Ave., Urbana, Ill.
- Council on Foreign Relations
25 West 43d St., New York City
- Fellowship for a Christian Social Order
Room 505, 347 Madison Ave., New York City

F. I. D. A. C. American Branch, The American Legion
50 Church St., New York City

Fellowship of Reconciliation
383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City

Fellowship of Youth for Peace
104 East 9th St., New York City

Foreign Policy Association
18 East 41st St., New York City

Friends' General Conference
154 North 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Institute of Pacific Relations. American Group
129 East 52d St., New York City

Intercollegiate Peace Association
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Interparliamentary Union. American Group
613 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

League of Nations Non-Partisan Association
6 East 39th St., New York City

Mennonite Peace Problems Committee
Scottsdale, Pa.

National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War
1010 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City

National Committee on the Churches and World Peace
105 East 22d St., New York City

National Council for the Prevention of War
532 17th St., Washington, D. C.

Parliament of Peace and Universal Brotherhood
Point Loma, Calif.

Peace Association of Friends in America
205 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War
Wellesley, Mass.

War Resisters International. U. S. Committee
132 West 12th St., New York City

War Resisters League
132 West 12th St., New York City

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. U. S. Section
522 17th St., Washington, D. C.

Women's Peace Society
20 Vesey St., New York City

Women's Peace Union. U. S. Section
39 Pearl St., New York City

World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches
70 Fifth Ave., New York City

World Peace Association
Greenville, Iowa

World Peace Foundation
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

World Peace Mission
1833 Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

II

LOCAL PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

American Association for World Peace
Atascadero, Calif.

Ashtabula Peace Society
277 Prospect Ave., Ashtabula, Ohio

Chicago Council for the Prevention of War
1431 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Room 1536, 140 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Cincinnati Peace League
2215 Upland Place, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio

Connecticut Council on International Relations
27 Frederick St., Hartford, Conn.

Council on International Relations for Southern California
571 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.

Denver Council for World Peace
Care Platt R. Lawton, Y. M. C. A., Denver, Colo.

Duluth Council for Prevention of War
2426 East 4th St., Duluth, Minn.

Fellowship for World Unity
34 Castle Boulevard, Akron, Ohio.

Fullerton Community Council on International Relations
Care G. C. Hunter, Fullerton, Calif.

Georgia Peace Society
375 Cloverhurst Ave., Athens, Ga.

Indiana Council on International Relations
513 Illinois Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Massachusetts Council for International Cooperation
Room 1108, 101 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.

Massachusetts Committee on Militarism in Education
14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Michigan Council for World Peace
8100 East Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Minneapolis Anti-War Council
616 Globe Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.

Nashville Peace Society
806 Broadway, Nashville, Tenn.

New Hampshire Peace Society
Care Leonard H. Pillsbury, Derry, N. H.

Nebraska Society for World Peace
211 Barkley Bldg., Lincoln, Nebr.

New York Council for International Cooperation to Prevent War
15 East 40th St., New York City

New York Peace Society for International Justice and Friendship
70 Fifth Ave., New York City

Pan Politikin
Prof. Paul P. Boyd, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

- Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends
304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Peace and Service Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
15th and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Pennsylvania Peace Society
1305 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Philadelphia Peace Council
20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Portland Women's Peace Council
729 Glisan St., Portland, Ore.
- Saginaw Council of International Relations
517 Madison St., Saginaw, Mich.
- St. Paul Council for Prevention of War
682 Endicott Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
- Seattle Peace Society
218 Marion St., Seattle, Wash.
- Tacoma Council for World Friendship
609 East 35th St., Tacoma, Wash.
- Utah Council for Prevention of War
Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Washington Council on International Relations
1901 F. St., Washington, D. C.
- Washington, Association for World Friendship
710 L. C. Smith Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
- Webster Groves Peace Council
Care J. O. Wilkinson, 760 Tuxedo Bldg., Webster Groves, Mo.
- Women's Council for Promotion of Peace
503 Allerton Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio
- World Friendship Club of Santa Barbara
25 East Anapamu St., Santa Barbara, Calif.
- Camp Fire Girls
31 East 17th St., New York City
- Central Conference of American Rabbis
4 East 76th St., New York City
- Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students
347 Madison Ave., New York City
- Council of Women for Home Missions
156 Fifth Ave., New York City
- Esperanto Association of North America
507 Pierce Bldg., Boston, Mass.
- Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
105 East 22d St., New York City
- Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America
419 4th Ave., New York City
- General Federation of Women's Clubs
1734 N St., Washington, D. C.
- General Welfare Board of Church of the Brethren
Warsaw, Ind.
- Girl Scouts of America
617 Lexington Ave., New York City
- Girls' Friendly Society of America
15 East 40th St., New York City
- Institute of International Education
2 West 45th St., New York City
- International Auxiliary Language Association in the United States
Care Herbert N. Shenton, Columbia University, New York City
- International Brotherhood League
Point Loma, Calif.
- International House
500 Riverside Drive, New York City
- International Language (Ido) Society of America
1013 Louisa St., Elizabeth, N. J.
- International Lyceum and Chatauqua Association
1015 Auditorium Bldg., 431 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- International New Thought Alliance
311 Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.
- Junior Red Cross
American Red Cross Bldg., Washington, D. C.
- League for Industrial Democracy
70 Fifth Ave., New York City
- League of Neighbors
Boston, Mass.
- League for Organization of Progress
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
- League of Women Voters
1010 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City
- Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada
150 Fifth Ave., New York City
- National Association of Ex-military Reconstruction Aides
Care Alice Ueland, Roseburg, Ore.

III

OTHER GROUPS WITH PEACE AGENCIES

- American Association Favoring Reconsideration of the War Debts
Ashburnham, Mass.
- American Association of University Women
1634 Eye St., Washington, D. C.
- American Federation of Labor
Mass. Ave. and 9th St., Washington, D. C.
- American Federation of Teachers
327 South LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
- American Institute of International Law
2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
- American Legion; Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations
Col. H. D. Linsley, 31st floor, Ritz Tower, New York City
- American Legion, Commission on American Legion Program of World Peace
Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, Trenton, N. J.
- American Society of International Law
2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
- Boy Scouts of America
200 Fifth Ave., New York City

- National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations
600 Lexington Ave., New York City
- National Committee on American-Japanese Relations
287 Fourth Ave., New York City
- National Consumers' League
156 Fifth Ave., New York City
- National Council of Jewish Women
2109 Broadway, New York City
- National Council of Jewish Juniors
5413 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- National Council of Women of the U. S. A.
370 Fifth Ave., New York City
- National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations
347 Madison Ave., New York City
- National Education Association
1201 16th St., Washington, D. C.
- National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
Merchants Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio
- National Grange
970 College Ave., Columbus, Ohio
- National Kindergarten Association
8 W. 40th St., New York City
- National League of Women Voters
532 17th St., Washington, D. C.
- National Reform Association
209 9th St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- National Student Federation of America
Care Miss Marvin Breckinridge, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
1730 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill. and
35 B St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
- National Woman's Trade Union League
311 Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
- Pan American Union
Pan American Bldg., 17th St., Washington, D. C.
- Pan-Pacific Union
Care Alexander H. Ford, Honolulu, Hawaii
- Peoples' Lobby
39 Bliss Bldg., 35 B St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Rotary International
221 E. Cullerton St., Chicago, Ill.
- Service Star Legion
Care Mrs. B. W. Maxwell, Millersville Rd. and 46th St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- United Christian Missionary Society
425 DeBolvriere Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
- United Society of Christian Endeavor
Christian Endeavor Bldg., Mt. Vernon & Joy Sts., Boston, Mass.
- United Synagogue of America
531 W. 123d St., New York City
- Woman's Missionary Union of Friends in America
Care Sina M. Stanton, 4815 Battery Lane, Bethesda, Md.
- Woodrow Wilson Foundation
17 E. 42d St., New York City
- World Federation of Education Associations
Care Raymond T. Rich, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
- World's Student Christian Federation
347 Madison Ave., New York City
- World Unity Foundation
4 E. 12th St., New York City

THE PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PAST HALF-CENTURY

By DR. JULIUS KLEIN

Director, U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce

FIFTY years ago, in 1878, the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* made its timid, hesitant debut in the then somewhat exclusive society of economic handbooks. Now, in 1928, we have brought out the 50th number of the Abstract, incomparably larger, of course, and vastly more comprehensive and scientifically organized.

Consider for a moment what the world of business was like, what was being done fifty years ago.

Like every other age, it was a good deal of a kaleidoscope. Andrew Carnegie (once a bobbin-boy in a cotton-mill at \$1.20 a week) and his group of tireless associates had begun to write, in letters of molten metal, the thunderous Epic

of Steel. Hardy pioneers were thrusting forward vigorously into the rich prairie lands of western Kansas and Nebraska. In the White House the President, in 1878, was Rutherford B. Hayes. The first unified railway system from New York to Chicago had just got under way, reducing the time of the trip from 50 hours to 24.

The per capita wealth of the nation was less than \$900. Sailing vessels formed three-quarters of the Nation's four million gross tons of shipping. Shivering passengers in horse-cars (as one writer tells us) warmed themselves in winter by pushing their lower extremities into heaps of straw, piled a foot deep on the floor. The first petroleum pipe-line,

500 miles long, was being built from the Pennsylvania oilfields to the Atlantic seaboard. Great herds of cattle were beginning to be driven north from Texas into the old "bison country," and cattlemen were struggling fiercely over the possession of the range.

American domestic exports were averaging somewhat less than one-seventh the figure of the present day.

It is amusing to contrast present-day conditions with those in 1878, as regards some of the things that we consider indispensable in our every-day life. Take the telephone, for instance. The Statistical Abstract tells us that in 1927 we had in the United States about 18½ million telephones. Nearly 60 million miles of wire are devoted to the instantaneous transmission of the human voice, and at least 60 million messages are flashed over those wires every day in the year. The stupendous sum of more than five billion dollars is invested in telephone operations.

And what was the situation 50 years ago, when the Statistical Abstract made its first appearance? The telephone was in its merest infancy—the Abstract didn't even mention it. Our fathers were describing it as "a curious electric toy" that could not possibly amount to anything. The foremost European newspaper was denouncing the new device as "the latest American humbug" and declaring vehemently that it was "far inferior" to the speaking-tube. The Emperor Dom Pedro the Second, who reigned for 49 years in Brazil, visited the United States in the 1870's, and got one of his greatest thrills at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. He picked up, almost accidentally, a queer cone-shaped instrument and put it to his ear. His Imperial Majesty gave a sudden jump. "Good Heavens! The thing *talks!*" was his startled exclamation. The English author, Arnold Bennett, has called the record of the telephone's advance "the proudest and most poetical achievement of the American people."

And the radio—that most miraculous, most magical, of *all* inventions! The Statistical Abstract tells us that in 1925 nearly \$177,000,000 worth of radio apparatus was manufactured in this country, and for 1928 the value must be sev-

eral times greater. During the past 10 years more than 13 million receiving sets have been installed in American homes. In 1878 even the wildest dreamers had not remotely conceived any such possibility. If, 50 years ago, you had seriously asserted that by 1928 people could sit in their living rooms in New York or Washington and dance to the music of an orchestra playing in a California hotel—and then, with a nonchalant flip of the finger, hear a speaker clearing his throat in Port-au-Prince, Haiti—there is no doubt what would have happened to you. Talk about "plucking things out of thin air!" That thin air, or ether, or whatever the medium may be, has been the source of a gigantic industry that is now furnishing some exceedingly interesting figures for that bulky, brown "Abstract" book of ours.

In many ways the America of 1878 was the seed-bed from which the great growths of the past half-century have sprung. It was a time that witnessed the inception of many splendid developments. But the radio is only one of numerous things that were utterly unknown then—things whose creation and marvelous rise and spread have made 1878 seem almost as medieval as the days of Charlemagne.

"Civilization," Burton Hendrick says somewhere, "is very largely a matter of intercommunication." And it is precisely in this field of intercommunication that the most extraordinary advances have been made in the years since the Government began to give the people an account of "the state of the Union" through the medium of the Statistical Abstract.

Chief among these agencies, of course, is the motor car. If in those days anyone had seen a vehicle moving mysteriously along a level street with no quadruped attached to it he would have suspected that his eyes had suddenly gone back on him. Not till the nineties did our present-day "motor millionaires" begin—to the accompaniment of much headshaking and derisive jibes by the neighbors—to tinker seriously with the contrivances designed to produce some kind of "horseless carriage." And today our Statistical Abstract tells us that we have more than 23 million motor vehicles in

this country and that we are turning out yearly about three billion dollars' worth of them.

The Abstract shows how the past 30 years have witnessed the rise of this enormous activity (now ranking first among our manufacturing industries). To the people of 1878 all this would have been as remote from reality as a dissertation in the Choctaw language.

I think that most of us, offhand, would be inclined to assert, very positively, that the number of horses is vastly less than it was half a century ago. In fact, it seems sometimes as though the horse were as extinct as the pterodactyl. What do our official figures have to say about this? We find that there are more horses in the United States today than there were in 1880. That is certainly rather amazing, even though a closer study of the Abstract shows that the number is declining now, having reached its peak 10 or 15 years ago.

We are apt to think, too, that hay has lost much of its importance in the economic scheme of things, and that it has been supplanted, for the most part, by the commodity that we call "gas." But that idea is even more mistaken than our supposition about the horse. The Statistical Abstract tells us that, both in quantity and value, we are producing four times as much hay in this country now as we were 50 years ago. And we are astonished to learn, from a rapid conning of the figures that hay now ranks fourth in value among all the crops produced in the United States—corn, cotton, and wheat being the first three.

Absolutely indispensable to American automotive activities, as well as to many others, has been the growth during the past 50 years in the output of petroleum and its products, particularly gasoline. An oil-well discovered on the banks of the Cumberland River shortly before the Civil War was regarded as of little value because, forsooth, "its product was useful only as medicine." Half a century ago, less than 17 million barrels of crude petroleum were being produced yearly in the United States. In 1927, according to the Abstract figures, the number was nearly 900 million barrels. We lead the world, of course, in this respect. The South American republic of Venezuela

is now second; its production, which will be more than 100 million barrels for 1928, has jumped 65 per cent in one year.

In 1925 the American production of gasoline was nearly 10 times as great as it had been even so recently as 1914—and the figure for the more recent year was nearly 11 billion gallons.

The growth of the electric light and power industry has been one of the most remarkable of recent developments in the United States. When our Statistical Abstract made its bow, electricity was very little used; in 1927 American public-utility companies produced more than 80 billion kilowatt-hours of electric current. Today we have about one-half of the total world capacity of public-utility plants. I need hardly say that the extensive utilization of electric power in industry has been one of the most potent factors in our astounding industrial advance. And in the home, too, as you all know, it has been simply invaluable—giving rise, besides its use for lighting, to the creation of all kinds of devices and appliances, of high domestic utility and therapeutic value, that hadn't been thought of in 1878. During the past 10 years the American people have purchased more than eight million vacuum cleaners and one and one-fourth million electric refrigerators. They've also bought five and one-half million washing machines, the greater number of these being hand-operated, of course.

The figures in the Statistical Abstract show plainly how, during the past 50 years, the United States has grown. The pioneering days have been relegated to remembrance. The conquering of a vast continental area has been virtually finished. The land has been subjugated; its capabilities have been explored, harnessed, and directed to the uses of man. The past half-century in the United States has witnessed the end of an epoch—and the birth of a greater one.

The main emphasis in American economic effort has been very sharply altered. The mere physical "spreading out" has been succeeded by intensification and an "upward flowering" in an endless variety of fields. Machinery has, in the main, supplanted muscularity. The path-breaker of the prairie has yielded place to the technician. The scientist, the re-

search worker, the industrial organizer, the expert in management, have combined to transform the face of commercial America. Skill in manufacture, efficiency and speed in transportation, resourceful, energetic salesmanship—these have become the objectives whose attainment, in part at least, has enabled the Nation to cultivate so profitably its domestic market and to enter also, with no small degree of success, the markets lying overseas.

During the first half of this 50-year period the country was concerned chiefly with providing the essentials in transportation and with building up the basic industries such as those of metal-mining, coal, petroleum, and the manufacture of iron and steel. With this accomplished, the United States was free to embark on a vigorous expansion in diversified industry.

The truly phenomenal character of that expansion is shown most strikingly by other data in the Statistical Abstract.

During the 50 years that have passed since the Government first issued the Statistical Abstract of the United States the per capita wealth of our country has risen from \$870 to nearly \$3,000. So far as actual funds are concerned, every individual in the Nation is at least three and a half times as "well-to-do" as was the case half a century ago, though, of course, because of the change in prices during that time, the increase in buying power has not been quite on the same ratio. The advance in the total resources of the country has been even more astounding. The latest available figure for those total resources shows that they aggregated about 325 billion dollars, seven and a half times the sum for the year 1880. The ratio of increase in our national wealth has been three times greater than that of our population. Deposits in our banks have mounted from something more than two billion dollars in 1880 to 51 billion in 1927.

Fifty years ago the American people were laying the bands of steel that were to bind together the far-flung regions of the Nation and to open vast new areas to cultivation and the forces of economic progress. The building of the transcontinental railways was a genuine pioneer epic of hardship, courage, and dauntless

tenacity in the conquest of obstacles imposed by nature. In 1878 there were only about 80,000 miles of railroad in the United States, and even those were not closely coordinated as to regularity of service and effectively unified operation. Today, according to our Statistical Abstract, there are 250,000 miles of railway in this country.

The most recent figure for the value of our crops is that of 1926, when the total yield was recorded as nine and one-fourth billion dollars—showing a four-fold increase during the preceding half-century. In the period 1876-1880 the average yield per acre of our 10 leading crops was under \$12—a figure which had grown to nearly \$21 in 1924. During the earlier period we produced more than \$600,000,000 worth of corn, while by 1927 the value had increased to over two billion; the value of our wheat crop rose from less than \$400,000,000 to nearly a billion, and of cotton from \$244,000,000 to one and one-fourth billion.

In 1878 the western "frontier" was not yet closed. The pioneer was pressing onward. Public lands were available. A free farm could still be had by anyone who chose to take it. Intensive cultivation was very little practiced; more favorable conditions, and larger production, were attained by moving farther along to new and virgin soil. But inevitably—and very soon—this condition came to an end, with the practically complete occupation of the public lands suitable for agricultural effort. A fuller utilization of soil resources became necessary. Science was called upon. Agricultural education was instituted and wonderfully developed. In the larger phases of agriculture, specialization gradually became the order of the day—being furthered by the introduction of splendid labor-saving machinery for the farm.

In 1880 our rural population formed 71 per cent of the total; in 1925 the proportion was only 45 per cent. Yet there are 18 million more people in the rural districts of the United States today than there were 50 years ago. Farm acreage has increased from 536 to 924 million, and the value of farm property is nearly five times as great as it was in 1878. Half a century ago the value of all American farm products was less than two and

one-fourth billion dollars yearly—while by 1925 it had risen to more than 13 billion.

The most amazing figures in the Statistical Abstract are those that show the rise of our manufacturing industries. Back in 1878 the income produced from manufactures amounted to something under two billion dollars. In 1925 the value added to raw materials in the mills and factories of this country had reached the staggering total of nearly 27 billions, while the value of all finished products in this field was about 63 billions. Fifty years ago we had three million people engaged in manufacturing pursuits, while in 1925 there were nearly nine and three-fourth million. Thus, while the number of workers increased only three and a half times as compared with a half-century ago, the income produced from their activities in 1925 was nearly 14 times greater—surely a striking and gratifying commentary on our American production methods and the marvelous efficiency of the machinery now in use.

As regards mineral production, the statistics in the Abstract show a 13-fold increase in the output of our mines and oil wells as compared with the period half a century ago. We are producing 10 times as much coal as we did in those early days.

In finance, the past 50 years have seen the United States rise from the depths of monetary despair to a position of really extraordinary security and monetary affluence. The years 1878 and 1928 may be taken, indeed, as marking two extremes. In 1878 financial conditions in this country were thoroughly disheartening—but the very next year, in 1879, gold specie payments were resumed, and, with the aid of a wonderful wheat crop, it proved possible to maintain the new and better position. From that time on, except for temporary setbacks, our progress has been very marked. One of the salient events, of course, was the establishment in 1914 of the Federal Reserve system—affording a much-needed flexibility in banking, operating at the same time as a stabilizing influence, and enabling the American people to avoid periods of acute seasonal stress.

What, it may be asked, have been the main causes in the great economic progress? First of all we must give credit, of course, to the great and varied resources provided by Nature in most parts of the territory of our Republic—the rich soil, the favorable climate, the extensive deposits of minerals. But, in addition, the effective utilization of these resources has called for certain qualities in our people, qualities which (we may say with all due modesty) have been generously displayed. Half a century ago an economic writer, discussing American industry, used the terms “quick-wittedness,” “intellectual audacity,” “variety of resource and facility of expedients.” It is pretty plain, I think, that those characteristics have “stayed with” our people steadily and have served them well. And the Nation’s pioneers, in every aspect of economic effort, have manifested the qualities of persistence, bravery, and self-sacrifice.

One of the greatest of the elements working toward American industrial and commercial progress during the 50-year period that we’ve been reviewing has been the size of the market. The enormous unrestricted and highly diversified domestic field available for sales-effort on the part of manufacturers—the vast population needing the products of our American farms—these have formed a secure foundation on which our producers have been able to build and to expand. Domestic trade, with its amazing variety and the versatility that it demands, has been an invaluable training-ground for our successful salesmanship overseas.

Thus we have seen the amazing economic advance of our country during the past half-century. We have viewed (rather hastily, to be sure) some of the startling contrasts between the business life and the everyday life of the United States 50 years ago and that which we know today.

Let us look at the business conditions existing now, at the beginning of 1929, in relation to those that prevailed a year ago. Even with this somewhat restricted basis of comparison, we note, in many lines, a highly gratifying progress.

The year 1928 closed with domestic business larger than ever before and foreign trade moving in exceptional volume, and there is every indication that the high levels of recent months will be carried into the New Year. The output of farm crops during 1928 was larger than in the preceding year, and industrial production showed an even greater increase. Exports of American merchandise were larger than in any year since 1920—exceeding \$5,100,000,000.

The automotive and construction industries continued throughout 1928 to be the backbone of America's prosperity. Automobile production was larger than in any earlier year, and contracts for future construction showed a substantial growth. More than four and one-fourth million passenger cars and trucks were produced in 1928, or about 25 per cent more than in 1927. This shows very clearly that the demand for automotive vehicles, both in this country and abroad, is a long way from being satiated or "saturated." The growth in the number of "two-car families" serves to strengthen the conviction that anything like a "saturation point" in automotive activity is exceedingly remote.

There were also marked increases in the output of rubber tires, gasoline, steel sheets, and many other industries that sell their products to automobile manufacturers or car owners.

Construction operations, which declined slightly in 1927, showed another notable expansion during the year that has just passed into history. Contracts for new construction increased in value by almost seven per cent. Larger awards for homes, industrial buildings, public works and utilities, and structures for educational purposes more than offset the decreases in other types of construction.

Wages have continued at a high level, and the unemployment that was noted in the early part of 1928 has been reduced to a minimum. Factory employment was increased for the first time in a number of years. Mercantile establishments, hotels, and the automotive distributing and service industries also absorbed many additional workers, as in other recent years.

Wholesale distribution showed little change in volume, but sales of many dif-

ferent types of retail establishments increased in 1928. Sales of mail-order houses and various kinds of chain stores had a particularly large growth, but this was partly due to the greater number of stores operated. Department-store sales also increased, and there was a considerable reduction in the size of their inventories.

Further progress has been made in the elimination of waste and in the increase of business efficiency. During recent years there have been marked increases in the per capita output of our manufacturing industries and our agriculture, and efforts are now being made to improve the efficiency of our distribution methods, which are still relatively wasteful.

In total value and volume, our exports of merchandise increased about three per cent in 1928 and were larger than in any of the seven preceding years. Exports of wholly and partly finished manufactures comprised about three-fifths of the total trade (twice as large a proportion as in the period 1896-1900). The amount of exports of this type of merchandise is determined very largely by the extent and effectiveness of our sales efforts. So the further substantial growth of our exports of these fabricated products in 1928 indicates once again our ability to compete successfully with other industrial nations.

Exports of finished manufactures have been steadily expanding for six years and in 1928 were about 70 per cent higher in value than in 1922. The most marked growth during the past year occurred in the exports of automotive products, which seem to have reached a total value of almost half a billion dollars and were about one-fourth larger than in 1927, the best previous year. During the past six years the value of our automotive exports has increased by about \$300,000,000, or more than 150 per cent. As the purchasing power and standard of living of other nations show further improvement, it is probable that there will be still greater demands from abroad for American automobiles. Marked gains have also occurred in recent years in our exports of many other fabricated commodities—industrial machinery, agricul-

tural implements, office appliances, rubber tires, and cutlery.

Our imports were valued at about \$4,100,000,000 in 1928, or two per cent less than in the preceding year. There was a further moderate decrease in import prices during the year, so that the quantity of goods imported was actually slightly larger than in 1927. The average price of rubber—that indispensable raw material—was about one-fourth lower than a year earlier, and there were also marked declines in the average unit value of raw silk, sugar, and many other commodities that we import in large quantities.

Summarizing conditions at the beginning of 1929, I may say that domestic

production and trade are in record volume and that our foreign commerce continues to show steady growth as a result of an increasing foreign demand for American manufactures. The maintenance of our imports at about the same level as in the two preceding years indicates the large purchasing power and general prosperity of the United States.

Mounting prosperity, increasing comfort, an ever-greater and more astonishing equipment for facilitating and accelerating all the phases of our life—these are, it seems to me, the outstanding features in the economic development of our country, whether our comparison covers two years or fifty.

THE SERBO-CROAT CRISIS

By C. D. BOOTH

TEN years have passed since the South-Slavs of the former Austro-Hungarian empire united with the Serbs to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This union was effected by the expressed wish of the three peoples concerned, although its consummation, at least from the Croat point of view, was unduly hurried by fear of Italian aggression on the Adriatic coast in the winter of 1918-19.

Today, after many bitter struggles to secure equality of franchise and taxation together with a form of local autonomy which would release them from the corrupt and incompetent bureaucracy of Belgrade, most Croats, although still loyal to their King, look back with regret upon their separation from the well-ordered and prosperous life under the old Dual Monarchy.

Intemperate words and acts of both Croats and Serbs have resulted in a succession of crises—Jugoslavia has had twenty-five cabinets since 1918—which culminated in the bloody incidents of June 20th, and in the rupture of all political relations between the members of the Croat Peasant-Democrat Coalition and the Skupstina in the capital.

The death of Stephen Raditch from wounds received in the Skupstina has made of him a Croatian martyr, and has

so embittered his peasant followers that no leader, however anxious for reconciliation, would dare counsel the return of the Croat deputies to the present parliament.

A social boycott has been established against the government and all its Serbian officials. This boycott, although not complete, is the cause of much embarrassment to innocent civil servants and of considerable decrease in trade between Belgrade and Zagreb the two largest cities of the Kingdom. It is also being used by Croats of the extreme left as an instrument to prevent their more moderate fellow countrymen from making any move toward reconciliation.

To the boycott the Serbs have retaliated—so it is alleged—by deliberate mismanagement of the state railways in such a manner as to deprive Zagreb of its normal supplies of wood, coal, and sugar. That there is a shortage of these commodities cannot be doubted, but that Belgrade has intentionally caused it is difficult to believe. Zagreb at this period of the year receives approximately 1,100 freight cars a day. Its facilities permit the handling of 700. Congestion results, and to avoid this, cars are held at, or diverted to, other points. Incompetence of railway administration carried out by political appointees is more than an adequate explanation of present conditions,

and if the government is to be accused of deliberately depriving Zagreb of its supplies its culpable negligence lies rather in failure to enlarge the Zagreb freight yards two years ago than in any act of the past two months.

Whilst Belgrade politicians are fully alive to the seriousness of the present situation, and to the need of an immediate agreement with the Croats they are far from united in the matter of tactics. The followers of Vukitchevitch, the Radical leader, demand severity in dealing with the dissident Peasant-Democrats. Aca Stojanovitch, also a Radical, backed up by the banking and industrial interests favors concession and conciliation. Davidovitch, the leader of the Serbian Democrats, has, on several occasions, expressed his willingness to support the Croats in their demands for a change in the Constitution if they will return to the Skupstina.

Doctor Korosetz, Prime Minister by the grace of Vukitchevitch and the consent of the Radical party, persists in his attitude of amiable inactivity. As a Slovene Clerical and confessed Federalist he avoids giving violent offense to the Croats whose eventual victory would greatly profit Slovenia. As Prime Minister upon sufferance he knows that he will be speedily removed if he fails to carry out the instructions of his Serbian allies.

The dominant political parties in Croatia, namely the Croat Peasants and the Democrats are led by Dr. Macek and Svetozar Pribitchevitch. The former, until a few months ago, was a comparatively obscure lieutenant of Stepan Raditch, and the latter is a Serbian Democrat who was converted from rabid centralism to Croatian doctrines in October, 1927.

Doctor Macek, a lawyer of middle age, inclines to the left wing of his own party. Last week in answer to my question as to the conditions upon which he would return with his party to the Belgrade parliament, he said: "It is impossible that we ever return to Belgrade, not only because it would be against the honor of the Croatian nation, but also because we could achieve nothing there. The state is ruled by a military camarilla."

When asked what the Croats wanted he replied, "Complete separation of Croatia from Serbia in all things except their allegiance to the dynasty; in other words, personal union."

These statements may be taken as *ex cathedra* announcement for the benefit of foreigners. Privately Dr. Macek has demanded absolute independence, and the establishment of a Croatian state.

Mr. Pribitchevitch, his associate with whom the writer also had a long interview, said, "The conditions of our return to the Skupstina at Belgrade are dissolution of the present parliament and the holding of free elections. If these be granted we will then demand an alteration of the Vidovdan Constitution in the direction of decentralization. We shall ask for legislative and administrative autonomy for Croatia."

This difference in the aims of the two leaders, of which the Belgrade government takes full advantage, cannot be explained away by the excuse that Mr. Pribitchevitch knows there will be no free election and therefore his declaration amounts to a mild version of Dr. Macek's. Nor can it be contended that Doctor Macek is demanding everything in the hope of getting a little. His acts, and his attitude of the past three months, belie that assumption.

What seems more probable is that the left wing of the Peasant party has carried Doctor Macek along with it, and lacking the force of his murdered chief Raditch, the new Croat leader has lost his grip upon the political realities and his leadership now consists only in riding ahead of the tempest of abuse which is being poured upon the Serbs and their government. Pribitchevitch is a Serb himself and represents Serbs resident in Croatia. His invective against Belgrade is forcible to the point of indiscretion, but he knows that Croatia has not the force to follow the demand for independence by the act of revolution. He also has a sounder view of external politics, and, though at present working in accord with the Croat Peasants upon all tactical matters, he will return to Belgrade if the conditions he demands are fulfilled.

Whilst the Belgrade politicians vacillate between the stupidity of repression and conciliatory measures which have no

significance, and the Croats maintain an attitude of *non possumus* accompanied by veiled but none the less seditious declarations, the people of Jugoslavia are suffering in morale and in pocket-book. Business is stagnant, private foreign capital is withdrawing, and the prospect of getting a large state loan upon suitable terms becomes very remote.

There are one or two aspects of the Serbo-Croat problem which seem to have been ignored both in America and in western Europe. The first is that the struggle now going on is not a dispute between Serbs and Croats as such. If it were, the Serbs in Croatia, who form nearly one third of the population of that province, would not be associated with the Croats in the fight against the central government. Neither is it an issue between centralists and federalists; for if this were the case the present government would not have expressed its willingness to consider revision of the Constitution in the direction of decentralization. Nor, indeed, would they have chosen Dr. Korotetz, a federalist, for Prime Minister.

The present impasse seems to have been reached rather by continual irritation arising out of contacts between two widely differing cultural systems. Serbia still contains a large residual deposit of Turkish ideas of government with all the administrative defects common to the old Ottoman system; whilst Croatia has the Roman and Teutonic heritage with a

respect for law and a talent for administering it. The Serbs of old Serbia are not to be blamed for having, under five hundred years of Turkish rule, acquired the characteristics of their rulers, nor are the Croats to be praised for showing similar adaptability.

Not one of the political leaders on either side with the exception of Macek has a history of consistent political life. Each has shown, by his past record that he is prepared to join hands with another holding diametrically opposed views if by so doing he can retain the power and other perquisites of a long period in office.

But the peasants of both Serbia and Croatia are sound. In the latter country, Raditch their great leader has not worked in vain. He has made the peasant conscious of himself as the principal factor of production in the state. With this consciousness has come a realization of the injustices and abuses of a corrupt central administration. Although indifferently led the Croat citizen is groping toward something better of his own making.

Secession or separation from Serbia seems out of the question for reasons of foreign policy. Unification of laws for the whole kingdom, of which some provinces are highly organized whilst others are inhabited by peoples just emerging from tribal forms, is equally unpractical.

Hence decentralization in some form is inevitable, and the sooner it takes place by free negotiation the better for everyone.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES ON CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Washington, December 10, 1928—January 5, 1929

ARBITRATION

PROTOCOL OF PROGRESSIVE ARBITRATION

Whereas, a General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration has this day been signed at Washington by Plenipotentiaries

of the Governments of Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Perú, Honduras, Guatemala, Haiti, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Panama, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Mexico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and the United States of America;

Whereas, that treaty by its terms excepts certain controversies from the stipulations thereof;

Whereas, by means of reservations attached to the treaty at the time of signing, ratifying or adhering, certain other controversies have been or may be also excepted

from the stipulations of the treaty or reserved from the operation thereof;

Whereas, it is deemed desirable to establish a procedure whereby such exceptions or reservations may from time to time be abandoned in whole or in part by the Parties to said treaty, thus progressively extending the field of arbitration;

The Governments named above have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Any Party to the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration signed at Washington the fifth day of January, 1929, may at any time deposit with the Department of State of the United States of America an appropriate instrument evidencing that it has abandoned in whole or in part the exceptions from arbitration stipulated in the said treaty or the reservation or reservations attached by it thereto.

ARTICLE 2

A certified copy of each instrument deposited with the Department of State of the United States of America pursuant to the provisions of Article 1 of this protocol shall be transmitted by the said Department through diplomatic channels to every other Party to the above-mentioned General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed this protocol in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French and hereunto affix their respective seals.

Done at the city of Washington, on this fifth day of January, 1929.

GENERAL TREATY OF INTER-AMERICAN ARBITRATION

The Governments of Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Perú, Honduras, Guatemala, Haiti, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Panamá, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Mexico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and the United States of America, represented at the Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, assembled at Washington, pursuant to the Resolution adopted on February 18, 1928, by the Sixth International Conference of American States held in the City of Habana;

In accordance with the solemn declarations made at said Conference to the effect that the American Republics condemn war as an instrument of national policy and adopt obligatory arbitration as the means

for the settlement of their international differences of a juridical character;

Being convinced that the Republics of the New World, governed by the principles, institutions and practices of democracy and bound furthermore by mutual interests, which are increasing each day, have not only the necessity but also the duty of avoiding the disturbance of continental harmony whenever differences which are susceptible of judicial decision arise among them;

Conscious of the great moral and material benefits which peace offers to humanity and that the sentiment and opinion of America demand, without delay, the organization of an arbitral system which shall strengthen the permanent reign of justice and law;

And animated by the purpose of giving conventional form to these postulates and aspirations with the minimum exceptions which they have considered indispensable to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the States and in the most ample manner possible under present international conditions, have resolved to effect the present treaty, and for that purpose have designated the Plenipotentiaries hereinafter named:

Venezuela:

Carlos F. Grisanti.
Francisco Arroyo Parejo.

Chile:

Manuel Foster Recabarren.
Antonio Planet.

Bolivia:

Eduardo Diez de Medina.

Uruguay:

José Pedro Varela.

Costa Rica:

Manuel Castro Quesada.
José Tible-Machado.

Perú:

Hernán Velarde.
Victor M. Maúrtua.

Honduras:

Rómulo Durón.
Marcos López Ponce.

Guatemala:

Adrián Recinos.
José Falla.

Haití:

Auguste Bonamy.
Raoul Lizaire.

Ecuador:

Gonzalo Zaldumbide.

Colombia:

Enrique Olaya Herrera.
Carlos Escallón.

Brazil:

S. Gurgel do Amaral.
A. G. de Araujo-Jorge.

- Panamá:
Ricardo J. Alfaro.
Carlos L. López.
- Paraguay:
Eligio Ayala.
- Nicaragua:
Adrián Recinos.
J. Lisandro Medina.
- Mexico:
Fernando González Roa.
Benito Flores.
- El Salvador:
Cayetano Ochoa.
David Rosales, Jr.
- Dominican Republic:
Angel Morales.
Gustavo A. Díaz.
- Cuba:
Orestes Ferrara.
Gustavo Gutiérrez.
- United States of America:
Frank B. Kellogg.
Charles Evans Hughes.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found in good and due form by the Conference, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE 1

The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to submit to arbitration all differences of an international character which have arisen or may arise between them by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy and which are juridical in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law.

There shall be considered as included among the questions of juridical character:

- (a) The interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) Any question of international law;
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) The nature and extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The provisions of this treaty shall not preclude any of the Parties, before resorting to arbitration, from having recourse to procedures of investigation and conciliation established in conventions then in force between them.

ARTICLE 2

There are excepted from the stipulations of this treaty the following controversies:

- (a) Those which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any of the Parties

to the dispute and are not controlled by international law; and

- (b) Those which affect the interest or refer to the action of a State not a Party to this treaty.

ARTICLE 3

The arbitrator or tribunal who shall decide the controversy shall be designated by agreement of the Parties.

In the absence of an agreement the following procedure shall be adopted:

Each Party shall nominate two arbitrators, of whom only one may be a national of said Party or selected from the persons whom said Party has designated as members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The other member may be of any other American nationality. These arbitrators shall in turn select a fifth arbitrator who shall be the president of the court.

Should the arbitrators be unable to reach an agreement among themselves for the selection of a fifth American arbitrator, or in lieu thereof, of another who is not, each Party shall designate a non-American member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and the two persons so designated shall select the fifth arbitrator, who may be of any nationality other than that of a Party to the dispute.

ARTICLE 4

The Parties to the dispute shall formulate by common accord, in each case, a special agreement which shall clearly define the particular subject-matter of the controversy, the seat of the court, the rules which will be observed in the proceedings, and the other conditions to which the Parties may agree.

If an accord has not been reached with regard to the agreement within three months reckoned from the date of the installation of the court, the agreement shall be formulated by the court.

ARTICLE 5

In case of death, resignation or incapacity of one or more of the arbitrators the vacancy shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment.

ARTICLE 6

When there are more than two States directly interested in the same controversy, and the interests of two or more of them are similar, the State or States who are on the same side of the question may in-

crease the number of arbitrators on the court, provided that in all cases the Parties on each side of the controversy shall appoint an equal number of arbitrators. There shall also be a presiding arbitrator selected in the same manner as that provided in the last paragraph of Article 3, the Parties on each side of the controversy being regarded as a single Party for the purpose of making the designation therein described.

ARTICLE 7

The award, duly pronounced and notified to the Parties, settles the dispute definitively and without appeal.

Differences which arise with regard to its interpretation or execution shall be submitted to the decision of the court which rendered the award.

ARTICLE 8

The reservations made by one of the High Contracting Parties shall have the effect that the other Contracting Parties are not bound with respect to the Party making the reservations except to the same extent as that expressed therein.

ARTICLE 9

The present treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures.

The original treaty and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the Department of State of the United States of America which shall give notice of the ratifications through diplomatic channels to the other signatory Governments and the treaty shall enter into effect for the High Contracting Parties in the order that they deposit their ratifications.

This treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but it may be denounced by means of one year's previous notice at the expiration of which it shall cease to be in force as regards the Party denouncing the same, but shall remain in force as regards the other signatories. Notice of the denunciation shall be addressed to the Department of State of the United States of America which will transmit it for appropriate action to the other signatory Governments.

Any American State not a signatory of this treaty may adhere to the same by transmitting the official instrument setting forth such adherence to the Department of State of the United States of America which will

notify the other High Contracting Parties thereof in the manner heretofore mentioned.

In witness whereof the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French and hereunto affix their respective seals.

Done at the city of Washington, on this fifth day of January, 1929.

The Reservations by Thirteen Nations

Reservations to the arbitration treaty approved by the Pan American Conference on Arbitration and Conciliation were made by 13 countries. Six nations, the United States, Brazil, Peru, Panama, Cuba, Nicaragua, signed the convention without reservation.

The full text of the reservations made to the treaty, as made public by the Conference, follows:

The full text of the reservations affixed to the arbitration treaty follows:

Reservations of Costa Rica:

(a).—The obligations contracted by this Treaty do not annul, abrogate, or restrict the arbitration conventions now in force between Costa Rica and any other of the High Contracting Parties, and do not involve arbitration, disavowal, or renewed discussion of questions that have been already settled by arbitral awards.

(b).—The obligations contracted by this Treaty do not involve the arbitration of decisions rendered by the Courts of Costa Rica in Civil cases which may be submitted to them and with respect to which the interested parties have recognized the competency of said Courts.

Reservation of Honduras:

The Delegation of Honduras when signing the present Treaty makes express reservation, recording that its terms shall not be applicable to pending international questions or controversies or to those arising in the future from acts prior to the date on which said Treaty becomes operative.

Reservations of Venezuela:

The Delegation of Venezuela signs the present Treaty of Arbitration with the following reservations:

First.—The questions which in conformity with the Constitution and the laws of Venezuela come within the jurisdiction of its Courts; and especially those relative to pecuniary claims of foreigners, are excluded

from this Treaty. In these cases arbitration will not be undertaken until, the claimant having exhausted legal recourses, it appears that there has been denial of justice.

Second.—Those matters governed by international agreements in effect at this time, are likewise excluded.

Reservation of Uruguay:

I vote affirmatively for the Treaty of Arbitration, with the reservation formulated by the Delegation of Uruguay at the Fifth International Conference of American States, upholding ample arbitration and with the understanding that arbitration will be resorted to only in the event of denial of justice when the national Courts have jurisdiction according to its own legislation.

Reservations of Guatemala:

The Delegation of Guatemala makes the following reservations:

First.—In order that any questions relative to the boundaries of the nation may be submitted to arbitration there must first be obtained in each case the approval of the Legislative Assembly in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic.

Second.—The provisions of the present Treaty do not alter or modify the Conventions and Treaties previously entered into by the Republic of Guatemala.

Reservations of Colombia:

The Delegation of Colombia signs the foregoing Convention with the following two declarations or reservations:

First.—The obligations which the Republic of Colombia contracts through it refer to the differences which arise from acts subsequent to the ratification of the Convention.

Second.—Except in the case of denial of justice, the arbitration provided for in this Convention does not apply to questions which have arisen or may arise between a citizen, a firm or a corporation of one of the Parties and the other contracting State when the Judges or Courts of this latter State are, in accordance with its legislation, competent to settle the controversy.

Reservations of El Salvador:

The Delegation of El Salvador to the Conference of Conciliation and Arbitration assembled at Washington accepts and signs the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitra-

tion effected today by said Conference, with the following reservations or restrictions:

First.—After the words, in Clause 1 of Article 1 which state: "By virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under the Treaty or otherwise," should be added these words: "Subsequent to the present Convention." The article continues with no further change.

Second.—Clause (a), Article 2, is accepted by the delegation without the final words which read: "And are not controlled by international law," which should be considered as canceled.

Third.—There are not included in this Treaty controversies or differences concerning points or questions which, according to the political Constitution of El Salvador, should not be submitted to arbitration; and

Fourth.—Pecuniary claims against the nation shall be decided by its Judges and Courts, since cognizance thereof corresponds to them, and international arbitration shall be resorted to only in the cases provided for by the Salvadoran Constitution and laws; that is, for denial of justice or abnormal delay in its application.

Reservations of Ecuador:

The Delegation of Ecuador, pursuant to instructions from its government, reserves from the jurisdiction of obligatory arbitration agreed upon in the present treaty:

First.—Questions at present governed by conventions or treaties now in force;

Second.—Those which may arise from causes or may result from acts prior to the signature of this Treaty;

Third.—Pecuniary claims of foreigners who have not previously exhausted recourse before courts of justice, it being understood that this is the intention which governs and is also the scope that the Ecuadorean government has always given to the Convention of Buenos Aires of August 11, 1910.

Reservation of the United States of Mexico:

Mexico makes the reservation that differences which fall within the jurisdiction of the courts shall not be the subject of the procedure established by the convention, except in the case of denial of justice, and until after the decision handed down by the appropriate national authority has entered into the category of a decided question.

Reservation of Paraguay:

I sign this Treaty with the reservation that Paraguay will exclude from its applica-

tion the questions which affect directly or indirectly the integrity of the national territory and are not merely questions of frontiers or boundaries.

Reservation of the Dominican Republic:

The Dominican Republic, when signing the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, does so in the understanding that controversies relative to questions which fall within the jurisdiction of its courts shall not be referred to arbitral jurisdiction except in accordance with the principles of international law.

Reservations of Bolivia:

The Delegation of Bolivia, in accordance with the doctrine and the policy invariably sustained by Bolivia in the international juridic field, gives full adherence to and signs the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration which the Republics of America are to sanction, formulating the following express reservations:

First.—There may be excepted from the provisions of the present Treaty emergency questions arising from acts or conventions previous to the coming into effect of the Treaty referred to, as well as those which in conformity with international law fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of the State.

Second.—It likewise is understood that in order to submit to arbitration a territorial case or controversy there should first be established in the agreement thereupon the zone affected by said arbitration.

Reservation of Chile:

Chile does not accept obligatory arbitration for questions having their origin in situations or acts antedating the present Treaty, nor does it accept it for those questions which, falling within the exclusive national jurisdiction, the interested parties desire to withdraw from the cognizance of the established judicial authorities, except when said authorities refuse to decide with respect to any action or exception which any natural or juridic foreign person may present to them in the manner established by the laws of the country.

GENERAL CONVENTION OF INTER-AMERICAN CONCILIATION

The Governments of Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Perú, Honduras,

Guatemala, Haiti, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Panamá, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Mexico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and the United States of America, represented at the Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, assembled at Washington, pursuant to the Resolution adopted on February 18, 1928, by the Sixth International Conference of American States held in the City of Habana:

Desiring to demonstrate that the condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, set forth in the above mentioned resolution, constitutes one of the fundamental bases of inter-American relations;

Animated by the purpose of promoting, in every possible way, the development of international methods for the pacific settlement of differences between the States;

Being convinced that the "Treaty to Avoid or Prevent Conflicts between the American States," signed at Santiago de Chile, May 3, 1923,* constitutes a notable achievement in inter-American relations, which it is necessary to maintain by giving additional prestige and strength to the action of the commissions established by Articles III and IV of the aforementioned treaty;

Acknowledging the need of giving conventional form to these purposes have agreed to enter into the present Convention, for which purpose they have appointed Plenipotentiaries as follows:

Venezuela:

Carlos F. Grisanti.
Francisco Arroyo Parejo.

Chile:

Manuel Foster Recabarren.
Antonio Planet.

Bolivia:

Eduardo Diez de Medina.

Uruguay:

José Pedro Varela.

Costa Rica:

Manuel Castro Quesada.
José Tible-Machado.

Perú:

Hernán Velarde.
Victor M. Maúrtua.

Honduras:

Rómulo Durón.
Marcos López Ponce.

Guatemala:

Adrián Recinos.
José Falla.

* The "Gondra Convention."

Haiti:

Auguste Bonamy.
Raoul Lizaire.

Ecuador:

Gonzalo Zaldumbide.

Colombia:

Enrique Olaya Herrera.
Carlos Escallón.

Brazil:

S. Gurgel do Amaral.
A. G. de Araujo-Jorge.

Panamá:

Ricardo J. Alfaro.
Carlos L. López.

Paraguay:

Eligio Ayala.

Nicaragua:

Adrián Recinos.
J. Lisandro Medina.

Mexico:

Fernando González Roa.
Benito Flores.

El Salvador:

Cayetano Ochoa.
David Rosales, Jr.

Dominican Republic:

Angel Morales.
Gustavo A. Díaz.

Cuba:

Orestes Ferrara.
Gustavo Gutiérrez.

United States of America:

Frank B. Kellogg.
Charles Evans Hughes.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form by the Conference, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the procedure of conciliation established by this convention all controversies of any kind which have arisen or may arise between them for any reason and which it may not have been possible to settle through diplomatic channels.

ARTICLE 2

The Commission of Inquiry to be established pursuant to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty signed in Santiago de Chile on May 3, 1923, shall likewise have the character of Commission of Conciliation.

ARTICLE 3

The Permanent Commissions which have been established by virtue of Article III of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, shall be bound to exercise conciliatory functions, either on their own motion when

it appears that there is a prospect of disturbance of peaceful relations, or at the request of a Party to the dispute, until the Commission referred to in the preceding article is organized.

ARTICLE 4

The conciliatory functions of the Commission described in Article 2 shall be exercised on the occasions hereinafter set forth:

- (1) The Commission shall be at liberty to begin its work with an effort to conciliate the differences submitted to its examination with a view to arriving at a settlement between the Parties.
- (2) Likewise the same Commission shall be at liberty to endeavor to conciliate the Parties at any time which in the opinion of the Commission may be considered to be favorable in the course of the investigation and within the period of time fixed therefor in Article V of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923.
- (3) Finally, the Commission shall be bound to carry out its conciliatory function within the period of six months which is referred to in Article VII of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923.

The Parties to the controversy may, however, extend this time, if they so agree and notify the Commission in due time.

ARTICLE 5

The present convention does not preclude the High Contracting Parties, or one or more of them, from tendering their good offices or their mediation, jointly or severally, on their own motion or at the request of one or more of the Parties to the controversy; but the High Contracting Parties agree not to make use of those means of pacific settlement from the moment that the Commission described in Article 2 is organized until the final act referred to in Article 11 of this convention is signed.

ARTICLE 6

The function of the Commission, as an organ of conciliation, in all cases specified in Article 2 of this convention, is to procure the conciliation of the differences subject to its examination by endeavoring to effect a settlement between the Parties.

When the Commission finds itself to be within the case foreseen in paragraph 3 of Article 4 of this convention, it shall undertake a conscientious and impartial examination of the questions which are the subject of the controversy, shall set forth in a report the results of its proceedings, and shall propose to the Parties the bases of a settlement for the equitable solution of the controversy.

ARTICLE 7

Except when the Parties agree otherwise, the decisions and recommendations of any Commission of Conciliation shall be made by a majority vote.

ARTICLE 8

The Commission described in Article 2 of this convention shall establish its rules of procedure. In the absence of agreement to the contrary, the procedure indicated in Article IV of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, shall be followed.

Each party shall bear its own expenses and a proportionate share of the general expenses of the Commission.

ARTICLE 9

The report and the recommendations of the Commission, insofar as it may be acting as an organ of conciliation, shall not have the character of a decision nor an arbitral award, and shall not be binding on the Parties either as regards the exposition or interpretation of the facts or as regards questions of law.

ARTICLE 10

As soon as possible after the termination of its labors the Commission shall transmit to the Parties a certified copy of the report and of the bases of settlement which it may propose.

The Commission in transmitting the report and the recommendations to the Parties shall fix a period of time, which shall not exceed six months, within which the Parties shall pass upon the bases of settlement above referred to.

ARTICLE 11

Once the period of time fixed by the Commission for the Parties to make their decisions has expired, the Commission shall set forth in a final act the decision of the Parties, and if the conciliation has been effected, the terms of the settlement.

ARTICLE 12

The obligations set forth in the second sentence of the first paragraph of Article I of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, shall extend to the time when the final act referred to in the preceding article is signed.

ARTICLE 13

Once the procedure of conciliation is under way it shall be interrupted only by a direct settlement between the Parties or by their agreement to accept absolutely the decision *ex aequo et bono* of an American Chief of State or to submit the controversy to arbitration or to an international court.

ARTICLE 14

Whenever for any reason the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, does not apply, the Commission referred to in Article 2 of this convention shall be organized to the end that it may exercise the conciliatory functions stipulated in this convention; the Commission shall be organized in the same manner as that prescribed in Article IV of said treaty.

In such cases, the Commission thus organized shall be governed in its operation by the provisions, relative to conciliation, of this convention.

ARTICLE 15

The provisions of the preceding article shall also apply with regard to the Permanent Commissions constituted by the aforementioned Treaty of Santiago de Chile, to the end that said Commissions may exercise the conciliatory functions prescribed in Article 3 of this convention.

ARTICLE 16

The present convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures, provided that they have previously ratified the Treaty of Santiago de Chile, of May 3, 1923.

The original convention and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile which shall give notice of the ratifications through diplomatic channels to the other signatory Governments and the convention shall enter into effect for the High Contracting Parties in the order that they deposit their ratifications.

This convention shall remain in force indefinitely, but it may be denounced by means

of notice given one year in advance at the expiration of which it shall cease to be in force as regards the Party denouncing the same, but shall remain in force as regards the other signatories. Notice of the denunciation shall be addressed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile which will transmit it for appropriate action to the other signatory Governments.

Any American State not a signatory of this convention may adhere to the same by trans-

mitting the official instrument setting forth such adherence, to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile which will notify the other High Contracting Parties thereof in the manner heretofore mentioned.

In witness whereof the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals.

Done at the city of Washington, on this fifth day of January, 1929.

MORTALITY

By BLANCHE SHOEMAKER WAGSTAFF

None shall penetrate the mask . . .
 Until the last long desperate breath,
 Until the last symphony is sounded,
 I shall go smiling
 Into the great beyond,
 Looking upon the Silence as release,
 Looking upon the darkness as a dream,
 Looking upon the deep unknown as rest. . . .

There will be none to know . . .
 The infinite impassioned Silence
 Will hold me fast,
 The passionate solitude of my soul
 Will be unbroken to the end!

Gayly I went
 With laughter on my lips,
 (Tears but a hidden truth)
 And when the long Night covers me
 Youth will be calling in my veins,
 Love will be reveler in my dreams—
 Beauty will be my body's pyre
 Remembering all the lone, the long,
 The easeless years that are no more

It will be good
 To join hands once again with Silence,
 (Silence from which I came)
 Calm, easeful Silence like a mother's breast—
 And to depart
 From all this vain,
 This lurid and unsatisfying life
 So sharp, so bitter and so unbenign.
 Oh, who would miss the cymbal-sound
 Down the long, peaceful way of Death?

Heart, there is nothing left for your desire—
 All things have been possessed,
 All gifts, all joys,
 All twinging pleasures and all beautiful sor-
 rows.

None shall penetrate the mask
 Unbroken to the end—
 Unto the last, immitigable hour
 When Silence will enfold me once again.

(This poem won the first prize in the tenth annual international poetry contest of the American Section of the Poetry Society of Great Britain. The author, in private life Mrs. Donald Carr of Mount Kisco, N. Y., has published several books of verse and prose. Her poem was one of 600 entered in the contest. The judges were John Jay Chapman, Professor William Lyon Phelps, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, and Mrs. Alice Bartlett.)

News in Brief

THE GENERAL PACT FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR, passed by the United States Senate, January 15, was signed by President Coolidge on January 17. Thirteen countries had at that date ratified the treaty. They are, in addition to the United States, Afghanistan, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Russia, Austria, Siam, Albania, Cuba, Liberia, Panama, Haiti, and Paraguay. The treaty will become operative when formally ratified by the fifteen original signatories. In addition to the United States these are: Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India, Japan, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

THE CHINESE MILITARY DISBANDMENT CONFERENCE AT NANKING, including all military leaders, adopted the proposal of the finance minister, Mr. Soong, that military expenses in the future will not exceed 40 per cent of the total revenue, whereas formerly they consumed practically the entire budget.

THE MEXICAN ACTING FOREIGN SECRETARY, GENARO ESTRADA, stated lately that Mexico sympathizes with the United States in her efforts to reduce immigration from Mexico, but that the only solution of the present condition which he sees, is the development of vast public works in Mexico, a plan which will be carried out as far as the limited budget will allow.

AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED SETTLING THE LONG-PENDING ROMAN QUESTION between the Papacy and the Italian State. The agreement includes a territorial grant and financial indemnity for the loss sustained by the Holy See through the fall of temporal power.

GERMAN HOLDERS OF PRE-WAR RUSSIAN BONDS have united under the leadership of two German banks to safeguard if possible their Russian holdings.

THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL has lately received from Chester D. Pugsley, president of the Westchester National Bank, at Yonkers, New York, a trust fund of \$500,000 for the establishment of sixty scholarships. It is in-

tended to use the fund to allow a student from every nation in the world and from self-governing British Dominions to study international law at Harvard each year.

SPAIN HAS SET ASIDE THE LAST WEEK IN MAY at the Seville exposition as United States Week. The exposition opens on March 15. Twenty-three of the United States government bureaus, and some independent establishments have prepared and sent exhibits from this country.

THE TURKISH MINISTER OF EDUCATION, Nedjati Bey, died on January 1, the day which opened his long-cherished plan for nation-wide compulsory attendance on continuation schools for the learning of the Latin alphabet. Nedjati Bey had recruited some 12,000 voluntary teachers for the schools, which adults of both sexes must attend until they are literate. During the week preceding January 1, town criers accompanied by a big drum toured cities, towns, and villages, announcing the schools where attendance is compulsory, under penalty of \$50 fine.

AN AMERICAN CONFERENCE on distribution of continental short waves for radio communications, opened at Ottawa, January 21. It was intended to include Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and the United States, but Mexico and Cuba did not finally participate in the conference.

NICARAGUA INAUGURATED HER NEW PRESIDENT, General José Moncada on January 1. Juan B. Sacasa, who organized a liberal government after the expulsion of Solorzano by Chamorro, has been appointed minister to Washington.

THE TWELFTH SESSION of the International Labor Conference meets at Geneva, May 30, next, when unemployment, forced labor, hours of work of salaried employees, and the prevention of accidents will be considered.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS, in session in New York early in January, appointed a special committee to cooperate with the Association for the Advancement of Science for the promotion of freedom of teaching and the combating of anti-evolution laws and regulations.

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF NARCOTIC CONTROL, newly created by the League of Nations, met in Geneva, January 15. Mr. Herbert L. May was appointed member of the board from the United States

THE IRISH FREE STATE has announced that Mr. Michael Macwhite will succeed Mr. Timothy Smiddy as minister to Washington.

THE GENEVA SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES announces its sixth annual summer sessions, July 8 to August 30, 1929. It offers a preparatory course, seminars for picked groups, and a course of lectures interpreting the sessions of the League of Nations Assembly in September.

ELIHU ROOT has accepted an invitation to act on a committee of jurists appointed to study the advisability of revising the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The idea of revision is reported to have emanated from the French delegation in order to facilitate American adhesion to the Court.

ALL AMERICAN MARINES, with the exception of the regular legation guard at Peking, are being withdrawn from North China, according to a statement by Secretary Kellogg. He also said that marines were being gradually withdrawn from Nicaragua.

A BOARD OF ELEVEN ECONOMIC EXPERTS from the United States have gone to China at the request of the new nationalist regime to advise as to financial rehabilitation of that republic. The delegation is headed by Dr. Kemmerer, who has already undertaken eleven such advisory missions.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT authorized on January 11, a government loan to Porto Rico of \$7,130,000 for relief, after the hurricane of last September. \$5,000,000 are for agricultural losses to coffee planters and fruit growers, \$2,000,000 for road repairs, \$1,000,000 for purchase of seeds and plants, and \$30,000 for administration and distribution.

THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT and the Rockefeller Foundation have agreed on a three-year plan for the elimination of yellow fever in Brazil. The Foundation will supply experts and furnish one-half of the costs.

THE FIRST CONFERENCE of the Pan-American Medical Society was held in Havana, December 29 to January 3. The American delegation was headed by Dr. Mayo.

BRAZIL AND BOLIVIA signed on December 26, a treaty finally establishing a boundary

line along a distance not included in the treaties of 1867 and 1903. The treaty also promises the aid of Brazil in the construction of a railway from Cochabamba, in the Bolivian high plateau, to connect with the Brazilian railway at the Paraguayan River.

TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION was opened on January 8 between Geneva and Buenos Aires.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS is advocating a world-wide program of peace, citizenship, education, and culture throughout the United States and the sixty-eight clubs in sixteen countries outside of the United States which are affiliated with the General Federation. A program for the study of Latin America is also in preparation for the use particularly of the 2,000,000 members of the federation in this country.

A WORLD ENGINEERING CONGRESS will be held in Tokyo, in October, 1929, under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific Research Institution. The Research Institution is the outgrowth of the Pan-Pacific food conservation conference, which was itself put in motion by the Pan-Pacific Union.

A NEW PERSIAN RAILWAY is now under construction, running from Khur Musa, the new port on the Persian Gulf, to Teheran and a port on the Caspian Sea. It will cross marshes, and high limestone mountains; country very difficult of travel by old methods.

ON THE SUGGESTION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT and with the coöperation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace it is now probable that the documents in the field of the foreign relations of the United States from the beginning of the government will be published. These documents are in constant demand by universities and societies for political study, and, in the opinion of Secretary Kellogg, should be obtainable, at least down to the time of the world war.

THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE on the Cause and Cure of War, with delegates from ten women's organizations, met in Washington January 8-18. It has been the intention of this organization, according to its chairman, Mrs. Catt, "to avoid sentiment and have only those speakers who possess expert knowledge in their various fields."

THE REPARATIONS COMMISSION, at a special session on January 10, appointed representatives of five allied powers as members of the international committee of experts to elaborate a plan for the final solution of the reparations problem. The delegates chosen on that date were: Great Britain—Sir Joshua Stamp and Lord Revelstoke, both directors of the Bank of England. France—Emile Moreau, governor of the Bank of France, and Jean V. Parmentier, director of Movement of Funds at the Ministry of Finance and member of the reparation committee on transfers. Belgium—Emile Francqui, Finance Minister, and M. Gutt, a leading banker and recognized expert on European finance. Italy—Commendatore Pirelli and Professor Suvitch, well-known experts on European finance. Japan—Kengo Mori, former Financial Attaché in London, and M. Aoki, under governor of the Imperial Bank of Japan. Germany, who has selected her spokesmen independently of the allied governments and Reparations Commission, made known the following names, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, and Dr. Albert Voegler, noted steel expert and official of the Reichbank, and as assistants Dr. Carl J. Melchior, a partner in the Warburg Bank, and Herr Kastle, member of the German Federation of Industries. Unofficial American members of the commission were selected by the six powers a few days later, as follows: J. P. Morgan and Owen D. Young, with Thomas W. Lamont and Thomas N. Perkins as substitutes.

THE PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS MAIL SERVICE was inaugurated by Postmaster General New on January 9. Planes will leave Miami, Florida, three times a week for Porto Rico, stopping at Havana, western Cuba, and Santo Domingo on the way. According to the contract with the Pan American Airways, the Postmaster General may at any time demand extension of the service to Port of Spain, Trinidad, via the Leeward or Windward Islands.

A COMMITTEE has been formed for the relief of an impending serious famine in China. It is called the China Famine Relief of the United States of America, with headquarters in New York. Dr. Cadman is the national chairman. Ten million dollars are to be raised; this fund, however, will be expended largely in permanent help, such as the repair

or construction of dykes, motor roads, and river control methods.

A JUVENILE COURT sponsored by a private organization has been established in Milan with the permission of the Minister of Justice. This is the first of its kind in Italy. Only parents or near relatives of the children are admitted to the sessions of the Court.

THE NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF CHINA was recently formed under the direction of Dr. Kung, Minister of Industry, Commerce, and Labor, with headquarters at Shanghai. This new organization is an outgrowth of the Canton child-welfare committee, in which many high officials and merchants and their wives have taken a keen interest. It will cooperate with the Association for the Welfare of the Children of China (Inc.), which has its headquarters in New York City. The aim of the association is to improve the living conditions of poor and homeless children "according to the spirit of the Golden Rule."

THE GERMAN RAILROAD COMPANY is planning to inaugurate a fast limited train service for the summer of 1929. These trains, carrying only first and second class passengers, will be run from both Berlin and Hamburg to the principal cities in the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial area, and to Paris and Brussels traveling at an average speed of 92 kilometers per hour. Trains of this type will be put in service over the following lines: Berlin-Breslau, Hamburg-Bremen-Frankfurt with connection to Zurich and Meran, Berlin-Frankfurt-Basel-Bern-Simplon-Turin-Nice-San Remo. Paris-Stuttgart-Munich-Vienna. These limited trains are known in Germany as FD Zuege and extra fares ranging from 6 to 14 marks, depending upon the distance, will be charged.

BELGIUM ON JANUARY 19 held a celebration in honor of U. S. President-elect Herbert Hoover, who, during the World War, organized the relief commission so effectively that it assured the feeding of her millions of people. The celebration took place in the hall of the Palais des Académies.

AMERICAN CITIZENS will participate, unofficially or officially, in five international conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations this winter.

BOOK REVIEWS

AERIAL BOMBARDMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF WARFARE. By *M. W. Royse*. Pp. 250 and index. Harold Vinal, Ltd., New York, 1928. Price, \$4.

Initiated under the guidance of John Bassett Moore, then of Columbia University, and completed after extended research abroad, this study of aerial warfare attempts to show to what extent such warfare is subject to regulation. Dr. Royse follows the various regulations that have been placed over aerial warfare at the Hague conferences and elsewhere. Meanwhile, the airplane and dirigible have rapidly developed, producing nothing less than a revolution in the technique of all warfare.

The author shows that regulations cannot keep pace with development of air craft, and that non-combatant populations cannot hope to escape enemy attack when an enemy deems such attack necessary.

The concluding chapter shows that most rules of aerial warfare thus far promulgated have not been ratified by a single power. Those that have been ratified are now largely ineffectual, for various reasons. Captain J. O. Fisher, U. S. N., closes his introduction to the book with the following: "The thought suggests itself . . . that a nation neglects at *its peril* the development of all possible weapons and methods of warfare to a high state of efficiency."

To folk whose principal interest is human welfare rather than technical aspects of war or even of law, the book raises ominous questions as to the best course for nations to pursue. Cannot law be so outlined as to allow for the development of air craft and still provide some regulations serviceable to the populace? Will not such things as the Paris Pact sufficiently brand all sorts of attack, so that an international court can operate? At all events the facts in this book should be familiar to international law makers.

A HANDBOOK ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *Sir Geoffrey Butler*. Pp. 239. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1928. Price, \$4.

The first edition of this book came out soon after the organization of the League. The introduction to it was by Viscount Cecil, and dated 1919. A postscript was added to it in 1925. It is of interest to read a book still largely as first written, and breathing that intense desire for a better world order, so vital to peoples everywhere immediately after the world war. From the point of view, naturally, of a British statesman, it traces first the origin and development of the League idea and its final machinery; next, the League in action for the next five years. A chronological summary, however, in the appendix, brings the affairs of the League and the International Labor Office down to the spring of 1928. There is no index, which somewhat impairs the usefulness of the book; but the table of contents is sufficiently analytical to serve as a guide.

THE NEW ENGLAND CLERGY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Alice M. Baldwin*. Pp. 209 and index. Duke University Press, North Carolina, 1928. Price, \$3.50.

The minister in New England was, in early days, a great factor in forming political thought in those states. He was a student, a competent disputant, and the natural mental leader of the people. New England colleges were founded primarily to train preachers, and practically all higher education up to the time of the revolution led into the ministry. Ministers not only held their own office in high regard; they were revered and listened to by their congregations in the land where education has always been held the highest good. They read avidly all procurable books on political and theological matters, as well as from the Bible itself with its emphasis upon covenants. In consequence, they evolved a legal doctrine of society with inherent rights of man.

The author of this book is assistant professor of history in Duke University. She shows, largely from quotations, how the clergy of New England built up their philosophy, doctrines which justified resistance to any invasion of the peoples' natural and contractual rights, whether the threat emanated

from the foreign invader, the authorities, or the mob.

When it came time to make and defend the Constitution, the legal-mindedness of the clergy became of great value to the country. They intended to see that the new government was founded upon right principles. When it was time to ratify the Constitution they continued their scholarly and impassioned appeals to the people, over whom, wrote General Lincoln to General Washington, "They have in this state (Massachusetts) a very great influence."

Two appendices give examples of covenants in New England, and several quotations from electoral sermons, dealing with political rights and privileges. The second appendix gives the names of clergymen in provincial congresses and conventions. A complete bibliography furnishes information otherwise unavailable to the general reader.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: REBEL AND PATRIOT 1762-1777. By *Rupert Hughes*. Pp. 633 and index. William Morrow and Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$5.

WASHINGTON SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF. By *Lucretia Perry Osborn*. Pp. 308 and index. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

Whatever may have been the justice of adverse comment on the first volume of Hughes' biography of Washington, there surely can be only one verdict on the second. There is no doubt, here, of the author's attitude toward the developing of Washington as "one of the masterpieces of human nature."

The book shows exhaustive, almost incredible, first-hand research among Washington collections and other documents concerning the Revolution. Then, without losing sight of the natural and human foibles of a very human figure, Hughes writes with the dramatic skill of a novelist, claiming that the Father of his country has "wandered through oblivion for more than a hundred years, his deeds mis-written and his humanity concealed." The pity of it, says Hughes, is that it "made a lie out of a man peculiarly devoted to the truth."

The book is thoroughly documented. It gives fair emphasis upon the British side of the revolution, all of which only increases the greatness of the American General. The

reader finds himself with an ever-growing surprise at the lonely pathos, the incorruptible self-sacrifice and power of this man who so reluctantly accepted the call of the continental congress to lead the armies of the colonies.

The ideal of Washington seems to be left, after all, in invulnerable dignity upon its pedestal.

The author of the second book, feeling with McMaster that "no one really knows Washington," pursues a different biographical method. She gives an outline of Washington's life, quoted, as far as possible in his own words. Beginning with his own statement of his ancestry, and going through his experiences as engineer, as soldier in the French and Indian war and the revolution, and subsequent political career, the excerpts give glimpses of his temperateness, patience, and resourcefulness in times when there was little opportunity for genius and of his greatness of spirit, unconscious of itself, even when inspiring soldiers and civilians with loyalty to a threatened cause. The fact that so much of the story is given in Washington's own words in letters and reports, lends vigor and dignity to the account.

In so great a number of preserved manuscripts the matter of selection is important, and the author has done her work as well as one could expect. A chronology of his life precedes the chapters, useful for reference, and equally good are the end-paper maps that illustrate the scenes of most of his activities. Numerous portraits and facsimiles intersperse the pages.

WHITHER MANKIND? A PANORAMA OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. Edited by *Charles A. Beard*. Pp. 408. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$3.

The eminent historian who edits this book calls it a "Symposium on civilization." He sees that we are in the midst of a machine age, in the infancy of science, and all the old landmarks seem to have a changed aspect. To return to a pre-machine age, or to scrap scientific investigation and invention are both unthinkable. But where is mankind heading? What is likely to happen to civilization in the grip of strange, new forces? The charge of materialism is common. What is materialism, and if it exists, is it a menace? To answer these questions Professor Beard has summoned the talents of a dis-

tinguished group of writers. He has chosen them from east and west, from several races, and several lines of thought.

One value of the book is found in the fact that it is not produced to bolster up any particular political or social creed; that it starts with the assumption that the machine age is with us, at present in its rudimentary stages, but that it must be reckoned with. But the prime value of the work lies in the fact of the editor's belief that with thought and goodwill even the shocking evils now present in our system may conceivably be reduced. Hence the inquiry.

One of the most stimulating and encouraging chapters, among a round dozen of outstanding essays, is that of Hu Shih of China. He looks at western civilization from the Orient, compares it with that of the east, appraises it, and comes to the conclusion, flatly, that it is the machine age which deserves the name "spiritual." The east, he says, and by inference one might also say the whole pre-scientific age, is materialistic, "because it is limited by matter and incapable of transcending it." Tools have liberated the human spirit from slavery in proportion to which they have come into use. Medicine, sanitation, organization, practical education, engineering have all proved themselves means of freeing mankind from the weight of material hindrances. They are giving, he firmly states, spiritual opportunity to the race.

Of the other writers, Bertrand Russell, Emil Ludwig, John Dewey, Havelock Ellis, Julius Klein, Stuart Chase, and others, much might be said. But the consensus, as summed up by Professor Beard, seems to be that the task before us, though delicate, is not impossible, and that philosophy imperatively must attend to the business of adjusting thought to the highest ends, but under the necessities imposed by technology. We need to make use of reality, and not attempt to escape from it. Thus the evils in the present system may be controlled, and the march of mankind made to lead to a finer future.

LEST YE DIE. By *Cicely Hamilton*. Pp. 281. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928. Price, \$2.

As in the *Pallid Giant*, by Noyes, brought out last year, this work shows what might easily happen to the race if science goes on perfecting weapons for the hand of fear.

The period of the story is apparently sometime in the not distant future; the place is England. The League of Nations is in existence, and the war inventions are essentially those of the present. The chief actor in the drama is a young Englishman, clerk in a government department, but collector of antiques in his leisure moments.

War breaks out quite similarly to the manner in which it struck in 1914; and the gasses in use rather quickly reduce the population of the British Isles to a few scattered fragments. These fugitives slowly draw together in rival bands, whose only chance of survival they see to be the absolute renunciation of all scientific knowledge and invention. So, forswearing all these, they live in voluntary savagery, foraging for food like early cave men. But once in a while the hero dreams of a regime where science might be, if guarded by an initiate priesthood, as a secret treasure.

The author thinks that human civilization may have been built up, destroyed and rebuilt again from the ground up in some such way as the narrative shows. The thought was born, she says, on a "red and wicked night" in a bombardment of Abbeville in Picardy. Such a book can but act as a spur to those who are laboring on the construction of a better and less fearful society.

THE WAR DEBTS. AN AMERICAN VIEW. By *Philip Dexter* and *John H. Sedgwick*. Pp. 173. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$1.50.

Two authors have in this book gathered up some arguments for and against the payment of debts contracted by the Allies during the world war and now due the United States.

Part one is a swift, caustic summary of the reasons why Europeans should pay their war debts, and why the United States is not "Uncle Shylock." Part two, no less imbued with the American view, hardly less sarcastic about Europe, still finds some excellent reasons for forgiving the "wretched debts," among which conspicuously walks the suggested agreement, "rather more than seriously understood," that the United States is not again to be pestered with European misbehavior.

At the close is a timely, if somewhat belated suggestion that America stop lecturing

Europe and instructing foreigners as to her moral superiority, the excellence of her ideals and methods of getting on with the rest of the world.

It would be an interesting occupation to sit and watch a Frenchman reading this book. Americans will doubtless relish it.

THE TRANSPLANTING. LETTERS OF MARIE BALASCHEFF. Edited by *Martha Genung Stearns*. Pp. 251. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

Mme. Balascheff is the daughter of Prince Cantacuzene, once ambassador to the United States from Russia. She spent, therefore, much of her girlhood in Washington. One of her fellow-students at the Corcoran School of Art testifies, in the preface, that the princess was superior to all the other students not in rank only, but in education, courtesy, character, even in real democracy.

To read these extracts from the Russian noblewoman's letters written, after she and her five sons became refugees from their overturned country, is to realize how splendid was the courage, the elemental simplicity of this woman. Inexperienced in fencing for themselves and almost penniless as they were, the family, after some wandering in separate ways, bought a hectare of land in Le Crotoy, a fishing village in France. Here, without servants or other laborers, the little family gathered, put up their own buildings, dug their own well, erected a wind-mill, cultivated a garden, and raised poultry for the market. Hard and rough living it was, for her and for her boys, ranging from the eldest, with his war wounds, to the youngest who was "quite content to become a little peasant." The delicately reared mother works the ground with the rest. But she says to her friend, "Your back is bent, your hands occupied, but your whole being is absorbing the sunshine and dew and all the peace around you, and blends with the big simple real things, and draws stability from them."

The latter part of the book, at the request of her correspondent, tells of the red revolution as it affected the Ukraine, where she lived, and from which she fled in 1920. Vigorously, but without bitterness, she scores the "gang" which now governs soviet Russia; but she yearns over the real Russia,

the villager and peasant on the land, who are so kindly, but who have so heavy a load to bear.

An informing book about Russia and Russians, but especially a book of high adventure in human living.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Raymond G. Gettell*. Pp. 621 and index. Century Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$4.00.

In a previous volume, "The History of Political Thought," published in 1924, Professor Gettell outlined the past of general political theory, tracing it from ancient time down to modern theories of international relations. Definitely American ideas, as they touched upon federalism, nationalism, and such subjects, were used merely as illustration and enrichment of the general theme.

In this new and larger book the author concentrates upon political theories and experience in the United States. It is a story of evolution; therefore it follows, in the main, the chronological method. Some topics, such as, for instance, theories of governmental functions, of municipal functions, and of judicial powers, are, however, treated separately.

In a section devoted to pacifism, militarism, and internationalism, Professor Gettell gives a very good, if brief, outline of the beginning and development of the peace movement. He alludes several times in the book, appreciatively, to Ladd's essay on a congress of nations. Still he does not, apparently, quite grasp the significance of that essay, those points which make it so peculiarly American doctrine. The impracticability, recognized by Ladd, of providing armed forces for use by a federated government against component States is not referred to by Professor Gettell, even in the story of the drafting of the American Constitution when the matter was first thoroughly threshed out. The necessity of separating a court from political control by a congress of nations, Ladd's peculiar contribution to international thought, is not mentioned by Gettell, even in the otherwise impartial discussion of America's rejection of the League of Nations and her reservations to the World Court protocol. Evidently the influence of Ladd on international theory, aside from arbitration, is largely a matter of hearsay with this author and not based upon appre-

ciative study of the essay itself or of other equally significant productions of Ladd.

The book covers an interesting field, however. It is readable, and though done largely in the traditional manner, it is emphatically valuable and worth while.

We await, however, the writer, who, conversant with the peace movement as it evolved "from the stage of religious, humanitarian, and sentimental arguments," is also qualified to interpret that phase of American political thought which, with "more scientific and rational arguments," bears directly upon the more hopeful plans for the absolute removal of war as a method for settling disputes between nations.

PEACE OR WAR? By *Lt. Commander Kenworthy*. With a foreword by *H. G. Wells*. Pp. 319 and index. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

Lt. Commander Kenworthy, a conspicuous member of the British House of Commons, is a distinguished naval officer as well. He has seen war at close range, and, like many other military men, longs to help in making another world war impossible.

Wells, in the foreword, calls the book useful, competent, and stimulating, though he does not share Kenworthy's faith in the outlawry of war.

The book itself treats of some of the more ominous causes of present international friction. In many cases the author has remedies to suggest, but he has little confidence, evidently, in the efficiency of the League of Nations, nor in the several other peace plans which he discusses. His knowledge of war methods enables him to give a definite and alarming picture of what would happen if another war got under way. The only road to peace, as Commander Kenworthy sees it, is the signing of a multilateral treaty making war illegal—the outlawry of war. Substantially this has, since the publication of the book, been accomplished in the Pact of Paris, signed in August, 1928.

"But something more is needed," says the author, pertinently. "There are certain injustices in the post-war world that cannot stand." And here, as we see it, is the crux of the outlawry of war question. It is but one step in the long march.

Two other questions he states, but does not discuss at length. They are the necessity of the codification of international law and an independent international tribunal. When these are accomplished the world may make some headway on the road away from war.

Thus analyzed, the book emphasizes to a surprising degree just those policies so long and strenuously advocated in this magazine.

RESIDENT ORIENTALS ON THE AMERICAN PACIFIC COAST. By *Elot Grinnell Mears*. Pp. 526 and index. University of Chicago Press, 1928. Price, \$3.

ORIENTAL EXCLUSION. By *R. D. McKenzie*. Pp. 200. University of Chicago Press, 1928. Price, \$2.

At the request of the American group of the 1927 conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Professor Mears of Stanford University made a study of the judicial decisions, the laws, and other regulations affecting Chinese and Japanese residents on the Pacific coast. He has gone deeply, too, into the social and industrial conditions which have influenced the Oriental immigrant situation, and which have led sometimes to grave misunderstandings and much friction.

Two elements of the problem have particular significance. They are: restrictive immigration acts of a special type aiming at exclusion; and the concentration of Asiatics on our western boundary. There is, too, the fact to consider that Japanese and Chinese are watchful and jealous of each other on the Pacific coast.

Professor Mears has covered the subject with admirable thoroughness. He adds a number of important documents, including the "Gentleman's agreement" with Japan. An essential bit of the study is the brief chronology preceding the text.

The book by Professor McKenzie should surely accompany the broader text, since it supplies certain points and in a different arrangement. Both are written in the modern scientific but tolerant spirit; and are, at the same time, somewhat conversational in style.

Incidentally, but of real importance, both books are printed in type unusually large and clear.

THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the good offices of one or more friendly nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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FOR BUSINESS MEN TO SAY

SINCE, in the language of a Director of the International Chamber of Commerce, "there is no class which has a greater interest than the business men, in the prevention of war, the reduction of armaments, and the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods," and since other leading business men, such as Owen D. Young, and William Butterworth, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, hold the same views, the question naturally arises, can there be an organized peace movement in America to which the best business men of our country will subscribe?

It is fair to presume that an organized peace movement to be acceptable to this type of business men would have to be organized in accordance with business principles. Such a peace organization, therefore, would have to be made up of authoritative representatives of industry and banking. It would have to be responsive to and fulfil its obligations to the public. It would have to be very close to public opinion. It would have to inform public opinion. Its publications, in the light of the experience of other successful periodicals, would have to be sufficiently useful and entertaining to create a demand. The output of the organization would have to please the greatest number of customers. In conformity with other successful business enterprises, it would offend as few of its clients as possible. International affairs being of interest to adults, the organization would have to be keyed to mature minds. It would operate on the principle that destructive

criticism as such is ineffective. It would confine its activities to creative and positive production. It would study the market and fit its product to the demand. Such are only a few of the general principles behind every successful business.

A peace movement run by business men, in accord with best business principles, would be a new thing in history. It would be a very desirable thing. The peace movement as it is today is hamstrung by the ultras who, with their buzzsaws of divisive opinions, manufacture little but sawdust. When in 1840 the New England Non-Resistance Society was organized to fight the American Peace Society, William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, was asked his views of the new militant organization. His reply is pertinent just now. He said:

"On the whole if I were asked if the non-resistant Society were more likely to do good than harm, I should answer not much of either. I have no doubt of their sincerity and integrity. They mean to do good and make great sacrifices to do it. There are some minds so constitutionally ultra, that they will never undertake anything without going beyond the truth. But after all, there is no ultraism so bad as the ultra-conservative, which will never undertake anything for fear of going too far. I do not think that the Society will ever produce any great effect. When they began they thought they were as ultra as possible; but the convention to be called will go beyond them, and they will start off together in a tangent from this sublunary sphere, and will either explode or be lost in the limbo of vanity, among bygone chimeras and abortions, and the odd ends and bits of creation."

The ultras of today are of the same cloth as in 1840. When the American Peace Society innocently publishes a list of the peace societies of America, without any thought of approval or disapproval of any of them, a friend from the Pacific Coast condemns it a bit heatedly for associating with people who "play dirty pool." In almost the same mail comes also a letter from Boston saying: "I can see no reason for devoting ten or a dozen pages in the journal of the peace society to an article on our navy, as in the January *ADVOCATE*, especially at this time and with the whole implication of the article condoning, sanctioning, and manifestly approving the increase of our naval strength, which it would seem that the peace party should unitedly oppose. I particularly disliked, too, the white washing of the American Legion policies in the same number and the bracketing of the Legion's Indiana President with the new Indiana President of the Peace Society for joint praise. I don't know how it is in your circles; but here in Boston, and things here are in no wise exceptional, we feel very sore on the subject of the Legion." With considerable amplification, the writer goes on to say that all peace workers "must have the baptism of a holy and resolute radicalism."

But a business man's peace organization would be more interested in getting something done by those in position to do things, than in drawing attention to itself by the noise of its own fireworks. It is hopeless to sell goods to the ultras. They don't buy. They sell or give away. Business men would wish to work with the people who do things, who run the affairs of the nation, who produce our food, who build and conduct our transportation systems, manufacture our clothes and our homes, who make our laws and conduct our foreign policies. That would be considered good business, and a necessary business.

Can such a business succeed? Can we of America support a peace society adjusted to the needs of business men? Is there anything in the fact that business

men of America have more to lose by another World War than any other group, and that they have the most to gain by making another war more difficult? Can such persons be counted upon to vitalize the Kellogg Peace Pact by translating its second section into reality? Can business men and their experts be counted upon to work at such a job and to use the same brains they put into their regular business? It is for the business men of America to say.

CONTROLLING THE SHIP- MENT OF ARMS

FOLLOWING the Burton resolution of last year, Senator Capper of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, and Representative Porter, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, have introduced resolutions with the view of authorizing the President to apply the existing law and place an embargo on munitions to any country guilty of violating the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War. The reasons in each case are set forth in the Resolutions, printed elsewhere in these columns.

The reasons are unassailable; but the remedies are of doubtful practicability.

True, the United States has in the past prohibited shipments of arms to certain countries of Central America, to Mexico, to China, where internal violence seemed to warrant that procedure. In the recent threat of war between Bolivia and Paraguay, our country tried to prohibit the exportation of arms to that troubled area. In all of these instances, however, it is known that arms and ammunition from other munition manufacturing countries did find their way to the belligerents. To make it unlawful for the United States to prohibit the shipment of munitions to any country engaged in war, unless all munition producing countries do the same, would evidently be of little effect.

Furthermore, our country is a firm believer in the principle of neutrality. For this country to prohibit the exportation of arms to one of two belligerents would be a direct violation of the principle of neutrality. Under international law, private manufacturers of arms have a perfect right to sell their products to any foreign country. If our government, however, aids such an organization to transport its munitions of war to a belligerent country, it would violate the principle of neutrality. Secretary Kellogg, testifying before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, February 16, was well advised when he pointed out that the President should not be placed in the position of calling one nation an aggressor in the case of conflict between two friendly powers, for if he were to do so, and issue an embargo against a nation he considered to be an aggressor, he would be unneutral in law and in fact. It is pertinent to remind ourselves that our United States made Great Britain pay \$15,000,000 for permitting men of war to be fitted out in British ports against the United States during the Civil War.

It would not contribute to peace between nations for the President of the United States to take upon himself the functions of judge, jury, and executioner in the case of a war between two sister nations, each friendly to the United States.

When Senator Capper provides in Section 3 of his Resolution that the President is hereby requested to enter into negotiations with other governments, parties to the multilateral treaty, to secure agreement that the nationals of the contracting governments should not be protected by their governments in giving aid and comfort to a nation which has committed a breach of the said treaty, the Senator is evidently aware of the importance of

international cooperation in such a business. But even here no account is taken of the fact that any or all nations, deciding which of any two powers engaged in war is the original aggressor and violator of the pact, would by that act do violence to the principle of neutrality. Furthermore any such nation, or all of them, might be mistaken. Witness the differences of opinion as to the instigator of the World War. If there were a sufficiently able and impartial commission capable of making such a decision, the case would be different. But there is no such commission.

The future success of the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War lies, we believe, in another direction. The duty of the Congress, of the people of the United States, of the peoples of the world, is to concentrate now as never before on the development of "pacific means," expressly mentioned in the treaty, and the will to use those pacific means for the settlement of international disputes by methods other than war. If history teaches anything, this is the only course.

PASSING OF THE GENRO

WITH the death of Count Sutemi Chinda, whose death in Tokyo, Japan, was announced on January 16, the system of the "elder statesmen," advisors to the Emperor, came nearer to its close.

Count Chinda was born at Hirosaki in 1856. After graduating from an American University in 1881, he entered the Foreign Office. For a time he was Japanese Consul at San Francisco. He became Consul General at Shanghai in 1895. He was Minister to Brazil, and later to The Hague. He became Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary at Petrograd in 1900. A year later he was in charge of the Foreign Office. He was appointed Ambassador to Berlin

in 1908; in 1911 to Washington, and in 1920 to London. He represented Japan at the Paris Peace Conference, 1918-19. He became a Count in 1920. A year later he accompanied the Crown Prince, now the Emperor, on his visit to Europe. He was Grand Steward to the Prince Regent, 1921-1927. At the time of his death he was Privy Councillor and Lord Chamberlain to the Emperor. As such he ranked with Count Makino, Minister of the Imperial Household and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, as "elder statesmen" or *genro*, of greatest importance to the present imperial régime.

This system of the *genro* has been peculiar to Japan. The Ministers of State are appointed by the Emperor, to whom alone they are responsible; but between the Cabinet and the Emperor has stood a small body of men of proved ability, men whose word in the solution of serious problems has been considered to be final. Among these there have recently been such powerful persons as Prince Yamagata, Count Okuma, Marquises Inouye and Matsukata. There is also in the Japanese system a Privy Council, which is another body.

The influence of the *genro* has for some time been on the wane. Japan has been passing through a momentous period in her history. Not only has there been a change of monarch, it is clear that the old machine has been running down. The powerful group of old clansmen has been dying out. Count Chinda, with the cooperation of Count Makino, has helped to bridge the gap between the old system and the present one, in which party politics and elective parliaments play an increasing part. While public opinion is convinced that the institution of the *genro* has become an anachronism, yet it is felt that it is as necessary as ever that some trusted statesmen should be near the ruler to advise

him. Without publicity, Counts Chinda and Makino, able and disinterested public servants, have served to give confidence to the nation. When political business has been before the new Emperor, one or the other of these men has always been in attendance. Their experience, ability, and detachment from party made their influence of incalculable value.

In appointing a successor to Count Chinda, the Emperor and his advisors are faced with a difficult task. It is fair to suppose, however, that some sort of a successor will be appointed. The man must have the qualities of age, experience, and detachment from politics, qualities always associated with the *genro*. But he will be looked upon differently. The last of the *genro* to be appointed by imperial rescript was Prince Saionji, and it is commonly assumed that no more will be appointed. The long "reign" of Prince Yamagata and his colleagues became at the end distasteful to Japanese opinion. It is unlikely, therefore, that the old custom of nominating the *genro* as special advisors to the sovereign will be revived, in exactly the form heretofore employed.

But the theory of the system will not down. It is deeply rooted in Japanese traditions and habits of thought. Though the clan statesmen made it unpopular, Japanese opinion is that the institution, in some form, will be necessary until representative government has developed more fully.

When a political crisis occurs in Japan, such as a change of government, the Japanese can no longer expect the Emperor to handle the situation in person. If the present government were to fall the first thing that would happen would be that an imperial messenger would be sent to Prince Saionji, whose duty it would be to advise the ruler on the choice of a new Prime Minister. The Emperor would remain in the background, above

and beyond the battle of politics. The Emperor is in no sense an autocrat. Neither are the Shogunates, the military governors of Japan. Thus the custom of "elder advisors" is purely and essentially Japanese, a product of Japan's evolution.

Before the restoration, Japan was ruled by some three hundred clans. The head of each clan was a hereditary legal autocrat, exercising under the government absolute power. The Japanese, however, devised a system which protected them from the vicissitudes of hereditary and personal rule. The feudal autocrats did not as a rule administer their fiefs personally. The conduct of affairs was left to the clan managers, chosen from the more active and intelligent of the Samuri, military retainers of the old genro, irrespective of rank. Above the managers were the elders, who supervised the managers, and, as advisors to the ruler, they played in the plan a part similar to the elder statesmen in the last twenty-five years of new Japan.

The theory of this system found expression in the family life of the nation. The family was ruled by its head only in a nominal sense. The family was ruled by a family council, a system that has no counterpart in our western world.

The system of the genro is not provided for in the national constitution. But its practical advantages were so obvious that it came to satisfy Japanese ideas. When the Emperor Meiji issued rescripts demanding certain subjects to give him advice, and when from this practice there developed the genro, who for years played such a leading part, the public, despite the silence of the Constitution, accepted the unforeseen development as natural and proper. From *The Trans-Pacific*, Japan's able weekly review of January 26, we quote the following:

"Japan is changing rapidly, and it is improbable that any other elder statesmen will wield the power that Prince Yamagata exercised. Even Prince Saionji, who confines his duties to advising the Emperor on the appointment of Prime Minister, may have no titular successor. But there will always be elders at the steps of the throne, charged with the duty of advising their sovereign, and it has been fortunate for the country that in the last decade, when great changes were taking place, wise statesmen of the caliber of Count Chinda and Count Makino were near the Emperor."

PROBLEMS OF NATIONALITY

International Status of Married Women

IT IS understood that a conference of the nations at large will meet at The Hague in the course of the present year, probably in the month of December, for the advancement of the codification of international law. There are three subjects which will figure in the official program of the conference, one of which is nationality.

In view of the importance of this question, affecting the traditional rights of both men and women in their marital relations, it has seemed to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* that it would be timely to give its readers the benefit of an opinion upon this subject, as delicate as it is important, from one who has had experience in dealing with it. Therefore, the Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* turned to Mr. James Brown Scott, who, as Solicitor for the Department of State, had been Chairman of the Committee to consider the question of expatriation and protection of American citizens, resulting in the Act of March 2, 1907. He was shortly thereafter Technical Delegate of the United States to the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907, and, preserving his interest in international law and international relations, he is at this time President of both the *In-*

stitut de Droit International and the American Institute of International Law.

Mr. Scott has complied with our request by allowing the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* to print a letter which, as a member of the Research in International Law of the Harvard Law School, he addressed under date of May 15, 1928, to Mr. Richard W. Flournoy, Jr., Assistant Solicitor for the Department of State, who was then and still is Reporter on Nationality of the Research.

The Advisory Committee of the Research in International Law met in the Harvard Law School on February 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, to put into what is believed to be final form the project on nationality; as well as the other two projects, one on Territorial Waters, and the other on the Responsibility of States for Damage Done in Their Territory to the Person or Property of Foreigners.

Mr. Scott's letter is printed with Mr. Flournoy's permission, and without modification.

May 15, 1928.

MY DEAR MR. FLOURNOY:

In the course of the morning, I ventured to make some observations upon what I would consider the most difficult problems of nationality: the status of the married woman, and the offspring of father and mother of different nationalities.

There would be no difficulty, I conceive, with each of these elements if it could be isolated and treated as something separate and distinct, without reference to the other. This cannot well be, hence the problems.

When we fell a'talking, I had no idea that you would care for an expression of my views in writing. However, as you have asked it, here it is.

I might add before beginning, that I wish it were not necessary to suggest the somewhat drastic method which I have in mind. A few years ago, it would not have been necessary; today we cannot escape it, and while we may perhaps retard the movement, we cannot check it. The moment that human beings are treated as such, compromise becomes impossible, for compromise would be considered as a remnant of inferiority which the women of our day resent, and will not tolerate in the future.

There are two competing principles, of which it may be said that neither has assumed the exclusive mastery: that of the blood, and that of the place of birth. The first may be said to be a natural principle. It is natural that the children of French parents should consider themselves French, and should consider themselves as having a very real, although spiritual connection with their ancestors. They will have their ancestors wherever born, for the blood is not changed by the accidental locality of birth. This is, to give it its technical name, the *jus sanguinis*.

The second principle is frankly artificial. A child born within and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States is born a citizen of the United States, whatever the nationality of its parents. They may be—to continue the illustration—French, and we may suppose, although the assumption is extreme, that no other drop of blood than that which would be considered French courses within its veins. American, it is and must be, in the United States, because of the Fourteenth Amendment; to the French, the child is French. If it should remain in the United States, there might be no difficulty—the claim of France would be dormant. If, however, the child is taken to France, it could, under the French law, be considered French, and subjected to the duties as well as permitted to enjoy the rights of a French citizen. This situation is what is known as “dual nationality.”

There is a very widespread desire to get rid of this duality of allegiance, of rights as well as of duties. How is this to be done? Admitting that it is desirable, if possible, and that we only have to deal with the *jus sanguinis*, and citizenship from locality of birth, technically called the *jus soli*, the question presents itself: Which of the two should prevail?

Countries of immigration are forced to insist upon the *jus soli*, as their indigenous population is infinitesimal, and is vanishing, if not wholly extinguished. And the reason for this is that if the child were not born a national of the country of birth, its parents could, by withdrawing it, deprive the country of a citizen. Therefore, *jus soli* is of necessity the law of the New World.

On the other hand, it is as natural that the countries of Europe which have contributed

of their peoples to the New World should cling to the *jus sanguinis*, lest those who have emigrated to the New World and there given birth to children, should find their offspring foreign to themselves and the countries of their origin.

Each of the two worlds is correct from its standpoint, and the conflict is inevitable. If it is to be resolved, one or the other of the principles must give way. Which shall it be? Speaking as an American, I would say the *jus sanguinis*; and the underlying reason for preferring the locality of birth to nationality through blood is that the nationality of the country of birth is acquired with the elimination of any other nationality. This may be considered to be a sacrifice of the *jus sanguinis*; and this may be admitted, but one or the other is to go. If we were dealing merely with the father as transmitting his nationality to the child, the choice between the competing systems might be difficult or embarrassing; but another element has entered within the past few years and, whatever the past may have been, the future is with this element; everywhere the woman insists upon being treated as a human being, and as entitled to the rights of every other human being. The result of this contention—or rather of its success—will be the elimination of “sex” from the statute book.

To see the effect of this triumph on the part of womankind—which I, personally, regard as desirable as it is inevitable—let us suppose that the father and mother are nationals of different countries, and that by the laws of these countries, each has preserved the original nationality. If their child, born in the United States, is not to be an American, which nationality is it to have? That of the father, or that of the mother? Under the theory of nationality, this question can, and doubtless will arise. Under the *jus soli* it is excluded upon the birth of the child within, and subject to a particular jurisdiction.

If the principle of locality of birth be accepted in preference to that of nationality of the parents, what would be the situation of a child born of parents of different nationalities in a country where extraterritoriality prevails. The answer is that extraterritoriality is a vanishing right, and although cases might present themselves, they

would be relatively few, and will not, therefore, be considered in this connection.

It has been suggested that the husband and wife should be of the same nationality. This suggestion, I believe, is generally made by the husband, and is a remnant of the old law. The more modern legislation, which permits the wife to retain her nationality is the order of the day, and is inconsistent with former views and practice. It is likewise suggested by advocates of the husband, that the wife living with the husband, and in the country of his nationality, should be allowed or required to choose, within a specified time, to retain her original nationality, otherwise to lose it. This is, I think, the view of the husband, or of his advocates. The women would, in my opinion, be justified in asking, and they will doubtless do so, if the single nationality of husband and wife be desirable, that that of the wife should have an equal claim. As a matter of fact, this view is correct if “sex” be eliminated from the statute book. It would be difficult, it is believed, to find a man who would be willing, because of marriage with a French woman and proceeding with her to live in France, to become, by mere residence, a Frenchman, because of her nationality, unless he should elect to retain his original citizenship. If the proverb be not considered beneath the dignity of the subject, the reply would be: “Sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander.”

As yet the question does not seem to have arisen as to whether the bride shall retain her own name upon marriage; but if “sex” be eliminated from the statute book, it may well happen that the wife may wish to preserve her name. Cases are not unknown where impecunious suitors have been willing to assume the name of the prospective bride of large “material” charms. But it is doubtful whether the husband would be willing to take the name of his bride, although she, under present practice, is forced to take his.

I am not arguing that all of these situations which I have mentioned will inevitably present themselves, but the possibility that they may, should not be overlooked. There is, however, one phase of the married life which is bound to give trouble to Foreign Offices: the desire of the wife preserving her nationality to have her passport made out in her maiden name. Applications of this nature have been made to the State

Department, and have, I understand, caused considerable discussion. They will be presented in the future, not only to the Department of State of the United States, but to Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the world at large; for the women have awakened to the fact that they are human beings and, as such, entitled to the rights of human beings without the interposition of sex as a barrier.

I do not, of course, close my eyes to the difficulty of causing the *jus soli* to prevail, but in view of the preceding observations, it seems to me inevitable that in the long run the principle of locality of birth will triumph. My suggestion is to base a project upon the locality of birth as a general principle, and then follow with an exception. This is the French method of drafting. In the present case a statement would follow the general principle, to the effect that two or more contracting nations may, by treaties and conventions among themselves, regulate their citizenship by the adoption of principles inconsistent with the principal article.

There is one matter which has not been mentioned; the child has been left at its birth. If the principle of *jus soli* be correct, it remains what it was at its birth until its status has been changed. Therefore, it would make no difference in the nationality of the child if it were carried elsewhere; if born in the United States, it would always be an American unless it should renounce its American citizenship by naturalization in a foreign country, or taking an oath of allegiance to that country. Naturalization of the parents is supposed to carry with it the naturalization of their minor offspring present with them at the time of naturalization. Under the principle of single citizenship based upon locality of birth, the naturalization of the parents should not affect that of the child. In practice, it does.

I do not disguise from myself that these are very radical views, and that there is little or no likelihood of their being adopted at the present time. The future is, I believe, in their favor. The law of citizenship is at present a man-made law, but it is destined to become a sexless law; and it seems to me that the principle of locality of birth has the advantage of settling allegiance at the moment of birth, without making it depend upon the nationality of the father, as is the case in many jurisdictions at the present time. When sex distinction is removed

from the statute book in this case, the principle of nationality will be found more difficult to apply than at the present time, for the women are bound to question the propriety and the applicability of a rule which under a sexless law should attribute the nationality of her offspring to that of its father, without considering the nationality of the mother.

There is, I believe, only one case in which the nationality of the mother prevails—it is that of illegitimate children. It is a man-made law, in the interest of the man and disrespectful to the woman. The right rule is the nationality of the country in which the child is born. I have added this illustration, not because it is necessary, but for extra measure, as it were.

A project might be drafted recognizing the two principles: citizenship by blood, and by locality of birth; and it may be accepted. At the same time, I have thought it of interest to discuss this morning what I conceive is the tendency at the present time, and is likely to be the law of the future.

I am, my dear Mr. Flournoy,

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES BROWN SCOTT.

THE MEANDERING RIO GRANDE

THE fickle meanderings of the Rio Grande are about to be reformed.

Our Secretary of State has received a report, made by the International Boundary Commission, on the engineering feasibility of a plan to prevent further changes in land areas and to remove a flood menace of the Rio Grande near El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico. The Joint Commission, composed of the Section of Mexico headed by Commissioner Gustavo P. Serano and the Section of the United States with L. M. Lawson as Commissioner, has for the past several months been actively engaged in field surveys, assembling engineering data upon which to develop a plan for the rectification of the Rio Grande where it is the boundary line between the United States and Mexico be-

tween El Paso, Texas, and the canyon below Fort Quitman, some one hundred miles below.

Existing treaties between the United States and Mexico carry provisions for the settlement of national sovereignty over areas affected by the natural meanders of the river; but these treaties do not take into consideration any provision for artificial changes now so strongly urged because of the intensive cultivation and improvements that have been made on areas adjoining the river. The report now submitted to the two governments for consideration contemplates artificial rectification of the river, generally following and straightening the present channel, providing additional storage, and a system of levees to confine flood flows. This work represents the initial step towards a definite plan upon which future negotiations between the two countries may be based.

Both governments have long sought some means of solving the national and local problems arising from the shifting and meandering channel of the Rio Grande, the menace of floods to the cities of El Paso and Juarez, and the difficulties of law enforcement. The river which generally forms the boundary line between the two countries has in its meanderings transferred areas from one country to the other as a result of the natural changes peculiar to sedimentary streams, causing uncertainty of land titles and property ownership.

The alignment of the channel proposed has been so chosen as to equalize the areas which will be cut from one nation with those that will be cut from the other, and this treatment brings about the result that neither country will gain or lose territory. The Commission in its work of developing the plan, had the assistance of Engineer Salvador Arroya, Chief Engineer of the Juarez Mexico

Flood Control Commission, Consulting Engineer Louis C. Hill of Los Angeles, California, and J. L. Savage, Chief Designing Engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of the Interior.

AMERICAN COLLEGES IN THE NEAR EAST

ONCE again we are glad to call attention to the work of the American colleges in the Near East. On the sixty-eighth anniversary of the birth of the late Cleveland H. Dodge, January 26, a group of friends who had been associated with him in his many philanthropies began raising a \$4,000,000 "Dodge Memorial Fund" to realize one of his most cherished dreams—the permanent financing of the six American colleges in the Near East.

Shortly before his death in June, 1926, Mr. Dodge formulated plans for raising \$15,000,000 to endow these colleges with which his family had been connected for four generations and to which he had devoted much of his time, his thought, and his wealth. At the beginning of the year the fund amounted to \$11,000,000. His friends decided, therefore, that the most fitting memorial to his name would be the completion of the fund by July 1, 1929, the date upon which Mr. Dodge determined.

The memorial appeal is a strong one to the men and women who have been connected with Mr. Dodge in one or another of his humanitarian and educational undertakings. The possibilities for training leadership through these institutions, in a field still barely touched by the force of organized modern education, has a strong appeal to believers in international cooperation. Mr. Dodge himself was firmly convinced that American wealth could be put to no more useful purpose than to offer modern, scien-

tific training and an understanding of western ideals to the youth of backward countries.

Substantial gifts have already been received toward this Dodge Memorial Fund, on condition that the entire amount be subscribed before July 1, 1929. Among them was a personal gift of \$500,000 from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Friends and admirers of Mr. Dodge throughout the United States are urged to help perpetuate his name and his work by sending contributions to the office of the Near East College Association, 18 East 41st Street, New York.

INFANTILE PARALYSIS

ARTICLE 55 of the Pan American Sanitary Code makes it the duty of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau to disseminate information relative to the communicable diseases of man, particularly information pertaining to the modes of transmission, the prevention, control, and cure of such diseases.

In an interview given recently to the press of the two Americas, Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming, Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, has this to say with regard to infantile paralysis.

"The term infantile paralysis is a poor name for this condition, for the reason that there are many cases of this disease in which paralysis does not occur; furthermore, the disease is not confined to infants or children. It may occur at any age."

"Infantile paralysis," continued Dr. Cumming, "is also known by the name of acute poliomyelitis; it is an inflammation which occurs in the so-called gray matter of the spinal cord. In this gray matter are found the living nerve cells whose function it is to cause motion in muscles. They are similar to the cells in the brain which enable us to think and to originate

the idea, and transmit the power of motion to the muscles of our body.

"During the course of infantile paralysis the inflammation often kills some of these nerve cells and the body seems to have no power to create anew cells of this kind; as a consequence of the destruction of these cells paralysis develops.

"Infantile paralysis is carried by people, not by things. Recent observations lead us to believe that it may rarely be carried in milk. It is a good plan, then, to protect children against personal contact with this disease and from persons who are themselves in contact with it, and it is also well to drink only milk which has been pasteurized or boiled.

"At present the most promising form of treatment for the early stages of this disease is the use of human blood serum from persons who have recovered from an attack; but such serum must be used very early if it is to do any good. For this reason it is always well to call a physician early in cases of acute illness in order that a correct diagnosis may be made in time for such remedies to be of value.

"No matter what treatment is given, epidemics of infantile paralysis leave behind them many cripples. It is only in recent years that we have learned how much can be done for these victims of this terrible malady.

"The prevention of deformities following infantile paralysis is best accomplished by rest and mechanical relaxation of the affected muscles under the supervision of a competent orthopaedic surgeon. Care must be exercised from the beginning to prevent toedrop, toeing out, a sagging shoulder or other positions which stretch weakened muscles. Sandbags or boxes in beds and cradles to carry the weight of the bed clothes are some of the devices which are useful for the prevention of such deformities.

"The problem of restoring strength to the weakened muscles can only be solved by carefully directed exercises and these exercises must not be begun too early. Close cooperation between the physician and the parents is necessary to produce results.

"The training of the muscles may be begun as soon as the patient's limbs can be moved freely without pain. In some cases this will be within three weeks after the attack and in some others after a much longer period. It is possible to accomplish a great deal for cases that have been neglected for years.

"Manipulations which are begun too early and ill-directed exercises may produce harm. Allowing patients to be on their feet too soon and too much has perhaps caused more crippling than any other factor in the lack of care of these patients.

"In all forms of exercise the entire attention of the patient should be required. For this reason it is desirable that no person, except the one who directs the exercise, be present. The presence of other children should be absolutely prohibited and no toys should be allowed. If the parents are ingenious the exercises themselves may be turned into an interesting game without on that account making them any less valuable. Experience has proved that parents are the best persons to aid in the carrying out of the exercises designed to restore the movements to limbs paralyzed by this disease. Only parents will exercise the intelligence, the skill, the care, and the patience required to secure the benefits of these exercises."

THE ERSATZ PRUESSEN, according to the German Admiralty, is a ten thousand ton "pocket battleship" calculated to give pause to the naval experts of the world. When Germany laid down this vessel at Kiel, last September, little

attention was paid to it by the Press. It now develops that the Germans have a new kind of fighting instrument with a gun power of the old Dreadnoughts, the resisting power of the battleship and the speed of a war time cruiser. Furthermore, it has a radius of action far in excess of any warship or merchant liner now in existence. In fact, it is potentially a big warship driven exclusively by internal combustion engines, with a unit of horse-power for every seventeen and one-half pounds weight. It has a seamless hull of highest quality steel, electrically welded throughout, belted from stem to stern in strong armor. Its vital parts are protected by double steel decks. Its hull is compartmented against anything but local damages. A correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*, writing from London, states that the ship mounts six eleven inch 670-pounder guns in armor turrets, ranging up to thirty thousand yards, besides a battery of six inch rapid fire guns, anti-aircraft pieces and torpedo tubes. Because of the rapid loading gear, each three gun turret is able to fire a full salvo every twenty seconds. The vessel is able to travel ten thousand miles at a sustained speed of twenty knots and to cover twenty thousand miles without calling anywhere for fuel. Against a ship of this type, ten thousand ton cruisers would be useless. Here, surely, is pabulum for the next conference on the reduction of arms.

THE amendment to the cruiser bill, drawn by Senators Borah and Reed of Missouri, favors a re-codification of the rules governing the conduct of neutrals and belligerents in time of war at sea. The principle of this amendment is sound. It contemplates another step toward the rule of law in the affairs of nations. By a twist of reasoning which we find it difficult to accept, certain writ-

ers express the view that the amendment does violence to the Pact for the Renunciation of War, on the ground that the conception of neutrality presupposes the legality of war, and that no self-respecting nation can claim the right of unrestricted trade with a state that has violated the Pact. It will be so impossible, in the case of the outbreak of a war, such as for instance, the recent conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay, to determine who the aggressor really is, that it will be necessary for some time that the rights of neutrals shall be protected by principles of law duly agreed upon.

THE Institute of International Education, founded in 1919, with headquarters at 2 West 45th Street, New York City, renders a service of practical international importance. It not only aims to develop international goodwill and education, it succeeds in that business. It is promoting the exchange of professors, the establishment of international fellowships, the holding of conferences on the problems of international education, and the publication of books and pamphlets on the systems of education within the different countries. The Institute serves as the New York office of the American University Union, and administers the offices of the Union in London, Paris, and Rome. It arranges for fellowships for foreign students, who desire to pursue special courses in American universities and for American students desiring study abroad. Among the fellowships administered by the Institute are: The American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities; American German Student Exchange Fellowships; American Czechoslovak Exchange Fellowships; American Hungarian Exchange Fellowships; Austro-American Exchange Fel-

lowships; Carl Schurz Vereinigung Fellowships; Franco-American Exchange Scholarships; Germanistic Society Fellowship for Study in Germany; Swiss-American Exchange Fellowships; Scholarships for the Junior Year Abroad; Willard Straight Research Fellowship for Study in China.

In addition, the Institute arranges for the placement of a number of young American men in *postes d'assistant d'Anglais* in French *lycées* and *écoles normales*.

The Institute is instrumental in bringing to this country distinguished scholars, educators, and university professors from all countries of the world. These it circuits among American colleges and universities to deliver lectures in all the fields of scholarship, but particularly in those which will enable Americans better to understand the institutions, culture, and civilization of the other countries. It publishes a News Bulletin from October to May of each academic year containing international educational news notes and the names of foreign lectures and professors who are available for lectures or for teaching positions.

The Institute is the center for examination in New York of Cambridge University, England, and of the London Association for Accountants. Here surely is a laboratory of applied international peace work.

ARGININA'S plan to send students abroad for the study of economics is another sign of the new interest in world affairs. The School of Economic Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires will send two students abroad each year to study subjects of financial and economic interest to Argentina. The Pan American Union announces that the school will furnish passage and monthly

allowance to the students over a period of two years.

Candidates for these fellowships are to enter a competition held each December, which is open to all students of the last two years in the School of Economic Sciences. A committee composed of members of the faculty and a counselor of the school will give due consideration to the qualifications of the applicants in order to select the winners with great care. On this committee will serve a professor of modern languages from the School of Commerce connected with the University, who will examine the student's knowledge of the languages spoken in the countries where he expects to study. The Governing Council of the school is to designate the institutions in which the students appointed will study, and also will advise them as to the courses to be followed there. At stated periods the students must send a report to the Dean of the school and, at the end of their stay abroad, they are to present a detailed account of the work accomplished.

It is expected that the first recipients of these fellowships will be selected this year. They will go to universities and intellectual centers either in Europe or in the United States, the following cities having been mentioned as suitable for such research: Paris, Rome, New York, London, Berlin, and Geneva.

THE All Americas Highway project is one of the most promising facts of our Western World. The Pan American Union now informs us that the road up the Chilean side of the Andes to La Cumbre, a part of the route from Valparaiso to Buenos Aires, is now completed. The first motor car was driven from Buenos Aires to Santiago in 1914, a formidable undertaking, as the Andean section of the route was little more than a trail.

La Cumbre marks the end of the Chilean highway and the beginning of the Argentine section of this ocean to ocean road. It remained for the road builders of Argentina to complete the highway down the eastern slopes of the Andes to Mendoza, a city that stands about six hundred sixty miles from Buenos Aires. It is now expected that the Argentine section of this road will be in usable condition within a few months. The drive from Mendoza to Buenos Aires is across the famous Argentine pampa where a dirt road, with improved sections here and there, offers a usable route even if not yet as modern and hard as the motorist might wish. When this Transandine Highway is completed, it will present to the motorists some of the grandest scenery of the world. It was along the same course that General San Martin led his victorious army to aid the Chileans when they were struggling to win their independence. Dominating the pass, stands Aconcagua, towering more than twenty-three thousand feet, the highest mountain in all the Americas. The distance from Valparaiso to Buenos Aires is 888 miles. Prospective motorists will wish to be reminded that the worst months to make the journey are July, August, and September, because of the snow. By the wayside, at an altitude of 12,000 feet, stands the famous statue of the "Christ of the Andes."

THE Pan American Trade Mark Conference, called in accordance with a resolution of the Sixth Conference of American States, held at Havana last year, opened its sessions at the Pan American Union Building, Washington, February 11. Addresses of welcome were delivered by Secretary of State Kellogg, and by Dr. Hernán Velarde, Ambassador of Peru, Vice-Chairman, who called at-

tention to the importance of the work of the conference. Organization was completed at the opening session, with the election of officers and the appointment of committees, which went to work the following day. Francis White, Assistant Secretary of State, and head of the American delegation, was elected Chairman of the Conference. Dr. William Manger, chief of the Division of Financial Information of the Pan American Union, was chosen as Secretary-General.

Committees were appointed to take up various phases of the problem before the Conference, as follows:

1. On protection of trade marks and commercial names;
2. On elimination of unfair competition in trade and false indication of origin of goods; and
3. On organization of a Pan American Trade Mark Office.

At this writing the Conference is working on the draft of two treaties and a protocol, the first treaty to be of a general character, covering protection through the American nations of trade marks and trade names, and second, the registration of such marks; and the protocol, to set forth the details governing the machinery of the proposed Pan American Trade Mark Bureau. All of the American republics, save Argentina and El Salvador, are represented at this Conference by delegates.

THE Coolidge Administration took another step on February 19 toward getting the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. In an identical note, appearing elsewhere in these columns, our government invited the nations signatory to the World Court Protocol to conduct an informal exchange of views among themselves with the object of admitting the United States to that

body. This is the first formal move taken by the United States since early in 1926, when it sent to the signatory powers the text of the five reservations insisted upon by the Senate. This note may constitute the final act of major diplomacy on the part of the Coolidge Administration.

That part of Reservation 5 to which the signatories declined to agree reads as follows:

“Nor shall it (the Court) without the consent of the United States entertain any requests for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.”

In concluding his note, Secretary Kellogg refers to the objections raised by twenty-four adhering powers to Reservation 5, and continues:

“The Government of the United States feels that such an informal exchange of views as is contemplated by the twenty-four governments should, as herein suggested, lead to agreement upon some provision which in unobjectionable form would protect the rights and interests of the United States as an adherent to the court statute; and this expectation is strongly supported by the fact that there seems to be but little difference regarding the substance of these rights and interests.”

This act on the part of the Administration is intimately associated with the departure of Mr. Elihu Root to attend at Geneva a Conference of Jurists for the purpose of revising the World Court's statutes, which conference will assemble on March 1. The note and Mr. Root's visit to Geneva are but two parts of the same program. It is fair to presume that our Government stands by the five reservations insisted upon by the Senate. If the reservations are found to be acceptable, and our Government should adhere to the Court representatives of the United States would participate in sessions of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations when those bodies consider certain matters affecting the court.

These representatives would have voting rights equal to major members of the league. Senate Reservation 2, which the signatories accepted at their Geneva meeting in 1926, reads as follows:

"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."

The three other reservations over which there is no dispute provide that support of the Court by the United States will not involve it in the Versailles Treaty or the League of Nations; that the United States shall share the expenses of the Court of such terms as Congress may determine to be fair, and that this country may at any time withdraw its adherence to the Court protocol, and that the statute of the Court shall not be amended without its consent.

THE League of Nations, according to the Geneva correspondent of the *New York Times*, is stirred by the success of the Vatican in reestablishing legal entity within the limits of the Italian State to renew its efforts to win the consent of Switzerland to permit it to establish a wireless station and an airport. The Swiss position is that the League and the Vatican cannot be the same as to their political status. It is argued that Italy and Switzerland differ. Italy is a major power, while Switzerland is a neutral State. An independent League wireless station and airport would conflict with Berne's neutrality. It is announced that a Committee of Jurists will report to the Council of the League at its March session on the possibilities of settling this conflict. Under date of February 8, this correspondent adds:

"Speculation as to whether the Vatican will seek League membership centers here in the difficulties confronting such a step rather than its immediate likelihood. Three main obstacles are seen. The first and the least is, since entry into the League requires a three-fourth vote of the Assembly, would the Vatican desire to run the risk, however small, of being voted down?"

Secondly, could the Vatican, which itself is a sort of spiritual League of Nations, accept the obligations the Covenant imposes on members such as those in Article XVI involving economic pressure on recalcitrant States? Although this obstacle is stressed here, some recall that in the old days troops of the Papal States fought occasionally not only to defend their territory but also under French kings.

Thirdly, would the Vatican, considering its special position in the world, be content with mere membership? Would it not demand a place on the Council and, what is more, a permanent place? The difficulties the League already has had with this question of Council places perhaps are a reason why Geneva prefers to restrict present speculations to the immediate local aspects of the Italo-Vatican settlement."

THE Coolidge Administration will be accredited in history with having achieved a greater number of treaties in the interest of international peace than that of any preceding administration. Besides the Paris Treaty for the renunciation of war, most striking of the list, and the multilateral treaties of arbitration and conciliation for the Republics of the Western Hemisphere, there have been arbitration and conciliation treaties with many other countries. The array is impressive. When, on January 26, our American Minister, Mr. Addison E. Southard, and King Tafari Makonnen of Ethiopia signed both arbitration and conciliation treaties after the Bryan model, they added another to the existing record, which is as follows. Arbitration treaties have been signed during the past year with Austria, Albania, Denmark,

Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Hungary.

Negotiations for arbitration treaties are now in progress between the United States and Great Britain, Japan, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Latvia, Estonia, Turkey, Rumania, Greece, Siam, Luxemburg, China, Egypt, and Persia.

Conciliation treaties have been signed during the past year with Albania, Austria, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Hungary.

Negotiations for conciliation treaties are in progress between the United States and Japan, Belgium, Latvia, Estonia, Turkey, Rumania, Greece, Siam, Luxemburg, Egypt, and Persia.

SENATOR CAPPER'S BILL, referred to by the Senator in his article appearing elsewhere in these columns, was considered at a hearing conducted by the Committee on Military Affairs, in April, 1926, when statements were made by Bernard M. Baruch, the Secretary of War, Major General H. E. Ely, Major General John A. LeJeune, Daniel Willard, and a number of others. Any of our readers interested to pursue Senator Capper's thought further will be interested to study those hearings.

THE multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war is destined to become the major premise in the future discussions of international dangers. When ratified by the fifteen signatories it will indeed constitute a landmark in international law. War will no longer be a legitimate means of advancing national interests. It will be strictly illegal for any nation to seek redress for injuries, or to obtain satisfaction for insult by the processes of war save as an actual act of defense. More important, as we believe, is the second part of the treaty, providing that the *"high contracting parties agree that the settlement of all disputes or con-*

flicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means." This, if agreed to by the nations, will be the most astonishing agreement in the history of international affairs. It will constitute a new point of departure for all the powers in their relations with each other. There are no qualifications to the agreement. If there were no first part to the treaty, this in itself would make it legally impossible for any two parties to engage in war, for it is difficult to imagine the outbreak of a war without the existence first of some form of dispute. We agree with Alexander P. Fachiri, distinguished London jurist, that "given good faith, Articles 1 and 2 of the Pact together render war between the parties impossible in all circumstances." Furthermore, where the parties to the agreement live up to their obligations, even the exercise of the right to self defense can never arise. This is the simple logic of the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War.

WHEN General Groener, the German Minister of Defense, calls attention in a private memorandum to the danger that Poland, supported possibly by France, is aiming to pounce upon German territory; and to the further "danger," to Germany because of Italy's strained relations with Yugoslavia, of Poland's with Lithuania, he succeeded in arousing once more the anti-German sentiment in France, Poland, and Italy. But Germany got her 9,000-ton armored cruiser "A," which, after all, was the burden of the whole business.

GERMANY'S return to the sisterhood of nations, her revival of ancient friendships and of the esteem of her fellows, so far as these have been accomplished, have not been due to her General Groeners. As far as she has been able to register a "come-back," it has been

because of her rediscovery of her better self, the self of great music, of great industry, of great social enterprises, of great philosophy, and of great dreams. The

hope of the new Germany is in that majesty of the spirit best expressed in the heroic personality of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

ARMS PARLEY CALLED TO MEET APRIL 15

THE Preparatory Disarmament Commission has been summoned to convene at Geneva on April 15, according to the *New York Times*.

Although foreseen since the Lugano conference, the convocation has been received with some surprise, but with enthusiasm in League of Nations circles. Two points most discussed are that the convocation of such a meeting hitherto has never been announced more than two months in advance of the day set, and, second, the circumstance that no agenda has been established. It is, therefore, deduced by observers in Geneva that reasons exist, probably as a result of intergovernmental conversations held since the dénouement of the Anglo-French naval agreement, to suppose that the commission can make serious progress through negotiations in the interim to fix and perhaps considerably enlarge the agenda.

The text of the League's announcement follows:

"The last Assembly decided that a meeting of the Preparatory Commission should be held at the end of 1928, or in any case at the beginning of 1929. Accordingly, the president of the commission has the honor to convene the commission for a session beginning at Geneva on Monday, April 15, 1929, at 11 o'clock."

Letter Sent to Russia

The call to the commission was received with great relief in Geneva after the delays and obstacles which have prevented a decision up to now. In the first place, the British Government has been exerting pressure to fix the date before the British

elections, due next Fall; secondly, Maxim Litvinoff, with his accusations and criticisms of the League's alleged inactivity on disarmament, became extremely embarrassing because he has been listened to with a certain amount of seriousness, at least in the Far East.

Jonkheer Loudon, the present chairman of the commission, is understood to have sent a private letter to M. Litvinoff accompanying the convocation order, which is taken to show that the commission intends to accomplish concrete results with all possible speed. This letter it is expected, will be received at Moscow as a satisfactory answer to M. Litvinoff's note published during the Lugano parley, particularly as M. Litvinoff is known to be informed concerning Dr. Loudon's recent inquiries in Washington relative to the commission meeting.

As regards the agenda, it is understood the governments will take the opportunity during the next three months to have useful conversation, so that the meeting can convene with a definitely outlined program.

The great question, of course, is a naval accord and whether it can be raised at the meeting. The prospect, as seen in Geneva, now is that sub-commissions will be appointed immediately to work on the matters of naval control.

The commission on the manufacture of arms and munitions, of which Count von Bernstorff is chairman, meets at Geneva on March 11. Hugh Wilson, American Minister to Switzerland, will participate, and likewise all the powers concerned in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission will be represented, so that this commission may possibly succeed in laying a foundation for the preparatory meeting.

According to the *Associated Press* of December 28, the Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference will have the Russian project for partial disarmament for all nations as the main item on the agenda, with the hope that the naval experts also will begin efforts to agree on a formula for a reduction in cruisers and submarines.

Count von Bernstorff of Germany, chairman of a commission which is drafting a treaty for the control of the manufacture of armaments, today summoned a meeting of the experts for March 11 at Geneva. The meeting will be especially devoted to a discussion of a scheme of classification of armaments introduced by the Belgian delegation.

REPARATION NEGOTIATIONS

ON FEBRUARY 11, the Committee of Experts appointed to draw up a new reparation settlement met in Paris. This was the first definite step in the direction of a reparation settlement taken in accordance with the resolution on the subject agreed to at Geneva on September 16, 1928, and the agreement reached by Germany and her five principal reparation creditors on December 22, 1928. The Committee has before it a large body of materials prepared by the various commissions of control which are operating in Germany under the terms of the Dawes Plan. A great deal of this material is embodied in the last annual report of the Agent-General for Reparation Payments, which was issued on the same day that the decision of the participating powers was announced in December.

Composition of the Committee

The Committee consists of two experts from each of the six European powers concerned and from the United States. These experts do not officially represent their governments. Their task is to draw up a set of proposals for submission to the seven governments and to the Reparation Commission. The Committee is made up as follows:

BELGIUM.—M. Francqui, a former Minister of Finance; and M. Gutt, assistant delegate to the Reparation Commission. M. Fabry, Deputy Governor of the National Bank, and Baron André Ter-

linden, a former *Chef de Cabinet* at the Finance Ministry, will act as deputy delegates.

FRANCE.—M. Moreau, Governor of the Bank of France; and M. Parmentier, a member of the Transfer Committee under the Dawes Plan, Governor of the *Crédit Foncier*.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Sir Josiah Stamp, chairman and president of the executive of the London Midland and Scottish Railway, a director of the Bank of England; and Lord Revelstoke, a partner in the banking house of Baring and Co., Limited, a director of the Bank of England.

ITALY.—Signor Pirelli, a former president of the International Chamber of Commerce, a member of the original Dawes Committee, and Signor Suvich, Under-Secretary for Finance.

JAPAN.—Mr. Mori and Mr. Aoki.

GERMANY.—Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank since 1924; and Dr. Melchior, a partner in the banking house of M. M. Warburg, a member of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations.

UNITED STATES.—Mr. Owen D. Young and Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

All the experts, except the German ones, were appointed by the Reparation Commission. Dr. Schacht and Dr. Melchior were appointed by the German Government.

The sessions of the Committee are held behind closed doors. Mr. Young is Chairman, and Dr. Schacht and M. Moreau are Vice-Chairmen.

Success of the Dawes Plan

In his general introduction, as well as in the detailed chapters of his report, Mr. Gilbert draws attention in moderate terms to the complete success of the Dawes Plan hitherto, and the notable economic progress made by Germany during the so-called "transition period," which ended with the fourth annuity year on August 31 last, when the payment of the standard annuity of 2,500,000,000 marks began. With the exception of the increase of 750,000,000 marks in the German Budget contribution, all the payments that go to make up the reparation annuity were, he points out, at their standard levels in the fourth annuity year, and included for

the first time the prescribed sums for amortization of the railway bonds and industrial debentures.

The Dawes Plan, the Agent-General declares, has continued to operate successfully in the field of reparation payments and transfers. As in previous years Germany has made all the payments required and has made them loyally and punctually. The transfer committee, on its part, has made transfers regularly and currently, without disturbance to the German exchange, to an aggregate amount substantially equivalent to the year's receipts, and there has been a continuance of the tendency towards the transfer of an increasing proportion in foreign currencies. The total amount available for transfer was 1,928,786,140 marks, of which only 1,746,000,000 marks was actually received from Germany within the year. The total transfers amounted to 1,739,297,195 marks, of which 943,236,140 marks, or 54.23 per cent, was transferred in foreign currencies, compared with 49.45 per cent in the third annuity year, 35.35 in the second, and 30.37 in the first. Transfers in cash amounted to about 405,000,000 marks in the fourth year, compared with 200,000,000 marks in the third.

100 Per Cent Margin in Assigned Revenues

The specific securities provided by the Dawes Plan have continued to develop in a satisfactory way. The assigned revenues are yielding during the present financial year, as in the previous one, a total return which provides a margin of considerably more than 100 per cent over the standard Budget contribution of 1,250 million gold marks, and the transport tax is producing each year the standard contribution of 290 million gold marks with an increasing margin of safety. The funds necessary to cover the annual service of the industrial charge at the full amount are also being realized regularly through the bank for industrial debentures; and during the fourth annuity year, though the industrial charge itself stood for the first time at the standard level, it proved possible for the Government, owing presumably to an increase in the working assets of industry, to make a material reduction in the rate of assess-

ment levied to produce the charge.

The report says:

The German Railway Company is in a strong financial position, owing partly to the recent increase in its operations and also to the beginnings of improved financial control, and the development of its business as a whole amply confirms the views expressed in the previous report as to the capacity of the Railway Company to carry the full annual charge for the service of its reparation bonds, provided that it follows a prudent financial policy and that the rights of supervision and control reserved to the German Government are not exercised in such a way as to impair the company's ability to earn a fair and reasonable return on its capital.

The subject of foreign borrowing by public bodies is much less prominent than in previous reports, the dangerous tendencies having been checked partly by measures of control inspired by criticism and partly by the recent unresponsiveness of the American Money Market. On this occasion Mr. Gilbert directs most of his criticism at what he regards as the principal remaining faults, the unsatisfactory financial settlement between the Reich and the States and Municipalities. But despite avoidable waste, and the continued tendency of expenditure to increase, the budgetary situation, in the Agent-General's view, is fundamentally sound.

Increasing Revenues and Overexpansion

The revenues of the Reich continue to show a favorable development, and the most encouraging feature is the great productivity of the revenues, notwithstanding the important reductions in taxation that have already been made. The increase in revenues in the last three years has been more than double the increase in reparation payments during the same period, the revenue increase having amounted to 2,006,000,000 marks, and the reparation increase to 956,000,000 marks.

The great productivity of the revenues, even after far-reaching tax reductions, has established beyond doubt the essential basis for the sound development of the Budget of the Reich, and it remains clear, as stated in the previous report, that no question can

fairly arise, in the light of the practical experience thus far, as to the ability of the Budget of the Reich to provide the full amount of its standard contribution under the Plan.

The Dawes Plan, the report continues, has realized the other main object for which the experts were originally appointed, the stabilization of the German currency. The gold reserves of the Reichsbank now stand at the highest point ever reached, and for the greater part of the past year the mark has been one of the strongest currencies in the world from the standpoint of foreign exchanges. Referring to the import of gold from London, the Agent-General says:

These transactions were in all respects ordinary banking operations carried out without stimulation by the Reichsbank except as its rate furnished an underlying cause.

Broadly speaking, it appears, says the report, that the tendencies towards over-expansion which had developed during 1927 have now been checked and that in many departments of German economic life normal forces have again reasserted themselves. The fluctuations which were characteristic of the period up to the spring of 1928 in the field of business activity, in foreign trade, in commodity prices, and in economic conditions generally, have much diminished in extent and frequency during the past six months, and German production and trade, as well as credit conditions, have taken on an aspect of greater steadiness than at any time since the War. All this reflects the broader basis upon which German business as a whole is now being conducted.

Question of Final Settlement

At the end of his introductory summary, Mr. Gilbert says:

Great as the progress of Germany has been during the last four years, it is not to be supposed that she has yet made up for the values destroyed in the War or for the values which would have been produced had there been no War. But it should always be remembered that the present dislocations and difficulties are not confined to Germany. . . . Since 1924, when stabilization was

achieved and the execution of the Dawes Plan began, Germany's reconstruction has at least kept pace with the reconstruction of Europe as a whole, and it has played an essential part in the general process of European reconstruction.

In the brief section entitled "Conclusions," the Agent-General recalls that it was not within the competence of the first committee of experts to consider the definitive fixation of Germany's reparation liabilities, and it would indeed have been impossible in the state of confusion which then existed. The present report, with those which preceded it, presents the record of what has been accomplished during the four years in which the Dawes Plan has been in operation.

He concludes as follows:

But the fact that there was still no final determination of Germany's reparation liabilities has left an element of uncertainty in the Plan itself and in the affairs of all the countries concerned in reparations; and it is becoming increasingly clear that a final settlement of the problem to be achieved by mutual agreement would be in the best interests of the creditor Powers and of Germany alike.

ITALY AND THE VATICAN

ON FEBRUARY 10, the quarrel of almost sixty years' standing between the Vatican and the Italian Government came to an end, when an agreement was signed by Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, acting for Pope Pius XI, and Premier Mussolini, acting in the name of King Victor Emmanuel. Under this agreement, the Pope regains temporal powers in the territory of the Papal palaces and ceases to be a voluntary prisoner.

History of the Dispute

The dispute between the Italian Government and the Vatican began in 1870, when, on September 20 of that year, General Cadorna captured Rome after a nominal resistance by the Papal troops. Pope Pius IX., who had originally been one of the heroes of the Italian Unity movement, withdrew to the Vatican, and

since then no Sovereign Pontiff has left the Palace precincts except to descend into St. Peter's.

In 1871 the Italian Parliament passed the Law of Guarantees, which gave the Pope the use (not the sovereignty) of the Apostolic Palaces of the Vatican, Lateran, and Castel Gandolfo. The Pope refused to take any cognizance of this internal law of the Italian State, and never claimed the allowance provided for him in the law. Every year, on September 20, the Papal organ *L'Osservatore Romano* repeated the original protest against the "outrage committed against the Holy See" and the "impossible and undignified conditions" in which the Holy See consequently found itself.

The first attempt to reach an agreement was made by Francesco Crispi. Shortly after the war Signor Nitti opened unofficial negotiations with Cardinal Gasparri. Since the assumption of power by Signor Mussolini the question has been constantly before the public eye. But negotiations have been crossed by a number of sharp disputes between the Vatican and the Fascist party, culminating in March, 1926, when the secretary of the Fascist party called the policy of Cardinal Gasparri "vulgar demagogu."

Terms of the Agreement

Under the terms of the new agreement, there will be only a very small ratification of the present boundaries of the Apostolic palaces. The Pope has refused any enlargement of his territory to include the Villa Doria. The new Papal State will include a plot of ground on the southeastern side of the Vatican as far as the colonnade of St. Peter. St. Peter's Square and both colonnades will be given to the Holy See, but the Italian government will be entrusted with their upkeep. The Vatican has the right to ask that St. Peter's Square be closed to the public whenever it so desires.

The official name of the new Papal territory will be the "Vatican City" or "The Vatican State." The Pope will have the right to erect his own railway station, telegraph, telephone, postal, and wireless stations. He will be entitled to have an aviation field and will enjoy the right to coin money, issue banknotes, print

postage stamps, and exercise other official prerogatives.

In addition to the Vatican, St. John Lateran, the Cancelleria Palace and the Villa Castelgandolfo, which already enjoy extraterritoriality, the Italian Government will grant special privileges and immunities to the Basilica of St. Paul, various Papal buildings and churches in Rome, the Basilica Loreto near Ancona, that of St. Anthony at Padua and to the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi.

The treaty provides that all crimes committed on Vatican territory will be judged by the Italian courts according to Italian laws.

In consideration of the Pope's renunciation of any important enlargement in his territory, the Italian Government authorized an increase in the amount of the indemnity paid to the Holy See to 2,000,000,000 lire (about \$105,000,000). Half of this amount will be paid immediately in cash or bonds of the Italian Government. The other half will be paid in yearly instalments plus interest.

Acceptance by Italy of Canon Law

The agreement is accompanied by a concordat, under which Italy has accepted the application to the Kingdom of canon law. This is considered one of the most important features of the agreement.

Acceptance of the law by Italy is in direct opposition to the principle proclaimed by the famous Italian statesman, Count di Cavour, who summarized it in the motto "a free church in a free State." This led to what was called the liberal democratic policy, which altogether separated religion from the State. Indeed, the State opposed religion, which in Italy means the Catholic religion.

Premier Mussolini from the very beginning of his power reversed this state of things by adopting the diametrically opposite pro-religious policy, which now receives most solemn sanction in the concordat. By this agreement civil laws will be modified to conform with canon law. Aside from purely religious matters, the new law of the State will be applicable to all citizens irrespective of religion.

Only civil marriages were legal under Italian laws, but now a religious marriage

is also legal. Parish priests will communicate every marriage performed to the civil authorities for incorporation into the registers. Non-Catholics, naturally, can still have a civil marriage.

Bishops appointed by the Holy See have needed heretofore an exequator from the Italian Government before they were allowed to exercise their ministry. Now the Holy See will simply ascertain that the Italian Government has no political objection to the candidates whom it wishes to appoint. In exchange, the newly appointed bishops will take an oath of allegiance on the holy gospels to the Italian ruler, government and laws, pledging themselves and their clergy not to participate in any attempt against the safety or prosperity of the State.

The new Italy had completely suppressed all religious teaching in the schools. Hereafter such teaching will be compulsory and the appointment of teachers of religion will be approved by the bishops as well as by professors of Catholic theology.

After 1870 several religious congregations were suppressed and were forbidden to own property. Now all religious orders can establish themselves, and, together with diocesan chapters, congregations, seminaries and parishes, will be allowed to possess, cede, inherit and administer their own properties with the same privileges as incorporated companies.

New Juridical Status of Clergy

In the past ecclesiastics were treated like laymen when accused of any crime. Now the civil authorities must report any misdemeanors committed by an ecclesiastic and submit the charges to his Bishop. In case of arrest an ecclesiastic would be detained in a separate jail from that used for other criminals. If convicted, the ecclesiastic would not serve his sentence in an ordinary prison, but in a monastery or convent designated by his Bishop, unless the ecclesiastical dignity had already been removed from him, in which case he would be considered and treated as a layman.

Heretofore ecclesiastical authorities have had no means to enforce their de-

isions against recalcitrant clergy. In accordance with the canon law the civil authorities must now support the ecclesiastical decisions, especially in cases where a priest is deprived of benefice or forbidden to wear the ecclesiastical robe.

Ordained priests and monks, having pronounced their vows, and seminary students are exempt from military service except in case of war, when the priests will be employed as army chaplains and other ecclesiastics in the Red Cross service.

Other measures of canon law include severe rules against heresy, simony, blasphemy, sacrilege, and adultery.

SOVIET PEACE PACT PROPOSAL

AT THE end of December, M. Litvinoff, the Acting Soviet Commisar for Foreign Affairs, handed the Polish Minister in Moscow a note, in which a proposal was made that the governments of the Soviet Union and of Poland proceed immediately to the signing of a protocol, affirming that the obligations of the Kellogg Pact are already binding on the two governments, without waiting for the Pact to be ratified by the original signatory Powers and without regard to the stipulation of the Pact itself that it shall not come into force until ratification has been exchanged by the signatories. An identical proposal was made to Lithuania.

Soviet Note to Poland

The Soviet note to Poland begins by retracing the steps which led from the abortive Moscow disarmament conference of 1922 to the equally abortive Polish-Soviet negotiations for a pact of non-aggression. While considering that universal disarmament is the most effective guarantee of peace, the Soviet Government regards the pacts of non-aggression as serious factors which may contribute to averting armed conflict between States. The Soviet Government regrets that the negotiations with Poland have yielded no basis for such a pact, in spite of its own great endeavors, and makes profession once more of its unchangeable readiness to sign a pact of non-aggression.

Meanwhile, both Poland and the Soviet Union have adhered to the Kellogg Pact

for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Having received an invitation to adhere, the Soviet Government, in a note addressed to the French Government, drew attention to the absence in the pact of an obligation to disarm, to the inadequate and indefinite character of the formula for abolishing war, and to the existence of other factors weakening its importance. The Soviet Government is still of the opinion that the Kellogg Pact does not give those guarantees for the preservation of peace which would have resulted from pacts of the type proposed by itself against aggression and participation in hostile combinations. Nevertheless, when the Soviet Government had ascertained that the Kellogg Pact imposed a certain obligation of a pacific character on the signatory States, it immediately signified its adherence. Being most earnest in its own initiative in all that concerns the maintenance of peace, it desired that the Kellogg Pact might and should enter into force as quickly as possible, especially in its relations with its nearest neighbors.

The coming into effect of the pact is dependent upon ratification by the original signatories. Four months have passed since the treaty was signed, but not one of those States has ratified it. This fact raises doubt whether it may not remain a document formally binding no one for a long period to come. Obviously the treaty can only come into effect earlier between one State and another if they find a special act of execution.

Invitation to Sign a Protocol

The Soviet note then invites the Polish Government to sign the annexed protocol (see text below), which would bring the Kellogg Pact immediately into force. By signing such a protocol (the note continues) the Polish Government would contract a definite moral obligation to procure ratification of both the Kellogg Pact and Protocol with the utmost possible speed. As for the Soviet Union, its adherence to the Kellogg Pact has already been ratified by the presidium of the central executive committee.

In drawing the Polish Government's attention to Article 4 of the Draft Proto-

col, making it possible for any States which have adhered, or may adhere, to the Kellogg Pact to adhere also to the protocol, the Soviet Government expresses its conviction that the realization of its plan will contribute in a very large measure to strengthening the foundations of peace in East Europe. The present proposal does not annul the Soviet's earlier proposal for a non-aggression pact.

As the Polish Government has signed the Kellogg Pact, to which the Soviet Government has adhered, it can have no objection to its coming into force without delay. A similar proposal has been made to the Government of Lithuania as the only one of the Baltic States which has already adhered to the Kellogg Pact. The only reason for not inviting Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia is that they have not yet formally adhered to the pact. The Soviet Government reserves the right to invite them when they shall have adhered.

Text of the Draft Protocol

Following is the text of the draft protocol:

Article 1.—The treaty for the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy, signed in Paris on August 27, 1928, a copy of which is attached to the present protocol as an integral part thereof, shall take effect between the Soviet Union and Poland after ratification of the Treaty of Paris by the legislative bodies of the Soviet Union and Poland.

Article 2.—The present protocol shall require ratification by the legislative bodies of the Soviet Union and Poland in accordance with Constitutional provisions. The present protocol shall take effect in the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and Poland from the date of the exchange of ratifications, which exchange shall be made at . . . in the week following ratification by both parties.

Article 3.—The manner of coming into effect of the Treaty of Paris by virtue of the present protocol between contracting parties shall be the following:—

As soon as, in accordance with Article 2 of the present protocol, the protocol shall have taken effect, and the legislative bodies of the Soviet Union and Poland shall have

ratified the Treaty of Paris, each of the contracting parties, immediately after such ratification, shall bring it to the notice of the other party through diplomatic channels. The time of receipt of the second before-mentioned notifications shall be regarded as the time of the coming into effect of the Treaty of Paris in the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and Poland.

Article 4.—It is open to the Governments of all nations to adhere to the present protocol. Every instrument evidencing adherence shall be addressed to the . . . Government, which shall inform all the other signatories of its adherence. From the time of receipt of each instrument evidencing adherence, the present protocol shall take effect in the mutual relations between the adhering States and all the other signatories.

Article 5.—The manner of coming into force of the Treaty of Paris between a State which has adhered and all the other signatories of the present protocol shall be the following:—

As soon as, in accordance with Article 4 of the present protocol, a State shall have adhered to it, and the legislative body of that State shall have ratified the Treaty of Paris, the Government of that State shall immediately notify through diplomatic channels the . . . Government, which shall notify all the other signatories to the present protocol. The time of coming into effect of the Treaty of Paris between a State which has adhered to the present protocol and all the other signatories of the protocol shall be the time of receipt of the notification by the . . . Government.

Article 6.—The coming into effect of the Treaty of Paris, as foreseen by the present protocol, shall be independent of the coming into effect of the Treaty of Paris, as foreseen by Article 3 of that treaty.

Question of Polish-Rumanian Alliance

While on the whole the Soviet note was not unfavorably received in Poland, serious misgivings were caused at first by the failure on the part of the Soviet Government to make any reference to Rumania, with whom Poland has a defensive alliance, directed specifically against a possible attack on the part of Russia. Poland officially informed the Rumanian Foreign Office of the Soviet proposal. In a later note, the Soviet Government repaired this oversight.

Information from authoritative circles in Bucharest indicates that the present Rumanian Government has no objection to the arrangement proposed by Moscow, provided sufficient safeguards are embodied in it to protect the efficacy of the Polish-Rumanian alliance. Lately the relations between Rumania and Soviet Russia have shown a slight turn for improvement. M. Litvinoff, in his December speech on foreign affairs, said that although Soviet-Rumanian relations continue to be unsatisfactory on account of the Bessarabian question, he expects the new Rumanian Government to seek the way to an understanding, while Dr. Maniu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, publicly declared a few days later his readiness to conclude a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Government, provided that it did not infringe the *status quo*.

Proposal to the Baltic States

A certain amount of suspicion of the sincerity of the Soviet proposal was provided by the manner in which negotiations similar to those with Poland were handled with the Baltic States. Direct invitation to sign a protocol was extended only to Lithuania, but the Lithuanian Government, after accepting the proposal, sent notes to Latvia and Esthonia, inviting them to follow the example thus set. This roundabout method produced a poor impression in these two countries, where the opinion prevails that this method was chosen in order to create the appearance of three Baltic States grouped against Poland.

The semi-official Lithuanian press gave the Moscow proposal a warm support, arguing that it serves the useful purpose of undermining the credit of Poland abroad, and that Litvinoff's note will "unmask the real face of Poland." The Soviet Press warmly commends Lithuania's decision to invite Latvia and Esthonia to adhere to the proposed protocol. The official *Izvestia* declares that this decision forces Poland to show whether she harbors aggressive intentions.

Acceptance by Poland

After an exchange of notes, Poland accepted the Soviet proposal, at first in principle, and later, after the ratification

of the Pact by the U. S. Senate, without any qualifications. Similar negotiations have been inaugurated with Rumania and with the Baltic States.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN FED- ERATION OF LABOR

AT ITS last annual convention, the American Federation of Labor devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of its international relations. The principal emphasis in the declaration on the subject issued by the convention was on relations with Latin America, although the sections of the declaration which deal with the European trade unions is also of considerable interest.

Relations with Latin America

With regard to the countries of Latin America, the Federation's declaration runs as follows:

The wage-earners of Central and South America have been and are now struggling under social and economic conditions born of centuries of oppression and repression with no rights, liberties, or freedom of action obtained or granted them. Their opportunities to obtain an education and gain knowledge were limited. Organization in trade unions was and is limited and in many cases denied. Under these conditions wages were and are miserably small and hours correspondingly long and burdensome.

The American Federation of Labor found under these circumstances a fertile field to lend its assistance and helpfulness in organizing these workers into trade unions. Helpful efforts were first directed to organize local unions and national and international unions in the various countries in Pan-America. Ten years ago the Pan-American Federation of Labor was formed. Rapid improvement has since that time taken place in the lives of the wage-earners. Greater justice, freedom, and equality are taking the place of industrial and productive serfdom, all of which has resulted in the extension to and covering all lines of production, trade and commerce, finance and the social, material, and political welfare of the people in general.

We recognize that these people have their own problems based upon environment, climate, and past traditions with which they are in a position to judge for themselves what should be done and how best to do it. . . . Our efforts to reach understanding with the Labor movements of Latin-American nations have been of untold value to them and to us. . . .

Particularly have we found opportunity to give our friendship and encouragement to our brothers just over the Mexican border. We gave them our hand of fellowship, our counsel, and our moral support when they were struggling to overthrow political dictatorship. . . .

We venture the assertion that any people, regardless of where located, who without protest permit the government in which Labor is poorly represented to regulate wages, hours, and working conditions, are face to face with unsound economic practice and procedure.

Under the caption, "Mexico and Immigration," the report of the Executive Council states that, due to changes in the administration of the Mexican government, it is impossible to carry out the purposes of the voluntary agreement as entered into by the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor to regulate migration of persons between the two countries and that for this reason, every effort having been made to carry out the agreement in good faith, it is now recommended that the American Federation of Labor endorse an amendment to the immigration law to make quota provisions apply to Mexico, Central and South America. It is clear that the Mexican Federation of Labor, though acting in the utmost good faith, has been and is unable to proceed in accord with the voluntary agreement. This is due to circumstances beyond the control of the Mexican Federation of Labor and for which it is in no way responsible.

Relations With European Trade Unions

With regard to European trade unions, the convention declared:

It is regrettable that no definite understanding has been reached on the fundamental principles which caused the American Federation of Labor to withhold active affiliation in the International Federation of Trade Unions. The question of autonomy

is now, as formerly, the stumbling block to active affiliation. We demand strict autonomy as the condition of affiliation.

Europe has its problems which, in a number of instances, differ materially from ours. The immigration and emigration question, the tariff issue, the use of and free access to certain raw materials, the kind of politics and the action thereon, are some of the issues and questions that cause differences among peoples and nations. Under such conditions, we cannot agree to be bound by a majority vote on the vital questions that are inseparably associated with and are a part of our own destiny.

It may be of interest to recall that ever since the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam in 1919, repeated efforts have been made to induce the American Federation of Labor to affiliate itself with the Amsterdam body. The latest effort in this direction was made just before the A. F. of L. convention, and the above declaration represents the latest refusal. Similarly, the American Federation has consistently refused affiliation with the International Labor Office at Geneva.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS ON ARMED FORCES

THE German Socialist Party, which is the largest party in the Reichstag and in the present government, published, on December 28, a draft program on defence policy, to be submitted for discussion to the party congress in March. The program was drawn up by a special committee, appointed by the Party Executive, as the first step toward the formulation of a definite party policy on the question of armed forces, in order to avoid in the future the recurrence of such dissensions as were recently caused by the armored cruiser incident. While the draft program just published is entirely pacifist in its professions, it nevertheless indicates an entire willingness on the part of the German Socialists to support at the present time a policy of adequate armed forces, while it shows at the same time their determination to keep firm control over the Ministry of Defence in the interests of the maintenance of the Republican order in Germany.

Opposition to War and Need of Defence Force

The Committee's recommendations start with the repudiation by the German Social Democratic Party of war as an instrument of policy, and a demand for the peaceful settlement of all international conflicts by compulsory Courts of Arbitration.

The party "is determined, in accordance with the decisions of the Brussels Congress of the Socialist International of August, 1928, to exercise the strongest pressure, even with revolutionary means, against any Government which refuses to acknowledge an arbitration award and has recourse to war." The party strives for complete disarmament by international agreement; lasting peace can be attained among nations only on an equal footing. The historic mission of taking the lead in the struggle for international disarmament has fallen to the German Republic, but the Republic can fulfil this mission only if it does not go outside the armament restrictions imposed upon it and does not, by attempting to evade or violate those restrictions, give other Powers a pretext for rejecting disarmament agreements, or increasing their armaments. The German Socialist Party does not recognize any obligation on the part of the Republic to exhaust every possibility of armament allowed her by the Peace Treaty without consideration of its political or military expediency.

The Committee regards this expediency primarily in terms of defense. Its draft program says:

The most effective protection of the German Republic lies in a German foreign policy aiming at international understanding and the maintenance of peace. But the violent policy of Imperialist and Fascist States still contains the menace of counter-revolutionary interventions and fresh wars. Germany may be used as a field of operations and dragged against her will into sanguinary entanglements. So long as these dangers exist and cannot be removed, at any rate in the most important countries, by Socialist Governments, the German Republic is compelled to maintain armed forces for the defence of the self-determination of its people.

Ten Demands for Control of Military Forces

Convinced that the defensive forces can

fulfil their purpose only if they are closely identified with the people and not run on the old militarist principle of the domination of the State by the military, the Committee recommends that the Socialist Party put forward the following 10 demands: Control by the Reichstag of all contracts concluded by the Army Administration; no subventions to private firms designed either directly or indirectly to further illegal armament; no more punishment for the publication of information about illegal armament; legislation to assure impartial recruiting; abolition of the "training privileges" of the Corps of Officers, and establishment of a minimum quota of ranker officers; the civil rights of soldiers to be guaranteed; protection of the interests of soldiers by their own elected representatives; revision of military law on democratic lines; employment of Republican teachers and books in military education; and prohibition of the employment of military forces in conflicts between capital and labor.

The draft concludes with an appeal against chemical and bacteriological warfare and a declaration to the effect that the Socialist aims can be attained only by the enlightenment of the workers and by an intensification of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat against the dominant classes. "Socialism is the power which will bring lasting peace to the world."

Reactions to the Socialist Program

The publication of the Socialist program has caused important reactions in Germany. The Democrats have appointed a similar committee and consider that the Socialist declaration ought to clear up many misunderstandings and to improve the relations between the labor elements and the Reichswehr. On the other hand, the Nationalists, while noting with some satisfaction the passage about the need for the maintenance of armed forces, have criticised the program as an impossible compromise between international pacifism and national interests. They are indignant and, perhaps, somewhat uneasy, at the ten demands, which, if obtained, would sweep away all that the parties of the Right have striven so hard to retain in the Reichswehr during the past ten years.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION IN INDIA

THE question of a constitutional reorganization is in the very forefront of discussion in India at the present time, and it claimed the center of attention at the annual congresses of the most active political groups in India, held at the end of December. There were three such congresses: Gandhi's Indian National Congress at Calcutta; the All-India Moslem Conference at Delhi; and the All-India Liberal Federation Conference at Allahabad. At all three of these meetings important constitutional changes were demanded, and these demands acquire special significance in view of the fact that the Simon Commission, sent to India by the British Government for the precise purpose of studying the question of constitutional organization, is now pursuing its labors on the spot.

Gandhi's Ultimatum on Dominion Status

The Indian National Congress, which was attended by over 20,000 delegates, was dominated by the Gandhi group. There was a sharp difference of opinion at the Congress on the character of the resolution to be finally adopted, although in the end Gandhi's draft was passed by an overwhelming majority. In this resolution the Congress declared itself in favor of Dominion status for India, provided it is introduced within 12 months. An attempt was made by Subhas Bose, the commander-in-chief of the so-called "volunteers," who appeared at the Congress in an elaborate military uniform and staged a review of his troops as a feature of the meeting, to amend the resolution in such a way as to make it declare that complete independence is the goal of India and "that there can be no true freedom without the severance of the British connection"; but his proposal was defeated.

The President of the Congress, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in his report denounced *purdah* and other disabilities of women as a curse to be wiped out without delay. He declared religion as it is practiced in India today as the greatest separatist force and demanded a complete divorce of religion from politics. After describing the Simon Commission as "a colossal fraud,"

he said that "nothing has so completely brought out the cold callousness of officials on the one hand and the helplessness of the people on the other as the progress of the Commission from town to town." He outlined the political position of the guiding group in the following terms:

I am for complete independence, but I am not against full Dominion status, provided I get it before it loses all attraction. I am for the severance of the British connection as it subsists today, but I am not against it as it exists with the Dominions.

At the end of the discussion leading up to the acceptance of the resolution, Gandhi declared his conviction that if the program outlined at the Congress is followed honestly and intelligently, "Swaraj will come within one year."

Political Demands of the Moslems

The All-India Moslem Conference, in its resolution, brushed aside the question of basic constitutional reorganization and concentrated its attention on the problem of the security of the Indian Moslem culture. Its resolution was really in the nature of a manifesto, which declared in favor of a federal system for India, with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the Constituent States, and made the following demands:

Separate electorates for and reservation of seats in legislative and local bodies;

Enjoyment of the Moslem majority position in this respect in the provinces in which Moslems are in a majority, and representation in excess of their proportion of the population where they are in a minority;

Thirty-three representatives in the Central Legislature, and a due share in the Central and Provincial Cabinets;

Safeguards against communal legislation;

The separation of Sind as a Province district from Bombay, and the granting of the Reforms to the Northwest Frontier Province and to Baluchistan, with special protection of the Hindu minorities therein;

An adequate share of appointments in the public services and safeguards against an unfavorable amendment of the Constitution.

The resolution concluded with the declaration that no Constitution, by whomsoever proposed or devised, will be acceptable to Indian Moslems, unless it conforms to the principles embodied in the resolution.

Program of the Liberal Conference

The All-India Liberal Federation Conference passed a series of resolutions to the effect that Dominion status should be accorded to India immediately and that any delay would be fraught with danger to the mutual relations of Great Britain and India. They gave support to the Nehru report and to the resolutions of the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, in particular with reference to the establishment of complete provincial autonomy without Second Chambers, and a full responsible Government in the Government of India with full residuary powers. They further urged a continuation of the boycott of the Simon Commission and condemned the "police assaults committed by order" which it was asserted marked the reception of the Simon Commission at certain places.

GRAF ZEPPELIN

By ALETHEA TODD ALDERSON

It came, a stately ship of silver gray
 Across the leagues of air and cloud and
 night;
 Serene it sailed in majesty away
 Along the unseen tracks of crystal light.
 The time of trial, of patient toil ends,
 The dream comes true, the hope made fact
 at last;
 Half-way across the world two nations,
 friends,
 Forget in peace the war-torn, tragic past.

Is it too great a good to pray for, now,
 That nevermore will upper fields of air
 Be made a battleground? Too much to
 vow
 For peace and not for war will we pre-
 pare?
 Across two thousand years, "Good will to-
 ward men"
 Re-echoes in our hearts, "Auf wieder-
 sehen!"

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND PEACE

Activities of the International Labor Office in 1928

By LEIFUR MAGNUSSON

AT THE Centennial of the American Peace Society at Cleveland nearly a year ago, the Commission on the International Implications of Industry pointed out the two characteristic phenomena of economic life today as "mass migration and international labor competition, which bring in their train other phenomena such as restrictive immigration laws, international labor combinations, etc." These phenomena are the result of unequal distribution of natural resources, of economic power, financial means, technical equipment, and education of the working population. The consequence of these economic differentials are great variations in the social standards of living of the masses of the population in the different countries of the world. In a world of more or less free communication, particularly communication of knowledge, the influence of these differences in arousing irritation and jealousy becomes much greater than it was in the past. The horrors of an earthquake or flood are quickly communicated to the world at large. Relief measures are promptly set on foot because men's sympathies are stirred by such disasters. There is only a difference in degree between arousing sympathy for such catastrophies and for the more insidious and less obvious human distress that arises from economic exploitation, bad working conditions, excessive hours, injuries and poisonings of industry.

It was these less obvious conditions which gave rise to the constitutional treaty of the International Labor Organization at the close of the World War and its statement that "conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardships, and privations to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled." This statement, this philosophy, the organization for its expression and achievement, so to speak, introduced a somewhat revolutionary idea into international relations. For if justice to individuals and welfare of social groups be-

come the tests of world harmony, humanitarianism has been raised to a level equal to that of nationalism. In short, social group conflicts and their prevention have assumed an importance equal to that of political conflicts among the nations.¹

As a peace-promoting agency, therefore, the International Labor Office is concerned with underlying conditions which breed unrest. It is not concerned with boundaries over which men fight. It is concerned with why men spill over those boundaries in huge waves of migration. It is not directly concerned with why men

¹As a piece of international machinery, the International Labor Organization was created by Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. It is in a sense the independent labor bureau of the League of Nations, created for purposes of research and standardization of working conditions, in so far as geography, climate, industrial development in the different countries render that possible. The permanent International Labor Office has its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, and is subject to the control of a Governing Body of 24 members (12 government, 6 employers, 6 workers). The Annual International Labor Conference is a semi-legislative, policy-making body. It is made up of four voting delegates (2 government, 1 employer, 1 worker), plus a certain number of technical advisers from each of the 55 member states or countries. The Conference formulates draft labor treaties, submits them for ratification to the different countries which, as in ordinary international practice, are left free to ratify or to reject the proposed standards. As each country participates in the formulation of the treaties, ratification follows within reasonable expectancy. Primarily, member states are only required to give the drafts consideration and to report the results of their action from year to year once they have ratified. The International Labor Office has a staff of approximately 375 members from 35 nations. There are numerous advisory commissions and consultative bodies. Close relations are maintained between organizations of workers and employers, who have for the first time in history been given a representative character in an official international body. Research and publication of results engage the attention of the Office. Publicity is the instrument of follow-up and enforcement.

struggle in war and deck themselves with expensive armaments. It is concerned with why they struggle to obtain a greater share of the world's work; why they struggle to raise their standards of living. It is not concerned with the cost of armaments, but with that of strikes; it is concerned with the arbitration of industrial disputes; and with economic welfare as expressed in such conditions as the eight-hour day, the right of association, weekly rest, equitable treatment of lawfully resident aliens in each country, equality of opportunity for men and women, and the ideal of the worker as a man and not as an article of commerce.

The purpose of this article is to sketch some of the work of the International Labor Organization during the past year in so far as those activities may seem to have promoted the firmer existence of peace and world harmony in its broadest sense.

The predominant method of international cooperation today is the regular conference. That is, of course, the method of the International Labor Office within its specialized field. That field being unique, an almost wholly different set of conferees from those coming to League meetings assemble at least once a year at Geneva. They are less disposed to political broil; they are more inclined to see the raw humanity of which the world is composed. They speak as individuals and not so much as representatives of nationalistic units. The Conference of 1928 represented 46 nations, equalled only on one previous occasion, and included 342 delegates and advisers. Spokesmen of labor numbered 34; government representatives 81, and employers representatives 35. In addition, Ecuador and Turkey had official observers. The representative from Turkey stated that that country regarded "with sympathy the labors of the Conference and is keenly interested in social questions . . . and anxious to be able to follow them with all the interest that they deserve," promising observers at future conferences. A near-host of friendly American visitors, including the Assistant Secretary of Labor, "took in" the Conference. At this point, too, it might be mentioned that while Argentina, Spain and Brazil at one

time or another have failed to participate in international cooperation through the League, they have continued to do so in the field of social relations in the Labor Organization. At no point, in fact, has the bond of international organization been completely broken for any single nation. Formal isolation has nowhere been completely practiced. Indeed, one may somewhat paradoxically say that isolation without cooperation in the mechanics of peace is both impossible and unintelligent.

There is a personal aspect to the work of the International Labor Office in promoting world cooperation. Lest this may seem out of place in such an article as this, it should be said that the personal side of international organization is no small part of its effectiveness. In international relations the world has accepted no final principles, but is in the course of working them out. For that reason the personal promoter, with the human touch, the voice and eye of sincerity, vitalizes the movement to an exceptional degree.

During the year officials of the International Labor Office have done much ambulatory peace work in maintaining that actual contact with reality, the loss of which is the chief danger of international organizations. As a peace organization the International Labor Office has been among the most active in promoting this type of itinerant international liaison. It would take more than a paragraph to list the various missions which the Office has sent hither and thither. In 1928, for example, the Deputy Director opened the year with a trip to South Africa. He had made one in 1926 and early 1927 to Canada and the United States.

Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labor Office, was probably the first international official to expand the sedantary conference into a system of peripatetic consultation. Albert Thomas is the Sinbad of international social politics. Social justice in Europe has become Albert Thomas in action. No European capital has escaped his energizing spirit. This year he extended his invasions to Spain and Italy, creating no small amount of excitement, through a more or less humorous and inaccurate account of his having paid the Fascist salute

to the Duce. Three years ago he was in South America as an "ambassador of goodwill." But the longest and most pretentious trip was the one that the Director began at Geneva on October 15, 1928, and is only just completing on February 16, 1929. This took him from Geneva to Warsaw and Moscow, across Siberia to Peking and other places in China, to Tokyo and various points in Japan, down the coast to the Dutch East Indies, to India and Delhi, across the Indian ocean, the Arabian sea, the Suez Canal, across the Mediterranean, over the Alps, and back to the secluded valley of Geneva to whose hollow all roads lead from the world capitals. By this trip the Director has rounded out the world contacts which he has been able to make during the nine years that the International Labor Office has been in existence. He has completed his social navigation of the globe.

It is just such personal contacts that are so important to retain the interest of peoples far from the circle of international administration, particularly when it concerns peoples whose needs, conceptions, and problems are profoundly different from those of nations surrounding the center of administration. More particularly in the case of the Orient which has greater industrial significance for the future than probably any other portion of the world.

It would be difficult to find any condition more aptly illustrative of the I. L. O. dictum that social injustice is provocative of world disharmony than the question of forced labor. Properly speaking, therefore, this has been perhaps the most important question with which the Labor Office has had to deal during the past year. For either directly or indirectly the question of forced labor will be a factor in the development of certain American rubber-growing enterprises, as it is at the present moment in the industrial development of the Dutch East Indies, the main source of the world's rubber supply. In these and other colonial areas a government policy with respect to forced labor has been established under the Mandatory system of the League, because the development of colonies is undertaken either by the governments themselves or

by nationals with the active support of their government.

The only function which the International Labor Office has thus far played in the situation has been that of fact-finding and investigation. While the question was definitely taken up by the Governing Body in November, 1927 with a view to placing the problem of slave labor on the program of the Conference this year, forced labor has been the concern of the Office for many years. Particularly since 1921 when its representative on the Permanent Mandates Commission and later on the temporary Slavery Commission of the League conducted considerable researches in advance of the adoption of the Slavery Convention by the Assembly of 1926. In order that its studies might be as broad as possible, trustworthy and unassailable, the Governing Body of the Office created in May, 1926 its Committee of Experts on Native Labor which now includes among its members men of wide colonial experience such as the former Governor-General of Nigeria, the former Governor-General of German East Africa, and the former Governor-General of the French Congo, French West Africa, and Indo-China. The Committee includes a private American member, Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, who has the assurance of being a *persona grata* to the American State Department.

The report of the International Labor Office assisted by this Committee of Experts becomes the ground work of a series of questions which will be circulated to the members of the International Labor Conference which meets in May. Answers to these questions will clearly indicate the policies of the different governments with respect to the problems of forced labor and will make possible the drafting of some sort of standards with respect to the existence and future development of forced labor as an element in colonial administration. Certainly the replies of the governments to the questionnaire cannot help but definitely put the governments on record with respect to forced labor.

The International Labor Office handles only a very limited number of genuine international administrative problems.

Its duties in that line are in the field of labor relations in certain territories directly under the administrative supervision of the League, namely, in Upper Silesia and the Saar, where it has continued to act in a mediatory and administrative capacity.

The placing in employment of Russian and Armenian refugees has in a measure given vitality and a certain desired practical experience to the work of the Office. This particular line of work was handed over from the Nansen High Commission for Refugees of the League. From 1926 until recently in 1928 the Office liquidated a considerable responsibility with respect to refugees. It has placed altogether 50,000 refugees during a time of distinct economic difficulties. In 1928 it transferred 7,000 Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean—shades of most classical antiquity—and Turkish refugees. In addition, 7,000 Armenian refugees in the camps in Aleppo, Alexandretta, and Beirut were established on farms or in industry. At the close of 1929 further handling of the refugee problem will be done jointly with the International Labor Office and the High Commission of the League. The feeling is that it has become such a direct political problem as to be inconsistent with the best interests of Labor Office administration.

In its more strictly chosen field of social legislation "the year 1928 has been marked by a notable acceleration of the movement for the ratification of international labor conventions," eighty-five having been registered with the Secretariat of the League by the end of the year, as against an average annual increase of 33 in 1927, and 29 in 1926. This brings the total of ratifications to 359. These ratifications relate to the 27 labor treaties which have been laid down by the eleven sessions of the International Labor Conference. As these are all multilateral treaties the number of ratifications represents a much larger actual number of agreements, or in this instance over 64,000 treaty contracts ($359 \times 358 \div 2 = 64,261$).

There has also been evident during the year a much greater effectiveness in the

application of these conventions. As a result of the procedure adopted in 1927 the annual reports which the states are required to make under their treaty obligations have been made more precise. The reports received in 1928 were not only more numerous but more complete in detail. "Improvement," the Office states, "is gradually taking place in the system of information which gives to all states concerned the certainty that the provisions of the conventions ratified are applied." Although ratification and application are two different questions, "both are equally essential to the development of international labor legislation."

The Conference of 1928 dealt with three main questions: that of prevention of industrial accidents, protection of workers employed in loading and unloading ships, and the minimum wage. This was the first time the question of wages had been dealt with directly in any way by a Labor Conference. The Conference recorded itself in favor of wage-fixing machinery and laid down principles for its standardization. The question of industrial accidents was more a problem of comparative information and learning from the experience of others. On the other hand, the question of the protection of workers employed in loading and unloading ships is a vital international one, as it affects the construction of ships engaged in international commerce. The standardization of measures to provide safety for workers in the occupation will take definite form at the Conference meeting at Geneva in May this year. The prevention of industrial accidents due to couplings on railways is, of course, of concern to the European railway systems.

The scientific research work of the I. L. O. is basic though remote from the immediate problems of peace. There is a growing tendency to direct research toward special problems, as, for example, in the inquiry into wages and hours of work in the coal-mining industry, and in the proposed textile inquiry which will explore the nature of labor competition in that industry. Not the least informative for the international situation are the analyses of migration laws and treaties, and

preparations which are being made for a conference of migration statisticians at the end of 1929.

Since the Havana Conference no Migration in the spring of 1928 referred most of its problems for investigation to the I. L. O., the role of Geneva will become more important.¹ However, domestic a problem immigration may be—and no one could possibly deny that—there are international aspects to it as is evidenced incidentally in our own history in a proposal by President Roosevelt for a migration conference. Obviously, if some countries promote emigration they assume

¹ Varlez, Louis. Migration Problems and the Havana Conference of 1928. *International Labor Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January, 1929, pp. 1-19.

a kind of collective responsibility for the movement; if certain other countries choose and receive immigrants, they too assume obligations. The former countries ask patriotism; the latter assimilation. The results are contradictory. The common ground becomes the one of trying to stem the currents that both sides consider dangerous.

The problems of migration and labor competition as stated at the outset will always be with us. The I. L. O. exists as one type of international mechanism—and nothing more—through which sovereign nations can deal with those problems. The I. L. O. itself plays no sovereign role therein. Rather one can briefly describe the I. L. O. in the words of its own Director as the International Red Cross on the battlefield of industry.

JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE

Head and Body of the German Nation

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

INVOCATION, prelude before the theater, prolog in Heaven—these are the inseparable antechambers to the theater of Goethe's *Faust*. Each is beautiful in its own way, and together they make up the richest trilogy in German literature. *Faust* is a literary temple, many years in building, somewhat rambling but united and whole; and these vestibules lead us nearer and nearer to the heart of that place. As an approach to Germany's masterpiece of masterpieces, they are as impressive as they are irresistible.

The first and most perfect of the three, the *Zueignung* or Invocation is a dedication arising from the heart of Goethe as he views what is to come—Faust, Mephisto, Gretchen—against the background of his varied past. In that sufficing but very difficult form of poetry, octavo rima with its five iambic and alternating masculine and feminine lines, Goethe swings before us the pensive themes and elegiac tempers of far off days. One feels that one hears him opening the old manuscripts, and that one sees the glow of spring on his wintered head as he culls from the pages those experiences in Frank-

fort, in Leipsic, in Strassburg, in Wetzlar, in Italy, in Weimar. Very truth seems gathering for expression. A door is softly opening to a mansion of memories.

Such memories! The friends who are no more, his sister Cornelia, Merck, Salzmann, and the rest. And the loves of women, of Gretchen, of Annette, of Friederike, of Lotte, of Lili, of Frau von Stein, and of Christiane; and that son of his now dead—these all as in a panorama come bringing back the whole of his mazy and uncanonical course. There is an agony among those memories.

Too, Goethe misses the applause of the once sympathetic Germans. Other old enthusiastic friends are scattered or estranged, Kestner, Jacobi, Klinger, Herder, Lavater, Duke Karl August, Schiller.

Thus his spirit breaks, and now he feels a longing for some mystic realm where he may re-encounter those friends and haunts and loves of old. His soul melts. The tears fall. But at last the present recedes and is no more. The past becomes the now. Things merge in the ideal. The day dawns.

No where in so few lines in all literature has any writer so fully pictured his spiritual history as did Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in this *Zueignung*.

ZUEIGNUNG

OR

Invocation

Ye come again, ye shadows, trembling lightly,

As in those morning years long lost and pass'd!

And now shall I attempt to hold thee tightly?

Thus must I feel my heart still fettered fast?

Ye swarm upon me, reaching infinitely!

So hold dominion, from your vapours vast.

My bosom feels a youthful agitation

Beneath the spirit spell of love's creation.

Ye bring lost pictures with thee, faint appearing,

And many sainted shades in light array:

My first sweet love and other forms endearing,

Arise as if an old forgotten lay;

And friendships through the mists are near, careering.

The pang's renewed, and, through the darksome day,

Repeats the plaint of life where fair ones, dying,

Have vanished from my world of joy and sighing.

The souls for whom I first let free my singing

Hear not the following new sheaf of songs.

The first low echo now has ceased its ringing,

And strangers round me move in motley throngs,

The praise from whom is pain and sorrow, stinging;

Dispersed are friends 'midst years most cruel, long,

And those once cheered by my fond songs of gladness,

If living still, stray far from all my sadness.

A long unfelt desire for spirit keeping

Is seizing me. Aeolian tones are near;

They hover in my hisping lay, low-sweeping.

A tremor seizes me, while tear brings tear;

The heart, austere, is waking from its sleeping

Into a milder, sweeter, better cheer;

For what I have I see as in the distance,

And what is gone becomes my real existence.

Tissue of These Memories

What are these memories, these things of the poet's past that make up the only *Wirklichkeiten*, the reality of his present?

The time from the birth of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, August 28, 1749, to his death at Weimar, March 22, 1832, witnessed the full flower of the Renaissance in Germany, definitive revolutions in America and France, and the dawn of our modern industrial age. Goethe's political background covers the first period of modern democracy. When Goethe was born, the European system of feudalism as a defense against the barbarians had long ago ended in the rise of walled-in and independent city republics, veritable states in miniature. In the thirteenth century there was formed a political alliance of these German free cities, a few families usurping the political power of the time. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries there was what is known as the heroic period in German history. Accompanying the decline that followed, sovereign power passed not to the masses but to those whom the masses approved, namely the princes of the land. The idea of a united Germany as established at Versailles in 1871 was at the birth of Goethe inconceivable. And yet the forces making for that event were at work.

Goethe's birthplace was a proud, commercial and cheerless city of about 30,000 inhabitants, with its moat, ramparts and walls, crooked streets, monasteries, fortresses, quite typical of the Middle Age. Its social life was dominated by the caste system, with its serfs, guild merchants and doctors, over whom were the patri-

cians and the nobility. While the dominant religion was Lutheran, there were many of the Catholic and Jewish faiths. The caste distinctions were closely drawn. The city witnessed many political gatherings, including, the elections and coronations of the German Emperors. The "Seven Years War" had brought French troops to Frankfort, opening to Goethe the military spirit and dominant culture of Europe. It was natural that Goethe, grandson of a tailor and an innkeeper, son of a rich, pedantic, punctilious Imperial Councilor of such a declining "free city," should in the after years give a political turn to many of his poems. While there were several children born to the Goethe family, Wolfgang and his gifted sister Cornelia were the only ones that lived to maturity. These two were "educated" with unrelenting rigor by the father, under a system not altogether successful. It ended in making of the boy a conceited prig, more inclined to associate with women than with men. While this may have been ameliorated in part by the happy and affectionate genuineness of the mother, daughter of a magistrate, Goethe was a long time overcoming the hot-house pedagogy of his father. But the father's library and the German folk tales from his mother's lips were antidotes with no little effect. It was inevitable that this precocious child, writing before he was ten years of age in Latin, French, Italian, and Greek, should be flattered by the leading scholars of his time. It was no less inevitable that such a boy in such an environment should become an egotist of the first water. While he received from such a father steadfastness in the pursuit of his art, and from such a mother a joy in self-expression and a love of narration, Goethe came to lament that he had missed the early poverty that had in reality blessed the youth of such men as Schiller, Lessing and Winckelmann.

Beginning in 1765, Goethe spent three years studying jurisprudence in Leipsic. In 1770 he entered the University of Strassburg, receiving his degree a year later. In 1772 he was in Wetzlar where for six months he practised his profession, after which he returned to Frankfort. In 1775 he went to Weimar where for fifty-seven years he continued to live

as Prime Minister and Court Poet until his death.

But the tissue of the *Zueignung* memories was of a livelier and more vital substance than any of these colorless facts would indicate.

Those Love Affairs

History can never associate with Goethe any single love romance as it does with the names of Abelard, Petrarch, Dante, for he had many such. We are rather intimately acquainted with at least six of these major affairs of the heart, for each of the stories is backed by authority, the authority of Goethe himself. That we have these records is due to what his friend Merck once called Goethe's "irresistible tendency . . . to give poetic form to the actual." Every great passion moved Goethe to express it. In countless letters he poured forth his joys and sorrows while in Leipsic to one Behrisch, eleven years his senior; while in Salzburg to another odd person named Salzmann; while in Wetzlar to Johann Merck; while in Weimar to Frau von Stein. Goethe's poetic works, in perfect contrast with those of Shakespeare in this respect, are line for line a reflection of his own experiences. Then, too, he wrote an autobiography.

The six love affairs were: with one Gretchen, in Frankfort, when he was fourteen years of age; with Anna Katharina Schönkopf, whom he sometimes called Annette and sometimes Käthchen, while in Leipsic; with Friederike Brion of Sesenheim, during his stay in Strassburg; with Charlotte Buff commonly known as Lotte, during his six months in Wetzlar; with Anna Elizabeth Schone-man, the "Lili" of his lyrics, after his return to Frankfort; with Frau von Stein while in Weimar; and with Christiane Vulpius, who afterward became his wife.

It is impossible to understand Goethe, forerunner of imaginative realism, apart from these love experiences. In them we find all the self-contradictions of the man and see him swing from the sensual to the religious, from arrogance to kindness, from patience to irritation, from the masculine to the feminine. His friend Lavater wrote: "You would idolize Doctor Goethe. He is the most terrible and the most lovable of men." In his twenties,

Goethe, true to form, phrased his own faith as follows:

Nenn's Glück! Herz! Liebe! Gott!
Ich habe keinen Namen
Dafür. Gefühl ist alles.*

Goethe's work is inseparable from his love experiences. Even the serio-comic calf-love affair with Gretchen, tied up with prank and poetry, made its mark on Goethe. Gretchen testified on the witness stand that Goethe was only a "mere child." This may be said to mark the beginning of Goethe's enjoyment and luxury in sorrow and melancholy, the genesis of that sad tale of Marguerite in *Faust*.

When Goethe arrived in Leipsic for the study of law, at sixteen years of age, he was already possessed with a rage for literary composition. He referred to himself at this period as "a lover of *belles lettres*." For two years he paid most ardent attention to his Käthchen. All the experiences of this passionate, tender relationship must be told. And so it was told in those highly emotional letters and odes to Ernst Wolfgang Behrisch. Emil Ludwig tells these love stories with a fine sense of proportion. In his account of Goethe's love for Käthchen, he takes occasion to say: "Goethe was never the handsome seducer, never proud of his conquests, never a Don Juan; he was always the suppliant, always the giver of thanks—and much oftener a rejected than an accepted suitor!" This was the fact in this love experience. Goethe seemed to be more concerned in universalizing his experiences than in the experiences themselves. While for a time it was his honest intention to marry Käthchen, his letters and poems clearly indicated a ferocious skepticism and a physical and spiritual chaos, a foretaste of Faust and Mephistopheles. Käthchen married another man.

Goethe's next important love affair was with Friederike Brion of Sesenheim, a little town some twenty miles from Strassburg. This story is set forth with great solemnity in Goethe's autobiography. Goethe saw in Pastor Brion's family the

mirror of the Primrose household as set forth in the *Vicar of Wakefield*. Next to the youngest of the daughters was Friederike, nineteen years of age. This young lady became the inspiration of at least ten of Goethe's most exquisite lyrics, new notes in German poetry. When on Easter eve he mounted his horse and hied him on a wild ride to Sesenheim, it ended in one of his best and most throbbing poems. When he sent a present of a painted ribbon to Friederike, there followed the little lyric called "*Kleine Blumen, kleine Blätter*," a prayer of sincerest purity. But again it dawns upon Goethe that he does not love Friederike well enough to marry her. The war within his spirit, as set forth in his confessions to Salzmann, is quite pathetic. His feelings range from mountain tops to hells of gloom. When an old man, Goethe says of his farewell to Friederike: "When I reached down my hand again to her from my horse, there were tears in her eyes; and I felt very miserable." The nobler and purer Friederike's nature appeared, the more she suffered in silence, the more Goethe saw her image surrounded with the halo of a Madonna. In the work which first made Goethe famous, *Götz von Berlichingen*, his Weisslingen turns out to be an inconstant lover, a lamentable lover who poisons himself. In another dramatic work, *Clavigo*, Goethe represents a faithless lover meeting his death by murder. These two characters portray attempts by Goethe to absolve his own soul because of his treatment of Friederike. From the two Mariés in *Götz* and *Clavigo*, Friederike ascends gradually until at the end of *Faust* she reaches in Gretchen her heavenly transfiguration. Friederike never married. In later years she was heard to explain, "The heart that Goethe loved will never love another." She lived until 1813, noted for her works of charity. Eight years after their separation, Goethe had a most tranquil visit with her.

At Wetzlar, in May, 1772, Goethe found a place where the fruitful land furnished the prose, a pure love the poetry in a new and impassioned experience. It was here that he learned to know Johann Christian Kestner, a most excellent young man, who soon learned greatly to admire

*"Call it Joy! Heart! Love! God!
For me there is no naming
Of this. We can but feel it."

Goethe. Kestner had been engaged for four years to one Charlotte Buff, a beautiful, young, domestically inclined girl. Goethe, not knowing of Kestner's engagement, fell in love with this sixteen-year-old lass at first sight. His love for her beauty, charm and joy was as impetuous as it was real. Upon finding Kestner's relation to Charlotte, Goethe suddenly left Wetzlar. It is recorded that Kestner was never jealous of Goethe. But it was the bitterness of this experience that led Goethe to write his *Sorrows of Werther*, a work which for fifty years was the "best seller" of Europe; a work prohibited in Leipsic; but which went into many editions in Germany, France, England, and as far as China. In her sixtieth year, Lotte, a widow with twelve children, visited Goethe; but to the happiness of neither.

In his twenty-sixth year Goethe was the literary lion of Germany. Back in Frankfort, he was introduced to the wealthy Anna Elizabeth Schönemann. This introduction grew into mutual love. Goethe was led into a rather unexpected betrothal. There is no doubt that Goethe's affection for "Lili" was deep and genuine. But it was soon accompanied by a feeling of terror "lest his wishes should reach fulfillment." It was at this time in a ceremonious letter to a stranger that he said: "I live, as I always do, in an immoderate turmoil of pleasure and pain." So Goethe soon found himself in a fourth flight from a woman. In the midst of all this experience, he was writing at *Faust*, a work which he was not to lay down for over sixty years.

Goethe found himself in Weimar in 1775, twenty-six years of age, a place in which he was to dwell, crowned with honor and literary glory, until his death. It was here that Frau von Stein exercised upon Goethe an influence unequalled by that of any other woman. Charlotte von Stein was a suffering, married woman, almost faded, agreeable in appearance, but not what would be called beautiful. Seven years older than Goethe, she was the mother of seven children. For twelve years Goethe loved her passionately, feeling that she comprehended him utterly. He confessed all this in hundreds of letters and poems. Indeed,

this woman appears both in Goethe's *Iphigenia*, and in his *Torquato Tasso*. She was Goethe's intellectual companion, studying with him Spinoza, conic-sections, the microscope, botany, astronomy, geology, ancient and modern literatures. He wrote, "How glad I am that thou art interested in everything and that I find in thee a dear companion for all my undertakings." To the delicate, ill and lonely woman, Goethe came as a saviour. She in turn became the "crown of life" and the love so necessary to the development of Goethe. On a stone in front of his garden house, across the Ilm, from a window of which Goethe could see the house of the von Steins, are these words, "Thy love is to me like the morning and evening star; it sets after and rises before the sun—yea, like a pole star that never sets, but weaves an ever-living garland above our heads. I pray that in all my path of life the gods may never obscure it." Goethe wrote to her, "I beg thee on bended knee, finish thy work, make me wholly good." Every one in Weimar was scandalized, but the lady's husband, Herr von Stein. It is the image of her glorified personality more than that of any other one person that glows through the *Zueignung*.

When Goethe was nearly thirty-nine, walking in the park one day, he met Christiane Vulpius, aged twenty-three, fresh and impulsive as a "young Dionysus." It was this young, simple woman who was to enter his home; who was to become the mother of his son; who was to become his wife and enduring and helpful companion until her death in 1816. Of a poor family, daughter of a drunken father, Goethe loved her throughout the last twenty-eight years of her life. With her he wrote his *Roman Elegies*; his *Metamorphosis of Plants*, pursued optical and other scientific researches, clearly forecasting the era of Darwin. For her he practically forsook Frau von Stein, save as a friend. Their son, August, was born on Christmas Day, 1789. Goethe's patron, the Duke, stood as godfather. Christiane's mother and sister were taken into Goethe's home. Goethe's mother approved the entire arrangement. But it was all delicious meat for the scandal-

mongers, until the regular marriage of 1806. Four years after their coming together, Goethe wrote to Christiane, "Dear Angel, I am all your own . . . I love you quite terribly, and no one pleases me but you . . . We'll always stick together, for we'll never find anything better, after all."

And the Friends

No man ever influenced Goethe as did these women. There was little of friendship between him and his father. Behrisch, the poverty stricken tutor of Leipsic, haggard, cynical, now the mournful and now the ribald eccentric, seems to have been his first friend. They would spend whole nights together in Auerbach's cellar, carousing and composing. It was to this man that Goethe first confided in prose and verse; but there is no evidence of any enduring influence from him, although the "*Keller*" has a distinctive place in *Faust*.

A real influence in Leipsic came from Adam F. Osser. This head of the Academy of Arts taught Goethe drawing and left upon him certain enduring impressions which Goethe always acknowledged. There is no doubt that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, dramatist and critic, did for a time take firm hold upon Goethe's reason, particularly through his *Laocoon*. Older than Goethe, Lessing strengthened the young man's will to rebel against the unnaturalness, insincerity and triviality of the writers of that day. Because of Lessing, Goethe achieved a truer idea of classical standards.

Christopher Martin Wieland as a poet and author had little effect upon Goethe except as a "beautiful nature," but his translation of Shakespeare into the German language was an event for Goethe.

By the time Goethe had reached Strassburg his interests were still more centered in his own personal development. He studied medicine that he might be calmer in the presence of disease and death. He made friends with many medical students, and cultivated for a time the elderly and refined Salzmann, who became for Goethe another sort of Socrates and father confessor. He climbed to high points to overcome the feeling of dizziness; sought out loud noises that he

might overcome his physical sensitiveness to them; went into churches, graveyards and lonely ways at night to remove any tendency to secret fear in such places. He took dancing lessons, studied the violoncello, rode a horse, and wrote French poetry.

It was in Strassburg that he met Johann Gottfried von Herder, critic, poet, tutor and preacher. It was Herder who opened the eyes of Goethe to the value of nature in art and to the principles of the Romantic school. He revealed to Goethe the spirit of Ossian, the idyllic values in the folk song; but, particularly, the works of Homer and Shakespeare. In no small way Herder it was who brought about the emancipation of Goethe's spirit and made possible his master works of the after years. Herder was, perhaps, the best representative of the storm and stress movement thought to be characteristic of the "literary awakening" throughout Germany at that time, the interest in nature, the lack of finality in visible and tangible things. It was said that men must reach beyond vision and comprehension to a reality beyond. All art life of Germany was at that time barren and prosaic. A doctrinaire rationalism and a disposition to revel in dogmas dominated the age. When men began to ask for a new mysticism, a new world of fancy and of dreams, of originality, it was easy to adopt the watchword, "conformity to nature." In a sense it was a return to Homer, to Shakespeare, to the Bible, to the folksong; but the cry of the youth movement of that day was for action, passion, storm and strife. *Sturm und Drang*. Goethe was destined to become the sun and center of this revolution.

Goethe decided to follow his father's advice, return to Frankfort and to enter upon the practice of the law. *Götz* and *Faust*, two important figures of the sixteenth century, continued, however, to work in his mind. He took to long walks. At Darmstadt he became acquainted with Johann Heinrich Merck, another translator of English works and literary critic. This influential friend, later a suicide, became something of a prototype of Goethe's Mephistopheles. In 1773, Goethe's fame as a dramatic poet was established by the appearance of his *Götz*

von *Berlichingen*; and, the following year, his standing as a novelist by the publication of his *Sorrows of Young Werther*.

The best contemporary portrait of Goethe at the time of his sojourn in Wetzlar has come down to us from the pen of his friend Kestner. This young man, afterward the husband of Lotte Buff, according to Bielschowsky, translated by William A. Cooper, wrote:

"He has a great deal of talent, is a true genius, and a man of character. He possesses an extraordinarily lively imagination and hence generally expresses himself in images and similes. He also says himself that he always expresses himself figuratively, and can never express himself literally; but that when he is older he hopes to think and speak his thoughts as they are. In all his emotions he is impetuous, and yet has often great power over himself. His manner of thinking is noble. Free from prejudices, he acts as seems best to him, without troubling himself about reputation, fashion, or convention. All constraint is odious to him. He loves children and entertains himself with them a great deal. He is bizarre, and there are several things in his manners and outward bearing that might make him disagreeable. But with children and women and many others he has nevertheless a good standing. He has a very great respect for the female sex. In *principiis* he is not yet firm and is only beginning to strive after a definite system. He has a very high opinion of Rousseau—is, however, no blind worshipper of him. He is not what one calls orthodox, yet not out of pride or caprice, or for the sake of putting on airs. On certain fundamental things he unbosoms himself to very few, and does not like to disturb others in the contentment of their own ideas. It is true he hates scepticism, strives after truth and definite ideas on certain fundamental questions; thinks, too, that he already has clearly defined ideas on the most important of them; but, as far as I have observed, that is not yet the case. He never goes to church, nor to the Lord's Supper, and seldom prays; for he says: "I am not hypocrite enough for that." On certain subjects he is at times in repose; at times, however, anything but that. He venerates

the Christian religion, but not in the form in which our theologians present it. He believes in a future life and a better state. He strives after truth, but values the feeling of it higher than its demonstration. He has accomplished a great deal for his age, is well-informed and well-read, but he has thought and reasoned still more. His chief study has been belles-lettres and the fine arts, or rather all fields of knowledge except the so-called bread-and-butter sciences." On the margin of this rough draught Kestner added: "I was going to describe him, but it would take too long; for there is a great deal to be said of him. In a word, he is a very remarkable man."

Götz von Berlichingen, written in Strassburg, made Goethe famous overnight. It was a revolutionary drama, centered around an idealized account of a robber knight of the sixteenth century. Goethe succeeds in picturing here the fore-struggle toward our modern individualism. The form of the drama was greatly influenced by Goethe's recent acquaintance with Shakespeare. Every character lives. The sentences are short and sharp. As one pole of the *sturm und drang*, the play is both a protest and an innovation. It is a manly call to the Fatherland.

In the *Sorrows of Young Werther*, Goethe relates in the form of a novel, the feelings of a young man enamored of a married woman; but who flees from temptation and finally seeks relief in suicide. In places, the work is marked by rare beauty of style, and here and there by feelings real and genuine. It was a direct product of Goethe's love for Lotte. The suicide of the unhappy Werther was suggested to Goethe by the self-destruction of a sentimental lover named Jerusalem, who lived and died at Wetzlar during Goethe's stay there.

The influence of this sentimental thing was very wide. It appealed to the emotions of all Europe. Napoleon carried the book with him on his Egyptian campaign and read it under the shadow of the Sphinx. Madame de Stael once said that it had been responsible for more suicides than the most beautiful woman that had ever lived. But Goethe outgrew this work and came to look upon it with

scorn as an early indiscretion. But at the time, he sent a copy of it to Lotte, saying, "I have kissed it a hundred times." In matters of love Goethe was "always" the patient and the physician.

The young revolutionary gentlemen found in *Götz* a sufficing expression of their own stormy defiant selves; and in *Werther* their languid visionary sentimentalities were fully satisfied. Together, these two works epitomized the *sturm und drang*, and together they formed a solid foundation of Goethe's fame.

But it is difficult to find men who influenced Goethe. He influenced men. He supported Klinger for a long period, Klinger, who had announced that posterity would "learn with amazement that there even could be such a man." But Klinger had little effect upon Goethe.

Lavater, the Swiss poet and theologian, knew and admired Goethe; but Goethe in turn had to caution him in these words, "all your ideals shall not prevent me from being genuine, and good and bad—like Nature!" He had finally to beg Lavater not to talk on religion. At one time Goethe avoided him by turning down an alley.

Goethe's relations with his other friends; Fritz Jacobi, another poet; with his very accomplished sister, Cornelia; with Beethoven, and the many others, were similarly transitory. He had "one test for all men,—*What can you teach me?*" But two men of his age impressed him deeply, Napoleon and Byron.

His friendship with Friedrich Schiller, dramatist and historian, was a different matter. Between 1794 and the death of Schiller in 1805 they became the twin stars of Weimar. If Schiller was the more loved, Goethe was the more admired. Schiller went to Weimar because of Goethe, lived there in a house still preserved as a Schiller memorial. Of all contemporaries Schiller best understood Goethe. Ludwig distinguishes between these two men in these words:

"Schiller's desire was to dominate, Goethe's to influence. Schiller never gave himself entirely to any human being, but always entirely to his work; Goethe always gave himself to those who loved him, and only sometimes entirely to his work. Schiller hammered at his composition with cold intensity; Goethe modelled

it with a loving hand. For Schiller, life came second to work—that was why he went about his enjoyment in so awkward a manner; for Goethe life was the radical element in work—that was why his existence flowered with such seeming spontaneity. Schiller always reflected when he felt; Goethe was always observant, even while reflecting. Schiller planted one tree after another; Goethe sowed his seed."

Schiller and Goethe! Their homes are today the shrines of Weimar. In heroic statues they stand side by side before the City's Theater, a laural wreath between them, each as if in the act of crowning the other.

In twin caskets in a crypt of a little chapel on rising ground in Weimar's ancient cemetery, they rest side by side. These caskets are always covered with flowers brought by worshippers from every corner of the world.

Voilà un homme!

Writing of Goethe, Emerson remarked, "Talent alone cannot make a writer. There must be a man behind the book." When in 1808, Napoleon invited Goethe to call upon him in Erfurt, Goethe accepted. As he entered the door and stood before the Emperor, Napoleon said: *Voilà un homme!* No sentence could better describe Goethe than that: There is a man!

This was the year that Goethe finished the first part of *Faust*. It was during the period of his greatest scientific works. His writings had already reached massive proportions. He was fifty-nine years of age. He had twenty-four years yet to live, during which time he was to write much more, his biography in four parts, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; his *Italian Journey*, his treatises on *Germanic Art*, his *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*; and, in 1831, shortly before his death, he was to complete the second part of *Faust*.

If Voltaire be counted emancipator of the human intellect, Rousseau of the heart, Goethe, through unrelenting toil, probity and a universal sympathy, was the emancipator of man.

While it has taken nearly one hundred years for the Germans to grasp this fact, it is but fair to say that Goethe is the dominating intellectual hope in the Germany of today, for he is the expression

of the German mind at its best. The German youth look upon him as their wonder-man. As the Germans look upon their struggles, their temptations, they recall that Goethe fought with just such things to his eightieth year. In the midst of their calamities following the World War, they are heartened by Goethe's calm in the face of the cosmos. If depressed by cant, superstitions and words, Goethe becomes their healing antidote. The Germans of today are bent upon uniting faith and science, piety and wisdom, because of Goethe's success with that business. They subscribe to this from him: "The intellectual, not satisfied with what is put before him, considers as a mask everything that presents itself to his senses. He knows that a higher spiritual life, roguishly obstinate, hides itself behind the visible cloak, to attract us and lure us into nobler regions."

Goethe had the international mind. He was for long Weimar's Minister of War. He knew the war game of his time at first hand, having seen service in the campaign that ended at Valmy. When in 1806, Napoleon's victorious armies were marching on central Germany, and every other citizen was terrified, many fleeing for their lives; when the cannon could be heard belching in Jena, Goethe, knowing that Weimar's turn and his own fate were hanging in the balance, behaved with that objective calm and control characteristic of all greatness. Goethe could face death unafraid. This he did whether in sickness, on a little ship off Capri, on the field of battle, in the face of the mob which he quelled; or at the very last, sitting in his chair. Following Wellington's victory over Napoleon, he cynically remarked, "Who has the highest power is right." On another occasion he said: "I say straight out that no King keeps faith—he cannot keep it, being constantly obliged to yield to the pressure of circumstances." Toward the end of his life, however, out of the fullness of his experience, Goethe favored for the conduct of foreign affairs some sort of a union of nations, and for internal affairs, a "socialized cooperation." In the light of Germany's internal and foreign relations today, it is clear once more that the sage of Weimar was just a century ahead of his time.

Goethe, the first and greatest of our modern realists, was content to find in Nature the "living garment of God." He believed not in the elimination, but in the absorption and transcendence of experience. He looked upon the road of life as also its goal. Believing in metempsychosis, he lived wholly in the actual, yet fully in the infinite. He said, "I know no other aim than to realize myself, in my own way, as far as possible, in order that I may partake of this infinite in which we are placed, in an even happier and purer way." German philosophy and German science of today converge toward these views.

Goethe was self-governed, tolerant, bold, against what Emerson called any "morgue of conventions." But he turned passion into vision and science into wisdom. He became the most comprehensive and distinguished mind of our modern world. Only such a spiritual giant could have suffered his despair over the absurdities of life, his mad longings; endured his scorn for human inadequacies, or reached to his admiration of beauty, to his breadth of genius in the wandering ways of nature and of humanity.

It is no occasion for surprise, therefore, that the Germans are turning to him at last as a guide through the complexities of their troubled times; that charming Weimar is the Mecca of Germany; that the Constitution of the German Republic was drawn and adopted in Weimar's Theater, before which Schiller and Goethe stand in their imperishable bronze.

It Makes a Difference

Goethe, pantheist in love and religion, was called by Heine, "The great heathen." In that he was an apostle of self-culture, an arch individualist often inconstant and inconsistent, forever human, this characterization of an early period in the life is true. On the other hand, even Saint Francis of Assisi did not pursue the good with a greater intensity. He was in a constant self-conflict. But out of this dualism developed a self-command and personal symmetry seldom seen among the great of history. No other embodies such harmony of power, understanding, emotion and imagination. An ardent lover, he was also a sacrificing friend. First of all a poet, he was also

the father of comparative anatomy, an authority on the morphology of plants, a tireless investigator in many fields of science, a philosopher, statesman, man of the world, the nearest approach to Leonardo da Vinci in the many-sidedness of his genius and achievement. No man ever became more statuesque and reposeful. As the harbinger of a greater reality he interprets us to ourselves in immortal song. His greatest gift, however, was his own universal person. He is today the Olympian of the German intellectual world, as he is of Teuton literature.

"It makes a great difference to the force of any sentence whether there be a man behind it or no. In the learned journal, in the influential newspaper, I discern no form; only some irresponsible shadows; oftener some moneyed corporation, or some dangler who hopes, in the mask and robes of his paragraph, to pass for somebody. But through every clause and part of speech of a right book I meet

the eyes of the most determined of men; his force and terror inundate every word; the commas and dashes are alive; so that the writing is athletic and nimble—can go far and live long." When Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote these words, he was speaking of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, whom he later called "the head and body of the German nation."

Germany's memories today are like unto the memories of Goethe as from his tempestuous past he wrote that Invocation to Faust. They are agitated and sainted memories, painful and tragic, elegiac and happy. The life of Germany is repeating the life of Goethe, passing from tempestuous self-assurance through loves and great ability to marked achievements and, let us trust, to Goethe's balance and repose.

"Was glänzt, ist für den Augenblick
geboren,
Das Echte bleibt der Nachwelt un-
verloren."*

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Goethe's typical works: *Götz, Werther, Wilhelm Meister, Torquato Tasso, Iphigenie*, and his lyrics and elegies. His writings are his spiritual biography, especially *Faust*.

*"What glitters, is born for the moment.
The genuine remains unlost to posterity."

UNIVERSAL DRAFT

By SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER

UNIVERSAL drafting of capital, labor, wealth, as well as of our young men, in case of war is even more than a matter of justice to our young men.

The universal draft is an effective move for peace.

Take the profit out of war and you remove a powerfully selfish incentive toward encouraging war.

I know it is the dream of many a service man to see the profiteer do the fighting, and run the risks, in the next war. A rather bitter dream, but I cannot find it in my heart to blame him.

Time softens the outlines of painful experiences, and mellows the memory of injustices suffered. But the service man still feels bitter indignation, and just indignation, when he remembers the greedy, grasping profiteers who cheered for war and cheered his patriotism, and then merchandized at a profit on that patriotism.

These men looted the government; looted the home folks that the boys went overseas to protect; looted the boys in the ranks.

We cannot purge the stain of past looting, but we can prevent more such stains upon national honor by mobilizing dollars as well as dough-boys; by drafting munition plants as well as machine gunners and other human sacrifices.

Congressman Royal Johnson and myself have introduced universal draft measures in the Congress. They should receive affirmative action. I am sorry to say they have not, due to the selfish interests which desire to save their power to pillage their own country and countrymen in case of another war.

A BILL (S. 1289)

(Introduced December 6, 1927; and referred to Committee on Military Affairs.)

To provide further for the national security and defense.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That in the event of war declared by Congress to exist, which in the judgment of the President demands the immediate increase of the Military Establishment, the President be, and he hereby is, authorized to draft into the service of the United States such members of the unorganized militia as he may deem necessary: *Provided*, That all persons drafted into service between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, or such other limits as the President may fix, shall be drafted without exemption on account of industrial occupation.

SECTION 2. That in case of war, or when the President shall judge the same to be imminent, he is authorized and it shall be his duty when, in his opinion, such emergency requires it—

(a) To determine and proclaim the material resources, industrial organizations, and services over which Government control is necessary to the successful termination of such emergency, and such control shall be exercised by him through agencies then existing or which he may create for such purposes;

(b) To take such steps as may be necessary to stabilize prices of services and of all commodities declared to be essential, whether such services and commodities are required by the Government or by the civilian population.

This bill is the American Legion's own measure. It has the approval of the men who fought the war; it has the opposition of the men who profited from the war. It proposes to draft the nation's dollars as well as all its man-power. It would take the profit out of war.

The measure looks to a just distribution of the burdens of war. It represents one of the fruits of the experience of the World War, and of every war the world has seen. While the young men are dying at the front, older and more selfish men are becoming rich, and wallowing in bloodmoney.

The World War made at least 425 brand new millionaires in America, and laid the foundations for the accumulation

of other millions at the expense of the men who placed their lives in pawn for their country—and for their profiteers.

This bill lays down the principle that if conscription of men is proper the conscription of wealth and industry is proper. After Congress votes a declaration of war, or declares that a state of war exists, this bill gives the President control over the industrial resources of the nation—power over capital and labor to speed up production and keep war costs and costs of living down.

With the first actual danger of war, before the vicious circle of price increases sets in, the universal draft act begins to operate. It controls the distribution and price of capital, industry, and transportation. There is no hoarding, nor profiteering in the enormous quantities of materials and products needed to supply the huge army to be created, and to provide for the people at home.

The universal draft will be effective as a peace measure. It will tend to curb the jingoism. It will tend to avert a hasty declaration of war—under its provisions a war is everybody's war, not just a young man's war. Every man would know in advance he would have to bear his fair share of the burden and would make no profit out of the war.

Certainly, with this measure in effect, there would not be the painful, the wicked disparity of the soldier's dollar a day and the capitalist's ten thousand dollars a day over and above his peace-time profits.

I quote from John Thomas Taylor, legislative representative of the American Legion:

"When war is imminent, the President, through an executive order, would proclaim that all prices and rates of interest would be 'frozen' at their then level, and remain so 'frozen' for a given period of time.

"This would not only prevent profiteering in war supplies, but of equal importance, would prevent profiteering on the food, clothing, and other necessities required by the civilian population.

"The various war boards found necessary in the World War, and any other boards deemed necessary, would already have been appointed. These, with the authority given them by the President and this legislation, would function immediately. They would control the distribution and price of capital, industry, transportation and labor."

This not only is a peace measure, Mr. Taylor points out, but also a preparedness measure.

"It is the greatest preparedness measure in the history of the world," Mr. Taylor declares. "The United States is the world's richest and most powerful nation, yet it is not prepared to defend itself. Major wars no longer are fought by armies alone. They are contests between nations, in which the entire facilities and resources at the command of each are employed to their fullest extent.

"As the mightiest industrial nation and the greatest reservoir of raw materials, the United States, if properly organized, could produce more war supplies than any other country on the globe, and under the universal draft would be able to start this necessary program immediately."

This measure, or one similar, eventually will be enacted, I hope and trust. Its principles are so just, and as a peace measure, and also as a war measure, its application would be so wholesome that thousands of delegates to succeeding conventions of the American Legion unanimously have approved the measure.

And the great majority of the people of the country are for it.

HOME TO AMERICA, GOODBYE ENGLAND

By STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN

(The following "Good-Bye to England" was written on shipboard, homeward bound, by the Director of the Institute of International Education, after reading Henry W. Nevins's "Farewell to America." It appeared in a Sunday edition of the *New York Times*, and is printed here with the author's consent.)

THE great liner weighs anchor, casts off her hawsers, and noses toward America. Down Southampton Water, past fertile fields and lovely villages, through the Solent and around the Needles into the Channel she steams. My happy stay in Britain is ended. Hospitable welcome, motor trips across parklike landscapes, generous exchange of opinions, sincere adieux are over. Good-bye, England. I'm going home!

Good-bye to the divorce between spelling and speech; good-bye to Cirencester, called Eirsester; to Davenry, known as Daintry; to Brightlingsea, named Brick-sley. Good-bye to rolling plains and gentle valleys that support sheep rather than men. Good-bye to attractive hamlets with streets of thatched houses in which live kindly people; to curving roads trimmed with fine hedges and dotted with Baby Austins, motorcycles, and charà-bancs. Good-bye to the drab factory towns with their streets of monotonous houses guiltless of sanitation; to third-class compartments devoid of air or conversation, drear as the fog outside. Good-bye to newspapers whose front pages carry nothing but advertisements, but whose editorial sheets command admiration.

Good-bye to London, city of a thousand years and many more memories, where avenues are almost unknown, but where instead are found Tottenham Court Road, Oxford Circus and Cheyne Walk; city of narrow and historic streets and many parks, of stately yet comfortable clubs, of the Underground, clean and bright, where one pays for a seat and gets it.

I'm going home! Home to a land where spelling has at least a tenuous connection with sound; where Prairie du Chien is Prairie doo Sheen, Joliet is Joliette, Vincennes is Vincenz; to a land of

magnificent distances, with every variety of landscape, across which one can travel by rail for almost a week without meeting a customs officer; to a land covered with towns that differ only in name; towns connected by great cement ribbons garnished by "hotdog" stands and enormous bill-boards.

I'm going home to New York, city of wonderful site, of beautiful architecture, of strenuous life, with its subway in which seats are paid for but not secured, in which a myriad faces suggest the melting pot and words and actions remind one that the cave man is not extinct.

Good-bye to heavy breakfasts—porridge, kippers, bacon and eggs, strong tea and cold toast; to dinners of meat and pudding, with no fruit and a choice of three vegetables—two of which are cabbage; dinners at which no one drinks water because all "prefer Bass." Good-bye to cold houses and miniature hearths which heat by suggestion, and where chilled energy is thawed by afternoon tea. Good-bye to the pubs where drunken men and sodden women squander more wealth than would support the dole. Good-bye, England! Land of political liberty and social snobbery, land of tradition and caste where each class apes the class above and only the Dukes live free.

I'm going home! Home to the land of bright sunshine and extreme temperatures, made bearable by houses with steam heat and Frigidaires; to the land where health is a religion and diet a science, to breakfasts of California fruits, cereals, strong coffee and hot toast made by electric percolators and toasters hooked up on the table. I'm going home where the saloon has been abolished and where bootleggers from eastern and southern Europe accumulate fortunes by selling in dialect English forbidden rum to law-breaking natives; to a land where "class" is anathema and where the variant from the general run is a freak; where love of liberty has been displaced by the craze for equality. I'm going home to the women's clubs, to forums and Chautauquas, where all sides of a question are dis-

cussed and the question itself remains unanswered.

Good-bye, Oxford and Cambridge, seats of traditional learning and teaching! Good-bye to venerable colleges, wonderful courts and beautiful "backs"; to comfortless quarters and attendant "scouts," to "high-table" where soup is preceded by an unintelligible prayer and meat is followed by adjournment with napkin to another room for dessert and wine and coffee and delightful conversation. Good-bye to the rational curriculum which provides for concentration in studies and intercourse with teachers and a final examination in the entire field of study. Good-bye to students who scorn to be passmen and to modest dons who fear to dogmatize in their own subjects and profess complete ignorance in all others. Good-bye to Isis and Cam, to cricket and delightful days in punts, to sport for the sake of sport and the fun one gets out of it.

I'm going home! Home to colleges with comfortable dormitories arranged into delightful suites, with lounging rooms for girl students who smoke; colleges with wonderful gymnasiums, hygienic showers and inviting pools; true models of efficient administration and quantity production; where sport is a spectacle and a combat applauded by 100,000 gathered in a stadium that dwarfs the Roman Colosseum, applauded not spontaneously; for applause, like everything pertaining to sport, is "organized," and one claps and shouts at the signal of a cheer leader. I'm going home! Home where professors pontificate in all subjects and where the extra-curricular activities form the main interest of student life; where degrees are obtained by accumulating "credits" attached to subjects diffused over unrelated fields and elected by students who regard the passing mark as that of a gentleman, and who recover from "conditions" by securing additional "credits" at Summer sessions—at \$10 each.

* * *

Good-bye, England, land of grinding taxes and falling wages and disappearing estates; good-bye to political parties which stand for definite principles and political meetings, where orators dare not talk humbug but are heckled into honest

admissions. Good-bye to the tolerance of views that one meets in private homes; good-bye to Hyde Park, where throne and altar are attacked and communism preached and yet no one is afraid. Good-bye, brave men and women who face a dark future with strong hearts and firm wills and who do not whine!

I'm going home! Home to a land that would have delighted Joshua's spies; whose infinite resources could supply its men and women according to their deserts and in conformity with their needs. I'm going home, where the difference between Democrats and Republicans is so slender that half the voters do not think it worth while to vote; where mediocrity flourishes under the aegis of 100 per cent Americanism, where teachers must exalt the untarnished virtue and infallible judgment of the Fathers, and where the mild critic of ancient abuses and outgrown institutions is denounced as Bolshevik. I'm going home to Chicago to be protected by the blacklists of the Key Men of America and the Daughters of the American Revolution; protected, not against gangsters and gunmen, but against "dangerous thoughts."

* * *

Good-bye, England, land of beautiful cathedrals, old-fashioned faiths and steady worshipers; land of peculiar people, burdened by the hardest problems of twentieth century materialist civilization, yet discussing the metaphysics of the Prayer Book with sixteenth century religious fervor. Good-bye to religious toleration and individual freedom. Thanks, England, for the spiritual heritage you bequeathed us, requited by the affection of our best.

I'm going home! Home to the land where sects are as the sands of the sea-shore and no belief is too queer to become a cult; to the land of sumptuary laws, where your neighbor is your moral censor and may denounce the vice you have possibly acquired of smoking a cigarette every other Wednesday night; I'm going to Boston, original site of the Puritan Commonwealth, where now a Cardinal decides what shall be read; and to Tennessee, native heath of the Fundamentalists, where the Klan determines what shall be taught. I'm going home to the land I

love, where, despite luxury and plutocracy, plain men and women are struggling in the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln to maintain a democracy, not yet

with success but not without hope; a democracy wherein opportunity will be given to capacity to assume the place in society which its merits justify.

KING ALEXANDER'S COUP D'ETAT

Origins and aims of the recently established dictatorship in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

By CAPTAIN GORDON GORDON-SMITH

THE action of King Alexander in dismissing the Parliament and abolishing the Constitution of 1921 has had, in the United States, what the French would describe as a "bonne presse." Though the word "dictator" sounds somewhat harshly in American ears, the press, as a whole, admits that as things stood in Jugoslavia, no other course was open to the King.

But the "good press" which the action of the Yugoslav ruler has had is not always based on a complete comprehension of the situation in Belgrade. Many editorial writers regard it as a victory for the Croatian Peasant Party, which has thus got rid of the hated Parliament of Belgrade and foresee the concession of all the demands of the Zagreb politicians. The legend had gained ground in the United States that the Croats, culturally and intellectually, stood on a higher plane than their Serbian brothers-in-race and were being subjected to intolerable oppression by an ignorant and brutal Serbian majority. As a consequence, having got rid of the Belgrade Parliament and politicians, all that need be done is to grant all the Croatian demands and everything will be for the best in the best of all possible Jugoslavias.

As the process of reform goes on the results may not be in conformity with this somewhat simple formula and certain editorial writers may lose some of their early enthusiasm. The solution of the problem is nothing like so simple as they suppose. In the first place the legend of the cultural and intellectual superiority of the Croats over the Serbs will probably undergo considerable modification and this for the simple reason that it does not exist. The Croats, in their culture and point of view, are

different from but not superior to the Serbs. It is true that in their long association with Austria they acquired a veneer of Austrian culture which superficially made them more polished and polite than the more rude and rustic Serbs, whose whole history was one long and bloody struggle against Turkish and other enemies for the maintenance of their national life and the achievement of their independence.

Croatia, under the Austrian regime, had developed a certain amount of industry, and Zagreb, with the help of Vienna, had become to a certain extent a financial center, while the Serbs were a race of peasants living from the cultivation of the soil. The development of their industry and their banking business brought the Croats into contact with the foreign industrial and banking worlds while the Serbs concentrated all their energies on their agricultural labors within the Kingdom. But this concentration did not prevent the development of the nation or hinder its persistent effort to raise itself, culturally and intellectually, to the level of the other nations of Europe. The progress was necessarily slow in a nation which had to keep up a bitter struggle for its national life, first the Turkish oppressors and later with the powerful Austro-Hungarian Empire which, for years, planned the destruction of Serbia and its subjection as a vassal state to the Empire of Francis Joseph.

As a consequence of this menace Serbia had to devote all her energies to preparing her defence and to creating an army such as would inspire respect. All her energy and all her intelligence had to be devoted to this task. The list of the great military leaders she produced, Field Marshal Putnik, Field Marshal Misitch, Field Marshal Stepa Stepanovitch, Field Mar-

shal Boyovitch (to mention only a few), proved that in inborn intelligence and force of character the Serbian race is second to none in Europe. I need not recall the glorious role played by this army, first in the war with Turkey, when by its brilliant victories it redeemed hundreds of thousands of Serbs from Turkish oppression and nearly doubled the territory of the Kingdom, and later its exploits in the World War which ended in the liberation of the remainder of the Serbo-Croat race from the Austrian yoke and led to the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under King Alexander.

The country at the same time produced great statesmen and political leaders, the greatest being the late Nicholas Pashitch. For fifty years M. Pashitch worked untiringly to advance the interests of the little Kingdom and to steer it through all the pitfalls laid for it by the selfish policy of the Great Powers of Europe, eager for their share of the spoils in the Near East, when the break-up of the moribund Ottoman Empire should take place. All these factors entitled Serbia to play the part of the Balkan Piedmont in the Yugoslav *resorgimento*. This was spontaneously recognized by the Serbo-Croat Provinces of the Austrian Empire when they rallied round Serbia and proclaimed the union of the Yugoslav race as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Every Yugoslav was at one—and still is today—regarding the absolute necessity of this union and its maintenance at all costs. They were not, however, so unanimous as to the form which the new Kingdom should take, whether it should be a federal state or a centralized one. The Constituent Assembly, after long debate, voted for the centralized form of government.

It was at this point that the Croats showed their inexperience in parliamentary government. By the rules of this, the vote of a Parliament, after due debate and discussion, is as binding on the minority as it is on the majority. It is the object of the Opposition, by constructive criticism, to weaken the majority in power and by its arguments to win over

the necessary number of votes to secure a majority and take power in its turn. This has been the procedure in all parliaments for a century past.

This the Croats failed to do. By the order of their leader, M. Stephan Raditch, the Croatian Peasant Party retired to Zagreb and refused to take their seats in the Belgrade Parliament, and declined to recognize the laws and resolutions passed by that body. Such a policy is not constitutional opposition but is merely a negation of government. Two years of this regime proved its futility. M. Raditch saw he was getting nowhere with such a policy and he and his party returned to Belgrade. Not only that, but he made a complete *volte-face*, publicly renounced his demand for Croatian autonomy and declared his acceptance of the Constitution he had hitherto ignored. It was quite in keeping with his temperamental character that he should, a few weeks later, propose a coalition with M. Pashitch and take office in the Cabinet. Unfortunately M. Raditch was a politician and not a statesman and could never realize that power brings responsibility. As a member of the Government he went about the country making violent speeches against Signor Mussolini and the Italian Government. So embarrassing was his action that the Cabinet resigned and was reconstructed leaving M. Raditch outside.

He soon drifted again into the Opposition, that is to say opposition as he understood it, in other words, pure and simple obstruction. He and his seventy followers howled down every speaker on the Government side, slammed the lids of their desks and used horns and whistles. The Parliament was reduced to a bear-garden in which the Government members were denounced as thieves, robbers, grafters, and swine. Fist fights were common and the sittings had to be suspended almost daily on account of disorders. Such a state of affairs was not government but parliamentary anarchy. It culminated in tragedy. On June 20 last a Montenegrin deputy lost his head as the result of the chorus of insults hurled at him from the Croatian benches, drew a revolver and fired six shots, killing two Croatian deputies and wounding

four more, including M. Stephan Raditch, who died eight weeks later.

The result was a fresh breach with the Croatian Peasant Party. Its members retired to Zagreb and declared that they would never again set foot in the Belgrade Parliament. The demand for Croatian autonomy was put forward afresh and in an even more drastic form, amounting to a mere personal union in the person of King Alexander. All negotiations proved fruitless. The parliamentary parties in Belgrade, divided into opposing groups, indulged in purely sterile discussion and showed themselves unable to unite on a single constructive measure. It was clear that the machine of state was gradually shaking loose and threatened complete disintegration. In this situation everyone looked to the throne as the only rock in the tempest.

The people, especially the Serbs, have the greatest respect and confidence in King Alexander. The position of the monarchy in Serbia is a peculiar one. In that country there is no aristocracy and hardly any middle class. Over 85 per cent of the population are peasants tilling the soil they own. Tenant farmers do not exist. There are not even any large landed proprietors as the amount of land a peasant may own is limited by law to 200 hectares (425 acres). There is thus no barrier of any kind preventing direct contact between the King and his people. They regard him as their counsellor in time of peace and their leader in time of war. I am convinced that if, before dismissing the Parliament and abolishing the Constitution, King Alexander had taken a plebescite his action would have been approved in advance as an act of national salvation by the immense majority of his subjects, not only in Serbia but also in Croatia and Slovenia.

King Alexander did not take the step he did until it was forced upon him. Nothing is more foreign to his nature than to assume the role of a dictator which circumstances have imposed upon him. But at the same time nothing is more certain than that he will carry out the restoration and purification of the national and public life of the country with every means at his command. The knowledge that the great mass of the peo-

ple are behind him and wish him well in his arduous task will do much to lighten his labors.

That this task is no easy one and one that will tax all his energies and experience as a statesman is certain. The difficulties will be great. The constant succession of ephemeral Cabinets had led to the creation of a large number of professional politicians, eager for the "loaves and fishes" of public office. These when in power had, in order to consolidate their political influence, peopled the public departments with their followers and supporters. Every department of state was overmanned and thousands of incompetent functionaries were drawing public money. As this mass of employees could only be paid miserable salaries "graft" became the order of the day.

The only Ministry that had escaped this curse was the Ministry of War. That, of all the departments of state, remained, as it always had been, a model of thorough service and efficiency. It was this fact that led King Alexander to choose a soldier as his Prime Minister to carry out the arduous task of cleaning up the "Augean stables" left by the politicians.

It was only natural that his choice should fall upon General Zivkovitch, the Commander of the Royal Bodyguard. That officer's functions brought him into daily contact with King Alexander, who was thus able to form an estimate of his character and appreciate his many qualities.

General Zivkovitch's first act has been to eliminate ruthlessly all the "dead wood" in the various Ministries. Thousands of incompetent officials, who owed their appointments to political influence, have been got rid of. The money thus saved has been devoted to improving the position of the capable functionaries maintained in office. These have been given stern orders that "graft" in every shape and form must cease. The first necessity has been the re-establishment of discipline from top to bottom of the whole administrative machine.

The Provincial Administrations have also been taken in hand. Those have been dissolved and reconstructed under competent heads, who, in many cases, are military officers.

Another great reform is the complete revision of the national finances. King Alexander has sent for Dr. Karl English, the famous Czechoslovak financial expert, who first put the finances of the Czechoslovak Republic on a sound basis, and has invoked his aid and counsel for those of Yugoslavia. At the same time the financial situation of the country is not unsatisfactory. For five years past the budgets have been balanced. But with the cleaning up of the other departments of state great economies will be realized which will still further increase the financial strength of the country. This will restore foreign confidence in Yugoslavia's financial credit and will facilitate the negotiation of loans for the development of the immense natural resources of the country. The natural wealth of Yugoslavia in minerals, forests, etc., is incalculable, but its exploitation can only be undertaken when the necessary railways

and harbors have been constructed and other public works undertaken.

Once the administrative reforms have been carried out and the country launched on a career of prosperity King Alexander will be in a position to tackle the constitutional question and take means to determine the exact amount of autonomous self-government which may be accorded to the various provinces. The postponement of this for a time will do no harm as it will give time for the political passions which led to the present crisis to "simmer down."

It is a curious fact that the man who, months ago, urged King Alexander to take the step he has just done in appointing a general as his Prime Minister was none other than Stephan Raditch himself. Raditch had an unbounded admiration for King Alexander, who was perhaps the only person in the Kingdom who could exercise any control over that most temperamental politician.

THE UNIVERSAL RELIGIOUS PEACE CONFERENCE

By LINLEY V. GORDON

Secretary of the Conference

ONE thousand delegates, selected from all the great living, historic, religious faiths, will assemble in Geneva in the summer of 1930. They will meet, not for the purpose of discussing comparative religions, but to consider one question, namely, what can religion contribute towards world peace?

An amount of effective thinking and organizing has already been given to preparation for the conference.

The Church Peace Union, founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1914, has had this question on its mind for several years. It has been proceeding quietly before wishing to make any announcement.

On the Board of Trustees of the Church Peace Union, there are such well-known public men as the Hon. William H. Taft, Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Bishop Charles H. Brent, President W. H. P. Faunce, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, President Henry Churchill King, Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, Dr. William Pierson Merrill, Dr. John R. Mott, Father John A. Ryan, Dean Shailer Mathews, and others who

have long been identified with the cause of international peace.

Before reaching a final decision as to such a conference, a preliminary meeting was held in Geneva from September 12th to 14th last Summer. In this meeting 185 delegates participated, representing eleven religious systems, including Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, Islam, Shinto, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Theosophy, and Ethical Culture. They met for the express purpose of discovering if a basis of agreement could be found by the adherents of the world's religions so as to make possible the holding of such a conference in 1930. Those present agreed with remarkable unanimity that the time is ripe for the holding of such a meeting, and it was agreed to call the world conference and to form a world committee of one thousand, which will constitute the conference when it meets.

The preliminary meeting in Geneva adopted a statement of purpose. It is of great significance and follows herewith:

"Peace is one of the loftiest positive aims of united human endeavor. Spiritual in its very nature, and implicit in the teachings of all religions, it was this aim which inspired the Church Peace Union to set on foot the movement that has now taken form in a resolve to hold a world-conference of all religions. Of this conference the sole purpose will be to rouse and to direct the religious impulses of humanity against war in a constructive world-wide effort to achieve peace.

"A preliminary gathering was convened at Geneva in September, 1928, to consider the holding of a Universal Religious Peace Conference in 1930. To this gathering came men and women of all faiths from all parts of the earth. They were united in the conviction that the state of mankind today demands that all persons of goodwill in every religion shall work together for peace; and that, more than ever, concerted religious effort is needed to attain it.

"Even as nations have been learning that no one of them suffices to itself alone, but that each needs to help and to be helped by others, so also the religions of the world will come to see that each must seek to serve and to be served in the work of peace, and to go hand in hand towards the common goal.

"Hence it was resolved that a Universal Religious Peace Conference be held, to put in motion the joint spiritual resources of mankind; and that, without attempting to commit any religious body in any way, the conference consist of devoted individuals holding, or associated with, recognized forms of religious belief.

"The Universal Conference designs neither to set up a formal league of religions, nor to compare the relative values of faith, nor to espouse any political, ecclesiastical, or theological or social system. Its specific objects will be:

1. To state the highest teachings of each religion on peace and the causes of war.
2. To record the efforts of religious bodies in furtherance of peace.
3. To devise means by which men of all religious faiths may work together to remove existing obstacles to peace; to stimulate international cooperation for peace and the triumph of right; to secure international justice, to increase

good-will, and thus to bring about in all the world a fuller realization of the brotherhood of men.

4. To seek opportunities for concerted action among the adherents of all religions against the spirit of violence and the things that make for strife.

"Persuaded that this high purpose will move devoted hearts and minds everywhere, the preliminary gathering at Geneva has appointed a Committee to prepare for the Universal Conference, so that world-wide coordination of religious endeavor may help towards the full establishment of peace among men."

Such a conference as is proposed has never been held on such a basis in the history of the world. During the Colombian exposition in 1893 in the United States, there was a congress of religions. The Congress discussed however, questions of comparative religion and the elements that enter therein. This conference will confine itself definitely to one subject, that of universal peace, and what religion, not any particular religion such as Christianity, or Judaism, or Islam, but what can religion itself contribute to the building of international peace.

On examination of publication No. 1, issued by those sponsoring the Universal Religious Peace Conference, there is a striking grouping of the Scriptures of all the great religions, giving their texts, we might say, on world peace. There is a strong similarity between them which would seem to indicate that religion should be able to unify itself at least around one common and dominating ideal such as the creation and establishment of world peace. The Scriptures referred to follow:

Buddhism: Let one cultivate goodwill towards all the world—a mind illimitable, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity. This mode of living is the supreme good.

Christianity: Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.

Confucianism: Within the four seas all are brothers.

Hinduism: To you I declare this holy mystery: There is nothing nobler than humanity.

Islam: To God belong the East and the West. Therefore withersoever ye turn, is the face of God. Verily God is all pervading, all knowing.

Jainism: Establish the religion of the law which benefits all living beings in the whole universe! It will bring supreme benefit to all living beings in all the world!

Judaism: And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Shinto: I will halt here today; and, having purified myself, will go further tomorrow; and worship at the temple of the Diety.

Taoism: Weapons, even though successful, are unblessed implements, detestable to every creature. Therefore, he who has the Eternal, will not employ them.

Sikhism: Churches, teachers, teachings half a dozen! The Teacher of teachers is one; His forms, many. The sun is one; the seasons many. Innumerable are the manifestations of the Creator.

Zoroastrianism: May we ourselves be they who help to make this world progress.

The preliminary meeting in Geneva elected as permanent chairman of the committee of one thousand, Dean Shailer Mathews of Chicago University; and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson as general secretary. Dr. Atkinson is now in the Orient in the interests of the conference. The general headquarters are at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

For administrative and educational purposes and for making arrangements for the conference to be held in 1930,

there is an administrative center in the following places:

Frankfort, Germany

Paris, France

London, England

Athens, Greece

Pekin, China

Tokyo, Japan

Jerusalem, Palestine

The executive committee of seventy is at work preparing for the conference. The next meeting of this committee will be held in Frankfort, Germany, in August of this year. It will be presided over by Dean Shailer Mathews of Chicago.

In closing this brief statement, we might say that we believe with Dr. Robert T. Hume, of the Union Theological Seminary, of New York City, that there are at least half a dozen attitudes which the religionist may take towards the other religions.

1. *Ignore* the other religions as unworthy of notice.
2. *Tolerate* the other religions as unworthy of notice.
3. *Depreciate* them as really worthy of scorn or perhaps dangerous.
4. *Attack* them actively, as actual enemies to oneself or to the souls of men.
5. *Convert* them into conformity with oneself.
6. *Coalesce* with them in humility and hope of some better product than any existing religion.

The attitude of the organizers of this conference believe that it is best to sit down with the representatives from all religions to discuss with them the building of a better international order.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Accord Between Italy and Pope

Official Communique

The text of the official communique, summarizing the agreement, concordat and financial conventions between Italy and the Holy See, according to the *Associated Press*, was published February 12 as follows:

"The political treaty between the Holy See and Italy is composed of a preamble of 27

articles. After stating that the two high contracting parties recognize the advisability of eliminating every reason for enmity between them, it begins by reaffirming the principle contained in the first article of the constitution of the Italian kingdom by which the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is the only state religion in Italy.

"The treaty then proceeds recognizing the full property and exclusive dominion and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican as at present constituted.

"For this purpose, the 'City of the Vatican' is created, declaring that in its territory no interference by the Italian government will be possible and that there will be no authority but the authority of the Holy See. St. Peter's Square, though forming part of the Vatican territory, will continue being normally open to the public and subject to the police powers of the Italian authorities. The boundaries of the Vatican City are indicated on a map annexed to the treaty.

Public Service Regulated

"A special clause specifies that all public services with which the Vatican City will be endowed shall be by Italian connection with other states telegraph, telephone, wireless broadcasting, and postal services.

"Another agreement was provided for between the Holy See and the Italian state for the circulation on Italian territory of terrestrial vehicles and aircraft belonging to the Vatican city.

"Another clause specifies persons subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, namely those having stable residence in the Vatican city. The treaty also lays down the immunity which will be enjoyed even by those who do not reside in the above-mentioned city namely all dignitaries of the church, persons belonging to the pontifical court and Vatican officials declared indispensable by the Holy See.

Immunities Are Provided

"Territorial immunities also are provided for the patriarchal basilicas and certain edifices situated outside of the Vatican city in which the Holy See has housed or will house its congregations or offices and services necessary for its administration.

"Italy recognized the Holy See's right to send its own diplomats to foreign countries and to receive foreign diplomats according to the general rules of international law. The two high contracting parties bind themselves to establish normal diplomatic relations by accrediting an Italian Ambassador to the Holy See and an apostolic nuncio to Italy who will be the dean of the diplomatic body, according to customary procedure as recognized in the congress of Vienna.

"It is also agreed that the artistic and scientific treasures existing in the Vatican city and Lateran Palace continue to remain visible to students and visitors.

"Another clause states that if the Holy See requests it, either in any single case or as a general rule, the Italian government will see to punishment in its own territory of crimes committed in the Vatican city. Similarly the Holy See will deliver to Italy persons who have taken refuge on Vatican territory accused of acts which are considered criminal by the laws of both states.

Territory to Be Neutral

"Yet another clause states that the Vatican wishes to remain and will remain extraneous to temporal competitions between other states and from international congresses convened for this purpose unless the parties in conflict appeal unanimously to its mission of peace and reserving the right, in any case, to exercise its moral and spiritual power. As a consequence of the above, the Vatican territory will always be considered neutral and inviolable.

"Then comes declaration as follows:

"The Holy See considers that with the agreements today signed it possesses guarantees necessary to provide with due liberty and independence the spiritual government of the Diocese of Rome and of the Catholic Church in Italy and the whole world, declares the Roman question definitely and irrevocably settled and, therefore, eliminated, and recognizes the kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the house of Savoy with Rome as the capital of the Italian state. Italy on its side recognizes the state of the Vatican city under the sovereignty of the supreme pontiff. The law of guarantees and any other law or act contrary to the present treaty is abrogated."

"The article concerning marriage is particularly interesting and says, 'the Italian state, wishing to give back to matrimony, which is the base of the family, dignity in agreement with the Catholic tradition of its people, recognizes matrimony as a sacrament regulated by canon law in its relation to civil law. The banns of marriage must appear in the parish church as well as in the municipality. Immediately after the celebration of marriage the parish priest will explain to the married couple the civil consequences of marriage, reading the articles of the civil code concerning the rights and duties of a married couple.

Regulations As to Marriage

"The parish priest must also send within five days the marriage certificate to the municipality and have it copied in the registers there. Cases concerning the nullity of marriage and the dissolution of marriages celebrated but not consummated are reserved to the ecclesiastical courts. Their sentences, before becoming definite, must be brought before the supreme tribunal of *segnatura* (a king or supreme court) which will determine if all the rules of canon law have been respected concerning the competence of the judge and whether the interested parties were represented before the court or judged by default. The decision of the supreme tribunal *segnatura* will be sent to the court of appeal of the Italian state, which will enforce the sentences of the ecclesiastical authority, ordering them to be annotated in the municipal marriage registers. With regard to cases of separation, the Holy See consents to

judgment being given by the Italian civil authorities."

"The teaching of religion becomes compulsory, not only in the elementary schools but also in the secondary schools according to the program established in the accord between the Holy See and Italy. Italy recognizes Catholic organizations forming part of 'Italian Catholic action' which according to instruction of the Holy See must keep their activity outside of any political party and under the immediate control of the hierarchy of the church for spreading and applying Catholic principles.

"Toward the end the concordat establishes that any future difficulty in the interpretation of the same is to be solved by the Holy See and Italy through mutual and friendly understanding.

"The financial convention establishes that the Holy See, as definite settlement of all its financial relations with Italy in consequence of the fall of temporal power, accepts 750,000,000 lire cash and 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian state consols at 5 per cent. This sum is inferior to what Italy would have paid if the Holy See had accepted the allowance granted by the law of guaranties of May 13, 1871. The treaty of conciliation, the concordat and the financial convention must be ratified by the supreme pontiff and the King of Italy within four months from today's signature and will have effect from the moment of ratification."

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT

ON February 19, the Coolidge Administration sent identical notes to the diplomatic representatives of all governments which have signed the World Court Protocol.

Text of the Kellogg Note

The text of Secretary Kellogg's note reads as follows:

Excelsency:

I have the honor to refer to my note of Feb. 12, 1926 with which I transmitted for the information of your government a copy of the resolution adopted by the Senate of the United States on Jan. 27, 1926, setting forth certain reservations and understandings as conditions on which the United States would adhere to the protocol of signature of Dec. 16, 1920, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

In that note I asked to be informed whether the reservations and understandings contained in the resolution of the Senate of the United States were acceptable to your government as a part and condition to the adherence of the United States to the said protocol and statute.

Five governments unconditionally accepted the Senate reservations and understandings,

three indicated that they would accept but have not formally notified my government of their acceptance, fifteen simply acknowledged the receipt of my government's note of Feb. 12, 1926, while twenty-four have communicated to my government replies as hereinafter indicated.

At a conference held in Geneva in September, 1926, by a large number of the States signatories to the protocol of signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, a final act was adopted in which were set forth certain conclusions and recommendations regarding the proposal of the United States, together with a preliminary draft of a protocol regarding the adherence of the United States which the conference recommended that all the signatories of the protocol of signature of Dec. 16, 1920, should adopt in replying to the proposal of the United States.

Twenty-four of the governments adopted the recommendations of the conference of 1926 and communicated to the government of the United States in the manner suggested by the conference. By these replies and the proposed protocol attached thereto the first four reservations adopted by the Senate of the United States were accepted.

Main Point of Difference

The fifth reservation was not accepted in full but so much of the first part thereof as required the court to render advisory opinions in public session was accepted, and the attention of my government was called to the amended rules of the court requiring notice and an opportunity to be heard.

The second part of the fifth reservation therefore raised the only question on which there is any substantial difference of opinion. That part of the reservation reads as follows:

"* * * Nor shall it (the court) without the consent of the United States entertain any request for any advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims interest."

It was observed in the final act of the conference that, as regards disputes to which the United States is a party, the court had already pronounced upon the matter of dispute between a member of the League of Nations and a State not a member, and reference was made to advisory opinion number five in the Eastern Carolina case in which the court held that it would not pass on such a dispute without the consent of the non-member of the League. The view was expressed that this would meet the desire of the United States.

"Equal Right" of America

As regards disputes to which the United States is not a party but in which it claims an interest, the view was expressed in the final act that this part of the fifth reservation rests upon the presumption that the

adoption of a request for an advisory opinion by the Council or the Assembly requires a unanimous vote.

It was stated that since this has not been decided to be the case it cannot be said with certainty whether in some or all cases a decision by a majority may not be sufficient but that in any case where a State represented on the Council or in the Assembly would have a right to prevent by opposition in either of these bodies the adoption of a proposal to request an advisory opinion from the court, the United States should enjoy an equal right.

Article 4 of the draft protocol states that "should the United States offer objection to an advisory opinion being given by the court, at the request of the Council or the Assembly, concerning a dispute to which the United States is not a party or concerning a question other than a dispute between States, the Court will attribute to such objection the same force and effect as attaches to a vote against asking for the opinion given by a member of the League of Nations either in the Assembly or in the Council," and that "the manner in which the consent provided for in the second part of the fifth reservation is to be given" should be the subject of an understanding to be reached by the government of the United States with the Council of the League of Nations.

Some Elements of Uncertainty

The government of the United States desires to avoid insofar as may be possible any proposal which would interfere with or embarrass the work of the Council of the League of Nations, doubtless often perplexing and difficult, and it would be glad if it could dispose of the subject by a simple acceptance of the suggestions embodied in the final act and draft protocol adopted at Geneva on Sept. 23, 1926.

There are, however, some elements of uncertainty in the bases of these suggestions which seem to require further discussion. The powers of the Council and its modes of procedure depend upon the Covenant of the League of Nations which may be amended at any time. The ruling of the Court in the Eastern Carolina case and the rules of the Court are also subject to change at any time.

For these reasons, without further inquiry into the practicability of the suggestions, it appears that the protocol submitted by the twenty-four governments in relation to the fifth reservation of the United States Senate would not furnish adequate protection to the United States.

Hopeful of Another Method

It is gratifying to learn from the proceedings of the conference at Geneva that the considerations inducing the adoption of that part of Reservation Five giving rise to differences of opinion are appreciated by the powers participating in that conference.

Possibly the interest of the United States

thus attempted to be safeguarded may be fully protected in some other way or by some other formula. The government of the United States feels that such an informal exchange of views as is contemplated by the twenty-four governments, should, as herein suggested, lead to agreement upon some provision which in unobjectionable form would protect the rights and interests of the United States as an adherent of the Court Statute, and this expectation is strongly supported by the fact that there seems to be but little difference regarding the substance of these rights and interests.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

The Eastern Carolina case to which Secretary Kellogg refers involved the status of that region as between Finland, a member of the Court, and Soviet Russia, a non-member. On Jan. 23, 1923, the Court refused to give an opinion in the matter because Russia had not consented to the submission of the controversy to pacific settlement.

EMBARGO PROPOSED ON ARMS SHIPMENTS TO NATIONS VIOLATING PEACE COMPACT

RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED IN HOUSE AND SENATE WOULD PROVIDE RESTRICTION ON MUNITIONS EXPORTS

An embargo on the shipment of munitions to countries violating the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war is provided for in two resolutions introduced in the House and Senate February 11. In the House, Representative Porter (Rep.), chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, presented a resolution (H. J. Res. 412) which, he explained, would authorize the President to apply to any country the existing law which permits embargoes on munition shipment to American countries in case of domestic violence.

Senator Capper's resolution recites that "it is a breach of its obligations with the United States for any country which is a party to the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war to have recourse to war as an instrument of national policy in its relations with any other party to the treaty," and declares that a statement by the United States to prevent American encouragement of a breach of the treaty "would have a great effect in accomplishing the object of the treaty, that war may be honorably avoided."

Porter Resolution

The Porter resolution was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Capper resolution to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The full text of the Porter resolution follows:

"Whereas the United States has recently ratified the Multilateral Peace Pact in which the United States and the other contracting parties solemnly declared that they 'condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another,' and

"Whereas the United States and the other contracting powers, parties to that Pact, also 'agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means;' and

"Whereas no agency is more potent for promoting and encouraging war than traffic in arms and munitions of war

"Now therefore be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Section 1 of the joint resolution entitled Joint Resolution to prohibit the exportation of arms or munitions of war from the United States to certain countries and for other purposes, of January 31, 1922, be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"That whenever the President finds that in any country, conditions of domestic violence or of international conflict exist or are threatened, which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress."

Capper Resolution

The full text of the Capper resolution follows:

Whereas the Congress of the United States on August 29, 1916, solemnly declared it "to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through

mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided;" and

Whereas the United States in pursuance of this policy has concluded with a number of countries and is negotiating with many others, a treaty of arbitration and conciliation in a new form under which the parties agree to submit to arbitration all differences relating to international matters in which they are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other and to submit to a permanent International Commission for conciliation any disputes not submitted to arbitration, and has thus shown its intention to carry out on its part the policy of the United States, and

Whereas the United States has taken a further step in advancing its policy by ratifying the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war in which it is declared that the contracting powers are:

"Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their property may be perpetuated;

"Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;" and

Whereas it is a breach of its obligations with the United States for any country which is a party to the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war to have recourse to war as an instrument of national policy in its relations with any other party to the treaty; and

Whereas the governments which have associated themselves by the treaty "to the end that peaceful and friendly relations between their peoples be perpetuated" should not permit their nationals to encourage a breach of the obligations of the treaty by exporting to a government which has committed such breach, arms, munitions, or implements of war or other articles for the support of such government; and

Whereas the declaration of its policy by the United States to prevent such encouragement by its national of a breach of the treaty would have a great effect in accom-

plishing the object of the treaty, that war may be honorably avoided:

Now, therefore, be it **resolved** by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That whenever the President determines, and by proclamation declares, that any country has violated the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war, it shall be unlawful, unless otherwise provided by Act of Congress or by proclamation of the President, to export to such country arms, munitions, implements of war, or other articles for use in war until the President shall by proclamation declare that such violation no longer continues.

Section 2. It is declared to be the policy of the United States that the nationals of the United States should not be protected by their Government in giving aid and comfort to a nation which has committed a breach of the said treaty.

Section 3. The President is hereby requested to enter into negotiations with other governments which ratify or adhere to the said treaty to secure agreement that the nationals of the contracting governments should not be protected by their governments in giving aid and comfort to a nation which has committed a breach of the said treaty.

Section 4. The policy of the United States as expressed in Section 2 hereof shall apply only in case of a breach of the said treaty by war against a government which has declared its adherence to a similar policy.

News in Brief

A PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON TRADE MARKS opened at the Pan-American Union, Washington, February 11. Eighteen of the twenty-one American nations were represented, only Argentina and El Salvador sending no delegates.

PRESIDENT LEGUÍA, OF PERU, in a personal interview given February 15, denied flatly and unconditionally that any negotiations are

going on for the settlement of the Tacna-Arica question. It had been frequently reported in various capitals that such settlement was well on its way.

PANAMA HAS INVITED the chief of the U. S. Bureau of Efficiency, Mr. Herbert Brown, to undertake a study of the executive departments of the Republic in the interest of a plan for reorganization and for drafting the annual budgets. Mr. Brown sailed, with three assistants, the middle of February.

PRESIDENT MONCADA OF NICARAGUA has accepted the suggestion of the Branch of the Nicaragua Autonomist Association in El Salvador to accept the friendly offices of the other Central American nations in reaching a peaceful settlement with the Sandino fac-

A JAPANESE FINE ART exhibition will be opened in Paris this spring. Arrangements are completed by Mr. Masaki, principal of the Tokyo Art Academy, working with a committee of the Education Department and Foreign Office, to select masterpieces of the Meiji and Taisho periods to send to France for the exhibition.

THE NEW LIBRARY BUILDING of the Tokyo Imperial University, dedicated at the close of 1928, was the gift of Mr. John Rockefeller, Jr. It is said by Japanese to be the largest and most beautiful building of its kind in Japan. The 600,000 books have been contributed by governments, foundations, organizations, universities, and individuals all over the world.

FRANCE'S ROOM in the Romanic language pavilion of the University of Virginia has been opened. The French mural artists, M. St. Hubert and his wife, are now working on the frescoes, which are in the style of the 18th century in France. Later the room will tion. The new President of Honduras has expressed his official approval of the plan and offers his cooperation.

be furnished under the same artists, after the manner of the same period.

A UNITED STATES PEACE COLLEGE is the object of a bill introduced lately in Congress by Representative Emmanuel Celler of New York. Such a college should rank with the War College and Naval Academy, he thinks. It should give training and guarantee ad-

vancement to efficient young persons in the lines of diplomacy, the informing of public opinion and similar lines of achievement looking toward the preservation of peace between nations.

A MEMORIAL MONUMENT to Theodore Roosevelt is to be erected in Panama. It will, according to former president of Panama, Dr. Porras, be placed atop Gold Hill on Culebra Cut, and will be illuminated so as to be visible far out at sea.

VENEZUELA, the last of the American nations to do so, has now ratified the convention making letter postage between that country and the U. S. two cents.

A MONUMENT TO PETRARCH was recently unveiled in Arezzo, Italy, his birthplace. Numerous French scholars attended the ceremonies, feeling that the figure of Petrarch embodies the intellectual affinity between France and Italy. The poet spent many years of his life in and around Avignon, France.

GERMANY AND SOVIET RUSSIA signed, late in January, a treaty pledging themselves to submit all disputes to a joint commission, consisting of two Germans and two Russians. This commission is to meet normally, once each year, but may be convoked at any time.

INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION TRIBUNALS have now been established in 1,528 cities and towns in the United States, according to the second annual report of the American Arbitration Association. The national panel of arbitrators has been increased to more than 5000 members. Considerable increase in requests for arbitration is also reported.

UNIFORM TRAFFIC REGULATIONS for the nations and cities of the Western Hemisphere will be considered at the Second Pan American Congress of Highways to be held at Rio de Janeiro in August, according to an announcement lately made by the Pan American Union.

THERE WERE 1,324 aviation landing fields in the United States at the end of 1928. Nearly 1000 more are already under consideration.

THE ASSISTANCE of the United States Navy in arranging for a flight of the German dirigible "Graf Zeppelin" to the far north next year was requested February 6 by Dr. Fritjof Nansen, Arctic explorer, who conferred with the Secretary of the Navy, Curtis D. Wilbur, and other Navy officials. The matter will be taken under advisement by the department.

A PRIZE HAS BEEN OFFERED for the best work on the influence of international law, and of contemporary international institutions upon internal public law, by the *Institucio Patrot* of Catalonia. The prize is one thousand pounds sterling, the time limit is Dec. 31, 1930. Award will be announced within six months thereafter.

AN ANNUAL TURNOVER of nearly one billion dollars is the result of business coming under the supervision of the Secretary of War. Non-military activities, such as Rivers and Harbors, Panama Canal and Inland Waterways, account for about 41 per cent of this amount.

FRONTIERS between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are re-opened, a permanent mixed frontier commission is to be established, and a treaty of commerce is under consideration.

A PETROLEUM INSTITUTE is to be founded in Argentina to train native specialists to develop Argentina's large petroleum resources, according to an announcement by the Pan American Union, Feb. 6.

THE CHINESE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT has created a Ministry of Public Health, which is mapping out a ten-year program of organization.

HONDURAS INAUGURATED, on February 1, its new President, Dr. Vicente Mejía Colindres. Each Central American nation sent special representatives for the occasion.

CUMANÁ, VENEZUELA, received early in February from the Canal Zone a shipment of stores of food, medicine, cots, and tents, for the relief of that city, which had been totally destroyed by earthquake. The Republic of Panama also sent a draft for \$1,000, and the American Red Cross sent a like amount.

ARGENTINE PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS, university professors, and health inspectors,

about twenty-five in number, spent a week early in February, in the city of Washington, inspecting schools, colleges, and other institutions.

DR. LUIS ARAQUISTAIN of Spain has accepted an invitation, given by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to visit different sections of the United States, as its guest. Mr. Araquistain is the author of a recent book on problems of the Caribbean region which has attracted much attention, and of an earlier book on *The Yankee Peril*.

AIR MAIL CONTRACTS between the United States and Central and South American countries were authorized by the United States congress when it passed the Kelley bill in February.

THE IRISH FREE STATE AND ULSTER have begun to cooperate in a Goat Society which has been organized to improve the existing breeds of goats throughout Ireland.

A TELEGRAM RECEIVED FEBRUARY 10 FROM the American Consulate at Bombay stated that the rioting, which started there on February 2 between mill-workers and Pathans on account of an unfounded rumor of kidnapping, has grown in violence and is becoming general in nature. Military forces have been brought; a curfew regulation has been established and martial law is in prospect if the situation remains unchanged. The number of killed and wounded is estimated at about one thousand. There is no sign of anti-European feeling, and American interests have not been impaired; although general business interests are seriously affected, the situation is thought to be under control.

BOOK REVIEWS

TALES OF BORINQUEN (Porto Rico). By *Elizabeth Kneipple Van Deusen*. Pp. 294. Silver, Burdette & Co., New York, 1928.

A textbook for the use of ninth grade or junior high-school pupils, this collection of stories about Porto Rico is destined to make

the use of English attractive to the young folk of that island. It is, however, interesting as a story book, telling of Porto Rican life, scenery, and history, and will be enjoyed by English reading children anywhere.

Mrs. Van Deusen has produced two former books of like nature which have been used by schools. Borinquen is a poetical name long used for the island, a variation of that given it by Indians long before the expeditions of Columbus. Porto Rico is fortunate in having a story-teller so interested, so sympathetic, and with a literary style so pleasing.

CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Elbert Duncan Thomas*. Pp. 310 and index. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1927. Price, \$5.

This study is based upon the thinkers of the Chou period, a dynasty reaching from 1122 to 249 B. C. Though China then had a feudal system with a nominal head in the king of the Middle Kingdom, the vassal kings waxed powerful, made war upon one another, and made treaties of alliance, extradition, and commerce. In fact many of these early Chinese ideas are astonishingly pertinent to our twentieth century thought. The theories of the economic foundation of the state, the art of government, Chinese ideas of democracy—like, yet unlike our own—are only a few of the political doctrines interestingly developed in the Chou period.

If the book lacks anything, it is a summary chapter or at least a few closing paragraphs, bridging the gap between that long ago era and the present day.

THE CENTRAL AMERICANS. By *Arthur Ruhl*. Pp. 275 and index. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928. Price, \$3.

Personality again modifies the technique of travel books. We have had straight narratives of travel, we have been given interesting facts in the form of history, statistics, or social politics. Mr. Ruhl here gives all three and more, but as if chatting over the coffee-cups. Colloquial chat with a polish; impressions, interpretations, facts presented in fine unstudied English. Keenly aware of beauty, too, is the author, and possessed of a breezy humor that refreshes.

"Nice little Costa Rica," rather urbane and grown-up; "troubled Nicaragua," groping for unity; "busy Salvador"; Honduras, Guate-

mala, they are all—"take it or leave it, like it or not"—undergoing profound changes, all being drawn into the stream of the modern world.

Therefore these republics are the fruitful field of real diplomacy. Why, says Mr. Ruhl, should the young career diplomats fancy these Caribbean posts beneath their talents? The chances for a capable and serious young secretary to do something real here in Central America are much greater than they would probably be in any European capitals. The relations between the United States and these countries, boiling with political possibilities, are of tremendous importance, especially just now and in the immediate future. These posts, therefore, are of sufficient import to be taken seriously "even by the most gilded of our young Tallyrands." This is wholesome doctrine.

And Central American republics are real entities after listening to this intelligent, skillful, and amusing interpreter.

PROPAGANDA. By *Edward L. Bernays*. Pp. 159. Horace Liveright, New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUE IN THE WORLD WAR. By *Harold Lasswell*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927.

Propaganda, a word often sadly misused, is so intimately knit up with modern advertising that either title might answer for a book on technique. We use the word slightly when it is propagating ideas that we hate or fear; but when the same methods are used to further what we believe, the word becomes Education.

But whatever one calls it, the fact is here. Organizations—business, political, or social—have learned to utilize group psychology to further their ends. And the methods are those called propaganda.

These two books are concerned chiefly with facts and methods, not primarily with the dangers of false propaganda. Indeed, Mr. Bernays thinks that the force of what he calls "bally-hoo" is already weakening; but that when the public becomes completely aware of the technique by which it is influenced, it will still respond to truthful and social propaganda. Only the false will be of no avail as the public becomes more sophisticated. Indeed is it not by some such methods only, that, in a democracy, chaos can

give way to organization? The proponents and opponents of any large question must compete for public support, and the public mind thus aroused can better decide. Truthful, properly financed propaganda becomes thus a necessary part of our political life.

Professor Lasswell confines his study to the use of propaganda during the world war. It is valuable history and contains much of instruction, something of warning.

It is astonishing to read here the statement that Lenin and Woodrow Wilson are "the champion revolutionists of the age." Wilson's "elegaic prose," coming from a mysterious, remote personality, acted powerfully on the central powers. From a propaganda point of view, it was "a matchless performance." It was a propaganda of disintegration in the tottering realm of the Hapsburgs; it was a matchless formula, fusing alien, antagonistic element at home. Just how much was intentional propaganda "will be in debate until the world war is a feeble memory."

In political development propaganda is a step further than feudal loyalty, several steps in advance of the tribal dance as a means of unified action. To discern its secret springs will perhaps hasten a next step. It will surely outgrow that kind of democracy which Anatole France says "is run by an unseen engineer."

BOOKS RECEIVED

BACK OF WAR. By *Henry Kittredge Norton*. Pp. 356. Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc. 1928. Price, \$2.50.

HEADING FOR WAR. By *W. H. Edwards*. Pp. 162. Payson & Clarke, Ltd. 1928. Price, \$1.50.

WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY. By *James T. Shotwell*. Pp. 310. Harcourt, Brace & Company. 1929.

RIVALRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN OVER LATIN AMERICA. By *J. Fred Rippy*. Pp. 322. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1929. Price, \$2.75.

Bayle, ETUDES D'HISTOIRE PACIFISTE. By *Madame Elise Constantinescu-Bagdat*. Pp. 120. Les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the good offices of one or more friendly nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TREND OF PEACE
A Record of the Movement in the United States
THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
A CENTENNIAL HISTORY

by
EDSON L. WHITNEY

Foreword by
THEODORE E. BURTON

THIS is not a panegyric of the Society or of any one connected with it. It is a plain description of the organization of the Society, its aims, the methods it has used to influence governments to adopt something in place of war, and the progress it has made in expanding idealism into actuality.

What Prominent Persons Say about the History

"The volume represents a noble treasure house."—CHARLES W. THWING, *President Emeritus, Western Reserve University.*

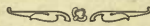
"Every student of the peace movement and every believer in peace should have a copy in the home library.—WALTER S. PENFIELD, *one of the country's authorities on international law.*

"The History affords not only a comprehensive review of the work of the Society during its one hundred years of existence, but also an account of many other activities in the field of international peace which have been sponsored by the organization."—HENRY C. MORRIS, *attorney, of Washington and Chicago.*

"It is an inspiring record of one hundred years devoted to a cause which seemed hopeless."—FRANK L. FAY, *iron and steel manufacturer and member of Pennsylvania State Senate.*

"The History should be not only in every public library, but should also be in the library of every organization interested in a better understanding between nations, as well as in the private libraries of those interested in the peace movement."—LOUIS J. TABER, *Master, The National Grange.*

"Anyone interested not only in the development of the international peace movement, but in a phase of the social thought of the people of the United States in the last hundred years, will find indispensable the Centennial History of the American Peace Society."—GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, *attorney, of Washington and Chicago.*



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ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



TO PRESIDENT HOOVER
ANOTHER SERVICE FROM
MR. ROOT
ANALYZING THE ECONOMIC
LOSSES OF THE WAR
ANNUAL MEETING AMERICAN
GROUP OF INTERPARLIAMEN-
TARY UNION
AMERICAN MONEY AND
FOREIGN ARMS
OUR CALENDAR AND WORLD
PEACE
THE COMMUNISTS

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor

LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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

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No. 4

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91

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TO PRESIDENT HOOVER

YOUR record and your inaugural address leave us with no shadow of doubt that you "covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to advance the cause of peace" between nations. It was a gracious, true, and serviceable thing for you to say that other nations have "a desire for peace . . . as deep and sincere as our own." With your unparalleled background of experience with other peoples, it was inevitable that you should have come to the conclusion that "the United States fully accepts the profound truth that our progress, prosperity, and peace are interlocked with the progress, prosperity, and peace of all humanity." We were gladdened to hear you say that we of America "wish to advance the reign of justice and reason toward the extinction of force." As long as the Covenant of the League of Nations remains as it is, it was quite proper for you to point out that "our people have determined that we should make no political engagements such as membership in the League of Nations." While you do not say that you agree with this determination on the part of our people, it contributed to international understanding for you to remind other nations that our America does not wish to commit itself in advance as a nation "to become involved in settlement of controversies between other countries." With the Covenant of the League worded as it still is, you rendered a service in reminding other peoples once more that we of this country "adhere to the belief that the in-

dependence of America from such obligations increases its ability and availability for service in all fields of human progress." It is well that others, especially our European brethren, should realize once and for all that we of America are estopped both by our history and our legal structure from joining in any alliance, promising to go forth to war in circumstances the nature of which we cannot clearly foresee. In these respects you have shown yourself to be a true American and an honest advocate of genuine peace.

We find it difficult to follow you in all of your statements. Of course, it is not true that "the whole world is at peace." Many of the nations of Europe, armed as they are to the hilt, are living under the conditions of war, an armistice perhaps, but of war just the same. We accept your statement that "no suspicion or fear can be rightly directed toward our country." And yet suspicions and fears are directed, rightly or wrongly, toward the United States. These fears have been assuaged in part by the Pan-American conferences, by the treaties of arbitration and conciliation for the Western Hemisphere, and by your visits to our sister republics to the South. The fact still remains, however, that our vast investments, tariff walls, and willingness to take sides in revolutionary movements are from time to time, again rightly or wrongly, interpreted as acts of aggression. In any event, they are often provocative of fear. When you say that "we of this country are moving toward a stronger moral and spiritual life," we like to believe that you are stating the situation

accurately. It is not necessary, however, to read all the jeremiads, setting forth our lawlessness, our crimes of violence, our ill manners, our diseases caused by our rapidly increasing wealth, to give us pause. When a man talks about his own high moral and spiritual life, the tendency is for the listener to raise an eyebrow. And yet, as you say, we are concerned with an economic, social, and political system, which, we hope, is the very "negation of imperialism"; but our capitalistic relationships are world-wide and increasingly so. Whether or not these things are making for a "stronger moral and spiritual life" no one of this generation can accurately say. We may believe in our heart of hearts that "the idealism of America will lead it to no narrow or selfish channel"; but for us to say so is little short of mere rhetoric. Then, too, just what is meant by saying that we shall take "a practical part in supporting all useful international undertakings"? Perhaps it is too soon to expect amplification of such a statement in terms of the concrete. It is evident, however, that you are concerned to extend the "stronger moral and spiritual life" of our America.

From what you go on to say it is evident that you are hopefully concerned to build your foreign policies upon the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War. We gather the impression that you look upon that portion of the treaty by the terms of which the nations agree to settle all their disputes by "pacific means" as the fundamental axiom of the problem of international peace. To this we heartily agree.

Your attitude toward the problems of international peace is an encouragement to all mankind. In one sentence you indicate that you are quite aware that there is inherent in government, as in individuals, the right to exert physical force in the interest of self-defense. You are aware,

however, that behind all such force is the human opinion which controls or exerts it. You are opposed to any permanent organization of States for the promotion of peace, carrying within it the threat of arms. You are in favor of organizing the processes of law and justice so that nations wishing to make use of them as their means of achieving their interests may do so.

We have dared to believe, therefore, that you will soon wish to form a commission, after consultation with the Senate, for the study of our relations to the existing League of Nations, with the understanding that, following the report of such a commission, conversations be opened, with the advice and consent of the Senate, between our Government and the League with the view of ascertaining what changes, if any, the members of that body are willing to make in the terms of their Covenant, to the end that our country may take part more fully in that organization as one of the "pacific means" nominated in the Kellogg Pact. Whether or not the League should change its Covenant, or we should agree again to join with reservations, is a detail; we believe that the Covenant should be changed. In any event, if both sides involved in this controversy could be brought to agree upon the facts, the obstacles in the way of a world-wide cooperation for the promotion of mutual interests would tend to disappear, would they not?

President Hoover, judging from your inaugural address, and from what we know of your high and noble purposes, we look to you as our very present hope, our worthy standard-bearer along man's march toward a warless world.

We pay homage to the unsung genius who has so happily referred to the "Kellogg Pact" as "Christian Science treatment for the bellicose vein."

STUDY COMMITTEES OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

IT NOW appears that the Council, Committees, and Sub-committees of the Interparliamentary Union will meet in the southwest of France from Wednesday, August 21, to Tuesday, August, 27, next. The change from June, originally proposed, has been due to the gracious intervention of M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies and President of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union.

While the agenda and program have not yet been definitely settled, it may be assumed that the sittings will be held as follows:

Wednesday August 21 and Thursday August 22: The following Sub-Committees will probably be called:

1. Sub-Committee for the problem of Security. This Sub-Committee will hold a preliminary meeting in April, but it is possible that the importance and wide scope of its work will necessitate a second meeting in August.

2. Sub-Committee on International Trusts.

3. Sub-Committee on the Criminality of States and International Repressive Measures.

4. Sub-Committee for the Protection of working mothers and children.

5. Sub-Committee on the Representative System.

Friday August 23: Morning and afternoon.—Committee for Ethnic and Colonial Questions. (Examination of the work of the Sub-Committee for Minority Questions.)

Morning.—Committee for Economic and Financial Questions (Report of the Sub-Committee on International Trusts).

Afternoon.—Committee for Social and Humanitarian Questions. (Report of the

Sub-Committee for the protection of working mothers and children; Fight against dangerous drugs.)

Saturday August 24: Morning and afternoon.—Committee for Juridical Questions. (Report of the Sub-Committee on the Criminality of States and international measures for its repression. Other questions of the agenda of the Committee.)

Committee for Political and Organization Questions. (Re-organization of the Union; Evolution of the Representative System.)

Monday, August 26: GENERAL MEETING OF THE DELEGATES PRESENT.

Tuesday August 27: MEETING OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL.

There is to be this year an important innovation both as regards membership and agenda. It will be remembered that it had been suggested within the Executive Committee that the Union should from time to time organize exchanges of opinion between its members on pending international questions not yet solved by diplomatic means. Frank explanations from Members of the Parliaments of the countries interested in the solution of a common problem might usefully serve to clear up misapprehensions or to promote a better understanding of the aspirations of another nation. A discussion of this nature would be open to all the official delegates of the Groups, which, in this particular case, would mean all the members present in the August meetings.

With regard to the subject of this free discussion little definite can be said as yet. The Executive Committee will only be able later on, in the spring or summer, to suggest those among the problems of immediate interest which would be most suitable for the purpose. The National Groups will moreover be consulted when the time comes.

It is certain that these meetings will take place at a seaside resort on the French shore of the Gulf of Gascony, possibly Biarritz, Arcachon, or some other place. In any event the organizers of the meeting will see to it that the delegates obtain the greatest degree of comfort at the most reasonable prices and that the best conditions for the work of the Union are chosen. Our American Group will be represented at the meeting.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

ELIHU ROOT, better than most any other man in the United States, is qualified to interpret to foreigners the American position on the Court of International Justice, a court open to all powers, based on the theory of the perfect equality of States, and charged only with the interpretation of principles of law mutually accepted by every possible litigant. When Mr. Root, now eighty-four years of age—an Honorary Vice-President, by the way, of the American Peace Society—decided to accept the invitation to serve on the Committee of Jurists to revise the statute of the Court and to go to Geneva for that purpose, we were confident that representatives of foreign powers would learn once more of the kind of Court stood for through a century by the American Peace Society. Anyhow, Mr. Root has aroused both pride and gratitude in the heart of every informed American.

According to newspaper reports, Mr. Root has accomplished everything he could have hoped, and that in the face of very grave difficulties. For it must be recalled that on March 2, 1926, our Secretary of State informed the League of Nations that

the United States was disposed to adhere to the protocol of November 16, 1920, but with five reservations. Because of this letter by our Secretary of State, the Council of the League of Nations set up a special commission at Geneva, charged with the task of finding a way by which the other governments might accept the reservations proposed by the United States. When invited to participate in the conference, our Government declined. The conference met in Geneva, September 1, 1926, and lasted until September 23. It was a large conference composed of delegates from forty different governments, under the presidency of Prof. Van Eysinga, delegate of the Netherlands. The conference studied the reservations of the United States with great care, and set forth its conclusions as to each of them in a Final Act under date of September 23, a certified copy of which was sent to each State, member of the Court, and to the Council of the League of Nations. This Final Act accepted the first four of our reservations, but interpreted our fifth in language unacceptable to our United States Senate. There the matter has stood.

It was to meet this situation that, on December 14 last, the Council of the League of Nations appointed a Committee of Jurists to consider the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. It was then that Mr. Root was invited to serve as one of its members. On February 19 of this year, Secretary Kellogg addressed to each of the governments, members of the Permanent Court, and to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, a note suggesting an exchange of views. This note was considered by the Council of the League of Nations on March 9, when it adopted a resolution requesting its Committee of Jurists, of which Mr. Elihu Root

is a member, to offer any suggestions calculated to facilitate the entry of the United States into the Court. This committee has now drawn a report which it has submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. In this report it is not recommended that advisory opinions should be abandoned, as thought best by some. Neither has the question whether or not advisory opinions should be requested only by a unanimous request of the Council or the Assembly been settled. All that has been found possible is to guarantee to the United States in matters of advisory opinions a position of equality with the States which are represented in the Council or the Assembly of the League. The Act provides for no paper guarantees or abstract formulas. It proposes to deal with each problem in concrete form. It provides a method by which questions as they arise may be examined and discussed. The difficulties involved in our original fifth reservation are met by enabling the United States to indicate in a given case whether or not its interests are affected. Then there may be an exchange of views. Under certain circumstances the United States would conduct these conversations with the Secretariat of the League. If, after such exchange of views, the United States remains unsatisfied, it may withdraw from the Court, when other and perhaps more satisfactory arrangements may be worked out. Such in brief is the plan. If it is approved by the Council, it will be considered as a reply to Secretary Kellogg's note of February 19.

The proposal has yet a long way to go. It will have to be approved by the Council of the League, by the Assembly, by all the States members of the Court, and by our United States Senate. That, it must be admitted, is a mazy course; but in no sense hopeless.

In estimating the future action of our country relative to this plan it is wise to recognize and to consider the opposition. It is reasonable to believe that the new protocol will not pass unchallenged. A powerful section of opinion in this country looks upon the Court as a mere agent of the League of Nations. There is a demand that the Court, to be effective, must have a larger body of acceptable and developing international law as bases for its decisions. It is strongly believed by some that there are inequalities between members of the Court, which must be removed before the Court can be acceptable to the United States. There is in our Senate a resistance to the Court, largely on these grounds. Senator Borah, furthermore, holds that the Court is called upon to exercise functions which should not belong to a Court at all. He is opposed to an international Court with power to hand down advisory opinions. His position is that if the Court simply exercises judicial functions, there would be no hesitancy about joining it. He says, "If this advisory jurisdiction were to be exercised only upon the request of the parties concerned, it would not be so objectionable. But the League may call upon this Court to give it an advisory opinion upon any dispute which may arise. This practically rests the jurisdiction of this institution upon the initiative of a political body . . . This advisory jurisdiction will always be a source of disturbance and will ultimately, in my opinion, have to be abandoned, if the Court is to be what it ought to be—a great international judicial or arbitral tribunal." It is recalled that John Bassett Moore has deplored the advisory jurisdiction of the Court and urged that it be dropped. Certain sections of our press point out that the United States would have supported the Court long ago if it had been independent of the League.

The *Washington Post*, for example, emphasizes this point as follows: "The hollow pretense that the Court set up by the League of Nations is really an independent world court of justice is still maintained, in the face of absurdities that expose the humbug. The League Council, for example, has just unanimously approved of Elihu Root's formula which seeks to harmonize the Court statute with the Senate's reservations. What has the Council of the League to do with this matter, if the Court is independent of the League?"

The *Post* went on to add: "It may be that public sentiment and the sentiment of the Senate have changed, but if so the change has not been manifested. The record stands as a vote of 76 to 16 against entering into an arrangement that permits the League of Nations to manipulate the so-called World Court for political purposes in matters affecting the United States."

Much of this opposition to the Court is based upon a philosophy growing out of an important history, a history of the Privy Council, of our own Supreme Court, and of labors associated with the Hague Conferences.

It cannot be gainsaid, however, that the existing Permanent Court of International Justice is one of the most encouraging facts of our international life. Its freedom and universality are sure to develop. This freedom and universality would be established either if the Court were separated from the League, or if the Covenant of the League of Nations were changed to make of the League an international agency of cooperation for the advancement of the principles of international law. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is in favor of the latter course. Just what is to happen, however, to make the Court acceptable to all of the nations, ours included, is as yet in the lap of Providence.

The ways of courts are the ways of justice, and the ways of justice are the ways of peace. When the United States and the Court are reconciled we may well agree with Sir Cecil Hurst and "feel that further progress has been made in establishing a reign of law among the nations of the world and in diminishing the risk that there may be of a resort to force for the solution of their conflicts."

ECONOMIC LOSSES BECAUSE OF THE WORLD WAR

THE National Foreign Trade Council estimates that the United States is still more than two billion dollars behind in its export trade, because of the war. There is no doubt that our exports of manufactured goods were distinctly checked by the war. Too, the vast sums spent for war munitions represented almost a net loss in wealth, just as a fire, be the insurance what it may, ends in a loss, general as it is total, so far as the world's wealth is concerned. It is unfortunate that available statistics do not make it possible for us to state the figures exactly in this latter respect.

Any conclusion relative to our losses in export trade because of the World War must depend on the rather technical matter of price indexes. Simply to compare the rate of increase of exports during the ten years preceding the war with the tempo of increase during the last ten years gets one nowhere because of the changes in the buying power of money. Without the use of price indexes we know little if anything about the variations of prices. Even where price indexes are used, comparisons are useless unless the price indexes are identical and comparable. It is true that a difference of a comparatively few points in the price index used may amount to many millions of dollars in the trade figures of a single year.

We understand that the estimate of the National Foreign Trade Council is based on official figures of seven leading commercial nations, weighted, according to the amount of trade carried on by each nation. The Council points out that the world increased its export trade one hundred per cent between 1900 and 1913, which is not, however, as we understand it, an adjusted figure in terms of actual values.

Prior to the war there were no calculations based upon a price index of exports. The same thing is true for the period of the war. Beginning in 1919, we were confronted with two export price indexes, one by the Department of Commerce and one by the Department of Labor. The latter represented primarily commodities in domestic trade, a general wholesale price index.

All price indexes are necessarily incomplete. It is necessary to compile an export price index on goods and values which are available and which are sufficiently standardized in character to warrant the calculation of average unit values. The commodities employed to establish the export price index are only about sixty-five per cent of the total of such commodities. The prices of the other commodities may or may not have moved parallel to the prices of the commodities employed to establish the index. Since there had been decided improvements in the efficiency of industry, it is possible that non-standardized articles may have gone up less, compared with 1913 than the articles which enter into the export price index. This same difficulty faces the domestic wholesale price index, which is also deficient so far as the more elaborate and non-standardized commodities are concerned.

This all sounds quite technical. And technical it is. But to get at the facts in

this most interesting problem of the effects of war upon trade requires just this technical analysis. Adjustments of values by price indexes is the only way to get at the truth, and yet adjustments of values by price indexes may prove misleading. This appears from an examination of the recent revision of the Department of Labor's wholesale price index. A number of commodities were added to the index, principally manufactured commodities, some of a very high type such as automobiles. The result was that the revised tables showed an increase of only 36.7 per cent, as compared with the former index for 1927, which showed a price level 46.8 per cent higher than for 1913.

If we use the revised wholesale price index as a means of calculating the value of our 1927 exports on a 1913 price basis, we have a total of \$3,559,000,000. If, on the other hand, we use the price index calculated by the Department of Commerce for exports only, we have for 1927 an increase in price of over 24 per cent over 1913, and the adjusted value of exports for that year becomes \$3,923,000,000.

What would have been the value of exports in 1927 if the rate of increase preceding 1913 had continued? The domestic wholesale price index stood at 80.5 in 1900 as compared with 100 in 1913. The value of our exports in 1900, fiscal year ending June 30, was \$1,394,500,000. Adjusting this, according to the price index, which may not be very typical of export prices, gives as the value of 1913 prices \$1,731,600,000. The value of exports for the fiscal year, 1913, was \$2,465,900,000, the increase over the 1900 figure as adjusted being 42.4 per cent, or at the average annual rate of three and one-quarter per cent.

An increase of three and one-quarter per cent after 1913 would have been substantially 80,000,000, straight line not compounded, per year, and this would give a

total for 1927 of \$3,604,000,000. This figure, while larger than that given above for actual exports adjusted, according to the new wholesale price index, is considerably smaller than the figure as adjusted by the export price index.

It is possible to make calculations on each of these bases back as far as 1919, when the export price index first became available. Calculations for the war years are difficult because prices were then moving in wholly abnormal fashion. The combined total value of exports from 1919 to 1927, inclusive, appears as follows:

Actual dollar value.....	\$47,807,000,000
Adjusted by revised wholesale price index	30,069,000,000
Adjusted by export price index of Department of Commerce	29,746,000,000
Hypothetical total, assuming the pre-war rate of increase to have continued, by adding \$80,000,000 each year	29,556,000,000

These figures indicate, roughly speaking, that trade during recent years has been approximately the same as it would have been if the pre-war rate of increase had continued. One might, however, reach different conclusions if one assumed some other adjustment for changes in price levels between 1900 and 1913, or between 1913 and 1927.

One thing seems entirely clear, our increase in exports of manufactured goods was distinctly checked as a result of the war. The fact that our total exports did not increase more rapidly between 1900 and 1913 was due to the situation as regards foodstuffs. The country was then rapidly increasing in population, and production of foodstuffs was hardly keeping pace. Moreover, there was a rapid increase in world competition in foodstuffs from Canada, Argentina, Australia, and other sources. Consequently the

total value of our exports of foodstuffs in 1913 was actually less than in 1900, notwithstanding the fact that prices of foodstuffs were much higher.

On the other hand, exports of manufactured goods were increasing very rapidly during this pre-war period. Counting semi-manufactures and finished manufactures, the value in 1900 was \$485,000,000, and in 1913 (fiscal years) \$1,184,000,000, an increase of about 144 per cent during 13 years. During the fourteen and one-half years between 1913 fiscal year and 1927 calendar years, exports of manufactures increased from \$1,184,000,000 to \$2,782,000,000, or by about 125 per cent. All these figures are subject to the effect of price changes, but in view of the fact that the general wholesale price index rose only about 25 per cent between 1900 and 1913, and rose by 37 per cent between 1913 and 1927, it seems clear that the export of manufactures when adjusted for price levels must have increased decidedly less during the latter period than during the earlier.

It would seem proper to judge the effect of the war on our export trade chiefly by its effect on exports of manufactures. Exports of crude materials and of foodstuffs are affected by causes entirely different from those which affect manufactures. The world demand for foodstuffs in particular is inelastic. In times of peace it tends to grow scarcely if any more rapidly than population, and even in times of war it cannot be cut down by a very great margin. On the other hand, in time of peace the tendency is toward steady increase in production and consumption of manufactured goods, and war tends to break into this progress in a marked degree. That certainly was the case as to our own country.

It may be that we cannot estimate with accuracy the trade our people would have enjoyed if the pre-war rate of increase

had continued, because between 1900 and 1913 prices were advancing materially. It is not wholly accurate to say that trade doubled during that period as the dollars were not of comparable buying power, and as we have no adjusted figure in terms of actual value. If, however, as in the case of the Foreign Trade Council, we allow for a rise in wholesale prices 17.5 per cent, an adjusted figure could be worked out at about 70 per cent. This would be considerably higher than the 45 per cent to which we have referred. If we use the adjusted figure of 70 per cent as indicating the increase in world export trade between 1900 and 1913, the average annual increase appears at about five per cent, an amount twice the corresponding annual growth of export trade during the last two years, in case of the seven leading commercial nations. In any event it is clear that manufactured exports in the case of these seven countries decreased materially between 1913 and 1927 as compared with the period between 1900 and 1913. The discrepancy of 37 per cent for the earlier period as compared with the 25 per cent of the latter is even greater when it is considered that wholesale prices rose only about 20 per cent during the earlier period and about 40 per cent in the later.

Indeed, according to the best available statistics, the money value of world exports increased between 1900 and 1913 about 97 per cent. This is also substantially true for world imports. As has been said there was, however, a considerable advance in prices during this period. The wholesale price index of the United States increased between 24 and 25 per cent. For the world as a whole the advance was about 20 per cent. For the fourteen years between 1913 and 1927 the increase in export trade for the world was 70 per cent.

The total volume of world exports in

1913 was \$20,051,000,000. The corresponding figure for 1927, unadjusted for price changes, was about \$31,600,000,000. Taking 100 as the price index of commodities in foreign trade in 1913, the price index of such commodities for 1927 rose to 133. On the basis of this index the value of 1927 exports on the basis of 1913 prices was about \$28,800,000,000. Whereas, had the total increased 70 per cent of 1913, it would have been about \$34,100,000,000. In other words, the trade would have been about \$10,300,000,000 larger had the pre-war rate continued without interruption.

Expressing the figures, not in terms of 1913 dollars but in terms of 1927 dollars, the value of exports in 1913 would have been 33 per cent greater than reported, or about \$26,665,000,000. An increase of 70 per cent would have made this figure about \$45,350,000,000 in 1927 as compared with the actual figure of \$31,600,000,000, a difference of about \$13,750,000,000.

It is fair to approximate the total loss of trade during the years between 1914 and 1927, inclusive, compared with what it would have been had the pre-war rate continued, by assuming that the average annual deficiency was somewhat more than one-half appearing in 1927. On this basis and in terms of 1927 dollars, the annual deficiency would range from seven and one-half to eight billion dollars on an average. Furthermore, and on this assumption, the total loss in trade for those fourteen years would be somewhere between 105 and 115 billions of dollars. This, we believe, is a fair estimate of the effects to 1928 of the war upon world trade.

Again, therefore, the business men of the world, if they are interested in their business, are very vitally concerned with the problem of maintaining peace between the nations.

THE "CITY OF THE VATICAN"

THE two sovereignties in Rome, one represented by the Vatican and the other by the Quirinal, have ended their estrangement dating from that September day in 1870, when King Victor Emanuel's troops entered the Holy City. This was accomplished by a treaty between the Holy See and Italy, composed of a preamble and twenty-seven articles, signed at the Lateran Palace by Cardinal Gasparri and Signor Mussolini on February 11, 1929. This Concordat guarantees liberty and independence to the spiritual government of the Catholic church, recognizes the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty and House of Savoy, with Rome as the capital of the Italian State, and settles definitely and irrevocably the "Roman Question." Italy recognizes the City of the Vatican as a State under the sovereignty of the Pope.

This all stands out as the most important event during the reign of Fascism. In his address before five thousand Fascists in the Royal Opera House, Rome, March 10, Signor Mussolini referred to the achievement in glowing terms. He pointed out that Italy holds a unique position among the nations, giving hospitality to the reigning head of "the greatest universal organization in the world," an organization with a continuous history of more than two thousand years. He pointed out that the Catholic church represents the only uninterrupted chain linking Fascist Italy with Imperial Rome. Il Duce welcomed the settlement of the Roman question as a first real effective separation of Church and State in Italy, enabling each to enjoy complete sovereign independence, both working in harmony and with mutual respect. He indicated that the agreement means that Italy recognizes Catholicism as the offi-

cial State religion, and that without interfering with the free development of other religious cults. The neutrality of the Vatican makes it inviolable and extraneous to temporal competitions among States. The Italian State, surrounding the Vatican, proclaims in Article I of the treaty that Italy is a Catholic State. It is not proposed to consider the Catholic church as a private association under common law with religion a problem of individual conscience, in which the State is not interested. Neither is it contemplated that Italy is a State agnostic in religious matters, or even indifferent to religion. The Concordat provides that religious teaching, besides being given in the elementary schools, shall be extended through the secondary schools. But the ecclesiastical authorities are granted no rights of interference in the schools, not even regarding religion, with the exception that teachers in this branch must be provided with a certificate from the Bishop, and that books on religion must be approved by the ecclesiastical authorities.

By this settlement the work of Victor Emanuel and Cavour comes to its logical conclusion. When those two men were laboring for unification of Italy and its establishment as an independent sovereign State, they could not have foreseen precisely the outcome of today. When Victor Emanuel was proclaimed King of Italy in 1861, the patrimony of St. Peter and Venetia remained outside. The territory remaining to the Pope was gradually whittled to an area of about five thousand square miles, with a population of 700,000. An outstanding difficulty facing that new Italy was to preserve the independence of the Pope and to take away from him at the same time his temporal power. In September, 1870, General Cadorna attacked and took the City of Rome. A few

weeks thereafter the capital of Italy was moved from Florence to Rome. It was on July 1, 1871, that the Eternal City was declared the capital of Italy. This left the two sovereigns practically side by side, the church refusing any formal cession of its territory to the new régime. The government offered to guarantee the use and enjoyment of the Vatican buildings and grounds to the Pope, but not in full sovereignty. The result was that the position assigned to the Pope was that of an honored guest with extraterritorial privileges as an act of grace at the hands of the government. This condition has existed since, often giving rise to bitter controversy. It is this situation which has been solved at last, it is earnestly hoped, by the Concordat. The achievement lends pith to Signor Mussolini's statement of March 10, when he said, "We want nothing better than to live in peace with all the world, especially our nearest neighbors."

THE cost of visas is going down. The tantalizing things should be done away with. When in February, 1925, Congress authorized the President to enter into agreements with the governments of foreign countries for the mutual waiver of reduction of visa fees for persons who are not immigrants, travelers became hopeful. An agreement was concluded on March 11, 1929, with the Polish Government, whereby the fee for visas issued to Americans visiting Poland was reduced from ten to four dollars. The action of Poland in accepting the proposals of the United States Government to reduce or waive passport visa fees on a reciprocal basis represents the thirtieth agreement of this type which has been concluded. In fact, the only European countries most frequently visited by American tourists which have so far declined the proposals

of the United States Government to conclude such agreements are England, France, and Norway. Of the other European countries, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, and Turkey have declined to conclude an agreement of this type. Of the thirty agreements concluded, twenty-two provide for a complete waiver of the passport visa fee, while eight cover reductions to amounts varying from \$1.00 to \$4.00.

THE death of Lord Phillimore, noted international lawyer, at his home in Kensington, March 13, at the age of eighty-three, takes from the world a very useful man. We shall always remember him as the able and kindly teacher, especially during the first session of the Academy of International Law at The Hague, back in 1923. His daily lecture was due at four o'clock, P. M. It was interesting for us Americans to wait now and then for the very distinguished English jurist to finish his tea before coming to us with his ripened and enriching wisdom.

THE theory of the Balance of Power persists. At a time when careful observers were hopeful of a rapprochement between France and Germany, it was no mere accident that the Anglo-French Naval Agreement was announced. In any event the announcement could not have been better timed if the purpose had been to end all prospects of such a happy reunion across the Rhine. And now, faced by the success of France with Poland and with the Little Entente, opinion in England is turning again to Germany, and criticizing England's "subserviance to France." England desires to be a free agent. She does not want now to be thrown into a war on the side of

France "because of no workable arrangement with Germany." There is a fear in England that their pro-French foreign policy may line up a humiliated Germany against England. Then, too, it is feared that Germany may turn to Russia, as Germany needs Russia, and Russia needs Germany industrially and economically. England knows a time often comes when it is too late to do anything but to fight. When she plays one side against another on the Continent, assuming for herself the rôle of a disinterested party, she is playing the old game of Balance of Power. It must be granted that she does it in all sincerity, in the name of European peace. We have confidence enough in the great ability of the English people, in their familiarity with history, to expect them to counteract this sag back to the old balance-of-power way of doing things. There is an uninformed and lethargic public opinion in the world that finds it difficult to think in new terms. During these crucial days for Europe, this must not be true of those in control of affairs in Britain.

JOSEPH BELL COTTON, Esquire, senior member of the firm of Cotton, Brenner, and Wrigley, with offices at 225 Broadway, New York City, is a recent additional to the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society. He brings to the Society a wealth of experience with movements that have aided materially in the upbuilding of our modern America. A native of Indiana, long a resident of Minnesota, a graduate of Michigan State College, a one-time member of the Minnesota House of Representatives, twice a delegate from that State to the Republican National Convention, a lawyer of wide practise, he has found time to interest himself in creative social enterprises in many fields. The American

Peace Society is proud of its Board of Directors. It welcomes Joseph Bell Cotton to its council table of practical and farseeing men.

ECONOMIC statistics are of the greatest importance to every one concerned to clarify his views upon international relations. The International Conference on Economic Statistics which met at Geneva from November 26 to December 14 last, for the purpose of arranging a convention with regard to the scope and methods of economic statistics, is of special interest, therefore, to the workers for international peace. It is an encouraging thing to learn that there is such a body of experts concerned to improve economic statistics, to expand their scope and to increase their international comparability, especially in the fields of production and commerce. All who aim to inform public opinion in the realm of international relations are quite dependent upon the International Institute of Statistics, the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Labor Office, the League of Nations Committee on Transport and Communication, the International Chamber of Commerce, for that exact information, without which the best intentioned advocates are liable to go awry. We are particularly encouraged to learn that the Conference at Geneva favored the publication by governments of indexes of general movement of wholesale prices, and also of the absolute and relative prices of individual commodities.

APUBLISHING Capital for Utopia is to be located in Baltimore, Maryland, by Mr. H. G. Wells, the world's professor of Utopiana. Within the last month a publishing house has been incorporated in that city upon the initiative of Mr. Wells, Julian Huxley—son of the famous Eng-

lish scientist, Thomas Henry Huxley—and George H. Doran of New York. The company, the charter states, was incorporated “to conduct, manage and carry on in the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada the general business of manufacturing, electrotyping, printing, lithographing, engraving, binding, publishing, buying, selling, exchanging, distributing, leasing, mortgaging or otherwise dealing in a book to be known by the title of *The Science of Life* or other title and to be written by Herbert George Wells, Julian Huxley, and Philip Wells, or by said persons and others.” It appears that *The Science of Life* is to be the second part of Mr. Wells’ trilogy of which the *Outline of History* was the first, and the still projected *Conquest of Power* is to be the third and last. *The Science of Life* is said to be almost completed. In *The Open Conspiracy* Mr. Wells expounded his ideas for a world revolution, first outlined we believe in *The World of William Clissold*. He there visualized his open conspirators, making our world a nice, pretty place in which to live, using his trilogy as the new Bible, which he has from time to time advocated. We expect soon to hear of Mr. Wells advocating, perhaps writing another Koran, or possibly a new “Das Kapital?” Baltimoreans are wondering how their city comes to be chosen as the starting point for this mighty movement. It had not occurred to them that they are particularly keen as open conspirators for revolt and world revolution; but Mr. Wells will show them. Mr. Wells knows everything.

THE Hague Academy of International Law announces that it has at its disposal for its next session, July 8 to August 31, ten scholarships amounting to 400 florins each, the florin being about forty cents in American money. These scholar-

ships have been made possible by the Administration of the Academy and by the generosity of the Netherlands Government. Recipients of the scholarships are chosen by the Academy from among persons who have written notable essays, articles for reviews, or books on the subject of international law, and who have applied for a scholarship. No application is considered unless it is made by the interested person himself and submitted by him directly, stating his name, qualifications, nationality, place and date of birth, and the reasons which the applicant stresses for securing the scholarship. Every request must be supported by a professor of international law, and, where possible, by copies of the scientific works which the applicant may have published. All applications must be in by the last day of March. Awards are made not later than the last day of May. Only two scholarships may be assigned to any one country. Holders of scholarships are required to follow the courses during at least one of the two periods of the sessions of the Academy.

“REMAIN, Thou Stone, a witness of our gratitude for help and kindness, which a world extended to us in the years of our need.”

The tablet with this inscription was recently officially dedicated by the German Government in Berlin in remembrance of assistance which Germany received from foreign countries immediately after the war. Appropriate remarks were made by members of the Reichstag and of the various Ministers of State. Gilbert MacMaster, of the Friends Service Council, spoke on behalf of the foreign contributors.

GENERAL VON SEECKT, former Chief of Army Direction in Germany, is one of the leading representatives of the military circles of his country. March 5, speaking in Königsberg, East

Prussia, he expressed the view that eternal peace is not yet at hand and that battles will still have to be fought. While these two statements are mere expressions of opinion, they may be quite true. The general grants that the German soldier should not be a political partisan, but neither should he lack interest. "The Army," according to the general, "should not be the automatic servant of changing party régimes. The aim of foreign policy should be to remove foreign interference with the strength and formation of Germany's armed forces. The chains of indefinite restriction are more oppressive than those of the Rhineland occupation. The object of foreign policy must be to attain an army corresponding to the size and importance of the nation. The aim of foreign policy may be the maintenance of peace, but, in spite of the Kellogg Pact, war still remains as a means of national preservation. The Army has a right to insight into foreign policy. The last decision over war or peace lies with State authority. The State authority and the High Command should work hand in hand. There can be no talk of the rebirth of Germany until the military idea (*Wehrgedanken*) has again found acceptance in Germany. The policy in East Prussia is foreign policy; the separated province is too weakened for one to be able to speak of internal policy in this respect. It must be the part of the German Government to maintain the province, and only the military will (*Wehrwill*) can do that."

WHETHER or not man evolves from a monkey we do not know, never having seen the thing take place. We are not concerned to discuss the question whether man evolves from the monkey, or the monkey from man. A thing happened in New York the other day, however, that indicated again certain deep similarities of hidden temperament peculiar to both these

worthy animals. A wealthy New York family owns a ring-tailed monkey named Jimmy. When, last month, the family went south, they left the monkey with the "Deluxe Pet Shop." When Jimmy sins he goes about it in a large and manly way. In the wee small hours of the morning of March 7 he escaped from his cage and proceeded to do things. When the dust had lifted there were one hundred eighty gold fish who will never swim another stroke, canary birds with songs forever stilled, a manx cat left with a permanent neurosis, and a dozen puppies stricken with hypertrophied inferiority complexes. The pet shop was a complete ruin.

DR. Leifur Magnusson, Director of the Washington branch of the International Labor Office, calls attention to a statement in our *World Problems in Review* of last month which ran, "similarly the American Federation has consistently refused to affiliate with the International Labor office in Geneva." Dr. Magnusson comments upon this statement as follows:

"Two implications may be drawn from that statement, both not quite accurate. In the first place, the A. F. of L. if it desired to could not affiliate with the I. L. O. by virtue of the fact that the I. L. O. is an official body of which only governments can be members following acceptance of a treaty, namely, Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. In the second place the only action the A. F. of L. has taken with respect to the I. L. O. consists of an affirmative declaration for American Government participation in the activities of the League of Nations and those of the International Labor Organization and Office, taken at its Atlantic City Convention of 1919. Since then the A. F. of L. has taken no action except that in 1926, at the dedication of the new building of the I. L. O., when it raised a fund for furnishing the Gompers' Memorial Room in that building. To complete the story I might add that the one union within the A. F. of L. which has sought to criticise

the I. L. O. or to oppose action proposed by it, has found its resolutions in the matter merely referred to the Executive Council and thereby tabled."

THE United States, according to Senator William J. Harris, of Georgia, will give to Europe during 1929 \$332,261,750. The Senator points out that this donation will be distributed among ten European nations through debt remissions. This money is included in the American budget and will be raised through taxation. Benefits of this gift will be enjoyed by the taxpayers of the ten nations. The Senator points out that the United States must pay interest on the bonds for the money we loaned these countries at a much higher rate than that we charge them for what is due us. In fact, we charge no interest on some of

these debts. What we give to these countries during 1929 amounts to a tax of nearly three dollars for each person in the United States. It is evident that our gifts to Europe will be a heavy tax on our people for many years. The gifts for 1929, according to the Senator, are as follows:

Great Britain	\$55,325,000
Italy	85,935,000
France	171,065,000
Belgium	14,847,650
Jugoslavia	2,500,000
Finland, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Es- tonia (total)	2,589,100

Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and other nations also are receiving donations.

During the 62-year funding period the total American gift to Europe will amount to \$8,864,189,750.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting, Room of the
Committee on Naval Affairs of the
House of Representatives.

MINUTES FROM THE STENOGRAPHIC RECORD

HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
MONDAY, Feb. 25, 1929.

The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by the President (Senator Burton).

There were present: Senators Burton and Barkley and Representatives Britten, Cramton, Montague, Chindblom, Andrew, Howard of Nebraska, Purnell, Cochran of Pennsylvania, R. G. Fitzgerald, La Guardia, Chalmers, Korell, Johnson of Oklahoma, Bloom, Hoffman, Martin of Massachusetts, and Arthur D. Call, Executive Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT: Shall we listen to the reading of the minutes?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY (MR. CALL): The minutes appear in the *Congressional Record* of Saturday, February 23, 1929.

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, I move that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with. The motion was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, we are interested in the appropriations by the Congress to the work of the Interparliamentary Union. These appropriations last year were:

(a) To the Interparliamentary Union office at Geneva, \$6,000.

This has already passed and become a law, as I understand it, for the next fiscal year.

(b) To the American Group, \$10,000.

Who has charge of this, Mr. Fitzgerald?

MR. BRITTEN: I think so.

THE PRESIDENT: Is today unanimous-consent day?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you not believe that would pass by unanimous consent?

MR. BRITTEN: Usually, no. It only takes one objector, and you know how it is in the House.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you know enough about the calendar to be able to state whether it will probably be reached today or not?

Mr. COCHRAN of Pennsylvania: There are to be no suspensions today.

Mr. PURNELL: I am sorry I cannot answer that definitely. I checked up on the program for today because I was going to bring in a rule, but we will not get to that.

THE PRESIDENT: It is of supreme importance that this bill be passed as soon as possible, because it has to pass the Senate likewise, and I hope every possible effort will be put forth to get it through. I think it can pass. I think both the Speaker and Mr. Tilson are friendly to it, and I should suppose it would pass by unanimous consent. It was passed last year by unanimous consent. I brought it up myself. It is on the consent calendar. Is it likely to be reached?

Mr. BRITTON: The clerk is looking that up. Today is unanimous-consent day.

THE PRESIDENT: What is the order of today? Did I hear some one say it was not anticipated that there would be motions for suspensions of the rule?

Mr. COCHRAN of Pennsylvania: Not today.

Mr. BRITTON: That was announced on Saturday.

Mr. PURNELL: They start suspensions tomorrow.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mr. President, I am ignorant about these matters, but am I correct in understanding that the situation is that the bill which was introduced by Mr. Fitzgerald is simply an authorization bill, and when that is passed it will be necessary to get an appropriation, possibly, on the second deficiency bill?

Mr. BRITTON: Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE: There will be no other deficiency bill after the one which has just passed the House. You can probably get the item in the bill over in the Senate.

THE PRESIDENT: It will go to the Senate and I think it can be placed on the deficiency bill without very great trouble, especially if the bill has passed the Senate. I must take that up immediately with Senator Borah and others.

I am loath to leave this proposition with regard to the \$10,000 without impressing upon you all, who are members of the House, the importance of it.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mr. President, there is a matter which I think could properly be brought up in that connection. The French Parliament has just appropriated one-half million francs, which is about \$20,000, for the support of the Interparliamentary Union.

As you know, M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, is President of the Interparliamentary Union, and it has been upon his initiative that the French Parliament has done this thing.

The purpose behind the action of the French Parliament is that the Interparliamentary Union may be dignified and worth while in the best sense. The French know that the Interparliamentary Union has not been properly supported heretofore, and they

have thought it proper that their government should take the initiative in increasing the prestige and financial backing of the Union.

Whether or not this contribution will continue depends, I suppose, upon the action of other parliaments. It is true that the German Ambassador to France telegraphed immediately the action of the French Parliament to Berlin and has asked that similar action be taken by the Reichstag. The officials of the German group of the Interparliamentary Union are favorable to similar action on the part of Germany. It is also true, I understand, that pressure is being brought to bear upon the British Parliament to do a similar thing.

Ten thousand dollars plus six thousand dollars is sixteen thousand dollars, the net amount our Parliament has granted for the support of the Interparliamentary Union during the last year.

THE PRESIDENT: Is this \$20,000 for the general support of the Union or does it include the expenses of delegates from the French legislative body?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Both.

THE PRESIDENT: That is, the \$20,000 is to be devoted primarily, probably, for the expenses of delegates.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: About \$12,000 will go to the Union and about \$8,000 will be kept for the support of the French group.

THE PRESIDENT: That would include paying the expenses of the meeting at Geneva?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: It is very important that you should bear this in mind as an argument.

Mr. ANDREW: What is the \$10,000 for in our appropriation?

THE PRESIDENT: To pay the expenses or to apply upon the expenses of the delegates from our group who go to Geneva.

Mr. BRITTON: And also for other expenses of the American group, is it not?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Mr. Call's expenses to Berlin were paid from that fund. Aside from that, there was very little applied for any purpose other than the expenses of the delegates.

Mr. BRITTON: As I recall, there was about \$2,500 for the Secretary for expenses and various odds and ends, and the balance was used up by the members on expense accounts; is not that right?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes; expenditures have been made under a budget approved by the State Department. All moneys have been disbursed by the Department Chief of the Bureau of Accounts.

The budget was as follows:

Travel	\$5,500
Subsistence	2,000
Salaries	1,000
Printing and Miscellaneous	1,000
Entertainment	500
Total	\$10,000

Mr. MONTAGUE: You have turned in a balance?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: None of the \$10,000?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: That is, there is a balance in the treasury?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes; something over \$3,000. The Treasurer will give you the details in his report.

Mr. ANDREW: Is this for the same purpose appropriated for in previous years or is this additional?

THE PRESIDENT: Only one previous year and that was last year. We must do the best we can. It is evident that while every effort is being made to avoid bringing up at the special session anything except farm relief and tariff, there will be legislative propositions left over. I do not want to give you that as furnishing any reason for abating our efforts to pass it at this session, however.

Mr. PURNELL: If you confine the activities of the House to the subject of farm relief and tariff, we would not be able to take care of this matter; that is to say, if the present program goes through of appointing merely four committees in the House, all these other things would have to go by the board.

Mr. BRITTEN: It could be done by unanimous consent.

THE PRESIDENT: I recall the session of 1897. The House had only the necessary committees, Ways and Means, Mileage and perhaps Accounts; but the Sundry Civil Bill was left over from the preceding Congress. Without any report by the committee, that was taken up, presented in exactly the form in which it had been reported and passed in the preceding Congress; and I think there would be a rather friendly disposition for considering measures that had been reported in the previous Congress, perhaps, without constituting any committees. I repeat, however, do not let that abate any effort to pass this measure at this session.

Mr. HOWARD of Nebraska: If it comes to the worst, Mr. President, I am sure that your own representation to our new President would call forth a friendly gesture on his part, which would make it easier for us to have consideration of the problem in the extra session.

Twenty-fifth Conference in Berlin

THE PRESIDENT: The next item is the Twenty-fifth Conference in Berlin. How about this, Mr. Call? Have you any report to make on it? Some of those who are here are very familiar with that. Unfortunately, I was not able to attend this last year.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mr. President, the delegates of the American Group to the Conference in Berlin were Senator Walter E. Edge, Senator Elmer Thomas, Representative Thomas C. Cochran, Representative Roy G.

Fitzgerald, Representative F. H. La Guardia, Representative J. Charles Linthicum, Representative Andrew J. Montague, who served as President of the delegation; ex-Representative Richard Barthold, who is a life member of the Union; Representative Fred Britten, making a total of ten delegates. I am sure they are much better able to report as to what happened in Berlin than I am.

THE PRESIDENT: Perhaps it would be well for some of those who were present to give us the outstanding features of the gathering.

Mr. BRITTEN: I think our Secretary is best able to tell the members of the group who are here present what happened and how well it was done. He was in constant attendance and was the most active man of the American delegation.

THE PRESIDENT: Have you a summary or can you state the outstanding features of the meeting, Mr. Call?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes. The work of the Union in Berlin was mainly confined to three questions.

One related to the rights and duties of nations. The chairman of that commission, as you know, is Senator La Fontaine, of Belgium.

Another subject discussed was the evolution of the parliamentary system in our times. The chairman of that commission was ex-Chancellor Wirth, of Germany.

Another subject was migration problems.

These were the three outstanding subjects of the conference.

Mr. MONTAGUE: Was that the exact phraseology—evolution of the parliamentary system in our times?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE: There seemed to be quite a feeling among the delegates that the parliamentary system was not progressively developing; that it was being somewhat arrested, and they cited, for example, the parliament in Italy and the parliament of Egypt.

I participated in the debate and was quite familiar with it at that particular time. I did not expect to say anything about it this morning. But there was a good deal of feeling about it—a good deal of—well, when I say feeling I think that is sufficient.

The question of immigration also was one subject that was participated in very largely and very animatedly by the delegation, especially from eastern Europe, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and that section.

There were some attacks, at least one of them was practically an attack, upon the American system, and they cited America's ability to absorb the population of that section of country that was overstocked, rather citing the Malthusian doctrine; and back of the argument, although not brought in in such a concrete way, was the suggestion that there be a supervising power set up by all the nations to distribute the populations of

the world. While they thought this rather academical and theoretical, yet many believed it to be a solution of the question.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, such a proposition we could not consent to for a moment.

Mr. MONTAGUE: I may say that after consultation with our delegates at the meeting which we had every morning—sometimes not as fully attended as others, but always sufficiently well attended to transact business—I was unanimously instructed to state the position of the American delegates with respect to the subject of immigration, which was that it would be considered as a domestic question; that we considered it a domestic question, wholly within the jurisdiction of the United States, and we could not, under any circumstances, depart from our traditional view on that subject. You will find the statement in the minutes.

Mr. LA GUARDIA: Mr. President, I will state that I was on the floor when the President announced the vote on the resolution as unanimous, and I announced that we wanted the record to show that the United States had not taken part in the record vote.

THE PRESIDENT: Unanimously in favor of a kind of international commission to supervise immigration?

Mr. LA GUARDIA: The vote was on the resolution. The wording of the resolution I have not in mind. The vote was taken and the presiding officer then announced that it was unanimously approved. I then announced from the floor that it was not unanimous, because the United States had not voted, and I wanted the record to so show. The President then said that the delegates from the United States had so announced during the discussion.

Mr. MONTAGUE: I will say, Mr. President, I left the day the vote was taken, but before leaving I was accorded the floor and, I stated the position of the American delegation on the subject, and that the American delegation would not participate in the vote. We all thought this was the most tactful thing to do. But we expressed our views upon the subject.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Perhaps it ought to be added that, so far as the discussion on the evolution of the parliamentary system in our times is concerned, they did not agree among themselves, and the result was that the resolution presented by Dr. Wirth was referred back to that committee for fresh study, together with the amendments which had been proposed. When it came to the question of migrations it resolved itself to the proposal that States should endeavor to conclude among themselves bilateral treaties making it possible to conciliate their points of view and safeguard the economic and social interests of immigrants.

THE PRESIDENT: The latter part, of course, we could not object to, but the former part of it contemplates treaties and would look to

forcing immigration into a country where the domestic policy was opposed to it.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: That was eliminated.

Mr. MONTAGUE: That was eliminated, but some of the addresses that were delivered by those most actively for it favored practically a supergovernment to distribute the population of the world, and this was stressed also, if I recall properly, as a means for the prevention of war.

THE PRESIDENT: That, of course, means that we ought to have representation on that committee at Geneva through some one who will be alert and assert the American viewpoint in regard to it. I do not anticipate they will adopt anything really drastic. You can see that what is proposed is to have bilateral treaties. But that matter needs to be constantly watched.

Mr. WATSON: Mr. President, I rise to ask to be excused in order that I may attend the tariff hearings—but I wish to express to you my interest and willingness to co-operate with the work of the Interparliamentary Union.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Watson, will you be able to go to Geneva next August?

Mr. WATSON: I do not know now. I hope I may be able to go.

THE PRESIDENT: We are very glad to have had you here, even for this brief time, Mr. Watson.

Is there anything further with regard to the conference in Berlin? I would like to ask this question: What was the general impression of our delegates who attended in regard to the maintenance of the interest and the probable usefulness of the Union, as illustrated by this meeting? As I understand, the attention given by the local group and by the German Government to the members who attended equaled and perhaps surpassed the attention given at other places where there had been a meeting. Of course, they did not go as far as we did in 1925.

Mr. MONTAGUE: Mr. President, I think perhaps they did go almost as far as we did. Mr. Streseman was present during some of the deliberations, although he was sick. When he was not there, the Assistant Secretary of State, if I may use that term, was present. There were official dinners given, showing the interest of the government in the matter. Of course, being centrally located, the representation from all the governments was quite large. If one could judge from the enthusiasm or from the debates, they seemed to take the whole matter very seriously. While I cannot say how hopeful they were, not knowing the language well, and I do not like always to ask for translations, yet I thought they seemed to be rather optimistic about the effectiveness of moral suasion upon their own government as well as upon the other governments.

THE PRESIDENT: I gather from what you and others have said that there was no indi-

cation of decadence in the activities of the Union, but it pointed rather the other way?

MR. MONTAGUE: I think so. I do not know whether my colleagues agree with that statement or not, but I think this meeting was about as strong and optimistic as any we have had.

THE PRESIDENT: We come next—

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, before you get away from that question of yours for suggestions or views of members who attended at Berlin, I think the committee might well hear from our colleague, Mr. La Guardia. He was very active on the floor there. It was our first meeting in Germany since the war, and I think it might be well to get Mr. La Guardia's impressions.

THE PRESIDENT: We will be glad to hear Mr. La Guardia.

MR. LA GUARDIA: Mr. President, it was my first conference outside of the United States, and I approached it with the sort of idea that, perhaps, owing to the activities in Geneva and the conditions in Europe and around the world, the Union had outlived its usefulness.

I was surprised to find a very keen interest. It afforded an opportunity for some of the nations to get together and make faces at each other and get certain grievances out of their systems. This was particularly true as between Hungary and Rumania. They had the largest delegations there, and if the last conference did not serve any other purpose I think it served a useful purpose in the Balkan situation, where elected members of parliaments met each other and expressed freely their mutual grievances. I think this will have a very wholesome effect in eventually solving the difficulties now existing between Hungary and Rumania.

I found that, naturally, there was a great deal of interest as to how active the American delegation would be. We had, of course, the largest delegation from the Western Hemisphere, and all countries were exceedingly anxious to get our viewpoints on the several matters.

I also found, much to my surprise, that they understood our position on the question of immigration, and while some of the speakers, as Governor Montague has pointed out, did go so far as to say that, after all, this was a world question, other speakers were very careful to modify such statements by saying that they were discussing immigration from a purely European standpoint—that is, the moving of large numbers of laborers during harvest seasons and things like that. They were careful, I think, not to go too far on that, understanding thoroughly our situation.

One slight which was rather interesting, and it was expressed both in Berlin and in Paris, was our way of doing things. They do not understand how members of a parliament can differ, can be of different parties

or of different viewpoints, and yet be very friendly. It created a great deal of comment, for instance, when Congressman Britten walked into the Esplanade and I met him. They knew that Mr. Britten was a big-navy man and I was a little-navy man. They commented a great deal on the fact that we should talk with each other and be so friendly. The story even followed us to Paris.

I think it is also of great educational value, Senator, for the American delegates to meet members of the parliaments of other countries and understand and know that they also have their problems just as we have ours. I found this especially true in the work of the committees. I was on the Welfare Committee, which took up the opium question and the child-labor question. They were anxious to obtain all the information and data and statistics we have on these subjects.

So, taking it all in all, I think by our attendance at these conferences we demonstrate that we are not holding aloof, as some countries of Europe gather the idea, but that, after all, we are not much different and have the same problems that they have, and in the absence of other closer contacts I think participation of the United States in these interparliamentary conferences is a very good thing, not only for conditions in the world, but for our own special interests.

THE PRESIDENT: That is very interesting, Mr. La Guardia.

MR. CHALMERS: Mr. President, I am sorry to be compelled to ask to be excused at this time, but before leaving I want to express my interest in the Union.

THE PRESIDENT: Probably you would wish to go to Geneva in August, Mr. Chalmers?

MR. CHALMERS: I think not, Senator.

THE PRESIDENT: We are sorry to lose you, but glad you were able to come for this time.

The arguments Mr. La Guardia made, or at least some of them, have been used by me, perhaps in not quite as clear a statement, but our contact with parliamentarians from other countries, getting their viewpoints and getting personal acquaintance with them, is very helpful. Of course, there is another thing I have always stressed, and that is that in our absence some proposition might be brought forward which would be exceedingly embarrassing to us. I have mentioned two—the proposition with regard to the tariff in 1922, at Geneva, and then the proposition for the appointment of a committee to consider international debts at Copenhagen in 1923. Senator Robinson and Senator Swanson were there and aided me very materially in opposing that proposition, and it was dropped.

As I have several times said, we can easily realize what would happen if a commission were appointed practically all the members of which were representing debtor countries against the United States on the other side, England, of course, having an interest as a

creditor, and France, in a measure, as well; but the preponderant influence would be for not merely lenience, but possibly cancellation of international debts, and we have got to be present to see that nothing of that kind is done. I take it this was virtually settled, however, in the meeting at Copenhagen. What may happen as a result of the meeting of the commission now in session in Paris, whether that will tend to have the question brought up again, I cannot say; but we need to watch that.

Now, if there is nothing further with respect to the meeting—

Mr. MONTAGUE: Mr. President, may I ask that you state that the meeting at Geneva is not a meeting of the Interparliamentary Union itself, but only a meeting of commissions?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes; only of commissions. However, in a sense, that is just as important as a full meeting, because they prepare the agenda for the next year and discuss these questions, and, in a way, they are discussed in a more orderly manner, less of oratory and more of concrete propositions, than in the general meeting. Of course, the two members on the council are represented at that meeting at Geneva.

We have here a list of the committees that consider subjects, on all of which we ought to be represented. For example, there is the committee, "For the Study of Political Questions and Problems of Organization," each one delegate. We had representation upon this committee when Senator McKinley was alive. He and I sat with it for a time; but we ought to have some delegate chosen expressly for attending that committee. I am afraid the selections cannot be made today, because we are not sure as to who is going. On the other hand, the Director General is pressing me all the while to name representatives on these commissions. Some of them meet in April.

Mr. MONTAGUE: Mr. President, I think it would be quite impracticable for us to select delegates or to select representation now, and I move that the President be authorized to make the appointments.

The motion, being duly seconded by Mr. Howard of Nebraska and Mr. Britten, was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: It will be necessary to keep in touch with all of you and to know who are going over, and I would be pleased to have your plans in regard to that.

Mr. ANDREW: Do I understand that the meeting this year is not a general meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: Not a plenary meeting.

Mr. ANDREW: It is a preparatory meeting, so to speak, for the following year.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes; and I repeat what I have already said, that you cannot minimize its importance.

Mr. MONTAGUE: The result of this meeting practically fixes the agenda for the next ses-

sion. It selects the topics or subjects for discussion.

THE PRESIDENT: Looking at these questions here a bit, who has been our representative on "The Study of Juridical Questions?" Have we had any special representative?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Our representation has varied from year to year.

THE PRESIDENT: This is what has usually happened. Those who were present have temporarily served on these commissions. I have myself served on half a dozen of them at different times.

"For the Study of Economic Questions and Financial Questions." There are possibly charges of dynamite in these two and we ought to be represented on them. Of course, we cannot deny that there is a difference of interest from most of the other nations who belong to the Union from our own, and while I have found that they treat us with the utmost deference, it is desirable, and I may say almost essential, that we be represented on these two committees or commissions.

The next is "For the Study of Ethnic Questions and Colonial Questions." That is where the immigration question comes up, is it not?

Mr. MONTAGUE: Yes; I think so.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope this will be done. That those of you who are here present and other members of the Union will notify me at the earliest possible date whether they can attend.

Mr. MONTAGUE: What is the date of the meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: The 25th of August, I believe, is the date of meeting.

Mr. MONTAGUE: How long is it likely to last?

THE PRESIDENT: Five days, probably. I attended the meeting in 1926 and Senator Swanson was there as well, and I must say that it seemed to me quite as valuable a gathering and quite as instructive as the general meeting. We had at one or two meetings some sixty present and they took up very important matters. There were other things aside from these committee assignments. They considered and discussed at very considerable length the date of the meeting for the next year. Of course, there was a clashing of opinions in regard to that because of the date of the meeting of the parliaments. The English did not quite harmonize with the others as to the time they desired it to be held. I say this to show that the questions for consideration are not confined exclusively to those listed here under No. 3, "Work of the Commissions." There are other things considered as well. Mr. Britten, are you going to be able to go over this year?

Mr. BRITTEN: I cannot tell just now. I may be able to go, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: While you do not agree with me altogether on the question of limitation of armament or the study of armament, I take it, if an agreement can be reached by

international understanding, you favor a limitation?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes; I do, of course.

THE PRESIDENT: Would you like to serve on that commission?

MR. BRITTEN: If I go over I should very much like to, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: I think, anticipating what may be done in the future, if you go I will ask you to serve on that right now.

MR. BRITTEN: I thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT: I wonder if Dr. Temple is able to go. He has taken an active part in several of these commissions.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: He says it is doubtful.

THE PRESIDENT: I was with him at the meeting in Vienna most of the time and we went from there to Geneva. I may say that one favorable feature of the date of this meeting is that those who desire to attend the sessions of the League of Nations, by staying over a few days, can do so. They convene the first Monday in September, which would almost immediately follow our meeting.

THE PRESIDENT: The first day they elect their president and they have general meetings, lasting usually for weeks. The great pressure for admission is on the first day, when they elect their president. I have been present at perhaps three of their meetings, and I do not regard that meeting as any more valuable than other meetings later in the week or in the succeeding weeks, perhaps. I was fortunate enough to be present when Germany was admitted and Briand and Stresemann made their speeches. That was in 1926, was it not?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: 1926, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Has any one any preference which he desires to express in regard to representation on these commissions?

MR. HOWARD OF NEBRASKA: Mr. President, I am so closely in harmony with your views with reference to the general peace problem that I apprehend if you could use me anywhere to advantage it would be there.

THE PRESIDENT: You are hoping to go?

MR. HOWARD OF NEBRASKA: Yes; I am going unless those idiot doctors intervene, as they did last year; but I do not apprehend that.

MR. MONTAGUE: You do not think the Congress will detain us here, Senator Burton?

THE PRESIDENT: No; I do not think so. I think you will find, when the weather becomes warm and Washington is not an agreeable place in which to live, there will be a very general desire to adjourn. The only guide I have to go by is the meeting in 1897, which was a good while ago. Were any of you in that Congress? The Congress met in special session in March. The House, in a very short time, finished the bill, less than four weeks. It then went to the Senate, where it was considered at great length, and we did not adjourn until the 24th of July, I believe, or just about that time. I am

sorry to say I do not think the dispatch of business is quite as prompt in the Senate now as it was then, but I can hardly believe they would continue in session after the first of August.

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, we had several special sessions of the Congress under the Wilson administration, and, as you have said, in the latter part of June or early in July, when it starts to get hot here, the Congress shows a disposition or desire to adjourn.

THE PRESIDENT: And at that time it must be said also that there was an emergency.

MR. PURNELL: We sat here at one time in special session and the special session merged into the regular session.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, may I revert to the Fitzgerald bill, which is now in the consent calendar? I see that it has been reported by Mr. Temple and is on page 7 of the consent calendar, showing that unless we run until rather late tonight we will probably not reach that bill today.

THE PRESIDENT: Is that possible?

MR. BRITTEN: There are almost seven pages of bills ahead of it.

MR. LA GUARDIA: May I suggest to Dr. Temple that when he sees we are about to adjourn, if he will rise and state that it is a matter of emergency, I think we may be able to get it through by unanimous consent?

THE PRESIDENT: Who will act as a committee to see Dr. Temple and see that he is advised?

MR. BRITTEN: May I suggest that Mr. La Guardia and Mr. Fitzgerald, both of whom are present, see Mr. Temple?

MR. LA GUARDIA: I work on the consent calendar and I will be glad to do that.

THE PRESIDENT: I will be pleased if the two of you will regard yourselves as such a committee.

MR. ROY G. FITZGERALD: Mr. President, Mr. Longworth told me he would recognize me to move to suspend the rules and pass the bill, if that were necessary; but I thought I needed somebody to emphasize the fact that this is an emergency, so I have asked Mr. Linthicum to reinforce my suggestion, and I have also asked that they speak to the chairman to show that there is more interest in the matter than just my own. If this is done, I do not think we will have any difficulty.

THE PRESIDENT: I spoke to Mr. Tilson about it. I was unable to see Mr. Longworth, but I will try to communicate with him further. Tomorrow, I believe, is the first suspension day.

SENATOR BARKLEY: Mr. President, you were discussing this matter when I came in. Had the possibility of offering it as an amendment on the deficiency bill in the Senate occurred to you?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes; but I fancy if any one raised a point of order it would go out.

Mr. ANDREW: You will have to have the appropriation in addition to the authorization, and that would have to go on the deficiency bill.

THE PRESIDENT: Did we have an appropriation in addition to the resolution last year?

Mr. ANDREW: The Temple bill is an authorization.

Mr. MONTAGUE: Did we have an authorization last year?

THE PRESIDENT: No; it was a final resolution last year, making the appropriation.

SENATOR BARKLEY: Combining both the authorization and the appropriation?

Mr. ROY G. FITZGERALD: I drew this resolution on the pattern of last year and the committee refused to consider it, and I think very properly so. I had included in the bill provision for the authorization of the amount which we contribute to the organization, which is not authorized, but is reported regularly by the Committee on Appropriations. There ought to be a basis for both of them. As it is now, the department sends up our contribution of \$6,000 with the idea that the wealthy members of Congress, I suppose, will go if they can, and that the Congress, to some extent, will be represented. It seems to me there ought to be a proper basis for both of them, and I think it should have been so considered, but I was overruled and the matter was mutilated a couple of times, and it took a long time before it could get out. Now it stands simply as an authorization and for one year, because after I had introduced it the last time Mr. Linthicum took it and altered it so it would be simply an authorization for this one year.

THE PRESIDENT: It is extremely desirable that it be made permanent, so that we will not have this anxiety and difficulty every year in carrying it through.

Mr. BLOOM: Why do you not introduce it in time, so that the committee will have time to consider it?

Mr. BRITTEN: How about amending the language that annually goes in the bill for \$6,000, so that the amount will be \$16,000, as a more or less regular appropriation?

THE PRESIDENT: That is one way to dispose of it.

Mr. BRITTEN: Why cannot that be done in the Senate much easier than it can in the House?

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, that would depend on the Committee on Foreign Relations, in the first instance. The suggestion is worthy of consideration and we can see what they are willing to do about it.

SENATOR BARKLEY: Mr. President, in view of the fact that this appropriation was gotten through last year at the very last moment, when you and I carried the bill in to the President, as Congress was about to adjourn, and had him sign it, without serious opposition, if all other things fail I think there is a possibility that, by conferring with the

chairman and other members of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations, we might get it in the deficiency bill without any objection, and I will be pleased to co-operate with you in that regard.

THE PRESIDENT: I thank you, Senator.

Mr. CRAMTON: Mr. President, I might suggest that it appears to me that what you want to accomplish more than anything else is to have some permanent legislation, and if it is agreeable to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and recognition is given by the Speaker for a motion to suspend the rules, it would then be in order for the motion to include such amendments to the bill as would make it permanent and thereby secure action by the House on a measure of a permanent character.

THE PRESIDENT: That is, in the motion to suspend the rules the motion could cover the bill with the proposed amendment.

Mr. CRAMTON: I suppose that would be agreeable to the Committee on Foreign affairs.

Mr. BLOOM: I think you had better speak to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee about that.

Mr. CRAMTON: Mr. President, if I may conclude with one more sentence, if that course were agreeable to the Legislative Committee, that would take care of your permanent-legislation situation. So far as the appropriation is concerned, that, of course, can be handled by an amendment in the Senate, if it is afterwards accepted by the House.

Mr. MONTAGUE: Mr. President, may I ask to be excused now? I am sorry to leave, but I have a very important engagement elsewhere.

THE PRESIDENT: We are sorry to lose you, but we are glad you were able to be with us.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Mr. President, as a practical matter, it seems to me that the members of the committee were not very favorable to this legislation.

Mr. BLOOM: Mr. President, they were not exactly unfavorable to it, but they would like to have time to consider it.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: That is why I would say we had better take this temporary measure now and try later for permanent legislation.

Mr. BLOOM: I believe that would be the better way, because the committee did not feel that it had had time to go into the matter thoroughly.

Mr. LA GUARDIA: It is a matter that has been under consideration for twenty-five years.

Mr. BLOOM: Not in the form presented at this time.

THE PRESIDENT: The thing to do about that is to bring something up at an early date in the next Congress.

Mr. BLOOM: That is exactly what I would suggest, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: So there will be time for mature consideration.

Now, there is one matter I wish to bring up. It has been suggested that a committee, say, of five be appointed to present some proposition at Geneva looking to the making effective of the Kellogg Treaty. I am especially anxious that in the meeting the American group bring forward something that is constructive. It will be treated with respect, I am very sure of that, and my thought was it would be well to appoint a committee of the number I have named, five, to consider some form of a proposition to present to the meeting in August. In talking with certain members about it, the sentiment seemed to be friendly—indeed, unanimously in favor of such a committee. Now, what does the group think of it?

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, I move that, after the President has been informed of the names of those members of the House and Senate who are likely to go to Geneva this year, he then select the five members to prepare the form that the President has just told us about with respect to making the Kellogg Treaty stronger and more effective.

The motion being duly seconded by Mr. Howard of Nebraska, it was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: This makes it all the more important that I should learn at as early a date as possible who are going.

MR. BRITTEN: And it has also been suggested, Mr. President, by Mr. Bloom that the President name four or five alternates.

THE PRESIDENT: Is that accepted as an amendment to the motion?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes.

The amendment to the motion was agreed to.

MR. LA GUARDIA: Mr. President, I move that after this committee is appointed, if time will permit, they meet and formulate a tentative plan and submit it to the President, so that it may be considered by the group before the committee goes abroad, so that they can say that the plan they will submit and discuss has the approval of the American group.

THE PRESIDENT: I am not sure but what that would be going a good way, to ask the formal approval of the President on a proposition of that kind.

MR. HOWARD of Nebraska: The gentleman means the President of our group.

MR. LA GUARDIA: Yes; the President of the American group.

MR. BRITTEN: I think that suggestion is very good, Mr. President.

MR. HOWARD of Nebraska: We are talking about our own President.

THE PRESIDENT: By the way, we are to elect officers this morning, and there are quite a number of vacancies. One that suggests itself, in the first instance, is the place of Mr. Oldfield, who has passed away.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the election of officers be

taken up out of order. I for one am very anxious to get back to my committee, and I desire to take part in that very important piece of business.

MR. BRITTEN: The election of officers?

MR. CHINDBLOM: Yes; the election of officers.

MR. LA GUARDIA: Will the President please put my motion?

THE PRESIDENT: The motion of the gentleman is that the proposed plan be formulated and presented to the President of the group and also the group itself?

MR. CHINDBLOM: And be presented to the group.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: I should be very pleased if some such meeting could be had before we go, and that would mean it would have to be held before the adjournment of Congress.

Election of Officers

MR. CHINDBLOM: I submit a unanimous-consent request that the election of officers be taken up now.

THE PRESIDENT: How shall the officers be selected, by a nominating committee or how?

MR. BRITTEN: Right from the floor.

MR. HOWARD of Nebraska: Yes; from the floor.

MR. BLOOM: What vacancies have we to fill?

MR. CHINDBLOM: Suppose we have the present list of officers read.

THE PRESIDENT: We will take them up one by one.

MR. CHINDBLOM: But read them all, so that we may have the present officers in mind.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The officers are as follows:

President, Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio.

Vice-Presidents, Representative Andrew J. Montague, Representative Henry W. Temple, and because of Mr. Oldfield's death there is a vacancy among the Vice-Presidents.

Treasurer, Representative Adolph J. Sabath.

Secretary, Representative John J. McSwain.

Executive Secretary, Arthur D. Call.

Executive Committee, Senator Burton, *ex officio* chairman; Representative Fred Britten, Representative Henry Allen Cooper, Senator-elect Tom Connally, Senator Charles Curtis, Senator Claude A. Swanson, Representative James C. McLaughlin, Representative Clarence F. Lea, and Senator Joseph T. Robinson.

This is a highly complicated problem in mathematics.

There are two vacancies on the Executive Committee and one vacancy among the Vice-Presidents. That is the technical situation.

MR. BLOOM: How is that brought about?

MR. CHINDBLOM: How do the two vacancies on the Executive Committee occur?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mr. Burton being elected President, makes him *ex officio* chairman of the committee.

Among the elected members of the Executive Committee, nine in number, that creates a vacancy.

Mr. Oldfield's death leaves a vacancy among the Vice-Presidents. Whether or not, as Vice-President of the United States, Senator Curtis would be eligible to serve as a member of the Executive Committee is a question.

MR. CHINDBLOM: I should think not.

THE PRESIDENT: No; I should not think so. He becomes no longer a member of a legislative body.

MR. HOWARD of Nebraska: Mr. President, in view of the fact that several have expressed the desire to have this matter immediately considered, I move that Senator Burton be re-elected President of the American group.

The motion having been duly seconded, Mr. Howard put the question and the motion was unanimously agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: I thank you, gentlemen, and I will try to do the best I can.

The next is the selection of Vice-Presidents.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: There are two Vice-Presidents now in office; one is Representative Andrew J. Montague and the other is Representative Henry W. Temple.

MR. KORELL: Mr. President, I move the re-election of the two incumbents and the election of Mr. Andrew of Massachusetts as the third member, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Oldfield.

The motion was agreed to.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The Treasurer is Representative Adolph J. Sabath.

THE PRESIDENT: Are there any nominations for Treasurer?

MR. BRITTEN: I move, Mr. President, that Mr. Sabath be re-elected treasurer.

The motion was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: The next is Secretary. Representative John J. McSwain, of South Carolina, is the present Secretary. He also is usually present, but is not here this morning.

MR. BRITTEN: I move, Mr. President, that Mr. McSwain be re-elected.

The motion was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: Next is the Executive Secretary.

MR. CHINDBLOM, Mr. Purnell, and Mr. Britten moved the re-election of Mr. Arthur D. Call.

The motion was agreed to.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Here are the present members of the Executive Committee: Representative Britten, Representative Cooper, Mr. Connally is now a Representative, but goes to the Senate and will be Senator beginning in March, Senator Swanson, Representative McLaughlin, Representative Lea, and Senator Robinson.

THE PRESIDENT: What changes are necessary?

MR. BRITTEN: How many vacancies are there?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Two.

THE PRESIDENT: The number of the Executive Committee should be nine, and we have only seven.

MR. KORELL: Mr. President, I nominate Senator Barkley and Congressman Martin of Massachusetts to fill the existing vacancies.

THE PRESIDENT: The suggestion is made that Senator Barkley and Mr. Martin of Massachusetts be chosen as members of the Executive Committee.

The motion was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT: This concludes the election of officers.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mr. President, you have not, as a matter of fact, elected the other members of the Executive Committee.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Mr. President, I move that the other members of the Executive Committee be continued in office.

The motion was agreed to.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: There remains, Mr. Chairman, the election of two members of the Council. The members of the Council at present are Senator Burton and Representative Montague.

MR. LA GUARDIA: Mr. President, I move their re-election.

The motion was agreed to.

TREASURER'S REPORT

THE PRESIDENT: Next is the Treasurer's report.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The Treasurer's report has been prepared by Mr. Sabath and he had planned to come here to present it. I have a copy of the two reports, which are as follows:

Carnegie Endowment Fund

RECEIPTS

February 24, 1928 (forwarded).....	\$198.44
Check from A. D. Call, rebate.....	64.00
Cash from Messrs. Oldfield, Watson, Maas, Cochran, Watres, Thomas, at 80 cents..	4.80
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1,000.00
	<u>\$1,267.24</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Items as follows:

Check No. 130—Telegram	\$0.72
131—Freight and customs	5.75
132—Telegrams and postage	1.77
133—Reporter, annual meeting..	43.40
134—Printing	38.75
135—Secretarial	400.00
136—Telegrams	1.04
137—Copies of cashier for French Group at \$2.50.	37.50
138—Secretarial	200.00
139—Engrossing 14 certificates at \$3	42.00

140—Transportation fare	1.95	
		772.88
Balance.....		\$494.36

Government Fund

The following expenditures have been incurred from the appropriation "Expenses, American Group, Interparliamentary Union":

Appropriation		\$10,000.00
Richard Bartholdt.....	\$761.61	
F. H. La Guardia.....	114.20	
J. Chas. Linthicum.....	766.80	
Secretarial expenses	1,000.00	
A. J. Montague.....	616.59	
Registration fees.....	83.16	
Elmer Thomas.....	53.93	
R. G. Fitzgerald.....	85.57	
Paid by M. Medofsky, Special disbursing officer:		
Elmer Thomas.....	\$630.14	
F. H. La Guardia.....	574.00	
Roy G. Fitzgerald.....	480.00	
Stenographic service.....	18.94	
Total	\$5,184.94	5,184.94
Balance.....		\$4,815.06

OUTSTANDING BILLS

Fred A. Britten.....	\$804.68	
Walter Edge.....	203.71	
T. C. Cochran.....	439.94	
	\$1,448.33	1,448.33
Balance.....		\$3,366.73

THE PRESIDENT: The balance of three thousand and odd dollars reverts to the Treasury unless expended?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: It is very desirable to have in our legislation some provision that that may be continued as part of the provision for the Union.

There are no further bills to come in?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: I know of no other bills.

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, I move that the Treasurer's report be received and filed. The motion was agreed to.

STATEMENT BY HON. FRANKLIN F. KORELL

A Representative in Congress from the State of Oregon

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Korell, do you desire to be heard now?

MR. KORELL: Our country has manifested its support of the cause of peace throughout the world by concluding a treaty with practically all of the civilized powers of the world, in which the signatories have condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounced it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. By a separate covenant appearing in the same instrument the United States of America and all the other signatories have agreed that the settlement or solu-

tion of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means. The treaty to which reference is made was concluded at Paris, France, on the 27th day of August, 1928, and is universally known as "The Pact of Paris." It was ratified, after a protracted debate in the United States Senate, on the 16th day of January, 1929. The vote for its ratification stood 85 yeas and 1 nay.

The Senate's ratification of the multilateral treaty has produced a result that is revolutionary. The treaty reverses the position that was heretofore occupied in the realm of international law,—it has delegatized it. In the past, war has been regarded in international law as a perfectly legitimate means by which a nation might advance its course or lose the respect of the civilized world. A violation of the treaty constitutes an offense against every signatory to the pact. It makes the nation that shall start a war a lawbreaker and guilty of an international crime.

Under the treaty, there cannot be a legal, as distinguished from an illegal, war. In the future it will only be necessary to decide whether a party has violated The Pact of Paris in order to determine which nation is acting in self-defense and which is the aggressor. The covenants of the treaty will provide the sole test. The powers which have elected to accept "the benefits furnished by this treaty" are bound to do everything that will assure all of the parties to it the full enjoyment of the benefits to which each as a signatory is entitled. In other words, they are pledged to refrain from doing everything inconsistent with the policy which it declares. Again, signing the treaty has *ipso facto* destroyed the neutral status of each signatory. All are now tangibly and directly concerned with its observance and breach. The very conception of neutrality presupposes the legality of war. Hence neutrality is inconsistent with the covenants of the treaty. In other words, the idea of neutrality and observance of the treaty are mutually exclusive.

To denounce and renounce war clearly implies that one will not resort to war. It also implies that one will not aid another in doing that which he himself has expressly covenanted not to do. This conclusion is irresistible. To contend otherwise would be illogical. Accordingly, applying this construction to the covenants of the treaty, it is clear that all the nations that have signed The Pact of Paris are bound not to give aid or comfort to a nation that shall resort to war. In fact, to go a step further, one is justified in insisting that the act of supplying a belligerent nation with the resources of war would not only be a serious breach of faith under the treaty, but also that such an act

would be equivalent to making the nation doug so an accomplice to the crime of war.

I agree with those who entertain the view that the mere signing of The Pact of Paris has not established sanctions or obligated the various powers to the same to join in positive measures to suppress wars. I also agree that each signatory is still free to a certain extent to exercise its own discretion with respect to the method by which it shall take cognizance of a violation of the covenants of The Pact of Paris; but I strongly dissent from the opinion of those critics who believe that a signatory can be indifferent to future wars or to participate directly or indirectly in one except in defiance of its solemn pledge. Such a construction would do violence to language. If I am correct in this contention and in the assumption which naturally follows, that the powers are bound to refrain from giving aid or comfort to the nation that shall violate the covenants of the treaty, each signatory should, in all honor and good faith, take advantage of this opportunity to prohibit its private manufacturers from supplying offending nations with the resources of war.

In connection with the thought that I have thus hastily and very briefly endeavored to sketch, I propose that the American group shall offer and urge the adoption of the following resolution at the next meeting of the Interparliamentary Union:

"Resolved, That it should be the policy of all of the parties to the multilateral treaty concluded on August 27, 1928, known as The Pact of Paris, to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to any power which shall violate any of the covenants and provisions thereof."

If adopted, the resolution that I have proposed will put teeth in the multilateral treaty. It will provide a penalty for its violation. Moreover, it points the way to the imposition of more severe penalties, should the one suggested prove ineffectual. I believe that it represents the natural and logical step that should be taken by the powers following the submission and conclusion of The Pact of Paris. In my opinion, it advances a policy toward international relations in which the world's greatest industrial and peace-loving nations may very properly assume the leadership and invite all other signatories to The Pact of Paris to follow.

Prohibiting the exportation of arms to a signatory violating the treaty is a mild form of penalty—perhaps the mildest re- buke that could be devised, considering the nature of the offense and the various ways of dealing with a serious international crime. Alongside of force, economic boycotts, withdrawal of financial aid, blockades, and various other devices, it can hardly be considered even a punishment. In fact, such an embargo might easily be justified without

reference to the treaty at all and solely upon the announcement of a principle of policy.

The traffic in arms, munitions, and implements of war by private citizens of neutral nations with the governments of foreign countries engaged in hostilities has never been recognized as legitimate commerce. The most that can possibly be said for it is that it has not been expressly prohibited or restricted by noncombatant nations. Accordingly, the only change that the suggested resolution proposes to make is to prohibit private manufacturers from running the risk of having their goods seized and confiscated as contraband.

While prohibiting the exportation of arms to a signatory that shall break faith is a mild penalty, it is important to recall that if the outlaw nation's resources for conducting war could be effectively cut off, it would be reduced very quickly to impotence. The experience of the last war demonstrated that even the most powerful, highly industrialized, and well prepared nations can be successfully curbed under this kind of pressure. In my opinion, the threat of an arms embargo by the signatories to The Pact of Paris would serve as a deterrent to pugnacious nations contemplating future wars of aggression. The certain knowledge that an embargo would be stabilized, coupled with the realization that the nation against which it was directed would be under a heavy handicap from the start, would unquestionably cool the martial spirit and ardor for war. Under the present policy, only the nation that has been strong enough to control the seas has gotten the benefit of neutral arms and ammunition. Hence we have had the anomalous situation of noncombatant nations aiding the strong against the weak in every instance, regardless of the merits of the conflict.

Just a few days ago the world was startled by the rumble of war between Bolivia and Paraguay. Drums were beating, flags were flying, and the martial spirit was running high. The whole world was in almost breathless suspense. However, through the friendly intercession of foreign diplomats, these two countries were halted at the very brink of battle. They were induced to resort to conciliation for the settlement of their differences. A pact was concluded between them in which both agreed not to resort to force. Following the signing of this agreement, two friendly neighbors to our south, upon their own initiative, refused to permit shipment of arms, munitions, and implements of war to either from or through their respective countries to Bolivia and Paraguay. This evidence of national consciousness, in addition to being revolutionary, was most inspiring. It shines out of today as a worthy example for other nations of the world to follow. It is destined to take its place in history alongside the epochal neutrality proclamation

of Washington. Every people and every country can profit from the precedent set up by Chile and Argentina.

What policy should noncombatant nations pursue in the event the multilateral treaty is violated? This is a burning question in the minds of many people at the present time. Should an attempt be made to answer it now or should the answer be postponed until the nations concerned are actually confronted with a violation of the treaty, until the signatories shall stand face to face with the exigencies of war and the pressure of conflicting war sentiments? To be sure the question can be temporarily avoided. It can be indefinitely put off. But eventually it must be faced. In view of all this, will it be wise to wait? Why should there be a postponement until the expected contingency occurs before formulating a policy? Reasonable prudence suggests that there should not. Indeed, it will be absolute folly to pursue such a course.

Since the principle of policy expressed in the pact of Paris was brought to fruition largely through the efforts of the United States, why not let our country be the first to propose one of the means by which its covenants may be strengthened? In taking the initiative in this matter, let us silence the cynics and those who taunt us with hypocrisy. In our attempt let us suggest a course that will be not only a partial answer to a question of paramount general public importance, but a step that will take greed out of war and the thought of profits out of the minds of those selfish private interests that are so engrossed with the thoughts of gain from international conflicts that they have become indifferent and even callous to the rights of humanity.

It is our highest duty and for our greatest interest to strengthen the multilateral treaty. An enduring peace throughout the world is necessary for the greater progress and prosperity of the United States. Any armed conflict, however remote from our shores, will necessarily injuriously affect us. At the present time our foreign trade extends across land and seas, to the most distant geographical regions of the earth. We are in contact with all sorts and kinds of people. Our foreign loans, aggregating a substantial percentage of our national wealth, are spread all over the globe. American credit is given and taken anywhere. Accordingly, economic conditions make world peace an absolute necessity for us. On the other hand, our adherence to the covenants of the treaty has placed us under a moral obligation to exert our every influence against the outbreak or the continuance of another war.

What I have said regarding the position of the United States upon this subject applies in a similar manner, with only varying degrees, to every other nation of the world. The problem is one that is vital to both large

and small, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. There is not a nation on earth whose people will not be directly, seriously, and vitally interested, morally, physically, and economically, in the prosecution of another war.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, Mr. Korell, you know my views on the subject of your proposed resolution, but I am afraid that to bring that up and pass a resolution at this time would create some controversy. Was it your idea to have it adopted today?

MR. KORELL: My object was to have the American group present it to the Interparliamentary Union.

THE PRESIDENT: Here is the situation. It has been suggested that when this committee that is proposed comes to a conclusion they bring together the members of the American group to pass on what plan they may suggest at Geneva. Would it not be better to postpone any resolution of this kind until that time?

SENATOR BARKLEY: Mr. President, I was about to move that this resolution be received and by you referred to this committee, after its appointment, for consideration.

MR. BRITTEN: I second the motion, Mr. President.

MR. HOWARD of Nebraska: I think that would be better.

THE PRESIDENT: That is satisfactory to you, Mr. Korell?

MR. KORELL: Perfectly.

The motion was agreed to.

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, I have here a letter from a member of the British Parliament which I think might be read at this time and incorporated in the record. It is in line with what has been said by Mr. La Guardia and yourself with regard to informal conferences between members of the parliaments. I just received this letter two days ago.

The Executive Secretary read the letter, as follows:

"From Lt. Commander Kenworthy, RN., MP.
"FEBRUARY 8TH, 1929.

"MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN BRITTEN:

"Very many thanks for your letter of January 28th, which I will place before the Executive of the British Section of the Interparliamentary Union.

"I personally am quite agreeable to two separate and distinct conferences, one on the naval shipbuilding situation and one on the cognate subject of international law at sea, though I think it would be a good thing if they met simultaneously. Furthermore, if the Interparliamentary Union can arrange the conferences, so much the better. The main thing is to get them started, and quickly.

"As soon as I have the opinion of our Executive, either my colleague, Colonel Vaughan-Morgan, M. P., the honorable secre-

tary, or I will cable you. I hope the subject of the cable will be to invite your group over here.

"In the meantime, please inform your friends working with you in this matter, and particularly the House of Representatives Naval Committee, of which you are chairman, that we on this side, of all parties, who favor an informal conference, have no desire to interfere with, or to influence one way or the other, the construction of any warships that the elected representatives of the United States of America deem necessary within the limits of the treaty agreed upon in Washington in 1921.

"Personally, I agree with the former Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Hughes, in his declaration that every additional American warship is an added guarantee for the peace of the world and the security of the British Empire. But, for the sake of our respective taxpayers, we want this form of guarantee and our own guarantee to be as small and as cheap as possible.

"All sensible people support an adequate police force, but they don't want to spend a dollar or pound more than is necessary on their police. With common sense and frankness, the same economy may be exercised with regard to navies.

"With kindest regards, believe me, my dear Congressman,

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. M. KENWORTHY."

THE PRESIDENT: What would be the idea of holding the conference?

MR. BRITTEN: The idea of holding the conference is to let the members of the British Parliament obtain first-hand views of the members of Congress, who, of course, would convey the impressions and views of their respective districts and their country. We also would receive first-hand views and opinions from members of the Parliament, and it is this sort of informal conference between members of Parliament and members of Congress that I predict is coming, and it is going to be the usual thing in ten or fifteen years rather than the extraordinary thing it is today.

We all agree, I am sure, with Mr. La Guardia, that these more or less informal conferences that take place within the Interparliamentary Union are only conducive of good; nothing bad can come from them, and my idea in cabling to a member of the Parliament was with a view of promoting just such an informal conference in order to bring about an exchange of views. I think only good can come from it.

Suppose the British group of the Union does invite the American group of the Union to send a number of its members to London for an informal conference. We will then talk with the members of the British Parliament and get their views as to why Great Britain should have a navy larger than ours,

or equal to ours, or smaller than ours, and just what they think about it. We will give them our views and we will come back and report to our committees here, and they will report through their committees over there.

It is true we will not write any treaties. We will not suggest any treaties, but we will have the viewpoint of the other men, and that may lead us in the direction of a future conference, where an agreement will be made.

We do not aim to take anything from the Executive or from the State Department. On the contrary, we want to help them.

This is my reason for presenting the letter here for the record today. I think that sooner or later these mutual, informal meetings are going to be taken as a matter of course and will be annual or perhaps semi-annual.

MR. ANDREW: Is it your idea, Mr. Britten, that this conference should be a conference of the members of the Interparliamentary Union?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes; in London, in all probability, as indicated there.

MR. ANDREW: And to include only representatives of this country and of Great Britain?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: And members of the Union.

MR. BRITTEN: Only members of the Interparliamentary Union, of course.

MR. JOHNSON of Oklahoma: You mean that the meeting should be held on the same trip as the one to Geneva?

MR. BRITTEN: Not necessarily.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me make this suggestion. There is an election pending in England now and I do not believe such a meeting, the desirability of which my first predilection would be in favor of, although there is some doubt about it, would naturally occur until after that election. My own idea is that the policy of the British Government is liable to be very materially changed as a result of the election that will come.

Is there any further business?

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, I move that the group do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, at 11:30 o'clock a. m., the meeting was adjourned.

MINORITY CABINET IN GERMANY

ON FEBRUARY 6, Herr von Guérard, the only Center Party Minister in the Müller Cabinet, tendered his resignation, as a result of which the government lost the support of the Center Party and

found itself in a minority in the Reichstag. In consultation with President von Hindenburg, the Chancellor decided not to precipitate a Cabinet crisis, but to attempt to carry on the government without the Centrists. Herr von Guérard's dual portfolio of Communications and Occupied Regions was divided between Herr Schätzel, the Minister for Posts, and Herr Severing, the Minister of the Interior.

Character of the Minority Government

For the first time in 10 years, and on the 10th anniversary of the Weimar Assembly, the Roman Catholic Centre is out of office. Herr Müller, the Socialist Chancellor, remains with a rump Cabinet representing an entirely new kind of coalition in Republican history—Social Democrats, Democrats, People's, and Bavarian People's parties. This is the "Grand Coalition" with the Centre wedge withdrawn; Nationalists and Communists flank it in opposition, and an unknown central quantity henceforth rests in its middle. It commands nominally 238 seats out of 490; its nominal majority of 299 disappears with the 61 Centrists.

After seven months of intermittent negotiation, efforts to unite the five parties in a formal declaration of allegiance to the Grand Coalition—the logical result of the May elections—have failed, failed for the present, that is, for political decisions in German party politics are seldom ineradicable. The Centre's return would surprise nobody. Herr Braun, the Prussian Premier, is continuing to discuss the reconstruction of the Prussian Coalition to include the People's Party, whose insistence on a simultaneous reconstruction in the Reich and Prussia caused the Centre Party's action. The Centre insisted on receiving two more portfolios in the Reich before proceeding to the Prussian reconstruction. The allotment of half Herr von Guérard's portfolio to Herr Schätzel, of the Bavarian People's Party, is also apparently meant to conciliate the Centre, which has a close connection with this Bavarian Clerical Party.

In its comments on the situation, the German press has pointed out that at one of the most important junctures in post-war history the Government in office is weaker than any since the Republic, even

the parties forming it being far from unified. It is universally agreed that the Government should stay in office until the new Reparations inquiry is ended.

Stresemann on German Parliamentarism

Shortly before the crisis precipitated by the withdrawal from the government of the Centre Party, at a special meeting of the Central Executive of the German People's Party, Herr Stresemann expressed a lively criticism of the German parliamentary system. The crisis of parliamentarism in Germany, he said, has two causes—the caricature into which the Parliamentary system has been turned in Germany, and the completely false conception entertained by Parliament of its own responsibility to the nation. The Parliamentary system means the responsibility of the Reich Minister to Parliament, which can withdraw its confidence and compel his resignation. It does not mean that a Minister must be a party man. It does not mean the distribution of Cabinet posts in accordance with the numerical strength of parties. It does not mean the transfer of government from the Cabinet to the Parliamentary groups. Ministers are appointed by the President, who would naturally take care that those appointed have the confidence of the majority of the Reichstag. But Ministers enter and withdraw from the Government on their personal responsibility. He personally objects to the phrase "withdrawal of its Ministers by a party." The Reichstag can deprive a Minister of its confidence and his party can expel him, but the term "withdrawal" by a party means the end of Liberalism.

Herr Stresemann argued that what is more important than strengthening the powers of the President is to abstain from weakening his authority and his sense of responsibility, and making him look like a mere "signature machine" by declaring, without any reference to the President's views, that this or that Minister must be appointed. The President's powers are by no means slight already; the new Germany, in its short life, has had two Presidents, who have known how to make the imponderable significance of their personalities tell over and above their constitutional position. The President of the

Reich, Herr Stresemann continued significantly, can proceed, together with the Chancellor, with the formation of a Government in one way or another, and can fight a Parliament which opposes it. He is convinced that many a crisis would end in a moment if the President said the word and the negotiations were taken out of the hands of the parties.

GERMAN CRUISER PROGRAM

PREPARATIONS in Germany for a continuation of the cruiser-building program, inaugurated last year by the authorization to construct the first post-war battleship, are being watched with intense interest by the naval authorities of other European countries. France and Italy are particularly interested in the matter.

Details of the German Program

In 1927 the Naval Department of the Reichswehr Ministry made known a 15-year program. This included a proposal to build four 10,000-ton armoured vessels out of the six allowed to Germany under the treaty terms as progressive replacements for the six old battleships left her. General Groener, the Reichswehr Minister, has on several occasions strongly advocated the building of these ships. His speeches have expressed the view (also contained in the confidential memorandum recently published in the *Review of Reviews*) that they would be of the greatest service to the separated province of East Prussia, which could not be succoured by land in view of the intervening corridor, in the event of a Polish attack.

One of these four vessels has been laid down. The first grant for its construction was approved by the Reichstag only after a heated political controversy. A crisis, in fact, was probably averted only by President von Hindenburg's intervention on the side of General Groener. The Socialist Ministers voted against their colleagues in the Cabinet.

The Democrats at that time requested the Government to prepare a comprehensive building program and to place it before the Reichstag before debate on the second grant in order to avoid recurrent crises. The second grant appears in the

Budget proposals due shortly to come before the Reichstag; the program is still awaited, but it is said that it is being prepared, and that it will propose the building of the three 10,000-ton armoured vessels "B," "C," and "D." No provision for these craft is made in the current Budget proposals.

France and the German Plans

The French Ministry of Marine has been open in its anxiety since announcement has been made of the design of the German armored cruiser now under construction. According to General Groener's memorandum, this type of cruiser has been designed with a view to securing the preponderance of Germany in the Baltic. If the German ships were really designed to control the Baltic, it is curious, the French authorities say, that their design should have been made, at enormous expense, so superior to the necessities of that task. Ships of the new German type are so powerful, it is pointed out in Paris, that they could not be dealt with by anything less than a capital ship; though themselves displacing only 10,000 tons, they are enormously superior in gun-power and protection to the conventional type of 10,000-ton cruiser, which they could blow out of the water with immunity to themselves.

The radius of action of the German ships will enable them to operate for long periods in the Mediterranean and farther afield, and wherever they appear they will enjoy local superiority against any force which does not include a squadron of super-Dreadnoughts. If, therefore, Germany uses her treaty right to replace her six obsolete battleships with units of this type a competition in building is, in the French view, inevitable unless limitation by agreement can be made to prevent it. It may be assumed that the French technical staff is already engaged on designs for a possible "reply" to the German ships. This will naturally be somewhat heavier—say, 12,000 tons; and if it is adopted it will almost certainly be followed by Italy (who can claim parity with France under the Washington Treaty) with something a little heavier, still—say, 14,000 tons.

AMERICAN ADVISERS FOR CHINA

THE Chinese Government has engaged a number of American experts to act in an advisory capacity to assist it in public finance, in legal matters, and in building questions. Some of these American advisers, those making up the advisory commission on financial matters, are already in China, having arrived at Shanghai in the middle of February.

Commission of Financial Experts

The commission of financial experts is headed by Prof. Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University, who has advised the governments of no fewer than 10 different countries on currency matters. Accompanying him are Dr. Arthur Nichols Young, expert on public credit; Dr. Oliver Lockhart, expert on taxation; Mr. W. B. Poland, expert on railway finance; Dr. Benjamin Wallace, expert on tariffs; Dr. Frederick Cleveland, expert on budgets, and Mr. William Watson, specialist in accounting and fiscal control. There are also nine assistant experts in the various branches mentioned, as well as secretaries and assistant secretaries.

All are men of mark. Dr. Young served on the United States commission in connection with the Dawes Plan and was, until he went to China, economic adviser to the Department of State; Mr. Poland's duties have taken him as far afield as Alaska, Belgium, Asia Minor, and Trans-Caucasia. The total cost of the commission's salaries will be 400,000 gold dollars annually. The duties of the commission are not only to advise, but to train a Chinese staff of specialists in their respective branches.

The experiment is regarded with some misgiving at Shanghai. Even for men of such qualifications, China offers a most difficult problem. The situation is complicated by the different monetary values of every province, by the depreciation, almost past computation, of the paper currency, and by the predilection of most local authorities for keeping the control of their own revenues in their own hands and for imposing whatever taxation suits their fancy. Until an agreement is reached on these essentials between the

Provinces and the Central Government, of which at present there is no indication, it is feared that the work of Dr. Kemmerer and his associates will have no more than an academic value, especially as their functions are purely advisory, and they have no power to enforce whatever reforms they deem necessary.

Other American Experts for China

The Chinese Government has also engaged a United States lawyer, Mr. Robert Norman, a lifelong associate of Sun Yat-sen, as legal adviser to the Ministry of Railways. Dr. J. A. H. Waddell, an American expert on bridge building, and two American architects, Messrs. Murphy and Goodrich, will advise on the rebuilding of Nanking on lines suitable to a capital city.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN THE EAST

IN A RECENT number of the *London Times*, a special correspondent describes the activities of the Third or Communist International in the East. He shows how Lenin's heirs are following out their master's precept: "Let us turn our faces towards Asia. The East will help us conquer the West." In connection with this description, the reader will find of special interest the new statutes of the International, published in the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Communist Activities in the East

The *Times* correspondent says:

The Second Congress of the Communist International, as early as June, 1921, adopted resolutions to this effect. The Comintern was charged to establish close connection with the Nationalist parties in European colonies. It did not neglect its charge. Communists have, in the last seven years, succeeded in fostering "activity" not only in Asia, but also in some parts of Africa. Wherever there were anti-Imperialist and anti-European movements they have insinuated their men and the germs of a different subversiveness. Moscow is the direct source of the inspiration and the men.

The Soviet Government sees the needs of the case quite clearly. There is no immediate chance of the success of world revolution in Europe, but European capitalism has a sensitive spot—the colonies. The blow must be delivered through them. For this purpose the Soviet Government, which always uses the institutions of Imperial Russia, has reorganized the Oriental schools and created a new department for propaganda in various languages. Where, under the old régime, Orientalists, dragomans, and diplomats were educated, Communists are now training propagandists and professional revolutionaries. "A New Detachment of Militant Revolutionaries" is the title of an article with which *Pravda* (May 30, 1927) greeted 70 students who had just left the School of Oriental Studies in Vladivostok, where there are students of 74 different nationalities. Vladivostok is one of the three chief centers for the propagation of Communism in the East. There is a wireless station in this town so powerful that the Comintern is able to send messages to Japan, China, and even to the Dutch Indies, to bring young Malays to Vladivostok to be trained in the art of civil war.

Other Training Centers

The second big center is Tashkent. It is difficult to follow all the many branches which are at work preparing to penetrate India and Afghanistan. But their aims are evident from their special publications. A magazine, called "The Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Press," has been printed in Tashkent since March, 1928. The cover is decorated with a quotation from Lenin: "The modern revolution is now entering the period of direct intervention of the Oriental races in the destiny of the world." The preface to the first number said: "At the present time the influence of the Orient on the ways and times of social world-revolution is constantly increasing. The Eastern question must be studied attentively and systematically." The Bulletin gives information about Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, India, and Western China, "because these are countries which are closely connected with the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus."

But the editors are principally interested in the policy of Great Britain in Asia. A special section of the number is called "England in the Middle East."

The third center is Moscow, which is the power house of Communist energy throughout the world. Representatives of colored races are invited to Moscow. There they are intoxicated by the power and good fortune of their Red comrades. Negroes are paraded through the old palaces and seat themselves on the throne of the Tsars. After such displays the most suitable of the colored guests are offered scholarships in the Stalin University. The best pupils are afterwards accepted as "Aspirants for the Scientific Association," a sort of school of revolutionary officers for the East. They receive full board and 80 roubles (\$40) a month. But it is not easy to become an aspirant. Only those who have been members of the Russian Communist Party, or of associated parties, for not less than three years can be admitted, and five years are required in the case of "comrades" not of Eastern nationality. This careful selection proves that the aspirants are being trained for some special work, or, to use the favorite Bolshevik expression, for a "shock task."

The Attack on India

These schools do not exist for academic studies. In Soviet Russia all intellectual effort must be harnessed to Marxism. All the publications of the School of Oriental Studies are inspired by militant Communism. The most important monthly, the *New East*, published by the "Scientific Association for Oriental Studies," is always guided in its choice of subjects by the course of political events. A study of this magazine makes it possible to foresee which country has been selected by the Comintern for its next attack. A few years ago attention was chiefly directed to China. Now the main object of attack is India. It is constantly repeated in the Communist Press that the mistakes and failures of the Chinese revolution have to be carefully analyzed in order that they may not be repeated in India. In the secret Bolshevik documents, seized in Shanghai in 1926, the next expansion of revolutionary activity in India was fixed for 1928.

The last issue of the *New East* contains three articles on India. First, there is a summary, "India at the VIth Congress of the Comintern" (July-September, 1928). The congress devoted much time to India and passed many resolutions of the usual revolutionary type. "The struggle of the Indian proletariat is acquiring a distinctly class-character. The spirit of rebellion, which now pervades the working classes of India, is beginning to have a salutary influence on the agrarian population." It was decided at the congress that the Nationalist movement must be exploited merely as a step towards the social revolution, which will bring about the nationalization of industry, trade, banks, and land. The Communists admit that it is not easy to attain this end. They say: "Only an agrarian revolution can disentangle the agrarian muddle in India. This revolution is ripening slowly but surely. It will wipe out the British Imperialists as well as the Indian *bourgeoisie*." (Bulletins of the Middle Eastern Press, N4-5, 1928, Tashkent.) The second article on India in the *New East*, "The Problem of Indian Revolution," opens with the statement: "The loss of India means the downfall of British Imperialism." The same certainty is expressed in the third article: "The defense of India." The author says: "The foundation of the defense of the whole British Empire lies in India."

Special Attack on Great Britain

The Communists believe England to be the stronghold of the international *bourgeoisie*, which cannot be stormed unless

English Imperialists are driven out of India. "The revolutionary movement in the colonies is inseparable from the world revolution. The capitalist system is being undermined by riots in the colonies. The revolution in India must be considered principally as a part of the proletarian world revolution. In order to accomplish this, Indians who are considered ripe for Communist training are invited to Moscow. There they are not only taught to conduct propaganda, but also how to provoke riots, how to prepare, open, and conduct civil war. The students of the Moscow School of Oriental Studies take special courses at the Red War Academy, where they learn how to handle explosives and the tactics and strategy of civil war. Detachments of professional "militant revolutionaries" thus receive an intensive training.

The Soviet Government, the most powerful executive organ of the Comintern, has never concealed its intention of crushing the European Powers, and more particularly the British Empire, by depriving them of their colonies. Their activity is so militant that they naturally expect a blow in return. They follow the development of the British air lines in the Near and Middle East and the rearming of the British Army in India with nervous anxiety. They declare that England is preparing the attack. Bulletin No. 3 said: "The menace of war, which England is preparing, is daily growing more perceptible and more real. Every day fresh details are disclosed of the criminal and audacious plots of the bankers of London."

NOTICE

The *one-hundred-first annual meeting* of the Board of Directors of the *American Peace Society* will be held at the Society's headquarters, Washington, D. C., Saturday, *May 4, 1929*, at ten o'clock A. M. Members of the Society wishing to lay any matter before this Board will kindly do so in writing as early as possible.

AMERICAN LOANS AND THE ARMIES AND NAVIES OF THE WORLD

By SENATOR MILLARD E. TYDINGS,
of Maryland

THE United States has now, either constructed or in the process of construction, 18 first-line cruisers totaling 155,000 tons. England has, either built or in the process of building, 62 first-line cruisers of 380,540 tons. Japan has, either built or building, 32 first-line cruisers totaling 203,965 tons, while France has 15 first-line cruisers, either built or building, totaling 132,883 tons; and Italy has 18 first-line cruisers, either built or building, totaling 107,370 tons.

Thus it will be seen that in the number of cruisers, either built or building, the British Empire, Japan, and Italy excel the United States. In numbers of first-line cruisers the British Empire has more than three times the number possessed by our country. Japan has nearly twice the number we have. France has approximately the same number as we, and Italy has two more than has the United States of this class of fighting ship. In tonnage the British Empire exceeds that of the United States by more than 2 to 1 for first-line cruisers, while Japan, in tonnage for first-line cruisers, exceeds the United States in this respect by 50 per cent. The navies of France and Italy, in first-line cruisers, are almost equal in tonnage to that of the United States.

As at present constituted, the British Empire and Japan both excel the United States in first-line cruisers. Shall we be content to rank behind the British Empire and Japan in tonnage and behind the British Empire, Japan, and Italy in the numbers of first-line cruisers?

If these cruisers of ours are actually constructed, taking into account those cruisers built, in the process of building, or appropriated for, by the British Empire, Japan, France, and Italy, and assuming that the other countries do not authorize any further increase in their first-line cruiser strength, the position of the United States in this regard will be as follows: We will

then rank nearly with the British Empire and outrank Japan, France, and Italy, and we will not exceed the spirit of the 5—5—3 naval disarmament agreement effected here in Washington, limiting the navies of the British Empire, Japan, and the United States.

Armies of the World

Turn to the military strength—that is, the land strength—of the countries of the world, in order that our rank there may be noted as well. How do we rank with the nations of the world in standing armies? The navy and the army are interdependent; and, looking at the whole picture of national defense, we must look at the navies and the armies of all nations in the world.

France has a standing army of 727,413 men—that is, five times the size of our own standing army. Russia has a standing army of 658,000 men; also about five times the size of our own standing army. Italy has a standing army of 380,448 men, nearly three times the size of the standing army of the United States; while Spain, with 272,787 men; Rumania, with 266,500 men; Poland, with 242,373 men, each have standing armies nearly twice the size of that of the United States. Also Japan, with 210,000 men in her standing army, is only a little short of having a standing army twice the size of ours. These observations are worthy of careful thought; for it is notable that in our country of 118,628,000 people we have a standing army of only 137,698 men, or less than 1 active soldier for every 800 men, women, and children in America, while in France there is 1 soldier in the standing army to approximately every 55 men, women and children in that country.

In Rumania there is 1 soldier in the standing army to each 66 men, women, and children. In Spain there is 1 soldier

in the standing army to each 80 men, women, and children. In Yugoslavia there is 1 soldier in the standing army to each 80 men, women, and children. In Czechoslovakia there is 1 to each 95 men, women,

and children. In Belgium there is 1 to each 110 men, women, and children. In Japan there is 1 to each 400 men, women, and children. In Russia there is 1 to each 215 men, women, and children. While,

Country	Population	Active Army		Reserves			Active Army plus reserves actually enrolled, in per cent of population	Military manpower	
		Number	Per cent	Actually enrolled		Unorganized		Number	Per cent
				Number	Per cent				
Argentina.....	10,087,118								
Armenia.....	921,400								
Austria.....	6,535,365	32,704	0.05	(¹)	(¹)	500,000		532,704	8.1
Belgium.....	7,874,600	71,790	.90	689,683	8.80	314,417	9.70	1,075,890	13.6
Bolivia.....	2,155,000								
Brazil.....	30,635,605								
Bavaria.....	7,379,594								
Bulgaria.....	5,484,143	33,000	.60	(¹)	(¹)	667,000	.60	700,000	12.7
Chile.....	3,937,678								
China.....	400,000,000	1,450,000	.34						
Colombia.....	6,617,833								
Costa Rica.....	507,193								
Cuba.....	3,418,033								
Czechoslovakia.....	13,613,172	140,700	1.03	1,489,000	10.94	475,000	12.00	2,104,700	15.5
Denmark.....	3,419,056								
Dominican Republic.....	897,405								
Estonia.....	1,110,538								
Finland.....	3,495,000	29,700	.85	250,300	7.16	270,300	8.00	550,300	15.7
France.....	40,922,300	727,413	1.80	4,610,000	11.30	700,000	13.00	6,037,413	14.6
Germany.....	62,348,782	100,000	.16	(¹)	(¹)	8,600,000	.16	8,700,000	13.9
Australia.....	6,103,924	1,697	.03	49,646	.81	548,657	.84	600,000	9.8
Canada.....	9,504,700	3,499	.04	61,288	.65	785,213	.70	850,000	8.9
Great Britain.....	45,226,300	214,190	.47	309,251	.68	5,612,899	1.20	6,136,340	13.6
India.....	318,942,480	161,000	.05	76,481	.02	2,700,946	.07	2,938,427	.9
Irish Free State.....	2,972,802	13,564	.46	4,500	.15	342,290	.60	360,354	12.1
New Zealand.....	1,395,815	515	.04	22,039	1.59	110,048	1.63	132,602	9.5
South Africa.....	7,481,866	9,450	.13	15,000	.20	690,550	.33	715,000	9.5
British Empire.....	391,627,887	403,915	.10	538,205	.14	10,880,603	.24	11,822,723	3.0
Greece.....	6,200,000	55,000	0.90	266,489	4.30	278,511	5.20	600,000	9.7
Guatemala.....	2,119,165								
Honduras.....	733,408								
Haiti.....	2,045,000								
Hungary.....	7,980,143	47,000	.60	(¹)	(¹)	723,000	.60	770,000	9.6
Italy.....	42,115,606	380,448	.90	2,990,454	7.10	2,000,000	8.00	5,370,902	12.6
Japan.....	86,000,000	210,000	.24	2,038,000	2.37	5,092,000	2.60	7,340,000	8.5
Latvia.....	1,844,805								
Lithuania.....	2,011,173								
Luxemburg.....	260,767								
Mexico.....	14,234,799								
Netherlands.....	7,358,365								
Dutch East Indies.....	49,534,618								
Nicaragua.....	638,119								
Norway.....	2,649,775	30,000	1.20	315,000	11.90	60,000	13.00	405,000	15.7
Palestine.....	757,182								
Panama.....	442,522								
Paraguay.....	853,321								
Peru.....	5,500,000								
Poland.....	29,249,000	242,373	.83	500,000	1.71	2,000,000	2.54	2,742,372	9.4
Portugal.....	6,033,000	26,200	.43	430,000	7.13	500,000	7.60	956,200	15.8
Rumania.....	17,393,000	266,500	1.53	750,000	4.31	583,500	5.84	1,600,000	9.2
Russia.....	146,300,000	658,000	.45	5,425,000	3.71	6,072,000	4.16	12,155,000	8.0
Saar.....	750,000								
Salvador.....	1,610,000								
Spain.....	21,347,000	272,787	1.28	1,330,226	6.23	758,034	7.51	2,361,047	11.2
Sweden.....	6,005,759								
Switzerland.....	3,917,800								
Turkey.....	14,000,000	125,000	.89	200,000	1.43	340,000	2.32	665,000	4.7
Uruguay.....	1,662,116								
Venezuela.....	3,000,000								
Yugoslavia.....	12,017,323	142,000	1.20	2,050,000	17.00		18.20	2,192,000	18.2
United States.....	118,628,000	137,698	.12	296,709	.25		.37		

¹ Limited by treaty.

to repeat, in the United States there is only 1 active soldier to each 800 men, women, and children.

Put in another way, the standing army of the United States is excelled in sheer

numbers by the standing armies of each of the following countries: France, Russia, Italy, Spain, British Empire, Rumania, Poland, Japan, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

Country	Foreign securities publicly offered in the United States, 1914-1927, inclusive			War debt, Nov. 15, 1927	Total indebtedness	Indebtedness per capita
	Government	Corporate	Total			
Argentina.....	\$520,386,000	\$112,723,000	\$633,109,000		\$633,109,000	\$63.00
Armenia.....				\$16,627,154	16,627,154	18.00
Austria.....	71,611,000	16,676,000	88,287,000	34,159,107	122,446,107	1.70
Belgium.....	295,770,000	54,243,000	350,013,000	413,580,000	763,593,000	97.00
Bolivia.....	48,780,000	5,700,000	54,480,000		54,480,000	25.00
Brazil.....	301,634,000	23,500,000	325,134,000		325,134,000	10.00
Bavaria.....	20,000,000		20,000,000		20,000,000	2.70
Bulgaria.....	4,500,000		4,500,000		4,500,000	.90
Chile.....	180,563,000	172,500,000	353,063,000		353,063,000	90.00
China.....	10,752,000		10,752,000		10,752,000	.02½
Colombia.....	100,020,000	43,345,000	143,365,000		143,365,000	21.60
Costa Rica.....	10,820,000		10,820,000		10,820,000	21.00
Cuba.....	79,000,000	465,632,000	544,632,000		544,632,000	130.00
Czechoslovakia.....	53,750,000	5,500,000	59,250,000	170,071,023	238,321,023	17.50
Denmark.....	152,002,000	9,134,000	161,136,000		161,136,000	47.10
Dominican Republic.....	25,000,000		25,000,000		25,000,000	28.00
Estonia.....				15,478,642	15,478,642	14.00
Finland.....	41,000,000		41,000,000	8,814,000	49,814,000	14.00
France.....	1,050,873,000	112,300,000	1,163,173,000	4,025,000,000	5,188,173,000	126.75
Germany.....	382,050,000	502,616,000	884,666,000		884,666,000	14.20
Australia.....	97,758,000	3,750,000	101,508,000		101,508,000	16.60
Canada.....	1,768,249,000	945,964,000	2,714,213,000		2,714,213,000	285.50
Great Britain.....	1,456,287,000	65,416,000	1,521,703,000	4,505,000,000	6,026,703,000	133.25
Irish Free State.....	15,000,000		15,000,000		15,000,000	5.00
South Africa.....		6,160,000	6,160,000		6,160,000	.82½
British Empire.....	3,337,294,000	1,021,290,000	4,358,584,000	4,505,000,000	8,863,584,000	22.63
Greece.....	16,000,000	600,000	16,600,000	19,500,000	36,100,000	6.00
Guatemala.....		11,175,000	11,175,000		11,175,000	5.27
Honduras.....	500,000	11,443,000	11,943,000		11,943,000	16.25
Haiti.....	16,000,000	9,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	12.25
Hungary.....	36,750,000	24,372,000	61,122,000	1,952,635	63,074,635	8.00
Italy.....	262,487,000	140,053,000	402,540,000	2,032,000,000	2,434,540,000	61.80
Japan.....	198,857,000	109,790,000	308,647,000		308,647,000	3.55
Latvia.....				6,900,564	6,900,564	3.75
Lithuania.....				6,162,590	6,162,590	3.05
Luxemburg.....		7,500,000	7,500,000		7,500,000	29.99
Mexico.....	1,100,000	32,365,000	33,465,000		33,465,000	2.35
Netherlands.....	101,125,000	38,936,000	140,061,000		140,061,000	19.00
Dutch East Indies.....	153,290,000	3,175,000	156,465,000		156,465,000	3.18
Nicaragua.....				299,128	299,128	.47
Norway.....	172,727,000	24,716,000	197,443,000		197,443,000	70.70
Palestine.....	350,000		350,000		350,000	.46
Panama.....	15,250,000		15,250,000		15,250,000	34.50
Paraguay.....		2,272,000	2,272,000		2,272,000	2.66
Peru.....	93,250,000	8,000,000	101,250,000		101,250,000	18.40
Poland.....	122,076,000	20,250,000	142,326,000	198,595,528	340,921,528	11.65
Portugal.....						
Rumania.....	3,750,000		3,750,000	66,060,000	69,810,560	4.00
Russia.....	3,500,000		3,500,000	280,197,302	283,697,302	1.93
Saar.....	6,500,000	1,000,000	7,500,000		7,500,000	10.00
Salvador.....	10,520,000	1,900,000	12,420,000		12,420,000	7.70
Spain.....						
Sweden.....	74,105,000	45,750,000	119,855,000		119,855,000	19.90
Switzerland.....	132,000,000	3,000,000	135,000,000		135,000,000	34.45
Turkey.....						
Uruguay.....	45,171,000		45,171,000		45,171,000	27.10
Venezuela.....		51,539,000	51,539,000		51,539,000	17.18
Yugoslavia.....	61,285,000		61,285,000	\$62,450,000	123,735,000	1.03
Total.....	8,212,398,000	3,091,995,000	11,304,393,000	11,871,848,233	*23,176,241,233 3,195,607,000	
Official figures, not including foreign issues privately taken.....					*20,371,848,233	
Unofficial figures, including foreign issues privately taken.....			14,500,000,000			
			3,195,607,000			

* Official sources.

* Unofficial sources.

The British Empire, with a combined population of 391,627,887 people, has a combined standing army of 403,915 soldiers; that is one for every thousand men, women, and children in its dominion.

Here is a table showing the population of all the nations in the world, the size of the standing armies of those nations, the percentage of those standing armies to the total population, the size of the trained, organized, and equipped reserve of each nation, its unorganized reserve, the different percentages, and the military man power of each one of the governments.

Reserves

The reserve strength of these nations is also as astounding as is the number of soldiers in the active or standing army. Let me quote just a few of the figures to give an idea of the trained, organized, and equipped reserves which some of the nations of Europe maintain.

To begin with, France has an actually enrolled reserve, trained, equipped, and ready, of 4,610,000 soldiers, compared with the United States reserve force, of national guard and reserve officers, of 296,000 men.

Russia, which has just joined with the United States in signing the peace pact to outlaw all war, and which is going to settle all international disputes, no matter how they arise, by amicable means, besides her standing army of 658,000 men, has a trained, equipped, and organized reserve of 5,425,000 soldiers, besides an unorganized reserve in similar proportions.

In France, either in the standing army or in the organized, trained, and equipped reserve, 1 out of every 8 men, women, and children is in one or the other of those two bodies.

This shows that every great power on the face of the earth, and a great many of the smaller powers, far excel in size the standing army of the United States. Besides, many of the nations mentioned, having standing armies greater than our own, have no possessions and a very much smaller territory to protect. We have possessions in the Atlantic and the Pacific, and are recognized in a commercial and economic way as the world's leading power,

while only one nation has a greater national population than have we.

Loans of Foreign Nations Floated in the United States

Now let us turn to still another aspect of the case, the financial relations of the nations of the world with the Government and people of the United States. France owes us \$4,025,000,000 of war debt; the British Empire, \$4,505,000,000 war debt; Italy, \$2,032,000,000 war debt; Belgium, \$413,000,000 war debt; Russia, \$280,000,000 of war debt; Poland, \$198,000,000 of war debt; Czechoslovakia, \$179,000,000 of war debt; while Armenia, Austria, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Rumania, and Yugoslavia also owe us considerable in war debts. Eighteen European countries owe us a combined war debt of nearly \$12,000,000,000. In addition to the above, 45 countries owe to the people of the United States for loans made to said governments \$8,212,000,000.

Again, in addition to the war debts and the loans made to governments of foreign countries, in 36 of these countries loans aggregating over \$3,000,000,000 have been made to corporate concerns. The total amount of money in war debts, loans to foreign governments, outside of war debts, and loans to corporate enterprises in foreign countries which are owed either to the United States Government or to the people of America total \$26,000,000,000. We are today financing to a large extent the business of the whole world. Our interests, through these loans, reach into the seven seas and into every corner of every nation on the globe. Thus America has either a direct or an indirect interest in the stability of every government on earth, and to some extent in the commercial enterprises in practically every country on the earth.

Let us examine this debt owing to the people of America in more detail.

Every man, woman, and child in Canada owes America \$285. Every man, woman, and child in Great Britain owes America \$133; every man, woman and child in Cuba owes America \$130; in France, \$126; in Belgium, \$97; in Chile, \$90; Norway, \$70; in Argen-

China, \$63; and in Italy, \$61, while the following countries have a debt to the people of the United States of \$25 per person: Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Luxemburg, Panama, Switzerland, Uruguay; and others owe us less amounts.

It is conceded that many of the foreign countries to whom loans have been made cannot pay in full these loans; yet, in addition to the loans which admittedly cannot be paid, we have made loans to all of these countries outside of the war debts. The query naturally arises, If they cannot pay the war debts, is not there some probability that we will not have refunded in full the debts made outside of war loans?

Uses Made of Funds Borrowed from the People of the United States

Before leaving the subject of war debts, let me call attention to the amount of defense expenditures for the year 1927 on the part of these countries which owe us considerable sums of money and which countries are annually borrowing still more. Here are the figures, by country, for the defense expenditure of 1927:

Total for—	
Great Britain	\$567,000,000
British Empire	995,000,000
Russia	347,000,000
China	297,000,000
France	269,000,000
Italy	218,000,000
Japan	208,000,000

In addition to these, here is a statement of the defense expenditures of the countries owing the United States money in the form of loans made to them by our people:

	Defense expenditures, 1927	Foreign securities publicly offered in the United States, 1927	
		Amount	Percent of defense expenditures
Argentina	\$44,771,000	\$99,561,000	222
Austria	11,220,000	33,887,000	302
Belgium	22,729,000	14,130,000	22
Bolivia	3,411,000	12,585,000	369
Brazil	53,386,000	56,780,000	106
Ecuador	1,933,000	.....	.....
Bulgaria	8,404,000	.....	.....
Chile	13,706,000	22,883,000	167
China	297,703,000	10,752,000	3
Colombia	7,125,000	68,670,000	964

Costa Rica	655,000	1,800,000	287
Cuba	11,515,000	61,750,000	533
Czechoslovakia	56,973,000	1,500,000	8
Denmark	15,738,000	28,046,000	171
Dominican Republic	1,473,000	5,000,000	340
Estonia	4,994,000	.....	.....
Finland	14,467,000	.....	.....
France	269,463,000	50,000,000	18
Germany	127,581,000	222,692,000	175

British Empire:			
(a) Australia	177,752,000	101,508,000	57
(b) Canada	13,086,000	319,765,000	2,444
(c) Great Britain	567,427,000	5,747,000	1
(d) India	215,999,000	.....	.....
(e) Irish Free State	11,669,000	.....	.....
(f) New Zealand	4,656,000	.....	.....
(g) South Africa	4,490,000	.....	.....
	995,079,000	.....	.....

Greece	25,646,000	2,000,000	7
Guatemala	1,358,000	3,150,000	232
Honduras	1,928,000	.....	.....
Haiti	1,299,000	.....	.....
Hungary	19,835,000	26,122,000	132
Italy	218,816,000	120,400,000	55
Japan	208,245,000	308,647,000	150
Latvia	8,927,000	.....	.....
Lithuania	3,989,000	.....	.....
Luxemburg	195,000	.....	.....
Mexico	38,476,000	.....	.....
Netherlands	23,651,000	20,716,000	87
Dutch East Indies	44,595,000	156,465,000	351
Nicaragua	219,000	.....	.....
Norway	11,129,000	29,466,000	265
Palestine	1,625,000	.....	.....
Panama .....	.....	1,500,000	.....
Paraguay	1,068,000	.....	.....
Peru	7,222,000	60,000,000	831
Poland	74,857,000	47,000,000	63
Portugal	25,916,000	.....	.....
Rumania	44,199,000	.....	.....
Russia	347,580,000	.....	.....
Saar .....	.....	.....	.....
Salvador	1,656,000	3,150,000	190
Spain	85,194,000	.....	.....
Sweden	37,017,000	.....	.....
Switzerland	16,374,000	.....	.....
Turkey	29,910,000	.....	.....
Uruguay	7,134,000	.....	.....
Venezuela	3,043,000	10,275,000	337
Yugoslavia	41,346,000	34,035,000	85
United States	679,709,000	.....	.....

Total	3,973,484,000	1,939,982,000	.....
United States .....	.....	679,709,000	.....
	.....	2,619,691,000	.....

Germany expended \$127,000,000 in 1927 for defense expenditures.

Now, here is a significant fact. In the year 1927 the nations shown in my table expended approximately \$4,000,000,000 for so-called national defense. How amusing and paradoxical the whole thing is when we witness the governments of the entire world joining in a peace pact to outlaw war, with the standing armies of the sizes I have stated, and the defense expenditures in these countries totaling in a single year \$4,000,000,000! Of course, it may be argued, we do not need a navy, now that the peace treaty has been signed! The countries maintaining these expensive defense expenditures are peaceful nations. Russia, with its 150,000,000 population and standing army of 658,000;

France, with its standing army of 727,000 men in a population of 40,000,000; Italy, with its standing army of 380,000 men in a population of 42,000,000; Spain, with its standing army of 272,000 men in a population of 21,000,000; Japan, with its standing army of 210,000 men in a population of 86,000,000; Great Britain, with a British army in Great Britain of 214,000 men in a population of 45,000,000; Czechoslovakia, with a standing army of 140,000 men in a population of 13,000,000; Turkey, with a standing army of 125,000 in a population of 14,000,000; and others I might name, all maintain these military establishments, so that there would be no misunderstanding about war being outlawed as an instrument of national policy, and so that they might insist that all disputes, no matter what their nature or how they may arise, shall be settled by pacific means. What a lovely peace-time picture to behold! Nations with standing armies on a peace-time scale never before witnessed by the eye of man, and with annual expenditures for defense running into figures of billions of dollars, have all agreed that all future disputes shall be settled by amicable means!

It is said that we must make a start to remedy this condition. That is sound argument. But if the United States really wants to make a start to end these conditions of unrest and fear, we have it within our means to achieve far more success, I believe, than that which will result from the adoption of the Kellogg peace pact. Why are we spending these huge sums in our own country for national defense? Is it not because we feel that, the world, being virtually an armed camp, we can not sit supinely by and rely upon the good, the pure, and the beautiful entirely as a correct way to settle international differences? If that be true, and we really want to force fear from the breasts of mankind, let us help to get rid of these damnable and tremendous military establishments by saying to the world that the United States, being the creditor nation of the globe, declares, as a matter of national policy, that we are opposed to all loans to any nation which, in time of peace, maintains a standing army in excess of peace requirements. If we do that, you

will see, I predict, a real change in the psychology of mankind. You will see a scaling down of the large armaments now encamped on the face of the earth. You will see a lessening of the amounts expended all over the globe for national defense. You will, to some extent, minimize the feeling of fear and insecurity now existent among the peoples of many lands. You will take from the backs of many good people the tremendous burden of taxation, and you will make doubly secure the security of our own land and the repayment of the \$26,000,000,000 which the world now owes to the people of the United States. Wars are fought for money and with money. Without money no nation can wage war in this day and time, and if this action is taken it will not be necessary for us to appropriate the millions of dollars to maintain our own naval and military establishments beyond peace-time requirements. But until it is done—that is, until the nations of the world decrease their huge military establishments—we cannot afford to have our name occupy the third or fourth position in cruiser or any other essential strength. So firmly do I believe all this, I have introduced in the Senate the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the American people, expressed through their representatives in the Senate of the United States, that the United States of America is opposed to all loans of every character to any nation which in time of peace maintains an army in excess of reasonable peace-time requirements. That a maximum peace-time army is hereby defined to be as follows:

One active soldier out of every 100 inhabitants for the first 2,000,000 of population;

One active soldier out of every 125 inhabitants for the next 2,500,000 of population;

One active soldier out of every 150 inhabitants for the next 3,000,000 population;

One active soldier out of every 175 inhabitants for the next 4,000,000 of population;

One active soldier out of every 200 inhabitants for the next 5,000,000 of population;

One active soldier out of every 250 inhabitants for the next 10,000,000 of population;

One active soldier out of every 300 inhabitants for the next 10,000,000 of population;

and

One active soldier out of every 400 inhabitants for all population remaining, with a reserve force not exceeding in any one year the equivalent of the active standing army.

Provided, however, That in the event any nation now maintains a standing army in excess of that defined herein this resolution shall not apply if after four years from the passage thereof the standing army of said nation does not exceed the number of soldiers outlined above: *And provided further,* That such nation having an army in excess of that defined above shall reduce said army one-quarter of the entire excess now existing each year until said army comes within the definition stated. And be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that the Secretary of State of the United States shall not, directly or indirectly, impliedly or tacitly, or in any manner whatsoever place the imprimatur of the Government of the United States upon any such loan contravening the conditions expressed herein.

Also the following resolution (S. Res. 300):

Resolved, That it is the sense of the American people, expressed through their representatives in the Senate of the United States, that the United States of America is opposed to all loans of every character to any nation which, in time of peace, maintains a navy in any respect superior to that maintained by the United States of America; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that the Secretary of State of the United States shall not, directly or indirectly, impliedly or tacitly, or in any manner whatsoever place the imprimatur of the Government of the United States upon any such loan contravening the conditions expressed herein.

True, America owes its greatness today to the fact that in its formative period it was able to borrow from the richer nations of the Old World.

However, while we were borrowing that money from the Old World we were asking that it be placed in productive enterprise—in railroads, mines, and industrial undertakings—in something to create wealth, something that would make it easier for us to repay the loans.

On the other hand, the governments of Europe today are floating loans in our country, and the money derived from those loans is not going into productive industry. It is going into battleships and armies. If those nations want to maintain huge standing armies and navies, that is their business; it is not our business to tell them the size of their standing armies and navies; but it is our business to say to them, "You cannot maintain these standing armies and navies with our money, because it makes us take money which we would use for internal improvements for our own army and navy in order to bring them up to a parity with yours."

So the proposition outlined in the resolution, is that it is declared to be the sense of the American people that we are opposed to loans to all foreign governments which in time of peace maintain more than peace-time standing armies; and the allowance made in the resolution is very liberal. France today would be entitled to a standing army of 220,000 men, if she would scale down immediately, because that would be the maximum number for a country of 45,000,000. The United States would use but 40 per cent of the number authorized by the resolution. The peace pact, signed by practically every nation on the globe, states that war is to be outlawed, that disputes of every kind, of every nature, no matter how they may arise, shall be settled by pacific means. If we mean what we say, we ought to put some teeth into our alleged policy and adopt the resolution in some form or other to maintain the spirit of the peace pact.

People in this country could still lend their money to foreign governments notwithstanding this resolution—the resolution is only an admonition—if they wanted to do so; but if they did lend it to foreign governments they would lend it at their own risk.

If we want a feeling of good will to settle, say, on Poland or Austria or Germany or France, we have got to take the bayonets away from their breasts, and the guns pointed at their hearts, because so long as huge military camps are all over these nations, the people will live in a state of fear and international amity cannot be maintained.

What nation can object to the expressed feeling of the American people that they oppose loans to foreign governments which violate the spirit and the letter of the treaty which they have just signed? If they do object, then we should label the treaty a series of New Year's resolutions agreed to by all the nations of the world, to be broken some time in the latter part of January. Are we not justified in saying to these nations that we will not continue a situation which causes us to spend more money in unneeded war preparation?

Let me make an analysis of our existing debt situation. Pre-armistice loans were spent as follows:

Munitions, 28.3 per cent.

Foodstuffs, cotton, and other supplies, 62.7 per cent.

Transportation and shipping, 2.4 per cent.

Spent in neutral countries, 1 per cent.

In other words, nearly a third of all of our pre-armistice loans went to munitions.

What happened to our post-armistice loans? The figures are as follows:

Munitions, 12.6 per cent.

Foodstuffs, cotton, and other supplies, much of which went to the maintenance of regular armies, 72.2 per cent.

Transportation and shipping, 4.1 per cent.

Incidentals, 10 per cent.

So that since the war, 12 per cent directly and a proportion of 70 per cent more went for munitions, armaments and armies in countries borrowing the money from us.

Now, let me call attention to the situation in two countries. Take, for example, the United Kingdom. The figures are as follows:

Total debt	\$41,354,169,000
Total external debt	5,367,750,000
Public loans in the United States	159,728,000
Due to the United States Government	4,505,000,000
Total internal debt	35,986,419,000

Now let us consider the case of Italy. The figures as to Italy are as follows:

Total debt	\$9,425,322,000
Total external debt	4,965,895,000
Public loans in United States	96,895,000
Due to United States Government	2,032,000,000
Total internal debt	4,459,427,000

Argentina spent \$44,771,000 for national defense in 1927, and borrowed from the United States \$99,561,000;

Austria spent \$11,220,000 for national defense, and borrowed \$33,887,000 from the United States.

So it is with practically every other country.

Here is a summary which is the meat of the whole loan and preparedness situation:

The total war expenditures of the world in 1927 were almost \$4,000,000,000. The United States advanced sufficient to pay two-thirds of that amount, or \$2,619,000,000, in that year. This includes all foreign flotations in this country. So that of all the money spent in the entire world for national defense in 1927, \$4,000,000,000, two-thirds of it was borrowed right here in our own country by the governments of the world.

Here is another striking fact:

The United States—meaning the people of the United States—loaned 20 foreign nations more than enough to meet their national-defense expenditures during 1927.

That happens almost ever year. These loans have been going on in this procession ever since the World War.

Here is another striking fact:

Europe's war budget for 1927 was a little over \$2,000,000,000. That is just about the total of foreign securities floated in the United States in that year, thereby releasing sufficient in the world's financial markets to finance the defense expenditures of all of Europe. So what they spent for armaments in Europe in 1927 was the exact equivalent of the money borrowed by all those countries in the United States in that year.

Excluding France, Russia—now under the State Department ban—and England, the war budget for the rest of Europe amounted to almost \$1,000,000,000—\$935,000,000, to be exact. We advanced these countries amounts totaling 62 per cent of that figure, \$580,000,000. Loans were made to five European countries in amounts more than sufficient to finance their entire defense budgets.

The United States loaned in Japan \$100,000,000 more than enough to meet her 1927 national-defense expenditures. The navy of Japan today is superior to that of the United States in its cruiser strength; yet during one year Japan borrowed from this country \$100,000,000 more than was necessary to finance her whole military establishment.

Are we going to keep lending these nations money to keep up their armies and their navies all over the world?

Put 644,000 trained and equipped soldiers on the Canadian border or in Mexico and see how much we have of national security in the United States. The United States is fifteen times as large as France and fifteen times as large as Germany; yet beyond Germany there are 644,000 Russian trained soldiers, and the finest military airplane corps in all the world. To the east is Poland, with two hundred and eighty-some thousand soldiers. Then there is a French army on the west of Germany, with 727,000 trained soldiers and 4,500,000 reserves; and yet we talk about the Kellogg peace pact to outlaw war where 1 out of every 55 men, women, and children is in the standing army, and we say that there is a great psychology for peace with those conditions prevailing!

Why have they these military establishments? Because we have not the courage to deny them the funds with which to maintain them. We may affect a few men who perhaps engage in the business of financing these countries, and I do not blame them for that, because it is perfectly honorable and legitimate; but I say that the time has come when the United States, being the creditor nation of the

world, should insist that the money borrowed from its people shall go into useful and productive enterprises.

The combined defense expenditures for 1927 of seven South American countries—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela—were \$132,000,000 for that year. Loans floated by those governments in this country were \$200,000,000 for the same year.

Three Central American countries and two of the West Indies—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Salvador, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic—needed \$16,000,000 for defense purposes last year. Our loans to these countries were over four times that amount.

I do not mean to say that these little nations are flagrant violators, but I think I have shown by a statement of fact that cannot be refuted that without these loans from the people of the United States there would not today be 720,000 active, trained French soldiers in the standing army, nor 380,000 trained soldiers in Italy, nor 300,000 trained soldiers in Rumania, nor 280,000 trained soldiers in Poland, because those of you who do me the honor to read the table will see that year after year we lend to these countries practically the same amount that they expend for their entire national defense.

When they build these huge armies and huge navies on a war-time plane they cause us to feel unsafe, to improve our airplane corps, to enlarge and expand our navy, to take money which we would otherwise use to reduce taxation or to make internal improvements.

The amount of all the war debts owing by all the countries of the world, the amount that we scaled down these debts before settlement, the amount of settlement agreed upon, the amount paid in cash, the amount guaranteed by 62-year bonds, the cash value of these bonds today—which will be an astounding figure—and the concessions made by the United States to each country in the settlement of these debts, follow:

Tables Showing the Size of the Standing Armies of the Nations of the World

Here is a table showing the size of the standing armies of the world; also showing the number of police, gendarmerie, frontier guards, treasury guards, territorial armies, and so on, which are really active troops and which are a part of the standing armies, as well as the trained reserve and untrained reserve in those countries.

I think that those who will look at these figures will find that in addition to the regular or standing army of those countries they have, in effect, another standing army ready for active service on a moment's notice. One country referred to in the table has 140,000 men in frontier guards, treasury guards, gendarmerie, and so on, so that when these are added to the size of the standing army we get the real figure of military man power of those countries.

Military Man Power of Different Countries

	Present strength	Trained reserves	Total man power
1. Austria:			
Regular army	19,659		19,659
Police	6,925		6,925
Gendarmerie	6,120		6,120
Trained reserves		300,000	300,000
Untrained reserves			200,000
Total	32,704	300,000	532,704
2. Belgium:			
Regular army	65,742	635,683	701,425
Territorial army		54,000	54,000
Gendarmerie	6,048		6,048
Untrained reserves			314,417
Total	71,790	689,683	1,075,890
3. Bulgaria:			
Regular army	20,000		20,000
Frontier guards	3,000		3,000
Gendarmerie	10,000		10,000
Trained reserves		425,000	425,000
Untrained reserves			242,000
Total	33,000	425,000	700,000
4. Czechoslovakia:			
Regular army	120,000		120,000
Gendarmerie	15,000		15,000
State police	5,700		5,700
First reserve (20 to 40 years old)		1,147,000	1,147,000
Second reserve (40 to 50 years old)		342,000	342,000
Untrained reserves			250,000
Sokols (semi-military)			125,000
Last reserves (17 to 60 years old)			100,000
Total	140,700	1,489,000	2,104,700
5. Finland:			
Regular army	29,700		29,700
Civil guard		100,000	100,000

Country	Total net debt at time of settlement with interest at rates of original notes	Amount thrown off before settlement by reduction of interest and for other reasons	Net debt to be settled	How settled		Concessions made by United States	
				Paid in cash	By 62-year bonds	Difference between face and "present values"	Total money concessions made by United States
Great Britain	\$4,715,310,000	\$111,181,914.26	\$4,604,128,085.74	\$4,600,000,000	\$3,296,948,000	\$1,303,052,000	\$1,414,233,915.00
France	4,230,777,000	205,390,313.11	4,025,386,686.89	1,405,000,000	1,681,369,000	2,343,631,000	2,549,021,313.11
Italy	2,150,150,000	107,950,533.66	2,042,199,466.34	2,042,000,000	426,287,000	1,615,713,000	1,723,663,533.66
Belgium	483,426,000	65,628,765.34	417,797,234.66	417,780,000	191,766,000	226,014,000	291,642,765.34
Czechoslovakia	123,854,000	8,854,000.00	115,000,000.00	115,000,000	77,955,000	37,015,000	45,869,000.00
Estonia	14,143,000	311,538.12	13,831,461.88	None	9,915,000	3,915,000	4,226,538.12
Finland	9,190,000	180,684.73	9,009,315.27	9,000,000	6,452,000	2,548,000	2,728,684.73
Hungary	1,984,000	44,246.96	1,939,753.04	1,939,000	1,358,000	551,000	594,246.96
Latvia	113,457.24	113,457.24	4,562.76	5,775,000	4,137,000	1,638,000	1,751,437.24
Lithuania	6,216,000	184,453.03	6,031,546.97	6,030,000	4,322,000	1,708,000	1,892,453.03
Poland	182,324,000	3,758,974.01	178,565,025.99	178,560,000	127,643,000	50,857,000	54,615,974.01
Rumania	46,324,000	2,850,548.46	44,594,451.54	44,590,000	29,507,000	15,083,000	17,433,548.46
Yugoslavia	66,164,000	3,306,887.61	62,857,112.39	62,850,000	15,919,000	46,931,000	50,237,887.61
Total	12,036,376,000	509,256,316.53	11,527,119,683.47	11,522,354,000	5,873,638,000	5,648,656,000	6,157,912,317.27

1 Since the war, various European governments have borrowed money through American bankers at interest rates running from 7 to 8 per cent; therefore, 5 per cent is a conservative rate.
 2 Although France made the cash payment specified in the settlement, she has not yet ratified the agreement made by her representatives.

Military Man Power of Different Countries—Continued.

	Present strength	Trained reserves	Total man power
Trained reserves.....		170,000	170,000
Untrained reserves.....			250,300
Total.....	29,700	270,000	550,000
6. France:			
Regular army (French).....	488,002		488,002
Colonials.....	191,365		191,365
Foreigners.....	18,818		18,818
Gendarmes and gardes republican.....	29,228		29,228
Trained reserves.....		4,610,000	4,610,000
Untrained reserves (colonials).....			700,000
Total.....	727,413	4,610,000	6,037,413
7. Germany:			
Regular army.....	100,000		100,000
Trained reserves (war veterans).....		1,000,000	1,000,000
Untrained reserves.....			7,600,000
Total.....	100,000	1,000,000	8,700,000
8. British Empire:			
Australia—			
Permanent force.....	1,697		1,697
Citizens forces.....		37,192	37,192
Reserve officers and unattached list.....		12,454	12,454
Trained reserves.....		100,000	100,000
Untrained reserves.....			448,657
Total.....	1,697	149,646	600,000
Canada—			
Permanent force.....	3,499		3,499
Militia.....		49,075	49,075
Cadet corps.....		115,667	115,667
Rifle associations.....		28,451	28,451
Militia reserves.....		30,000	30,000
Reserve of officers.....		12,213	12,213
Untrained reserves.....			611,095
Total.....	3,499	235,406	850,000
Great Britain—			
Regular army.....	150,221		150,221
Colonial troops.....	2,426		2,426
Regular army reserve.....		96,000	96,000
Supplementary reserve.....		23,151	23,151
Militia (islands).....		2,762	2,762
Territorial army.....		186,093	186,093
Officers training corps.....		1,245	1,245
British troops in India.....	61,543		61,543
Trained and untrained reserve.....			5,612,899
Total.....	214,190	309,251	6,136,340
India—			
British army in India—			
Indian army.....	161,000		161,000
Territorial force.....		12,522	12,522
University training corps.....		3,748	3,748
Auxiliary force.....		33,181	33,181
Indian state forces.....		27,030	27,030
Trained reserves.....		29,924	29,924
Untrained reserves.....			2,671,022
Total.....	161,000	106,405	2,938,427
Irish Free State—			
Regular army.....	13,564		13,564
Trained reserves.....		4,500	4,500
Untrained reserves.....			342,290
Total.....	13,564	4,500	360,354
New Zealand—			
Permanent force.....	515		515
Territorial force.....		22,039	22,039

Military Man Power of Different Countries—Continued.

	Present strength	Trained reserves	Total man power
Senior cadets.....		28,769	28,769
Defense rifle clubs.....		4,748	4,748
Untrained reserves.....			76,531
Total.....	515	55,556	132,602
Union of South Africa—			
Permanent force.....	1,450		1,450
Coast defense garrison force.....	8,000		8,000
Active citizens force.....		15,000	15,000
Defense rifle associations.....		150,000	150,000
Cadets.....		50,000	50,000
Untrained reserves.....			490,550
Total.....	9,450	215,000	715,000
9. Greece:			
Regular army.....	55,000		55,000
Trained reserves.....		266,489	266,489
Untrained reserves.....			278,511
Total.....	55,000	266,489	600,000
10. Hungary:			
Regular army.....	35,000		35,000
Gendarmerie and police.....	12,000		12,000
Untrained reserves.....			723,000
Total.....	47,000		770,000
11. Italy:			
Active army.....	240,288		240,288
Carabinieri.....	62,243		62,243
Finance guards.....	28,664		28,664
Colonial army.....	49,253		49,253
Fascist militia.....		310,000	310,000
Trained reserves.....		2,680,454	2,680,454
Untrained reserves.....			2,000,000
Total.....	380,448	2,990,454	5,370,902
12. Yugoslavia:			
Active army.....	117,000		117,000
Frontier guards.....	5,000		5,000
Gendarmerie.....	20,000		20,000
First reserves (21 to 40 years).....		1,200,000	1,200,000
Second reserves (40 to 50 years).....		500,000	500,000
Third reserves (18 to 20 and 50 to 55).....		350,000	350,000
Total.....	142,000	2,050,000	2,192,000
13. Norway:			
Regular army.....	30,000		30,000
First line reserves.....		150,000	150,000
Landvern.....		75,000	75,000
Landstorm.....		90,000	90,000
Untrained reserves.....			60,000
Total.....	30,000	315,000	405,000
14. Poland:			
Regular army.....	242,372		242,372
Trained reserves.....		500,000	500,000
Untrained reserves.....			2,000,000
Total.....	242,372	500,000	2,742,372
15. Portugal:			
Regular army.....	26,200		26,200
Organized reserves.....		430,000	430,000
Untrained reserves.....			500,000
Total.....	26,200	430,000	956,200
16. Rumania:			
Regular army.....	208,500		208,500
Frontier guards.....	26,000		26,000
Gendarmerie.....	32,000		32,000
Trained reserves.....		750,000	750,000
Untrained reserves.....			583,500
Total.....	266,500	750,000	1,600,000

Military Man Power of Different Countries—Continued

	Present strength	Trained reserves	Total man power
Political police.....	150,000		150,000
Trained reserve.....		4,625,000	4,625,000
Untrained reserve.....			6,886,000
Total.....	644,000	4,625,000	12,155,000
18. Spain:			
Regular army.....	218,647		218,647
Colonial army.....	13,087		13,087
Gendarmerie.....	41,053		41,053
Trained reserves.....		1,328,260	1,328,260
Untrained reserves.....			760,000
Total.....	272,787	1,328,260	2,361,047
19. Turkey:			
Regular army.....	90,000		90,000
Gendarmes.....	35,000		35,000
Trained reserves.....		200,000	200,000
Untrained reserves.....			340,000
Total.....	125,000	200,000	665,000
20. China:			
Northern forces.....	² 400,000		400,000
Southern forces.....	² 550,000		550,000
Other forces.....	² 500,000		500,000
Total.....			1,450,000
21. Japan:			
Regular army.....	210,000		210,000
Trained reserves.....		2,038,000	2,038,000
Untrained reserves.....			5,092,000
Total.....	210,000	2,038,000	7,340,000

¹ Accounted for under Great Britain.

² This represents forces now in the field.

As long as a vast majority of the nations of Europe, which do not begin to approach us in population, insist on maintaining armies from twice to five times the size of that maintained in the United States; as long as England, Japan, France, and Italy excel us in cruiser strength; as long as the nations of the world owe us the combined sum of \$26,000,000,000; as long as we have thousands of miles of seacoast, and ships carrying our commerce to every part of the world; as long as we have possessions in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, the Philippines, Hawaii, and Guam; with the hatreds existing all over this world, hundreds of years old, and virtually armed camps all over Europe; with debts piled on debts which many nations would gladly fight to throw off—as long as these conditions exist, the United States cannot afford to take a position in the matter of her first line of defense, the navy, with such a small standing army as we possess, inferior to that of any other nation on the globe.

CALENDAR REFORM AND WORLD PEACE

By MEREDITH N. STILES

EVERY opportunity taken by the nations to work together for a common aim makes for peace. It emphasizes the consciousness of solidarity among them. It establishes a new precedent for cooperation instead of contention.

Such an opportunity presents itself in the proposed reform of the calendar. The movement contemplates for the purpose an international conference. All religions, too, would be represented. Directly touching, as the calendar does, every individual life, it is hard to imagine any other peaceful international enterprise that could interest and impress mankind so generally.

The vision is seen of a new calendar replacing the many differing ones, now in use throughout the world, in India, China, the Mohammedan countries and Africa, as well as the Gregorian calendar of Europe and the Americas.

It is too much to hope that such a calendar would be universally adopted at once, involving as it would the breaking of deeply rooted religious traditions among some peoples, but hope is high that the Gregorian calendar may be replaced by a simpler and more useful one in the not distant future. Gradually, as our world grows smaller, the remaining peoples would adopt it, just as the Gregorian calendar was gradually adopted in Europe and America, until a measure of time common to all the world is attained.

And the vision is also seen of the international conference setting aside one day of the new calendar as "Peace Sabbath" for common devotion by all peoples to the ideal of perpetual peace.

The fact that the nations are being brought to closer interdependence by swifter communication and interchange of knowledge is primarily responsible for the movement. Its leaders in the different

countries emphasize that the Gregorian calendar is a clumsy instrument for an economic and scientific world that is busy with activities incomparably more numerous and intense than those of the world of the ancients who devised it. It fails to meet the high standard of efficiency which modern business, modern science and modern education demand of every other instrument they use. As a basis of statistics for measuring the progress of trade and for scientific and educational data, it produces inaccurate and deceptive results. A better one, common to all nations, is sought.

Statistics are dull to most people, but in modern times comparative statistics of commerce and industry, health and disease, educational trends, agriculture, meteorological and other scientific phenomena have become of vast importance to successful progress, internationally as well as nationally. They are essential for control and analysis. All the organized processes of civilization use them. To be comparative they must be based on units of time, and there is none of these processes which does not feel the handicap of the unequal units into which our present calendar is divided, because of the difficulty in making accurate comparisons based on these units. Vital and health statistics, weather records, immigration figures, balance of trade variations, are internationally important illustrations.

Dr. E. Dana Durand, director of statistics for the Department of Commerce, speaking at the Economic Conference that was held in Geneva in 1927 said that the American Government attached great importance to the development of economic statistics and to improvements which would enable more exact comparability, which would facilitate business transactions and develop good understanding.

George E. Roberts, banker and economist, in testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs said:

"We know few things absolutely. We measure things almost solely by comparison. And it is a serious fault with our statistics that comparisons from month to month with the corresponding month of previous years are not accurate.

A month may have five Sundays this year when it had only four last year. We are interested not only in statistics of our own production and trade, but in those of other countries. We study world statistics, and it is important to us that the statistics of all countries shall be on a comparable basis."

Dr. Fred E. Wright, in the name of the National Academy of Sciences, said to the same Committee: "The present calendar because of its irregularity imposes a heavy burden on the scientist."

Joy Elmer Morgan, Editor of the *Journal of the National Education Association*, said to the Foreign Affairs Committee: "If we could adopt a calendar that would give us thirteen months of equal length, it would mean that in managing education, which is a giant business involving three billions of dollars in expenditures, that in the human factors involved, we would have comparable units of a given period this year with a given period last year, so that we could get the true facts of this great human business. It would mean that in comparisons of our statistics with statistics of other countries, we would have standards which would make these statistics more valuable. If this great conference is called, America will take her part as a great nation in the advancement of a cause which benefits the human race."

Hence the importance of a calendar which will provide a greater degree of uniformity in the divisions of the year from the one which we now endure. Mr. Roberts, Dr. Wright, and Dr. Morgan were among a number of competent authorities in their respective fields who appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee to favor the pending Porter resolution recommending that the President propose an international calendar conference or accept in behalf of the United States an invitation to participate in one.

Calendar defects which it is proposed to remedy are these:

I. The divisions of the year, the months, quarters and half years, are of unequal length. The months contain from 28 to 31 days. As a result the number of days in the quarter are respectively 90 (91 in Leap Year), 91, 92, and 93. The first half of the year, therefore, contains two

or three days less than the second. Another result is the unequal number of weeks included in the quarters and half years.

The unequal length of months, quarters, and half years is a cause of confusion and uncertainty in economic relations, in the arrangement of all commercial accounts and statistics.

The fact that the months contain 28, 29, 30, and 31 days is responsible for the fact that all calculations of salaries, interest, insurance, pensions, leases, and rents which are fixed on a monthly, quarterly, or half yearly basis are inaccurate and do not correspond with $1/12$, $1/4$, or $1/2$ of the year. Further the quarters and half years do not contain an exact number of weeks.

II. The calendar is not fixed; it changes each year. The year, in fact, consists of 52 weeks plus one or two days. Thus, if the first day of the year is Sunday, the following year it is Monday (or even Tuesday in the case of Leap Year). Thus, the day of the month falls each year on a different day of the week from the one on which it fell the previous year. The exact reproduction of the calendar of any year takes place only once every 28 years.

In consequence, the dates of periodical events can never be fixed with precision. Such a date can, in fact, be determined in two ways only, either by the day of the month (August 15 for example) or by the day of the week in the month (the third Tuesday in October). This double method is not precise for, if the day of the month is fixed for periodical events, this day may sometimes fall on a Sunday or a general holiday; or if a special day (the first Monday in the month) is fixed for these events the date corresponding to this day varies continually from month to month and from year to year. If the calendar were fixed the dates of these events could be fixed once and for all. They would fall on the same date as well as on the same day of the week.

The position of the weeks in the quarters vary each year—that is to say, the weeks overlap the divisions of a year in a different way each time, and complications accordingly arise in the reckoning of accounts and statistics.

III. Finally—and this is perhaps the greatest drawback from a statistical and commercial point of view, since the various days of the week are not of the same value as regards the volume of trade and the years of the month do not from year to year include the same number of individual week days, there can be no genuine statistical comparison between one year and another, while the subdivisions of the year itself—the half years, quarters, and months—are likewise incapable of comparison. There is the variation of 3 per cent in the length of the quarters and a variation of as much as 10 per cent in the length of the months. The variations in the number of working days in the month are even more marked. There may be a difference of 19 per cent between the number of working days in March and the number of working days in February. When it is recalled that for many business purposes, such as the passenger business of railroad and steamship companies, the days of the week have materially different values, it is apparent that the present changing relation of the weeks in the divisions of the year in which they occur seriously impairs the accuracy of the attempts to compare business results in weeks or months of one year with those of another year.

Now, as to the general extent of the movement and methods of calendar change: After nearly 30 years of discussion at various international gatherings, the reform movement has taken practical shape in an undertaking of the League of Nations to ascertain if public opinion throughout the civilized world favors a change. These international gatherings included:

The Evangelical Conference at Eisenach in 1900.

The London Congress of the Permanent International Committee of Chambers of Commerce and of Commercial Associations in 1910.

The Boston Congress of the same associations in 1912.

The International Association of Academies at Petrograd in 1913.

The Paris Congress of Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations in 1914. This congress requested the

Swiss Government to convoke an international conference on the question.

The Liege Congress, held at the instance of the Liege Industrial Exchange in 1914, at which religious, scientific, commercial, and industrial authorities were present.

The Congress of the International Astronomical Union in 1919, which formed a special committee for the study of this question. The first president elected to this committee was the late Cardinal Mercier.

The Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce in London in 1921.

The Congress of the International Astronomical Union in Rome in 1922.

The Assembly of the Geodetic and Geophysical Union at Madrid in 1924.

The direct impetus for the League of Nations undertaking may be said to have come from the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce, which took affirmative action on the subject of calendar change for consideration by the International Chamber of Commerce meeting in London in 1921. This body thereupon requested the League to take up the question with a view to an international conference. The League thereupon appointed a Committee of Inquiry on Calendar Simplification which analyzed 185 proposals from 38 nations and reported at length.

On the basis of this report, the League, in September, 1927, invited all governments, including the United States, to form national committees to study the subject, ascertain public sentiment in their respective countries, and report. The creation of the National Committee on Calendar Simplification for the United States, of which George Eastman is Chairman, was a consequence of the League invitation to this country. It is a semi-official body consisting of representatives of the various departments of the Government and eminent men and women representing different divisions of national life. It is now engaged in its task, and will report to the Secretary of State. Meantime, last December, the Porter resolution was introduced. After holding hearings, the Foreign Affairs Committee deferred action on it with the expectation

that it would be re-introduced during the new Congress.

From all these discussions there have emerged two methods of calendar reform generally agreed upon as the most practical. Both of them provide for fixity in the calendar but differ as to the degree of uniformity to be established in the divisions of the year. The one divides the year into 13 equal months of 28 days each, with one or two supplementary days to be regarded as "blank" days.

The other divides the year into equal quarters, containing months of 30, 30, and 31 days each, likewise with one or two supplementary blank days. These, in both cases, are the 365th day in the ordinary year and the 366th in Leap Year. They are the excess days over the 364 days which contain the 52 seven-day weeks. They would bear no week day names and, therefore, are called "blank," although they would have dates. This is known as the blank day principle of calendar reform and is the only one by which it is mathematically possible to establish a fixed and uniform calendar.

The equal quarters plan is more favored in Europe, but opinion in this country as thus far ascertained by the National Committee is almost unanimous in favor of the 13 months plan. It not only appeals to Americans as a more thorough-going remedy, but because of the fact that it equalizes the months, the unit chiefly used in this country for business statistics. Each month, consisting of 28 days, is, moreover, an exact multiple of the week.

It is the plan known as the International Fixed Calendar, originated by Moses B. Cotsworth, an English-born Canadian. He suggests "Sol" as the name of the extra month, placing it between June and July. The blank "leap day" every four years would be placed on June 29. The annual blank day would be placed on December 29 and be celebrated as an additional Sabbath.

National calendar committees have been formed or are being formed in other countries or else the governments themselves are studying the subject. The movement having now gathered such world-wide momentum, it is considered inevitable that an international confer-

ence will soon be called. It is recognized on all sides that only at an international conference can differences of opinion as to the best method of calendar reform be resolved. Religious representation will be necessary inasmuch as two phases of the reform proposals involve religious questions. One is the fixation or stabilization of Easter, and possibly the Jewish Passover; the other is the effect of the use of the blank day principle.

The three great apostolic churches—Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Anglican—have said officially that they see no dogmatic objection in the matter of Easter. As regards the blank day principle, Orthodox Jews and Christian Sabbatharians object to it on the ground that the intervention of the blank days will interrupt the continuity of 7th Day Sabbath observance.

While during all the various international discussions no other religious bodies, including the apostolic churches, raised dogmatic or other objections to this principle, the protests of the Sabbatharians have been fervent. The chief rabbis of Europe appeared at the League of Nations inquiry to protest, and protests have

been voiced by rabbis and Seventh Day Baptist and Seventh Day Adventist clergymen in this country. The League of Nations recommended a fresh examination by the different religious bodies of this principle, which, as explained in its report, establishes a perpetual calendar and completely rectifies the variability of the present calendar.

Many advocates of the International Fixed Calendar point to the opportunity of the international conference to recommend the universal celebration of the blank 365th day, the day before the New Year begins, as a "Peace Sabbath." It would be a day of worship common not only to all nations but to all religions—Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, Confucian, Buddhist, and Brahman—in prayer for perpetual peace and goodwill on earth. It would unite humanity in one universal religious observance, which it now lacks. Glorious is the idea.

Calendar reform manifestly presents not only an opportunity for cooperation among all nations but among all religions in a great and historic undertaking for the good of mankind, and the cause of peace.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Herbert Hoover was inaugurated President of the United States in front of the Capitol, at Washington, March 4, 1929. The ceremonies of the morning of that day began with the calling of the Senate to order at 12 o'clock noon by Vice-President Charles Curtis, to whom the oath of office was administered at the close of the last session of the Seventieth Congress.

The Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. Z. T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and eternal God, Father of all mankind, Ruler of the destinies of nations, Thou hast called us by our name and we are Thine. Thou hast established us in the gateways of the world, Thou hast molded our speech, mixed our blood from uncorrupted

springs and crowned us with every blessing; make us, therefore, a righteous nation, doing justice, loving mercy, walking humbly with our God. Breathe upon all who are assembled here the spirit of Thy grace, especially upon these Thy servants whom Thou hast called to be President and Vice-President of the United States. Endue them with innocence of life, with wisdom and discretion; manifest Thyself to them, that in the exactions of their work they may never be drawn aside from the path of rectitude. Inspire them with divine faith; subdue them to the lowly practice of those who have lived as fellow-workers with Thee, and grant that the words of their mouth and the meditations of their hearts may be always acceptable in Thy sight.

Let Thy blessing abide continually upon them, the Members of Congress and all others in authority, that they, knowing whose ministers they are, may above all things see Thy honor and glory, and that all the people, duly considering whose authority they bear, may

faithfully and obediently honor them in Thee and for Thee according to Thy Blessed Word and ordinance. May the benediction of Thy Peace rest upon the retiring President, Vice-President, and Members of Congress, to whom a grateful nation pays loving tribute. Bless all the nations of the world and bind us ever closer together in the bonds of holy fellowship, that when the silver cord is loosed and the golden bowl is broken we may receive the crown of life and dwell with Thee in the brightness of Thy eternal morning. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the reading of President Coolidge's proclamation, calling for a meeting of the Senate, Vice-President Curtis gave an address, following which he administered the oath of office to the new members of the Senate. The officials then proceeded to the platform in front of the Capitol, where President Herbert Hoover delivered his inaugural address in which he referred to our international policies as follows:

The United States fully accepts the profound truth that our own progress, prosperity, and peace are interlocked with the progress, prosperity, and peace of all humanity. The whole world is at peace. The dangers to a continuation of this peace today are largely the fear and suspicion which still haunt the world. No suspicion or fear can be rightly directed toward our country.

Those who have a true understanding of America know that we have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples. Such purposes are repugnant to our ideals of human freedom. Our form of government is ill adapted to the responsibilities which inevitably follow permanent limitation of the independence of other peoples.

Superficial observers seem to find no destiny for our abounding increase in population, in wealth, and power except that of imperialism. They fail to see that the American people are engrossed in the building for themselves of a new economic system, a new social system, a new political system—all of which are characterized by aspirations of freedom of opportunity and thereby are the negation of imperialism.

They fail to realize that, because of our abounding prosperity, our youth are pressing more and more into our institutions of learning; that our people are seeking a larger vision through literature, science, and travel; that they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life; that from these things our sympathies are broadening beyond the bounds of our nation and race, toward their true expression in a real brotherhood of man.

They fail to see that the idealism of America will lead it to no narrow or selfish chan-

nel, but inspire it to do its full share as a nation toward the advancement of civilization. It will do that not by mere declaration, but by taking a practical part in support of all useful international undertakings. We not only desire peace with the world, but to see peace maintained throughout the world. We wish to advance the reign of justice and reason toward the extinction of force.

The recent treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy sets an advanced standard in our conception of the relations of nations. Its acceptance should pave the way to greater limitation of armament, the offer of which we sincerely extend to the world.

But its full realization also implies a greater and greater perfection in the instrumentalities for pacific settlement of controversies between nations. In the creation and use of these instrumentalities we should support every sound method of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement.

American statesmen were among the first to propose and they have constantly urged upon the world, the establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of controversies of a justiciable character. The Permanent Court of International Justice in its major purpose is thus peculiarly identified with American ideals and with American statesmanship. No more potent instrumentality for this purpose has been conceived and no other is practicable of establishment.

The reservations placed upon our adherence should not be misinterpreted. The United States seeks by these reservations no special privilege or advantage, but only to clarify our relation to advisory opinions and other matters which are subsidiary to the major purposes of the court. The way should, and I believe will, be found by which we may take our proper place in a movement so fundamental to the progress of peace.

Foreign Policy and Independence

Our people have determined that we should make no political engagements, such as membership in the League of Nations, which may commit us in advance as a nation to become involved in the settlements of controversies between other countries. They adhere to the belief that the independence of America from such obligations increases its ability and availability for services in all fields of human progress.

I have lately returned from a journey among our sister republics of the Western Hemisphere. I have received unbounded hospitality and courtesy as their expression of friendliness to our country. We are held by peculiar bonds of sympathy and common interest with them. They are each of them building a racial character and a culture which is an impressive contribution to human progress. We wish only for the maintenance

of their independence, the growth of their stability, and their prosperity.

While we have had wars in the Western Hemisphere, yet on the whole the record is in encouraging contrast with that of other parts of the world. Fortunately, the New World is largely free from the inheritances of fear and distrust which have so troubled the Old World, and we should keep it so.

It is impossible, my countrymen, to speak of peace without profound emotion. In thousands of homes in America, in millions of homes around the world, there are vacant chairs. It would be a shameful confession of our unworthiness if it should develop that we have abandoned the hope for which these men have died. Surely civilization is old enough, surely mankind is mature enough, so that we ought in our lifetime to find a way to permanent peace.

Abroad, to west and east, are nations whose sons mingled their blood with the blood of our sons on the battlefields. Most of these nations have contributed to our race, to our culture, our knowledge, and our progress. From one of them we derive our very language and from many of them much of the genius of our institutions. Their desire for peace is as deep and sincere as our own.

Peace can be contributed to by respect for our ability in defense. Peace can be promoted by the limitation of arms and by the creation of instrumentalities for peaceful settlement of controversies; but it will become a reality only through self-restraint and active effort in friendliness and helpfulness. I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to advance the cause of peace.

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

NOTE: Following is the text of the new statutes of the Communist International adopted at the sixth world congress of the International, held recently in Moscow. The translation is from the *European Economic and Political Survey*.

I. Name and Objects

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a World Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the bearer of the principles and aims of communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment

of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of Socialism—the first stage of Communist society.

2. The various Parties affiliated to the Communist International are called the Communist Party of—name of country (Section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and representing its section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and the rules of the given Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the Party, actively work in it, abide by all decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organization is the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the Party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) election of all the leading committees of the Party, subordinate and superior (by general meetings of Party members, conferences, congresses, and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of superior Party committees to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party organs.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party committees. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a section of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations is in disagreement with it.

In cases where a Party exists illegally, the superior Party committees may appoint the subordinate committees and co-opt members on their own committees, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent superior Party committees.

6. In all non-Party workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (in trade unions, cooperative societies, sport organizations, ex-service men's associations, sport organizations, municipal bodies and in parliament), even if there are only two Party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist factions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies.

7. The Communist factions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies.

Note.—1. Communist factions in international organizations (Red International of Labor Unions, International Class War Prisoners Aid Society, International Workers Relief, etc.) are subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The organizational structure of the Communist factions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International and from the Central Committee of the given sections of the Comintern.

II. The World Congress of the Communist International

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides program, tactical and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various sections. Power to alter the program and rules of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The World Congress shall be convened once every two years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various Sections to the Congress shall be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section at the World Congress shall be determined by a special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the given Party and the political importance of the given country. Delegates to the Congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognized.

9. Special Congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of Parties which at the preceding World Congress had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes.

10. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.) and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.).

11. The headquarters of the Executive Committee are determined by the World Congress.

III. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and its Subsidiary Bodies

12. The leading body of the Communist International in the period between the Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all the sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The E. C. C. I. shall publish the Central Organ of the Communist International in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all the sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congress, but must continue to carry out such decisions pending the decision of the World Congress.

14. The Central Committees of the various sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective Party Congress and to the E. C. C. I. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them (Cf. Par. 13).

15. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Communist International entire sections, groups and individual members who violate the program and rules of the Communist International or the decisions of the

World Congress and of the E. C. C. I. Persons and bodies expelled have the right of appeal to the World Congress.

16. The program of the various sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E. C. C. I. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse a program, the section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the E. C. C. I. These decisions must as far as possible be published in the other organs of the Party press.

18. The E. C. C. I. has the right to accept the adherence to the Communist International of organizations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organizations having an advisory vote.

19. The E. C. C. I. elects a Presidium responsible to the E. C. C. I. which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E. C. C. I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium have the right to establish permanent bureaus (Western European, South American, Eastern and other bureaus of the E. C. C. I.) for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

Note:—The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the E. C. C. I. shall be determined by the E. C. C. I. or by its Presidium. The sections of the Communist International which come within the scope of activities of the permanent bureaus of the E. C. C. I. must be informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus.

21. The sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus to the E. C. C. I. They may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaus to the E. C. C. I. or to its Presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of the E. C. C. I. or of its Presidium.

22. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various sections of the Communist International. Such representatives shall receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. or from

its Presidium, and shall be responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. must carry out their mandate in close contact with the Central Committee of the section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given section, at congresses and conferences of that section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E. C. C. I. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. are especially required to supervise the execution of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the E. C. C. I. to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the E. C. C. I. must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum must consist of not less than one half of the membership of the E. C. C. I.

24. Meetings of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum must consist of not less than one half of the membership of the Presidium.

25. The Presidium elects the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to take decisions and which also prepares questions for the meetings of the E. C. C. I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their executive body.

26. The Presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. sets up a Department for Work Among Women Workers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of sections of the Communist International (Lander Secretariats) and other departments necessary for its work.

IV. The International Control Commission

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters concerning the unity of the sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters connected with

the Communist conduct of individual members of the various sections.

For this purpose the I. C. C. :

(a) Examines complaints against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

(b) Examines such analogous matters concerning members of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual Party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the E. C. C. I.;

(c) Audits the accounts of the Communist International.

The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organizational and administrative conflicts in the Communist Party.

The headquarters of the I. C. C. are fixed by the I. C. C. in agreement with the E. C. C. I.

V. The Relationship between the Sections of the Communist International and the E. C. C. I.

29. The Central Committees of sections affiliated to the Communist International and the Central Committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the E. C. C. I. the minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various sections are regarded as disruption of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the central leading bodies of the various sections may resign before their time of office expires, only with the consent of the E. C. C. I. Resignations accepted by Central Committees of sections without the consent of the E. C. C. I. are invalid.

31. The sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each others' conferences and congresses, and, with the consent of the E. C. C. I., exchange leading comrades. This applies particularly to the sections in imperial countries and

their colonies, and to the sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more sections of the Communist International which (like the section in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the E. C. C. I. form federations for the purpose of coordinating their activities; such federations shall work under the guidance and control of the E. C. C. I.

33. The sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E. C. C. I., the amount of such dues to be determined by the E. C. C. I.

34. Congresses of the various sections, ordinary and special, may be convened only with the consent of the E. C. C. I.

In the event of a section failing to convene a Party Congress prior to the convening of a World Congress, that section, before electing delegates to the World Congress, must convene a Party conference, or plenum of its Central Committee, for the purpose of preparing the questions for the World Congress.

35. The Young Communist International is a section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E. C. C. I. must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparation for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the Central Committee of their section must not be accepted into other sections of the Communist International.

It is comforting to learn that one distinguished foreigner who had always thought of us Americans as givers to two things, namely, telling lies and talking through our noses, upon visiting us for the first time finds that we do not talk through our noses.

News In Brief

SIX SCHOLARSHIPS for the use of Spaniards who wish to study in the United States have been established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

THE IMPERIAL PREROGATIVE IN TREATY-MAKING IN JAPAN has been the cause of some difficulty in Japanese thought regarding the peace pact. There has been no doubt of the approval of the pact in object or spirit by Japan, but the wording was thought to recognize the sovereignty of the people to the detriment of imperial dignity.

THE WORK OF HARNESSING THE RIVER JORDAN for the electrification and irrigation of Palestine will probably be completed by next fall.

GERMAN, HUNGARIAN, CZECHOSLOVAK, AUSTRIAN and other shipping companies along the River Danube have agreed to form a cartel for the purpose of distributing the shipping traffic according to quota. Arrangements have been made to introduce a more or less uniform tariff system, to reduce overhead, and otherwise to improve the technical side of navigation traffic.

THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE KUOMINTANG, the first since the reunification of China, opened in Nanking in March with over 200 delegates attending. Educational, economic and diplomatic problems were on the agenda.

A HOUSING PROJECT FOR Moscow, involving \$25,000,000, will be begun by a New York construction company in April, according to a report emanating from a lawyer who participated in drawing up the contract with Moscow.

THE NEW YORK-PERU AIR-MAIL LINE, which begins operations April 1, will make stops at Buenaventura and Tumaco, Colombia; Esmeraldas and Guayaquil, Ecuador; Truxillo, Lima, Lomas and Mollendo, Peru.

ECUADOR, ON MARCH 9, ratified the Gondra Convention, signed at the Pan American con-

ference at Santiago, to prevent armed conflict between American countries.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS signed, on February 27, an agreement to extend the arbitration convention of May 2, 1908, for another year or until another convention shall be brought into force to the same effect.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS announces that the meeting of the Council in June will be held in Madrid, Spain.

THE NATIONAL INTERCOLLEGIATE ORATORICAL CONTEST ON THE CONSTITUTION, conducted for the past four years by the Better America Federation of California, will be repeated in 1929, with the finals, including distribution of \$5,000 in cash prizes, in Los Angeles, June 20.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ORATORICAL CONTEST has now been entered by students in twenty-two nations, who have been arranged in racial and linguistic groups. Most of the national finals will be held in May, group finals in June and the international finals in October, in Washington. The national oratorical contest sponsored by several American newspapers in 1924, became international in 1926, with five nations participating. The championship was won in 1926 by an American, in 1927 by a Mexican, and in 1928 by a Frenchman. The nations participating this year are the United States, England, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Rumania, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Panama.

SOME 158 AUSTRALIAN BOYS, members of the Young Australian League, arrived in New York in March, bound on a three months tour of the United States and Canada. They are preparatory school boys, and, while in Washington, earlier in the month, they marched in the inaugural parade.

MICHAEL McWHITE, new minister of the Irish Free State, presented his credentials to President Hoover on March 14.

MR. SUN Fo, Chinese minister of Railways, is planning the construction of 6,000 miles of trackage to be built within two years.

A COMMISSION ON THE INVESTIGATION and conciliation of the Paraguay-Bolivia clash in the Chaco last December met in Washington March 13 in the Pan-American Union. The commission consists of nine members; two each from Paraguay and Bolivia, and one from Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, and Uruguay and the United States, with the United States Secretary of State presiding. The boundary dispute is not under consideration by the commission.

THREE COURSES ON LATIN-AMERICA have been announced by the University of Virginia for its summer session this year. The subjects will be Latin-American Culture, Latin-American History and Latin-American Diplomatic Relations, to be given by Dr. Victor Belaúnde, former professor in the oldest University in the New World, that of San Marcos, Lima, Peru.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ATHENS, Greece, has lately laid the corner stone for a residential hall. The new building is adjacent to the Gennadius Library, which was donated by Dr. Gennadius, Greek Minister to London for forty years, and housed by a donation from the Rockefeller Foundation.

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN HISTORY is a new magazine published by the University of Chicago Press at the request of the American Historical Association. Bernadotte E. Schmidt, Professor of Modern History at Chicago University, is editor, and the remainder of the editorial board is chosen from seven other universities. The aim of the magazine is to treat history in the light of modern research.

DR. JUNJIRO SHIMASONO, professor in Tokyo Imperial University, has been selected as Japan's first exchange professor to Germany. He is to give a course of lectures on *beri beri* at Berlin University.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE to revise and amend the Convention of 1914 for Safety of Life at Sea, has been called by the British government for April 16, 1929. Invitations have been sent to the United States, the British Dominions, India, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Russia and Sweden. Eleven delegates will be sent from the United States.

THE FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE of American consular officers in Mexico for many years was called in February by the Secretary of State and Ambassador Morrow. The purpose of the conference was the exchange of information, establishing of contacts and coordinating of activities of the various representatives.

THE TREATY REGULATING TARIFF RELATIONS between the United States and China, signed at Peking, July 25, 1928, has been ratified. The ratifications were exchanged by the Chinese minister, Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, and Secretary Kellogg on February 20, 1929.

THE THIRD PAN AMERICAN CONGRESS OF HIGHWAYS will meet in Rio de Janeiro, August 16-31, instead of in June as formerly intended.

THE SENATE, ON FEBRUARY 25, ratified the Slavery convention, which was signed by thirty-six states at Geneva on September 25, 1926. This is the first Geneva convention to be ratified by this country.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, of which Charles E. Hughes is president, will hold its twenty-third annual meeting at Washington, April 24-27.

A SURVEY FOR A NICARAGUA CANAL was authorized by the Senate on March 1.

SINCE ENACTMENT OF THE JONES-WHITE ACT to provide for expansion of the American Merchant Marine, the Shipping Board has authorized 15 loans, amounting approximately to \$18,500,000, for construction of new ships to operate in foreign trade.

A SEVEN-DAY AIR-MAIL LINE is to be inaugurated, within a year, to ply between New York and Buenos Aires. The route will be by way of the West Indies and Brazil and a trip must be completed each way every week, according to the terms of the concession recently granted by President Yrigoyen to a United States air-ways company. It is expected that the time of the trip will, within three years, be reduced to four days.

THE PEACE PACT was ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 570 to 12, eleven Communists and one royalist alone holding out against the ratification.

AHMED ZOGU wishes to purchase from the Vienna Historical Museum the helmet of Skanderberg I for his coronation in April as king of Albania. Zogu is to take the title of Skanderberg III. The original Skanderberg, living in the fifteenth century, was a son of a Christian Albanian and Serbian princess. His driving out of the Turks is one of the romantic stories of Albanian history.

ELECTRIC PUMPS have been at work for four months on Lake Nemi, near Rome, to uncover two Roman galleys on the bed of the lake. Ancient drains, an old road to the lake, temple foundations and other archeological discoveries have already been made.

DR. HAKUTARO HAYASHI, President of the Nippon Educational Association, and Mr. Yentaro Noguchi, its executive director, are expected to represent Japan at the World Educational Convention at Geneva this summer, July 25-August 4.

GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA, dictator of Spain, is quoted by the foreign editor of *Le Matin*, Paris, as saying that the dictatorship, though necessary at first, is a transitory thing. He hopes that his work will be finished by the spring of 1931.

DIFFICULTIES OF LONG DURATION between Belgrade and Zagreb, in Yugoslavia, are said by the Central European Observer, of March 1, to be almost eradicated. The appointment of Prof. Pitomitz of Ljubljana as minister to Washington, and of a Croat as minister in Prague, positions previously held by Serbs, has done much to pacify Croates and Slovenes. The replacing of a General by a civilian as the head of Zagreb, the granting of pensions to the widows of murdered Croatian leaders, and the opening of a residence for the King and Queen in Zagreb have added much to the good feeling of the country.

A FLOATING AIRPORT is to be built and anchored half way between New York and Bermuda. It will have a crew of 43 men to care for the seaplanes, operate the machine shops, run a hotel and restaurant and guide planes by means of radio direction finders.

THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN VISITORS IN PRAQUE, which in 1927 were 85,000, increased in 1928 to 108,694. This was partly due to three congresses held in Prague during the

year, but there was also an increase in the number of general tourists.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF FRANCE from 1870 to 1914 is shortly to be published by the ministry of foreign affairs.

AIR-MAIL SERVICE between Mexico City and Brownsville, Texas, was inaugurated by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh on March 9, in spite of revolutionary disturbances in Mexico.

DELEGATIONS FROM EVERY PART OF FRANCE, composed mostly of young women, assembled at Vaucouleurs, in Lorraine, on February 23, to begin the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the pilgrimage of Joan of Arc, which ended in her death at Rouen. Commemorative tablets were placed in every town or village where Joan halted on her journey.

THE NATIONAL STUDENTS' FEDERATION OF AMERICA, which came into being in 1925 to focus student thought on the World Court, has chosen for its subject this spring, Anglo-American relations.

Book Reviews

SELECTED POEMS OF CARL SPITTELER. Translated by E. C. Mayne and J. E. Muirhead. Pp. 251. Macmillan Co., New York City, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

Spitteler, the Swiss poet, has received notable honors in Europe. Romain Rolland of France described him as the greatest poet of his time. He received, in 1919, the Nobel prize for literature. The French Academy saluted him in 1915, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. He died in 1924. Yet never until last year have his poems, written in German, been translated into the English language. Two prose works had been published in America; but since it was his *Olympian Spring* which was the chief ground of the Nobel award, the present collection of translations, including parts of that poem, will find interested readers.

The book has two charmingly translated cantos from the *Olympian Spring* and also representative selections from other volumes. *Butterfly Poems*, published in 1889, show, at

least in the English version, much less artistry than a later group of Bell Songs. Many of the latter are gravely philosophical or delicately humorous. They are mellow with ripened thought, and not less poignantly responsive to beauty than the early poems.

Olympian Spring, however, in spite of the handicap of translation, is beautiful. There is an overtone of light gaiety, which is quite modern, in the character development; but an underlying Greek sense of tragedy as well. The beauty of field and wood, mountain and sky are successfully transcribed in words, making the whole effect as colorful, breezy, and fresh as the Alpine land in which the poet lived.

THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. By *Luigi Salvatorelli*. Translated from the Italian by Eric Sutton. Pp. 313. Alfred A. Knopf, New York City, 1928.

The Italian scholar, Signor Salvatorelli, has contributed, in this book, an important addition to the literature of St. Francis. He knows and loves Assisi, and he also knows and understands the Italy of St. Francis' day. So, but quite without pedantry, he shows supremely well how the emergence of Francis and his doctrines were related to the church of that day; how tactfully Ugolino and others, while honoring the religious views of Francis, tried to whittle him to fit into ecclesiastical policies. The story is not without pathetic elements, for Francis sometimes failed and only sometimes won in his battles for his "Lady Poverty."

There are other books which give more vivid portraits of Francis the poet, the happy lover of man and nature, sun and fire; others which go more exhaustively into controversial questions, which narrate more miracles. Signor Salvatorelli refers to none of these except that of the stigmata. This he describes, taking it apparently at face value.

What this book does better than any other we have seen is to show St. Francis in the role of a bond between all classes—a tie between the awakening multitude of the age and the Catholic Church. It tells, that which is a story in itself, the development of the Order and the Rule, as it passed gradually into the hands of others, perhaps more practical leaders. For St. Francis, the embodiment of a spirit, the preacher of kindness and peace, met with knotty problems of organization. As is the case with all dreamers

of perfect holiness, the day and its realities gave him many perplexing hours. The whole drama, psychological and human, is given here in its great setting. It is told without exaggeration—told so well that the reader can hardly miss its universality.

EUROPE; A HISTORY OF TEN YEARS. By *Raymond Leslie Buell*. Pp. 413 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

This is a brief and somewhat popular treatment of European development since the war. Preliminary sketches of important points in pre-war Europe and a résumé of the treaty of Versailles precede the story of post-war Europe.

As in most brief summaries of controversial questions, it has not been possible to avoid at all points the expression of personal bias. The discussion of the Geneva Protocol of 1924 is a case in point. Mr. Buell, though stating the views of those opposed to the guarantee clauses, expresses great scorn of that school of thought which refuses to make advance commitments as to the use of force.

Several chapters are devoted to an analysis of Soviet Russia; others to France, England, Germany, Italy, and the new states. Mr. Buell makes it plain that no international organization pledged to support the *status quo* in Europe can bring permanent peace. There must be, he says, guarantees which will "establish processes whereby justice may be progressively realized." To this end there must necessarily be an increasing body of international law, other than the treaty of Versailles, which can be interpreted by the Permanent Court.

This is a conclusion worthy of the serious study that leads up to it. Men of many minds in matters of detail can at least agree upon a developing code of international law for the Court's interpretation and for the guidance of the nations.

GROUP REPRESENTATION BEFORE CONGRESS. By *E. Pendleton Herring*. Pp. 304 and index. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1929. Price, \$3.

READINGS IN PUBLIC OPINION. Edited by *W. Brooke Graves*. Pp. 1265 and index. D. Appleton & Co., 1928. Price, \$6.

The subject of propaganda, its uses and abuses, has of late elicited several interesting

studies. There seems no reason to assume that propaganda is always evil. On the contrary, campaigns of education and information are almost a necessity if our vast body politic is to exert its powers wisely in popular government. But the public should know by whom it is being educated, what are the sources of propaganda funds, and what are the actual ends sought. Then only can publicity campaigns be safely received. If there are two opposing propaganda organizations, so much the better. The war of ideas can then be fought before the people with the presumption that, in a fair field, the truth will win.

But theoretically the people move through their representatives. Thus when a body of public opinion has become vocal it is natural for it to employ skilled agents to work upon the representatives of the people in behalf of the particular aim to which the group is committed.

So far as we know Mr. Herring's work is the first book to be written on the subject of the organized lobby. It is brought out by the Brookings Institution, Department of Government Research. The institution is primarily devoted to research in the social sciences and is not itself a propaganda organization. The author, Dr. Herring, an instructor in Government at Harvard University, originally undertook this study as a doctoral thesis, which later he enlarged to the proportions of a volume.

It is an informing and unbiassed review of the various organizations maintaining central offices at Washington, which do or may attempt to influence congress on specific legislation. The author lists 464 such organizations, but considers in detail only a few of the more conspicuous lobbyists. The word, "lobby," by the way, he vigorously rescues from its customary opprobrium; he feels that some such action, properly conducted, is quite necessary, for the same reasons that all sides are entitled to be represented in court. It is, however, the technique of this growing political tendency, its legitimate and its corrupt uses of unofficial pressure, which he here illustrates.

To try to stop lobbying would be to attempt to stem Niagara. There are, however, many and intolerable abuses which must and can be curbed. These and many other enlightening points are embodied in the study.

On the whole the author feels that group representation before Congress shows a healthy democratic development. Some of the organizations and their methods have been much misunderstood, but a book of this sort tends to show their proper place and significance.

The second book of the group above, while it does not use, outside the preface, that much abused word, propaganda, naturally associates itself with recent books on that vital topic, by Bernays, Lasswell, and others.

The chapters, thirty-four in number, concern themselves with the formation of personal opinion, of group opinion, and of public opinion. They are written by many men, often of opposing opinions, but men for the most part representative, often authoritative in their fields. The tenor of the book is tolerant, treating with respect many opposite doctrines. Its plan seems to have omitted little in canvassing the field of public opinion and the methods of acting upon it. For students of government and political science it will be particularly suggestive, since there are at the close of each chapter, review questions and topics for further independent investigation.

STATE SECURITY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By *Bruce Williams*. Pp. 340 and index.
Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 1927.
Price, \$2.75.

The vexed question in Europe, today, as always, is security. The atmosphere of distrust has hardly abated; the memory of wrongs, ancient and modern, still clouds the field. Russia and Italy not only, but France, Great Britain, and Germany are furtively watched, each by the others. Even the United States has entered the company of feared nations.

The book under consideration, delivered first as lectures in diplomatic history in Johns Hopkins University, follows the post-war efforts in Europe to attain security. Articles ten and sixteen of the Covenant of the League are especially reviewed, with extensive quotation as to their framing, to make them an aid to security. The method of thought is of course that particularly prevalent in Europe. Modifying this is the account, not usual to find in discussions of the genesis of the Covenant, of the Canadian efforts to re-

move article ten, and the Scandinavian attempts to modify article sixteen, and to introduce greater dependence on international law. The subject might have been compared with the American way of attaining security with some gain to the book.

However, there are many and copious quotations from governments and their representatives not often found in books on the League.

The whole matter of international relations impinging upon security and peace seems to boil down to two as yet unsolved questions. 1. What are the proper limits of collective authority? 2. How should that authority be exercised? Since the delivery of these lectures the question of security has moved one step nearer solution.

REVERSE ENGLISH. By *J. Frederick Essary*. Pp. 304. Wm. Edwin Rudge, New York, 1928. Price, \$3.

It is a delicate matter to compare and contrast another country with one's own. Mr. Essary, however, does it with so much good temper, so much sincere admiration of our English cousins, that he is also able fearlessly to express his keen impressions. The brief sketches here, written during a year's residence in England, are candid, reflective, full of genial humor provocative often of a chuckle, but always interestingly interpretive.

It is the England of today which he draws, her charm, traditions, foibles, her prejudices and mysteries, all sketched with a light, engaging touch, and by an American steeped in the American traditions. It is no mere "travel book" of shores, cities, and byways; it is an aid to the understanding of the English people, how they feel and act. These are the things charmingly set down in Mr. Essary's new book.

RACE CONTACT. By *Earl Edward Muntz*. Pp. 384 and index. Century Co. New York, 1927. Price, \$3.75.

This is a study of the consequences of association between civilized and uncivilized races. Instances are used from all the continents. The chapters on the Indians of America are specially interesting; but in all cases the need of tolerance and patience are

indicated, and insight on the part of the higher race in order to bring about a blending of the primitive cultures with those of later development.

PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

By *H. H. Gowan and others*. Pp. 199. University of Washington Book Store, Seattle, 1928. Paper. Price, \$1.50.

The brochure is made up of talks and lectures on international problems, particularly as they are related to the Pacific coast of America. They form an interesting basis of study, not only for colleges but for clubs and individual students.

THE PACT OF PARIS. Compiled by James Thayer Gerould. Pp. 287. H. W. Wilson Co. New York, 1929. \$2.40.

This debaters' hand-book, Vol. 1 of Series III, follows the precedent of previous hand-books in prefixing to the documents and articles a brief, tabulating arguments for the pact, and another giving arguments against it. There follows a short bibliographical note and an essay by the editor on the background of the pact. The bulk of the book, however, is taken up with diplomatic documents, from June, 1927, to August, 1928. Selected articles and addresses complete the collection. The great lack of the book is an index.

JUSTICE FOR HUNGARY. Review and criticism of the treaty of Trianon. By Count Albert Apponyi and others. Pp. 376. Longmans, Green & Co. London, 1928.

The arguments for a rectification of Hungary's boundaries are ably presented in this book by nine well informed and deeply interested Hungarians. The outlook of an impoverished, exasperated nation, facing a somber future, is ably presented. A large ethnological map of Hungary, by Count Paul Teleki, is folded in the back cover.

A list of plays bearing on Peace and War has been issued by the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1. There are twenty-four plays listed and described, any of which can be secured for amateur production. There is also a list of pageants for young people and another brief list of novels and light reading on peace.

THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the good offices of one or more friendly nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Pacific Means”

Core of the Peace Movement

A Proposal

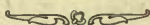
The Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War provides in Article 2 that the settlement of all international disputes “shall never be sought except by pacific means.” It is the view of the American Peace Society that the nub of the whole peace movement probably for another one hundred years lies in the two words—“pacific means.”

The American Peace Society asks just now a special fund of \$25,000 for the following purpose, to wit:

The compilation, printing, and distribution of a thorough-going study, by experts in the legal, economical, industrial, and financial world, of the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War, with the view

1. Of weighing, analyzing, and evaluating the existing “pacific means” available for the settlement of international disputes.
2. Of readapting these existing agencies, if necessary, to the new demands of the new day.
3. Of forecasting additional and desirable agencies as further “pacific means” for such purposes.

All with the understanding that this study and survey be pursued in coöperation as far as possible with the United States Government.



To the American Peace Society
Colorado Building
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

You may count on me for \$. to help with this special fund.

Yours truly,

.....

(Address).....

.....

ADVOCATE OF
PEACE
THROUGH JUSTICE



ITALY

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

A NEW KIND OF FLAG DAY

A NEW PEACE IN SOUTH
AMERICA

A NEW INTERNATIONAL BANK

BUSINESS AND PEACE

MEXICO

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor

Published since 1834 by

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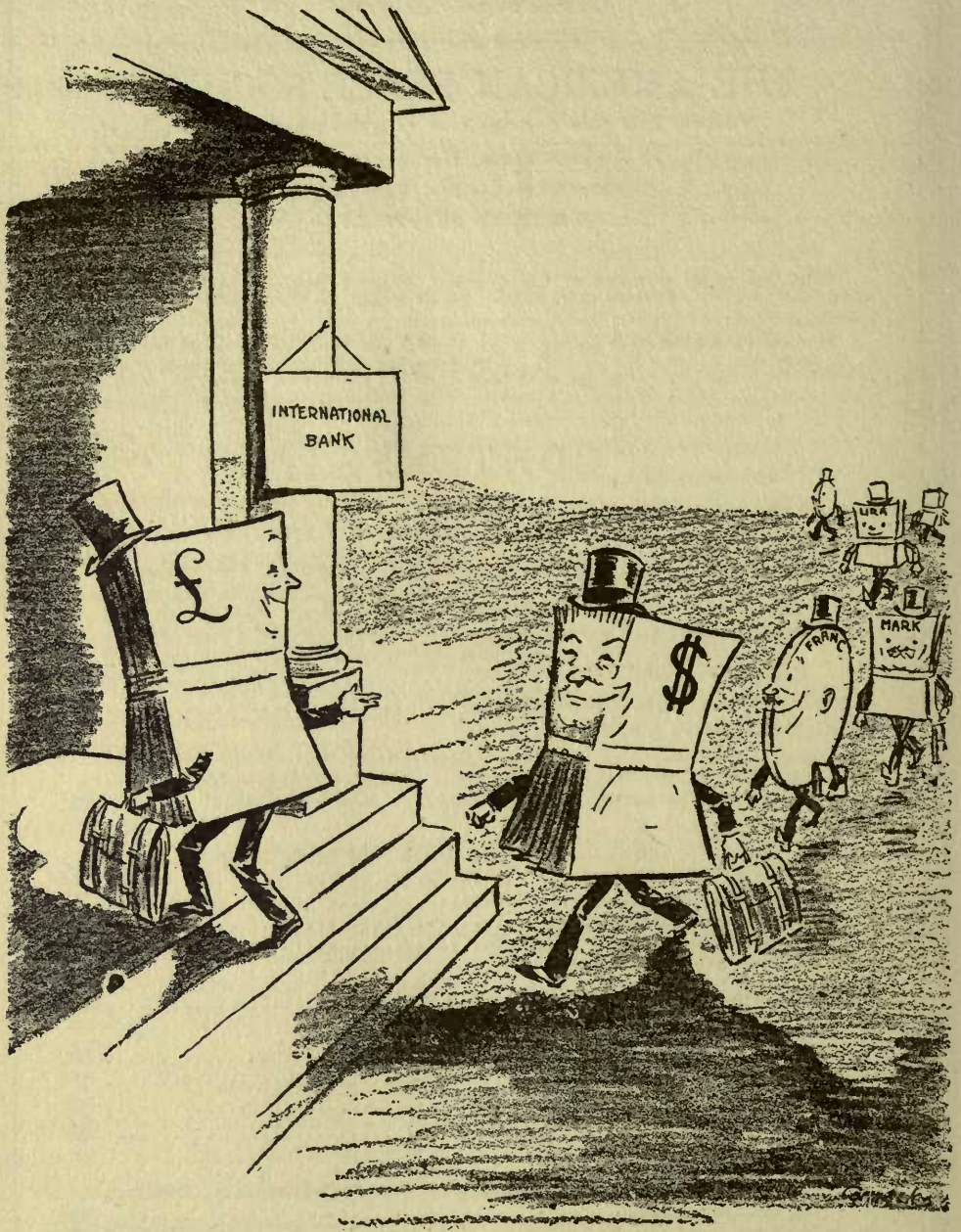
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Getting Ready to Cooperate



ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
91

August, 1929

NUMBER
5

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

ADVOCATE OF PEACE CHANGES TO A QUARTERLY BASIS

BEGINNING with this issue, the ADVOCATE OF PEACE becomes a quarterly instead of a monthly magazine. Subscribers will consider this and the November number as completing Volume Ninety-One.

The American Peace Society's periodical, beginning with the Harbinger of Peace, 1828-1831, changing to the Calumet, 1831-1835, and finally to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, was until the beginning of Benjamin F. Trueblood's administration in 1892, mainly a monthly, but for a time a bi-monthly, publication. Since 1892 it has been a monthly magazine, excepting one number in the fall of each year when the Editor was usually abroad.

It is planned to make the new quarterly a still worthier expression of the peace movement as set up by the Society's founders, and stood for by those statesmen who have labored for the principles of international justice pleaded for so consistently by the American Peace Society.

The Directors of the Society's policies believe that the change from a monthly to a quarterly will release time, funds, and energy for a more intensive cooperation between the Society's central office and its members. Through a system of referendum votes on the main questions affecting our international relations, for example, the American Peace Society proposes to enable our Government to know

from time to time the collective views of our people, as far as these can be obtained, affecting the problems of war and peace. This task can be undertaken, it is believed, more effectively with the aid of a quarterly than of a monthly magazine.

In the task of carrying out this new plan, the Directors of the American Peace Society solicit the continued friendly sympathy and active support of the thoughtful folk of America.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY MOVES ITS HEAD-QUARTERS

AFTER eighteen years in the Colorado Building, Washington, D. C., the American Peace Society moved its offices, on July third, to 20 Jackson Place. The new quarters are on the third floor of a building owned by the Brookings Institution. It faces beautiful Lafayette Park, diagonally across from the White House to the south, diagonally across from the United States Chamber of Commerce to the north, and within two minutes walk of the Department of State. For the first time the American Peace Society has, for the time being at least, sufficient room for its invaluable library.

The new headquarters, temporary it is hoped, register a step forward towards that adequate plant where the work of the American Peace Society can be carried on with an efficiency befitting its purpose.

A HOME FOR THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

THE American Peace Society, in its finer aspects, belongs to that field of human ideals, that system of disciplines which concerns itself primarily with the mind of man. It ranks, therefore, with our humanistic interests, our arts, including the art of government, our social researches, including especially history, business, philosophy and religion. One seeking the ultimate satisfactions of life, such as clarity and proportion, the fruits of which are a consciousness of wisdom and dignity, need never hesitate to join wholeheartedly with the American Peace Society. In it one knows where one stands. The Peace Society is loyalty to the best available truth, for peace and good-will are greater assets within the human spirit than doctrine or even monetary success. He who joins the American Peace Society and does his best to make it sane, knows that he is playing something of a part in a positive and a creative, worth-while life.

It is no mean business to promote the peaceful settlement of international disputes, to discover and to teach its benefits, to preserve one's intellectual candor above those petty disputes of the morning that pass to oblivion before the evening. The American Peace Society descends to such trifles no more than does the Supreme Court. It clings to its views honestly, defends them bravely, and strives to incarnate them in an intelligent service. It would do its share to lead nations not only to the tree of knowledge, but unto the tree of life. For over a century it has represented an abiding aspiration of the race.

For these reasons the American Peace Society is entitled to a fitting home in Washington, the Capital of our Nation.

A Palace for the American Institute of International Law is to be erected in Havana, Cuba. This fact is attracting

too little attention in our North American press. The cornerstone of such a structure was laid in Havana on the nineteenth of May. It is proposed that the Palace shall provide quarters not only for the American Institute, but for organizations affiliated with it. It will house an inter-American library, and an American Academy of International Law after the model of the Academy of International Law at The Hague. There will be a place for the Cuban Society of International Law, and for the Latin American center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. When it is recalled that under the terms of a resolution adopted at the Pan American Congress at Havana, last February, a Permanent Committee to Investigate Questions of Comparative Legislation and the Unification of Legislation is to be set up in Havana, it is peculiarly appropriate that this committee, too, should have a place in the new palace. Dr. James Brown Scott spoke at the laying of the cornerstone, and in his remarks he added the suggestion that a place be provided in the Palace for the Inter-American Commission of Women, created by a resolution also adopted at the Sixth Pan American Congress. This is all a fitting enterprise.

The American Peace Society is also entitled to its Palace. Here is a Peace Society, none the less important because it is unofficial, that aims to take the facts as they are and to enable the people to create through their proper channels something better than now is. It is this Peace Society that has already paved ways for encouraging progress, better relationships for our Western Hemisphere, the extension of international arbitrations and conciliations, the enrichment of business ethics, and the gradual enthronement of law for the nations.

Work for peace can and should be done better. The history of the world warrants

no complacent self-satisfaction. The moral and educational responsibilities of the peace movement remain still too ill-defined. Much of it is careless and helter skelter. There is too much waste of time and effort. There is need of greater clarity, coordination, and concentration.

All these limitations could be largely relieved if the American Peace Society could be properly housed. In his *Ninety-Three*, Victor Hugo, speaking of the "Convention," points out that "Every idea must have a visible covering; every principle must have a dwelling place; a church is God within four walls; every dogma must have a temple." The Government at Washington is spending millions for the housing of agriculture, commerce, patents, money, fishes. It is all very wise, and beautiful withal. There are palaces for the Masons, for the diplomats, for the sciences, the arts, for business, education, the Daughters of the American Revolution. Why is there no building dedicated exclusively, albeit unofficially, to the cause of peace among the nations? What building is needed more? The American Peace Society is an expression of public opinion. It is an attempt on the part of public opinion to lift and improve itself. It is education in its largest aspects. What more appropriate and needful than a home, an ample, adequate, beautiful home, here among the other massive palaces of every description, for the American Peace Society?

Architecture has always been the chief expression of man. Nearly every thought has been worked into an edifice, every aspiration written in stone. The reason is simple. Every great ideal would perpetuate itself. Every worthy ideal should be perpetuated. There is no worthier ideal than the ideal of peace. Upon this point the Teacher of Teachers was very emphatic:

"Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God."

The logic of our proposal seems irrefutable. But logic alone builds no palaces. Our plea is to the intelligent men and women of America, the devoted ones, the earnest believers in the great cause. Build in Washington a useful home for the American Peace Society; and make it a living monument, as fair and beautiful to look upon as our best artists can create.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY SHARES IN CELEBRATION OF FLAG DAY

THANKS to the co-operation of Colonel Paul V. McNutt, National Commander of the American Legion, and of Major S. L. Rothafel, better known throughout the country as "Roxy," the American Peace Society was able to share in the broadcasting program in honor of national Flag Day, June 14. The program included a one-hour nation-wide hook-up of the red and blue networks of the National Broadcasting Company delivered from Roxy's studio, New York City, starting at ten p. m., eastern daylight-saving time, eight o'clock central standard time, and six p. m. Pacific standard time. The speakers were Paul V. McNutt, William Fortune, President of the American Peace Society, and Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State. The addresses were supplemented by a dramatic story of important events through which our flag has passed, accompanied by music. The effective story of the flag was written by Martha L. Wilchinski and read by James Coombs. The music was provided by the Roxy symphony orchestra, aided by his chorus soloists and a supporting cast. The program was broadcast by approximately forty stations. The addresses appear elsewhere in these columns.

BUSINESS MEN AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

BUSINESS men are turning to the peace movement, inquiringly and of necessity. They find in it qualities to fear, much to criticize, but a substance to respect and to encourage. The peace movement needs these men, their technique, their ability, their capacity for getting results.

The peace movement can rely neither on the untrained enthusiasms of youth nor on the senilities of old age for its first line of offense. It cannot thrive on a policy of "safety first" merely. Public opinion, upon which it must bank for success, will not rally with any enthusiasm to the old, simple, sterling qualities of singleness of purpose and absolute dependability. Prime Minister Baldwin had these very qualities to a marked degree; but he has gone down to defeat. The peace movement demands a constant infiltration of fresh blood, energy, enterprise, poise and imagination. Youth? Yes. Our Davids can be ever depended upon to stretch their slings against their Goliaths. Old age? Yes. For the men who saved Rome are needed for counsel by the leaders of the new day. But just now, fortunately, the popular peace movement is drawing upon that quality of intelligence which is forged only on the anvil of applied intelligence, an intelligence peculiarly the property of the successful business man.

This is not to say that the peace movement can be run simply as a business. There are enterprises, governments, political parties, pulpits, that cannot be run wholly as a business. But without the aid of business intelligence even these, in our modern and highly specialized world, will deteriorate and head rapidly into bankruptcy.

Of course business men have their troubles. While it is impossible adequately to appraise a whole people or, indeed, to judge fairly any single class or person, it is fair to say that all is not beer and skittles with any of us. Probably every adult person sides now and then with Eliphaz the Temanite and concludes that man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward. The business man is no exception.

This very virile person, so active with the processes of production and distribution of materials, so important and often conventional, acknowledges that he frequently sweats under the harness. He is never wholly satisfied with his achievements in speed and spread, however great. To enlarge markets, to improve the use of men and materials, to increase capital and credit, to create larger and larger mergers, to concentrate on mere matters of food, clothing and shelter, important as these things may be, does not satisfy him in any final sense. The manufacturer of automobiles views our forty million trekking motorists with complacency, but he longs from his garden of life for something fairer and worthier. He knows that improvements in power, in management, in productivity, are not enough. Suppose we do use as much electricity as all the rest of the world combined, the business man knows in his heart of hearts that there is a deeper thing behind that fact, something relating to the use to which the electricity is put, to the possible effects on the morale of men. Business for its own sake may and often does end in satiety, even exasperation, lacking as it frequently does in soul, in personality, in the ultimates of reality.

A business man contributes to the July *Atlantic* an interesting little study of the question "Shall I Retire?" He reflects a bit wistfully that we Americans are swept on, unconsciously perhaps, by con-

ventional currents. "We are doing the traditional thing. We are pretending. We are afraid to slow down. We don't dare to resign." And later he adds, "Someone has said, 'Life consists in what man is thinking all day.' Through all the distasteful routine of the office, if my thoughts continually turn to a poem, a melody, a fancy, a thrush, then my business is not my life. I am acting one role and living another." To be successful in business does not necessarily mean either peace or happiness of mind.

Business men, it is true, get the work of the world done. In our country they represent the applied intelligence of the major portion of our population, the merchants producing fifteen percent of our national income, the manufacturers twenty-one percent, the agriculturists ten percent. By sheer ability to apply facts to clearly conceived ends, the manufacturers of our country have, within twenty-five years, increased the fixed output per man by fifty percent, and thus quietly achieved an industrial revolution that amazes the world. They have done this, for the most part, in the spirit of the French writer who has recently said of his country, "*Le pays de Descartes et de Voltaire préfère les techniques aux cantiques*"—the land of Descartes and Voltaire has more faith in reason than in dreams.

And yet our ablest men know that "*techniques*," that even business successes are not enough; for the human spirit, if given a chance, will have its "*cantiques*," its poems, its songs and fancies. Indeed, business men are breathing these very things into their business. They find their best rewards beyond their profits; in the consciousness that they are adding to the stock of human comforts, serving their fellows as they wish to be served. Here is the way they interpret their work:

"The function of business is to provide for the material needs of mankind and to increase the wealth of the world and *the value and happiness of life.*" The italics are ours.

Mr. William Butterworth, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, has recently said: "Awakening at length to the value of its public service and to the dignity of its place in the scheme of things, business began to assert that to serve a people's creature needs is quite as worth writing about as killing them in battle; that it is quite as romantic to furnish a people with the utensils of useful employment as to squander its heritage in warfare; that it is quite as noteworthy an achievement to house a people in comfort in city and town and upon the farm as to lay waste a country with fire and sword."

Business men, animated by such motives, achieve their successes, still feeling that something has been left out of their lives. So they turn to other interests and activities, to the arts, to the humanities, to the philanthropies, as an escape from a certain drabness in their achievements. In consequence, our world is becoming more and more dotted with foundations and social enterprises, backed, supported and often manned by these successful business men, bent upon satisfying their souls.

The American Peace Society is attracting the sympathetic attention of such men in increasing numbers. Read the list of its officers and directors, everyone a man of affairs. Read its new constitution, drawn by business men and based upon the experience of large business interests. Remember that the American Peace Society is interested in research, in buttressing its labors upon the facts of history and the experiences of states. Look at its plan for conducting referenda under the terms of which the selected membership

of the American Peace Society can express itself upon major problems affecting war and peace. Note William Fortune, President of the American Peace Society, who, over the radio on Flag Day last, said to America:

"I have great confidence that the practical minded business and professional men of our country can solve any problem to which they give their united thought. I have faith that they can provide for the peace movement that impetus it must have to make it successful. We are trying to make the American Peace Society the standard about which they may rally as they agree upon a practical program for the promotion of peace."

When Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador to the United States, spoke at the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, he pleaded for a peace between nations as a business proposition. The need of the peace movement is the applied intelligence and united support of the really successful business men of the world. Extremists we shall always have with us, working in their way, achieving their harm and their little good. But the peace movement, the movement that affects the policies of governments, needs now, especially just now, the business acumen of our best business men.

The maintenance of peace between nations is not only a serious, social business; it is a practical problem for practical men, to be analyzed and dealt with, ideally, devotionally, and yet as any other business enterprise, wisely and effectively.

It has been pointed out that business men should set themselves to the task of world peace for selfish reasons, such as safeguarding their business. Business men, it is said, need to insure themselves against the risks of war. As one writer says, "The time and money that they spend in working for peace they may well

regard as another and more important kind of insurance against the greatest risk that business can face." In our view, however, business men are turning to the peace movement—most important of all—as they turn to other philanthropies, because of their desire to render a princely service. Every man, with any vision of the meaning of life, longs at some time to be able to say, with some justifiable pride, as, when about to die, did the sorrow stricken Othello—

"I have done the state some service, and they know't."

MR. ROOT'S FORMULA

THE American Peace Society, having advocated a Permanent Court of International Justice for a hundred years, is deeply interested in every attempt to make the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague the universal, judicial body that it is yet to be.

On March 18 the committee of jurists unanimously adopted a revised draft of the statutes of the Court. In the revised plan there is a section dealing with the adherence of the United States. Under the terms of Mr. Root's formula, our United States may adhere to the Court with the understanding that advisory opinions will not be rendered in the face of our objection. In each case where an advisory opinion is asked, the United States may agree; or, if it does not agree, the League of Nations may, through its Council or Assembly, request that the case be withdrawn. But if the United States disagrees and the Council or Assembly believes the case should be submitted for an advisory opinion, the United States may withdraw from the Court. This means that as long as we are within the Court no opinion can be rendered without our consent.

It is too soon to discuss the matter in detail, since the whole project must yet be approved by the Council and the Assembly, and ratified by all of the signatories, including the United States, separately. There is no chance of the United States Senate reaching the matter, assuming that it is ratified by all the other powers, before next December. It is proper to point out, however, at this time, that a careful examination of the formula supported by Mr. Root seems simply to open the way for the United States to adhere to the Court with no violence to any of the reservations insisted upon by our Senate. In fact, the plan is a simple device under the terms of which the United States may adhere to the Court with its reservations in full swing.

There are a number of hurdles yet to be negotiated, before our Senate will confirm the new plan. There is the opposition to the League of Nations and hence to its Court. There is an opinion that the Court should be organized on lines generous enough to permit the United States to adhere without any reservations whatsoever, that when we go in we should do so without any thought of withdrawing. Already men are asking how the act of withdrawal could be undertaken; by the President, the Senate, the Congress, or otherwise. If the argument of Sir Cecil Hurst should prevail, and the British Dominions should all have judges on the bench, would not the United States find the Court packed against it in controversies with the British Empire?

In none of these is there any insuperable difficulty. The Permanent Court of International Justice is an outstanding fact. It represents the world's best effort to date to meet the ideals of America. In the interest of international justice we need it, and it needs us. We have the will to perfect it and use it. Where there is a will there is a way.

COMMISSION ON THE COORDINATION OF EFFORTS FOR PEACE

AS a result of the Cleveland Convention, in May of last year, a Commission on the Coordination of Efforts for Peace was set up, with President Ernest H. Wilkins of Oberlin College as chairman. The Commission is functioning as an independent organization and meeting its own financial needs; but, as President Wilkins reports, "It retains a sense of filial relationship and gratitude to the American Peace Society."

Since the Cleveland Convention, the Commission has been continuously engaged in completing its list of peace organizations and in gathering information regarding them. Its present working list of peace organizations corresponds almost exactly to that published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for February, 1929, which, indeed, was based in part upon materials supplied by the Commission.

Letters have been sent by the Commission to each of these organizations, asking for general information about its work. Replies, more or less complete, have been received from many, but not all. The endeavor to get general information from the others continues.

Early in this year the Commission entered upon the second phase of its work, namely, the analysis of the material received. The Commission had first, in this connection, to ascertain just what information it wished with regard to each organization; whereupon it worked out for this purpose a schedule in outline as follows:

A. MEMBERSHIP:

1. Size.
2. Geographical range.
3. Qualifications.
4. Membership fee.

B. PLAN OF ORGANIZATION:

1. Officers.
2. Salaried staff.
3. Volunteer staff in central office.
4. Committees.

C. FINANCIAL RESOURCES OTHER THAN MEMBERSHIP FEES:

1. Extent.
2. Source.

D. ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE:

1. Official statement, if any.
2. For what main reason, or reasons, do you regard peace as desirable?
3. Under what conditions, if any, do you regard war as more desirable than peace?
4. How would you define "Pacifism," and what is your attitude toward it as thus defined?

E. WHAT ATTITUDE HAVE YOU ADOPTED, IF ANY, TOWARD CERTAIN METHODS REGARDED BY CERTAIN PEOPLE AS DESIRABLE FOR THE PROMOTION OF PEACE?

1. Dissemination of accurate information as to foreign affairs and international relations.
2. Development of understanding of the causes of war.
3. Development of international law.
4. Official and non-official development of goodwill.
5. Influences through sermons and other public addresses.
6. Diffusion of peace literature.
7. Creation of international-mindedness through instruction in schools.
8. Prosecution for disseminating false and defamatory information with regard to foreign affairs and international relations.
9. Maintenance of protective armament.
10. Gradual international disarmament.
11. Absolute disarmament.
12. Personal refusal of military service.
13. Plebiscite before declaration of war.
14. Government monopoly or control of the manufacture of war materials.
15. Conscriptio of capital in time of war.
16. Discontinuance of exemption in time of war except for age or physical incapacity.
17. Creation of a super-state.
18. Declaration by the United States that it will not insist on its neutral right to trade with aggressor nations in future war.

F. WHAT ATTITUDES HAVE YOU ADOPTED, IF ANY, TOWARD THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS AND PROBLEMS?

1. The League of Nations.

2. The Court of International Justice.
3. The backward races.
4. National minorities.
5. The permanence of war as an institution.
6. Recognition of fascist or proletarian dictatorship.
7. Free Trade.

G. PLEASE COMMENT UPON THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION:

1. Meetings.
2. Publications.
3. Other activities.

H. WHAT AFFILIATIONS HAVE YOU, OR HAVE YOU HAD, WITH OTHER PEACE ORGANIZATIONS?

1. Are you a branch of an international organization?
2. Have you local branches in this country?
3. Are you a branch of a national organization?
4. Have you invited any other peace organization to participate in a conference called by you? If so, will you give your impression of the success of such participation?
5. Have you accepted the invitation of any other peace organization to participate in a conference? If so, will you give your impression of the value of such participation?
6. Have you had experience of any other sort with respect to relations with other organizations?

I. SUCCESS:

1. To what extent have you succeeded in making public opinion more favorable to the promotion of peace?
2. To what extent have you tried directly to influence governmental action with regard to peace?

The actual work of analysis, now in process, consists of taking the material submitted by a given organization and filling out one of the schedules of information as far as possible on the basis of this material. This work is being done as seminar work by advanced students in political science at Oberlin and Antioch Colleges, under the direction of the departments of political science.

The next step, President Wilkins writes, will be the completion of information re-

garding each organization. This will be sought, not by means of a questionnaire, but by means of an individualized letter based on the schedule of information which has already been filled out, as far as possible, for that organization. It is hoped that this stage of the work may be completed within the present calendar year. President Wilkins adds: "The Commission has no special peace program of its own, but is a fact finding and a fact analyzing body, hopeful that some suggestions of general value may ultimately emerge from its analysis."

We know of no work calculated to meet the criticism that the peace movement of America is divisive and chaotic, comparable with the efforts of this Commission.

ESSENTIALS IN THE REPARATIONS SETTLEMENT

AFTER four months of discussion, the committee of experts on reparations meeting in Paris signed unanimously on June 7 a report setting forth their new plan for the settlement of the problems left unsolved by the Dawes Plan. This Young Plan is now before the bar of public opinion. At present it remains to be ratified by the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Japan. We have here one of the major proposals of recent history.

It is difficult for an outsider to picture the difficulties faced and overcome at the conference. On the second day Dr. Schacht, chief German delegate, announced that Germany could no longer continue to pay under the terms of the Dawes Plan. Offers and counter offers furnished discussions for days. From time to time it was reported that the experts were unable to agree and that the conference was sure to fail. On March 4, Mr.

Owen D. Young, president of the conference, presented a new plan which with modifications was finally and unanimously adopted. To get representatives from six such powers to agree upon the number and amount of annual payments by Germany, upon a system for handling these annuities, to remove the whole business as far as possible from the embarrassments of politics, to substitute an international trustee in place of the foreign agent and various commissioners in Berlin, to agree upon a plan that would coordinate in a continuous fashion the financial details, to smooth the way for the "deliveries in kind" set up under the Dawes Plan and to be continued under the new for ten years, to arrange for the disposition of funds and transferring payments into foreign currencies, to look ahead to financing projects in undeveloped countries, meant time, patience and statesmanship.

The most important feature of the plan is aimed to meet these very difficulties. We refer, of course, to the plan for an International Bank, the outline of which is published elsewhere in these columns. This institution, if set up, will deal not only with the problem of reparations, but with the whole general position of present international finance. It will remove the reparations problem from the political to the financial sphere. It is hoped that it will provide for all necessary elasticity in case of economic changes. Mr. Young, primarily responsible for the proposal, believes that the bank should prove a useful instrument for opening up new fields of commerce both in the realm of supply and demand.

The bank will be controlled by the existing national central banks. This plan is proposed for the reason that these banks are in position to control national currencies and credits. The bank will have no single fiscal allegiance, indeed, it would seem, no superior whatever.

This effort to set up an international bank, we believe, will turn out to be a major fact of our modern world. It is proposed in the interest of our whole capitalistic system into which it attempts to breathe the principle of cooperation on a world scale. It is designed not only as the keystone of the reparations machinery, it is looked upon as an instrument for the prevention of future wars.

Mr. Young seems justified in saying that international competition has reached the point where nations engaged in international enterprises are fighting one another, instead of working together for the advancement of civilization. We understand him to agree that the principles of capitalism as employed nationally can expect now to succeed only on an international field. It is considered necessary in order to handle Germany's payments to the Allies and their payments to the United States without violence to trade balances that some such bank is required.

If such an institution can weaken the machinery of war by substituting the methods of peace, lead the great central banks of the major powers to forget their rivalries, avoid jealousies among other bankers, and labor unselfishly to maintain the financial health of the world, the new international bank will prove to be not only a tribute to such men as Owen D. Young, Sir Josiah Stamp, M. Emile Moreau, Dr. Hjalmer Schacht, Alberto Pirelli, Mr. Kengo Mori, and to the other distinguished experts; it will prove to be a clearing-house for world trade and thus a prime agency for the promotion of a friendlier international business. It may help the coming of Richard Steele's "godly wisdom" that "teaches the tradesman to live rather somewhat below than at all above his income." It should facilitate generally the processes of peace.

ANOTHER SORE SPOT HEALED

THE Tacna-Arica dispute, lasting through forty-five years, and threatening war from time to time, is settled at last to the satisfaction of both parties. This announcement was made by President Hoover May 17. This happy ending followed the action of President Hoover, who, in the exercise of good offices at the request of both Chile and Peru, transmitted to the Presidents of those countries, through the American Ambassadors at Lima and Santiago, a proposal suggesting the final bases of a settlement. This proposal was presented to and immediately accepted by the two governments on May 15.

Under the terms of the proposal, the disputed territory is divided into two parts. Tacna will go to Peru and Arica to Chile. Interesting fact, the dividing line shall start at a point to be designated by the name "Concordia." The government of Chile will grant to the government of Peru within the bay of Arica a port, a customhouse and a station for a railroad from Tacna to Arica in the nature of a free port and at the expense of the government of Chile. The government of Chile will give to the government of Peru the sum of six million dollars, deliver to Peru all the public works and government property and other benefits in the department of Tacna. Under the terms of the agreement the governments of both countries will respect private rights legally acquired in the territories that remain under their respective sovereignties. In order to commemorate the consolidation of this friendly relation they will erect on the *Morro de Arica* a monument, the design of which shall be the subject of agreement between the parties. The children of Peruvian nationals born in Arica shall

be considered as Peruvian until they attain the age of twenty-one years, at which age they shall have the right to elect their nationality; and the children of Chileans, born in Tacna, shall enjoy the same right. And, finally, both countries agree reciprocally to release any obligation or indebtedness between the two countries of whatever kind.

Here is a fine fruit not only of Mr. Kellogg's work as Secretary of State and of Mr. Hoover's visit to Peru and Chile last December; it is a very vivid expression of what may be expected to happen when two sensibly disposed governments forget their passions and prejudices and go at the business of achieving their real interests.

A UNITED STATES Canal across Nicaragua has been brought nearer to realization by President Hoover, who during the month of June authorized the dispatch to Nicaragua of a battalion of Engineer troops to make an investigation and survey for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability and the approximate cost of a canal route through Nicaragua provided for by the Seventieth Congress.

The Department of State telegraphed the American Chargé d'Affaires at Managua, Nicaragua, on June 12th that the War Department has notified the Department of the President's action.

The Chargé d'Affaires was directed so to advise the Nicaraguan Government requesting its consent that these Engineer troops may take such stations as they may choose and conduct such operations as may be necessary to serve the purpose contemplated.

The Chargé d'Affaires advised the Nicaraguan Government as instructed and received the following reply from the Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"By instruction of the President I am pleased to inform you that my Government sees with the most justified pleasure the realization of the preliminary studies of a work which, if executed, would mean for Nicaragua the assurance of a happy and brilliant future; and that consequently, in the fulfillment of a patriotic duty, grants the requested permission in the most ample form."

Accordingly, President Hoover, on June 18, announced the appointment of an Interoceanic Canal Board of five members, headed by the Chief of Engineers of the Army, Maj. Gen. Edgar Jadwin, to make the investigation and survey.

The President said: "In accordance with the provisions of Public Resolution No. 99, 70th Congress—authorizing certain surveys for interoceanic canals—'That the President is hereby authorized to cause to be made, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers, and with the aid of such civilian engineers as the President shall deem advisable, a full and complete investigation and survey,' etc., the President has designated the following Board, to be known as the Interoceanic Canal Board, to aid the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers in connection with the surveys authorized by the resolution:

"Maj. Gen. Edgar Jadwin, chairman; Maj. Ernest Graves, U. S. A., retired; Sidney B. Williamson, Dr. Anson Marston, Frank M. Williams, civil engineers.

"First Lieutenant John Paul Dean, Corps of Engineers, has been designated to act as secretary to the Board."

THE International Peace Bureau, with headquarters at Geneva, announces another Universal Peace Congress, to be held this time in Athens, October 6 to 10. The congress will be held with the support of the Greek Government.

WALTER SCOTT PENFIELD, Esquire, chairman of the committee on affairs of the Pan American Union, made a report at the meeting of the American branch of the International Law Association held in New York City May 4. Mr. Penfield, member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, dealt with a number of matters—the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, the Protocol of Progressive Arbitration, the Protocol between Bolivia and Paraguay, the Pan American Trademark Conference of last February—occurring since the last annual meeting, as of particular interest to the International Law Association. Recalling that Dr. James B. Miles, a former Secretary of the American Peace Society and Editor of this magazine, was primarily responsible for the organization of the International Law Association, it is not without peculiar appropriateness that an officer of the American Peace Society should appear now and then before that organization.

FOR a plain statement of facts, setting forth the conditions on which the inter-Allied debts were originally negotiated, the purposes for which the loans were contracted, the terms of the debt settlements negotiated by the United States Government, and the terms of Great Britain's settlement with her debtors, we know of no clearer and more authoritative statement than that by Harold G. Moulton in *Current History* for June.

THE rights of children have been defined by the League of Nations in language that illustrates the universality of our most fundamental aspirations. The declaration reads:

"By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as the Declaration of Geneva, men and women of all nations, recognizing that mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their nationality or creed:

"1. The child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

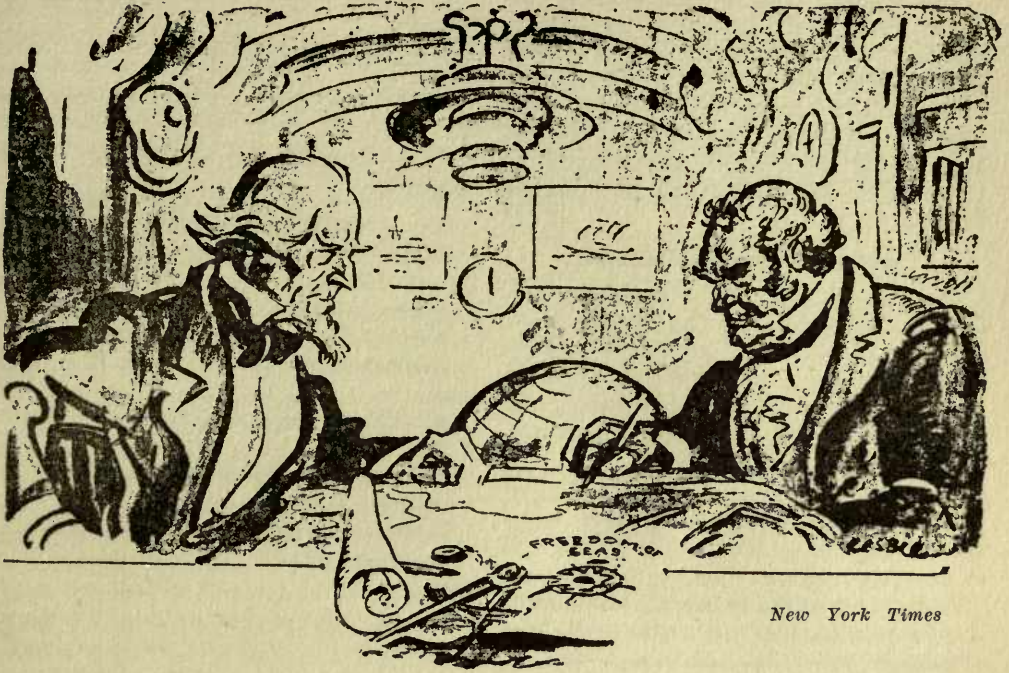
"2. The child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be helped; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succored;

"3. The child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress;

"4. The child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation;

"5. The child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow men."

THE lack of publicity for the Kellogg Peace Treaty bestirs Mr. Bruce Barton to utterance. In a recent number of *Printers Ink* he wonders why, when it was approved, there was no ringing of church bells, no parade, no holiday declared by banks. In his judgment, if the advertising fraternity of the United States were entrusted with \$2,000,000 for seventeen years, about one-twentieth of the cost of one battleship, it could make the Kellogg Treaty mean something in the consciousness of the American people. He bemoans the fact that statesmen are still proceeding on the assumption that peace can be purchased for nothing. He adds, "If this be true, then peace differs from every other worth-while object in the world." He believes that the Kellogg Treaty might be made a great success by the addition of a couple of paragraphs calling for a continuous advertising campaign, explaining and re-explaining the Treaty.



New York Times

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

LABOR GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

THE British general election, held on May 30, again brought to power the British Labor Party after five years of rule by the Conservatives. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the party, who was Prime Minister for eight months in 1924, has accordingly succeeded Mr. Stanley Baldwin as the head of the British Government. Although the Labor Party did not obtain a clear majority in the House of Commons, it nevertheless succeeded in increasing the number of its seats to such an extent that it now constitutes the largest group in Parliament.

Labor Victory at the Polls

The total number of votes cast in the election was 22,390,703. Of this total the Conservative Party received 8,561,579; the

Labor Party, 8,306,477; and the Liberal Party, 5,220,577. In spite of the fact that the number of votes cast for the Conservative candidates was larger than that cast for the Laborites, the outcome of the three-cornered contests was such that the party composition of the new House of Commons is as follows:

Labor Party	289
Conservative Party	259
Liberal Party	58
Independents	8
Unreported	1
Total	615

When the last Parliament was dissolved early in May, the Conservative Party held 396 seats; it has thus lost 137 seats. The Labor Party held 160 seats; its gains are therefore 129 seats. The Liberal Party gained 12 seats.

The number of seats now held by the Labor Party is the largest in its history. Starting with 2 seats won in the 1900 election, the Labor Party gradually increased its strength, until in the 1923 election it obtained 191 seats. The following year its strength was reduced to 151 seats, to be raised in the last election to 289.

The Second MacDonald Cabinet

On June 4, the Baldwin Cabinet resigned, and on the following day Mr. MacDonald was summoned to Windsor and received from the King his second appointment to the post of Prime Minister. In the language of the Court Circular, the event was described as follows:

The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., was received in audience by the King this morning, when his Majesty invited him to form an administration.

The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., accepted his Majesty's offer of the post of Prime Minister, and kissed hands upon his appointment.

The composition of the new Cabinet was announced on June 7. It is as follows:

THE CABINET

Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson.

Lord Privy Seal, Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas.

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies, Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb.

Lord President of the Council, Lord Parmoor.

Lord Chancellor, Lord Justice Sankey.

Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes.

Secretary of State for India, Captain Wedgwood Benn.

Secretary of State for War, Rt. Hon. Tom Shaw.

Secretary of State for Air, Lord Thomson.

Minister of Health, A. Greenwood.

Minister of Labor, Miss Bondfield.

Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton.

President, Board of Education, Rt. Hon. Sir C. P. Trevelyan.

President, Board of Trade, Rt. Hon. W. Graham.

First Lord of the Admiralty, A. V. Alexander.

Secretary of State for Scotland, Rt. Hon. W. Adamson.

First Commissioner of Works, George Lansbury.

OTHER MINISTERS

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Oswald Mosley.

Attorney-General, W. Jowitt, K. C.

Solicitor-General, J. B. Melville, K. C.

Minister of Pensions, Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts.

Minister of Transport, Herbert Morrison, J. P.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Scotland, Tom Johnston.

Postmaster-General, H. B. Lees Smith.

Paymaster-General, Lord Arnold (without pay).

An important innovation in the Labor Cabinet is the appointment of a woman to a full Cabinet post. In order to increase its strength in the House of Lords, the Labor Government has elevated to peerage one of its ablest members, Mr. Sidney Webb.

MacDonald-Dawes Conference

The new Prime Minister announced from the start his determination to attack with vigor both the domestic and the foreign problems confronting Great Britain. One of his first actions was an important announcement with regard to naval matters, made after a conference in Scotland between Mr. MacDonald and the new American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, General Charles G. Dawes. After the conference the following communiqué was issued by Mr. MacDonald:

We have had a conversation regarding the present position of the naval disarmament as between the United States and Great Britain. It has been informal and general and most satisfactory.

His Excellency (General Dawes) proposed to refer to the subject at the Pilgrims' dinner on Tuesday night and I shall do the same thing at practically the same moment at a dinner in Lossiemouth, and that is intended to be the beginning of the negotiations.

We both want to make it clear that other naval powers are expected to cooperate in these negotiations, upon the successful consummation of which the peace of the whole world must depend.

The speeches referred to in the communiqué were made two days later. Following are the principal points in the two speeches:

MacDonald.—We found each other taking the same general views on world peace.

As to the wide world purpose of what is known as the Anglo-American conversations, I hope that neither the large states nor the small ones will have any doubt that they are not exclusive—they are inclusive.

The mighty republic across the Atlantic will enter into no European entanglements and alliances, but no one ought to suspect that it will decline to serve the common interests of peace and democracy.

Dawes.—Naval reduction—a step so important to the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind.

On statesmen lies the duty of peace-making.

Use of yardstick will not invite peril from extreme pacifists and extreme militarists.

Question is how best to adjust methods of negotiations in accord with the laws of human nature.

Agreement on naval reduction of outstanding importance.

REPARATION SETTLEMENT

ON JUNE 7, the report of the Committee of Experts dealing with the reparation question was formally signed in Paris. The experts, representing seven nations, thus completed their work which lasted almost exactly four months, their first meeting having taken place on February 11. Under the guidance of Mr. Owen D. Young, chief American delegate, who was Chairman of the Committee, the experts labored arduously to produce their report, which is a document of about 16,000 words, divided into 12 sections, with nine appendices. After recording the formal appointment, terms of reference, and constitution of the Committee, and making reference to the cooperation of the German members and general good

will shown at the meetings, the report plunges into a brief study of economic conditions in Germany. Much of the results of this study, of course, remains in the unpublished archives of the delegations, and what remains is a distilled summary.

Considerations Which Influenced The Committee

The Committee found that Germany's capacity to pay was allied to the conditions of payment. The following considerations influenced the Committee:

(1) The need for a non-political Committee in case Germany should encounter difficult periods;

(2) Certain creditor Powers were anxious to obtain the early mobilization of some part of their reparation debt;

(3) The system of deliveries in kind, which some Powers (in particular Great Britain) desired to see abolished, could not be immediately terminated, but might be put on a more elastic basis; and

(4) It was necessary to substitute for the machinery and control of the Agent-General's Committee some non-political authority to receive and distribute the reparation annuities.

The experts did not achieve all they attempted in this connection. Conflicting interests had to be reconciled, and it is probable that the solutions may yet be found to be insufficient and unsatisfactory. In the case of deliveries in kind, for example, it is probable that even after the stipulated ten years their evil will persist.

The International Bank

The general trend of these considerations, however, was towards the creation of a bank, a very natural conclusion in view of the fact that the majority of the chief delegates were bankers. Thus arose the idea of a Bank of International Settlement, non-political in character, and equipped to handle the realization of the German payments. Given the system proposed by the experts, it is easy to see that there is room for a Bank of this character, provided it be properly safeguarded. The fear that it might enter into competition with existing institutions, or exercise an undesirable influence in certain mar-

kets is solved (or is supposed to be solved) by the proposal to put the administration in the hands of the existing Central Banks and so give them the control over any operations that might merge into competition with them. The bank is to have a capital equivalent to \$100,000,000, of which one-fourth is to be paid up at once.

One of the functions of the bank is that it shall endeavor to forestall the circumstances which might of themselves lead to a transfer postponement, either by giving credit or by investing marks in Germany.

As there may come a year of stress or difficulty for Germany the Committee accords Germany, on her own initiative, the right of postponement of the transfer of a portion of the annuity. If and when such postponement occurs the Special Advisory Committee shall make an investigation and report to the Governments and to the bank.

Methods of Payment

The method of payment under the Dawes Plan is to cease on August 31, 1929, and the new Plan is to come into force on September 1, 1929.

The new Plan envisages 59 annuities, of which 37 have the value of 1,988,800,000 marks, plus 61,200,000 marks for the service of the Dawes Loan.

Of these annuities the sum of 660 million marks, plus the service of the Dawes Loan, is payable in foreign currencies by equal monthly instalments, without any right of postponement. The remainder is to be paid similarly, subject to postponement not exceeding two years if necessary, after 90 days' notice, and after a preliminary investigation by a Special Advisory Committee nominated by the Governors of the Central Banks reporting to the Governments and the Bank of International Settlements.

Form of Payment

Annuities are to be represented by a German Government certificate of indebtedness deposited with the Bank, similar to those in ordinary commercial use, with coupons. The German Government can be required to create issuable bonds representing the capitalization of any part of the annuity coupons not subject to postponement. Revenues are to be assigned for the service of the certificate and bonds.

The Bank of International Settlements is to inform the Creditor Governments whenever the issue of bonds is practicable and to fix the minimum price of issue. The cost of commissions and current expenses of occupation are not included, as they are to continue only until the date to be fixed by the governments.

Annuities are to be derived from:—(1) The German railways; (2) The German Budget. The former will be obtained by a direct tax amounting to 660,000,000 marks as a conservative estimate annually raised on the gross revenue ranking after *personnel* and equal with material stores, with priority over other tax or mortgage; the latter by a variable amount rising from 1,136,400,000 marks in the second year to 1,768,800,000 marks in the 37th year. Thereafter the Budget contribution in decreasing amount covers the German liability for the remainder of the plan. The plan contemplates that the anticipated increase in German prosperity will thereby be reflected in the plan.

The mean average from 1929 to 1965 is to be distributed as follows:—Great Britain, 409,000,000 marks; France, 1,046,500,000 marks; Italy, 213,700,000 marks; Belgium, 115,500,000 marks; The United States, 66,100,000 marks; Japan, 13,200,000 marks; Yugoslavia, 84,000,000 marks; Rumania, 20,000,000 marks; Portugal, 13,200,000 marks; Greece, 7,000,000 marks; Poland, 500,000 marks.

The mark is to be placed on a legal gold basis.

Deliveries in kind are to cease in 10 years falling by degrees from 750 million marks in the first year to 300 million marks in the tenth year.

Other Provisions of the Plan

All controls in Germany are to be liquidated; railway and industrial bonds and the index of prosperity are to disappear. There will be a mutual abandonment of claims and counter-claims on the property of individuals, and an abandonment by Germany of the recovery of credits against her ex-Allies. Claims and debts against the succession States are to be liquidated. The report is to be taken as an indivisible whole.

The plan is not to become operative until the Belgian and German Govern-

ments have come to a binding agreement on the marks claim.

As a separate agreement, Germany is to benefit to the extent of two-thirds of any relief which any creditor Power may receive in respect of its net outward payments on account of war debts during the first 37 years. As regards the last 22 years the whole of such relief shall be applied to the reduction of Germany's liabilities.

The provision contained in this special agreement is intended to give Germany the benefit of any reduction or cancellation of the Allied debts to the United States. In the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, the reader will find the complete text of the plan for the Bank of International Settlement and of the special agreement.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN MUSSOLINI AND THE POPE

THE ratification of the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat, which establishes the new position of the Vatican and the relations between the Italian State and the Holy See, finally took place on June 7. It was preceded by a rather astonishing controversy between the Italian Prime Minister and the Pope, which threatened at one time to nullify the work already accomplished. Pope Pius took exception to certain statements made by Signor Mussolini in presenting the treaty to the Chamber of Deputies for ratification, especially on the question of education, and lost no time in stating his position in the matter. Signor Mussolini replied in a speech before the Italian Senate, and the Pope took up the question again in a letter addressed to his Secretary of State.

Mussolini's Speech in the Chamber

Rising before the Chamber of Deputies on May 13, Mussolini delivered a long speech, the first part of which was entirely historical, except for a reference to a speech by Signor Solmi, who had spoken about "A free and sovereign Church, a free and sovereign State." This phrase, said the Prime Minister, might appear equivocal. It might lead to the belief in the co-existence of two sovereigns. These

two sovereigns do not co-exist, but exist together. On the one side is the Vatican City, and on the other side the Kingdom of Italy, which is the Italian State. It must be remembered that between the Italian State and the Vatican City there is a distance which might be calculated at thousands of miles, even though five minutes are sufficient to go and see this State and ten minutes to go round its boundaries. There are, then, two sovereigns, distinct, different, but perfectly and reciprocally recognized. But in the State the Church is not sovereign and is not even free. She is not free because in her institutions and in her men she is subject to the general laws of the State and also subject to the special clauses in the Concordat. For this reason the situation might be defined as follows: A sovereign State in the Kingdom of Italy. A Catholic Church with certain preeminences, loyally and voluntarily recognized. Free admission of other forms of worship.

The second part of Signor Mussolini's speech was devoted to the recent negotiations. He made an interesting disclosure in giving an account of the negotiations between Signor Orlando and Mgr. Ceretti in 1919, during the Peace Conference at Versailles. At that time, the Duce explained, a certain measure of agreement had been reached, including, it appears, a promised guarantee of Papal independence by the newly created League of Nations. Signor Orlando's fall, however, had put a stop to these negotiations.

In speaking of the negotiations which had culminated in the treaty of February 11, Signor Mussolini dwelt upon the sense of enormous responsibility with which he had accepted the various clauses, and he paid a generous tribute to the no less onerous burden of responsibility resting upon the Holy See. The words "fortunately we have a truly Italian Pope," with which he concluded his tribute to the Holy Father, were received with a storm of applause.

He emphasized, however, his stubborn refusal to yield one additional foot of territory to the new Vatican State and his unshakable determination to retain control over education. He revealed that

his determination to have his own way over the Catholic Boy Scouts held up negotiations through the whole year 1927, and stressed the fact that religious teaching has been excluded from the universities.

The Pope's Reply

The next day after Signor Mussolini's speech Pope Pius took the occasion of an audience which he gave to a deputation from the College of Mondragone to speak on the subject of religious education, especially, as he said, since an opportunity thus presented itself "on the morrow of the day on which such solemn words have been uttered on many things, and many others on education and on the interdependence between State and Church with regard to education."

Continuing, the Holy Father said that from the earliest times Christian parents had realized that it is their duty, as also their interest, to profit by that treasure of Christian education which the Church puts at their disposal. Thus two facts of the highest importance stand out; on the one hand the Church puts at the disposal of the family her services as guide and educator; on the other hand, the families are hastening to profit thereby, and are giving their children to the Church by hundreds and thousands. These two facts proclaim that "the mission of education belongs before all, above all, and in the first place to the Church and the family; to the Church and to the fathers and mothers; belongs to them inevitably and irrepressibly."

The Pope proceeded:

The State certainly cannot and should not disinterest itself in the education of its citizens, but merely for the purpose of aiding in everything that the individual and the family cannot furnish of themselves. The State is not created to absorb, to swallow, to annihilate the family. This would be an absurdity contrary to nature, as the family precedes Society and the State. The State should not disinterest itself in education, but should contribute and procure merely what is necessary to help cooperate in and perfect the action of the family in order to fulfil the desires of the father and the mother, above all in order to respect the divine rights of

the Church. In a certain manner it may be said that the State is called upon to complete the work of the family and of the Church because the State is pre-eminently supplied with means put at its disposal for the needs of all, and it is only just that it should employ them to the benefit of those people by whom they are furnished.

Proceeding to reply if anything more directly to the words of Signor Mussolini, the Pope went on:

It is not for us to say that in order to complete the work of the State in the field of education it is necessary, suitable, or opportune that the State should breed a race of conquerors, bred to conquest. That which is done in one State might also be done throughout the whole world, and if all States breed with a view to conquest, what, then, would happen? Is it in this way, perchance, that one might contribute to a general pacification? Unless the meaning was (and perhaps this was in effect the meaning) that it was intended to breed for the purpose of the conquest of truth and virtue, in such case we shall of course be in perfect accord. But where we will never be in accord is in anything that seeks to impede, diminish or deny that right which Nature and God have given to the family and to the Church in the field of education. On this point we do not wish to say that we are intractable, because intractability is not a virtue, but we do say that we are merely intransigent, just as we could not fail to be intransigent if anyone asked us how much two and two made. The answer is four. And it is not our fault if it is not five or six or 50. If it were a question of saving souls, or of warding off major evils from souls, we should feel within us the courage to bargain with the Devil in person; and it is precisely in order to ward off a major evil that, as everyone knows, at a given moment we bargained when the fate of our beloved Catholic Scouts was decided. We have made sacrifices in order to ward off major ills, but we have placed on record all the regret we felt in being compelled to yield so much.

In conclusion the Pope declared that he must add that the Church does not dispose of material needs for maintaining this intransigence. On the other hand, this is not a matter of regret, because "the truth and right do not need material force

because they have a force of their own—a force inconfutable and irresistible.”

Mussolini's Speech in the Senate

In his speech before the Senate, delivered on May 25, Signor Mussolini admitted that some of the expressions used in his previous speech had caused “legitimate apprehensions,” but he nevertheless maintained his ground. He began by confessing that his speech of May 13 had been blunt, but had been necessary, and the reaction of those aimed at showed that his shafts had found their intended mark. It had been necessary to dispel the unduly cloudy and sentimental atmosphere which threatened to blur the true outline of the facts. It was necessary to emphasize the distinction between the sovereign Italian Kingdom and the sovereign Vatican City. It was essential to destroy the notion that the Treaty of the Lateran had “Vaticanized” Italy, or that the Vatican had been “Italianized.” The King has not become an acolyte of the Pope, and the Pope has not become the private chaplain of the King.

A passage then followed in which the Duce replied directly to the Pope's educational claims. After denying that Fascism demands “a fierce monopoly of education” and after reminding his hearers that it was under the Fascist régime that the first Catholic Italian university had been opened, he proceeded:—

But there is a side of education on which we are, if the word “intractable” is not to be used, at least “intransigent.” (Laughter.) Let us for a moment descend from the academic zone and consider the realities of life. To say that education belongs to the family is to say something outside the realities of today. The modern family, harassed by needs of an economic nature, worried daily by the struggle for life, cannot educate anybody.

The State alone can fulfil that task, and, he would add, “can alone impart the necessary religious education, completing it with the framework of other forms of discipline. What, then, is the education that we demand in a totalitarian manner? The education of the citizen.” The State would be ready to renounce its claims if

other nations did the same. But as Italy is surrounded by “fierce wolves,” none the less fierce for wearing top hats and furrereal frock coats, she can not abandon warlike education. The word ought not to cause alarm.

This virile and warlike education is necessary in Italy because for long centuries the military virtues of the Italian people have been unable to shine. The war waged between 1915 and 1918 constitutes the first war after the wars of the Roman Empire to be fought and won by the Italian people. For this reason Italy, as a nation which has yet to “arrive,” can not yield to the blandishments of “universalism.”

Signor Mussolini ended his references to this subject by denying that in the institutions of higher education there would necessarily be any conflict between philosophy and religion, and he slyly twitted the Pope by pointing out the esteem felt for Kant in the Catholic University of Milan, “so dear to the supreme Catholic hierarchies.”

The Pope's Rejoinder

The Pope's rejoinder to Mussolini's second speech was much more direct and comprehensive than his reply to the first speech. Given out in the form of a letter to his Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, under the date of May 30, the Pope stated that he was not going to content himself with the observations he had already made. He said:

Perhaps we should have limited ourselves to adding a general declaration of dissent and reservation had we not noticed the general and painful impression made on our friends and on the good friends of peace in Italy and abroad by those speeches and the lively expectation of a word of explanation and reassurance on our part. The request made to us makes such a word incumbent on us as a duty to our Apostolic ministry, also sentiments of loyalty prohibit us from proceeding further without making explanations which seem to us necessary in order to render as far as in us lies any misunderstandings impossible.

The Pope then referred to the universal expression of “serene joy” caused by the

agreement between Italy and the Vatican. This was a phenomenon which "three months afterwards was destined to be so profoundly and sadly disturbed." The Pope regretfully referred to the words "hard," "crude," and "drastic" pronounced by Signor Mussolini and which the Holy Father himself considers neither "necessary, useful, nor suitable." The Pope, however, referred to the "too courteous" expressions used of him personally by Signor Mussolini, but expressed his preference for words made not to him personally but to the Divine institution at whose head he finds himself. Then he said:

But this is where our expectations have been most bitterly disappointed. Least of all did we expect heretical and worse than heretical expressions on the very existence of Christianity and Catholicism. An attempt had been made to atone, but it does not seem to us to have been fully successful. To distinguish between historical affirmations and doctrinal affirmations would be in the circumstances the worst and most condemnable modernism.

To say that the Holy See is the Supreme organ of the universal Catholic Church and hence the legitimate representative of the organization of the Church in Italy is like saying that the head is the supreme organ of the human body and that the central and sovereign power of a country is the legal representative of each province thereof. "The Holy Father does not represent the sovereignty of the Church, but impersonates and exercises it by Divine mandate. Hence it is not the Catholic organization in Italy which is subjected to the sovereignty of the State, but it is the Holy Father who disposes and judges what is good to be done for the greater glory of God and the greater good of souls."

The Pope then stated that he is "offended" by the frequent expressions that the State has made no renunciation or concession to the Church and by the reference to continued control and supervision over the Church as if they were dealing with "suspicious characters to say the least." It is almost as if the Church had attempted to despoil the Italian State,

whereas the notorious truth is the contrary, or again as if the Church had asked the State to renounce rights belonging to it, whereas in fact the Church has only asked its right to "a proper and ordered cooperation for the common good in accordance with justice and the end in view."

The Pope stated that he would not attribute too much importance to each of the three words "tolerated," "admitted," or "permitted," which are used to describe non-Catholic cults, because "it is and remains clearly and loyally understood that the Catholic religion is, according to the statutes and the treaties, the religion of the State, with the logical and juridical consequences of such a situation in constitutional law, particularly as regards propaganda."

More delicate is the situation, the Pope said, when repeated mention is made of the liberty of conscience and the full liberty of discussion. Dangers would be presented by "an absolute liberty of discussion, including those forms of discussion which can easily deceive the good faith of uneducated hearers, and which can easily become dissimulated forms of propaganda, not less dangerous to the religion of the State, and therefore dangerous to the State itself." The attempt to ensure absolute liberty of conscience, continues the Pope, is still less admissible. Such liberty would mean that the creature is not subject to the Creator.

After repeating his previous argument about the respective places of the State and the Church in education, the Pope added that Catholic institutions of whatever sort require no apology, their fame, their achievements, their output of capable magistrates and teachers and professional men being a sufficient tribute. The Holy Father welcomed the description of the Fascist State as a Catholic State and deduced from this that nothing will be done that is not in accordance with the doctrine and practices of Catholicism.

The letter then quoted phrases and words which have been used by Signor Mussolini and which are in contradiction with the terms of the Concordat. Thus, for instance, the Concordat never refers in those terms to a "Nulla Osta" on the part

of the State, while the juridical personality of the ecclesiastical orders has been "recognized" in the Concordat but is never spoken of as having been "conferred."

The Pope next referred to the clauses on matrimony, and described them as being so important that he would have "sacrificed his very life" for them. At the same time, he regretted the statement that there are no means of forcing Catholics to perform the religious ceremony of marriage. Such means in fact do exist, and the Church would not fail to enforce them if necessary. Again, although the exact terms of the Concordat do not state that Article Five, which concerns the dismissal from certain Government services of apostate priests, is to have retroactive effect, nevertheless the discussion which preceded the treaty had assumed a different interpretation.

Proceeding to refer to the talk of possible changes in the future in the Concordat, the Pope said that if the Concordat can be changed it can only be changed in matters of detail. The Concordat is as inviolable as the treaty on which it depends. The treaty and the Concordat would stand or fall together, and this position would be maintained "even if the Citta del Vaticano with the relative State had to fall." The Church is tranquilly resigned and ready to accept whatever Divine Providence has in store. It is instructive and significant that after all their labors they have already to lament an ungrateful and painful interruption of the joy provoked in the hearts of all good citizens and good Catholics throughout the world as a result of the conciliation. At the same time, the Pope expressed his hope for the future and based his hopes on the loyalty and the good will of men and on the help of God.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

ON June 21, a settlement of the controversy between the Mexican Government and the Roman Catholic Church was announced by President Portes Gil. The terms of the accord had been submitted to the Pope and had received his approval. As a result of the agreement,

services have been resumed once more in the Mexican churches. The church issue in Mexico has been more or less acute for nearly three-quarters of a century, and reached its climax about three years ago, when President Calles began to apply the constitutional provisions against the Church. With the present agreement, the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico may be considered as finally regularized.

President Gil's Statement

In announcing the settlement, President Gil issued the following statement:

I have had conversations with Archbishop Ruiz y Flores and Bishop Pascual Diaz. These conversations took place as the result of public statements made by Archbishop Ruiz on May 2 and a statement made by me on May 8.

Archbishop Ruiz and Bishop Diaz informed me that the Mexican Bishops have felt that the Constitution and laws, particularly the provision which requires registration of ministers and the provision which grants separate States the right to determine the maximum number of ministers, threaten the identity of the Church, giving the State the control of its spiritual offices.

They assure me that the Mexican Bishops are animated by sincere patriotism and that they desire to resume public worship if this can be done consistently with their loyalty to the Mexican Republic and their consciences.

They stated that it could be done if the Church could enjoy the freedom within the law to live and to exercise its spiritual offices.

I am glad to take advantage of this opportunity to declare publicly and very clearly that it is not the purpose of the Constitution, nor of the laws, nor of the government of the republic to destroy the identity of the Catholic Church or of any other, nor to interfere in any way with its spiritual functions.

In accordance with the oath of office which I took when I assumed the provisional government of Mexico to observe and to cause to be observed the Constitution of the Republic and the laws derived therefrom, my purpose has been at all times to fulfill honestly that oath and see that the laws are applied without favor to any sect and without any bias whatever, my administration being dis-

posed to hear from any person, be he dignitary of some church or merely a private individual, any complaints in regard to injustices arising from undue application of the laws.

With reference to certain provisions of the law which have been misunderstood, I also take advantage of this opportunity to declare:

First, that the provision of the law which required the registration of ministers does not mean that the government can register those who have not been named by a hierarchical superior of the religious creed in question or in accordance with its regulations;

Second, with regard to religious instruction, the Constitution and laws in force definitely prohibit it in primary or higher schools whether public or private, but this does not prevent ministers of any religion from imparting its doctrines within the church confines to adults and their children, who may attend for that purpose;

Third, that the Constitution as well as the laws of the country guarantee to all residents of the republic the right of petition and therefore the members of any church may apply to the appropriate authorities for amendment, repeal or passage of any law.

Position of the Church

The position of the Catholic Church was stated in the following announcement issued by Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz, the Apostolic delegate to Mexico:

Bishop Diaz and I have had several conferences with the President, the results of which are set forth in the statement which he has issued today.

I am glad to say that all conversations have been marked by a spirit of mutual goodwill and respect. As a consequence of the statement made by the President, the Mexican clergy will resume religious services pursuant to the laws in force.

I entertain the hope that resumption of religious services may lead the Mexican people, animated by a spirit of mutual goodwill, to cooperate in all moral efforts made for the benefit of all people of our fatherland.

Hitherto efforts to reach an understanding between the Church and the State have broken down on the question of the government's demand that a minister, to exercise his functions, must register in his

municipality. This difficulty has now been definitely removed.

CHINA'S BID FOR SOVEREIGNTY

MR. C. T. WANG, the Nanking Minister of Foreign Affairs, has addressed identic notes to the Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France, in which he expresses China's "strong desire for the removal of the limitations of China's jurisdictional sovereignty imposed upon her by the old treaties concluded between China and foreign Powers."

The notes described extra-territoriality as a "legacy of the old régime which has not only ceased to be adaptable to present-day conditions, but so detrimental to the smooth working of the judicial and administrative machinery of China that her progress as a member of the family of nations is unnecessarily retarded."

Mr. Wang asserted that Chinese jurisprudence now closely approximates to that of the West, and that new codes have been formulated and new courts established. He appealed to the experience of the nations who have ceased to enjoy extra-territorial privileges in China, and whose nationals "have found satisfaction in the protection given by Chinese law and had no cause to complain that their interests have in any way been prejudiced," to reassure the other Powers regarding the prospects of relinquishing their privileges.

Mr. Wang has not asked the Powers to fix a date for the discussion of the treaties, but merely requested them to signify their willingness for an early revision. It is clear that the abolition of extra-territoriality involves almost endless and very complicated questions, for instance, the position of the banks and their right to issue notes, of insurance companies, and shipping companies—which if removed would leave China practically destitute of shipping—and, finally, the whole future status of Shanghai.

LITTLE ENTENTE CONFERENCE

ON May 20-22 the Foreign Ministers of the three Little Entente States, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia,

conferred together in Belgrade. As they have done periodically since the formation of the Little Entente, the three Ministers reviewed the international problems which affect their countries in common.

Results of the Conference

At the May meeting, the treaties of alliance which bind the three States together were renewed, and they were supplemented by the conclusion of a tripartite pact of conciliation along the lines recommended by the League of Nations. Other results of the Belgrade meeting were the ratification of the Bucharest programme for economic collaboration among the three States and decision to hold further conferences of economic experts from each of the Little Entente countries, an agreement for intellectual collaboration, and, finally, a decision to maintain united action in minority and optant questions, and to support the candidature of Yugoslavia at the next elections of the League of Nations Council. These decisions show that the Little Entente is determined to continue to pursue the line of policy it has followed since its inception nine years ago—that of the closest possible cooperation of its members in the political, economic and intellectual spheres, consistent with individual liberty of action where no common interests are concerned. This cooperation represents an important factor for peace in Central Europe.

The importance of the tripartite pact, according to the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Mironescu, lies in the fact that it makes entry into the Little Entente by a new State far more simple since this can now be accomplished by adherence to the Pact of Conciliation and does not necessitate the conclusion of innumerable separate treaties with each of the member states.

Little Entente and Hungary

Following the Belgrade meeting, Dr. Benesh, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, defined, in a press interview, the attitude of the Little Entente toward Hungary. He said that the Little Entente, although it originated in the necessity of defense against the Hapsburg res-

toration and against the attempts to change forcibly the present order in Central Europe, does not represent an alliance in the pre-War sense of the word. During the existence of the combination this negative program has truly appeared to be of secondary importance to the task of economic collaboration and reconstruction of Central Europe which has remained the chief objective of the three States. None of the Central European States has been excluded from this cooperation and the friendly relations existing at present between the Little Entente on the one side, and Poland and Austria on the other, bring testimony to the efficacy of the political methods brought into play. Although Hungary has preferred, till now, to look for liaisons outside the sphere of Central Europe, only hesitatingly regulating her relations with her closer neighbors, it does not mean that she has not her place reserved in this system of collaboration. In any case she may count on the good will and the good faith of the States of the Little Entente in any move devised to bring her into closer contact with her neighbors.

NEW AUSTRIAN CABINET

AFTER several weeks of political difficulty, occasioned by the resignation of Chancellor Seipel, the Austrian National Assembly confirmed on May 4 the nomination of Dr. Ernest Streeruwitz as Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Assembly at the same time elected the other members of the new Cabinet.

Composition of the New Cabinet

In addition to the Chancellor, the Cabinet is made up as follows:

Herr Vinzens Schumy (Agrarian), Vice-Chancellor; Dr. Johann Mittelberger (Christian Social), Finance; Herr Karl Vaugoin (Christian Social), Defense; Dr. Franz Slama (Pan-German), Justice; Dr. Emerich Czermak (Christian Social), Education; Dr. Joseph Resch (Christian Social), Social Welfare; Herr Florian Foedermayr (Agrarian), Agriculture; Dr. Hans Schurff (Pan-German), Trade.

New Chancellor's Declaration of Policy

Three days after his appointment, the new Chancellor made in the National Assembly a declaration of policy, in which he enumerated a long list of desirable improvements in Austria's economic conditions, her trade relations with her neighbors, her financial situation, and her judiciary, which, he said, require the most earnest attention of Parliament. He showed himself conciliatory to the Agrarians, and reassured Germany as to his pro-German sentiments. He implied that strict reciprocity would be his maxim in negotiating commercial treaties with Austria's neighbors, saying that Austria had at times in the past been an easy dumping ground for certain contiguous countries. From his experience in commerce the Chancellor said he feels sure the position of labor in Austria can be improved, and, while not denying the difficulties of the situation, he feels confident that industrial peace can also be achieved.

In view of the uneasiness caused by the constantly recurring clashes between rival military organizations, it was hoped that the Chancellor would refer to this subject, but the Chancellor failed to reassure the country. The settlement of the differences between the political parties is, he said, a matter for Parliament with the Government in the rôle of the honest arbiter. Democracy, he believes, is capable of finding a solution of the matter, but true democracy would keep the unity of the whole country in mind, and would beware of using the machinery of Parliament for internal conflict. The love of one's country, he said in closing, must be placed above party-political advantages.

Replying to Dr. Streeruwitz's speech, Dr. Renner, on behalf of the Opposition, said he missed the assurances from the Government that it, unlike its predecessor, would deal with political problems in collaboration with the Opposition, and not regard it as unworthy of its confidence and only to be combatted and attacked at every turn.

THE FLAG DAY ADDRESSES

June 14, 1929

By PAUL V. McNUTT

National Commander of The American Legion

THE members of The American Legion, a great peace-time organization of over eight hundred thousand American citizens who served in the armed forces of the Allies during the World War, join in this celebration of the anniversary of the birth of our Flag by publicly pledging allegiance to the Flag and to the Republic for which it stands, and by rededicating ourselves to the accomplishment of the high purposes which have animated the nation since the beginning.

"Throughout the ages flags have been symbols. They have represented great causes. They have represented great nations. Our Flag is such a symbol. It represents this nation. It is the emblem of justice, freedom and democracy, the fundamental principles which have given

the nation strength and dignity. In the years that have passed it has been necessary to fight to establish and preserve these principles. The conflicts have involved untold sacrifice of precious lives and of valuable resources. This story is a story of great valor and heroic self-sacrifice. Following the example of the Gentle Nazarene, men brought to their country's altar their services and their lives that we might have a better world. To all who served in days of stress the Flag is a living thing, a never-failing inspiration. They have seen it in the camp. They have seen it in the thick of battle. They have followed it with unquestioning faith, confident that it would lead to victory. It has led to victory in every war in which the nation has engaged.

"One victory is yet to be achieved. It is the victory of peace over strife. It is our earnest prayer that our Flag lead to that victory. For this reason on Flag Day

The American Legion invites consideration of practical methods of securing and maintaining peace. Each day, in fighting the peace-time battle for the disabled and for the child and widow of the war veteran, the Legion sees the horrors and the irreparable injury wrought by war. Each day the Legion strengthens its resolve to make right the master of might and to promote peace and good will on earth. In furthering this resolve the Legion presents certain principles. These are: First, a permanent peace must be peace with honor and security. Second, a permanent peace must be based on justice to all peoples. Third, a better method than war must be found for settling international disputes. Fourth, until such a method is found and accepted by all nations, this nation must provide an adequate national defense; and fifth, such defense must be based on equal service from all and special profit to none.

"We ask thoughtful consideration of practical methods of settling international disputes, methods which do not involve loss of national integrity or security. We feel that the nation can be practical in its defenses and at the same time maintain the spiritual and material leadership of the world while we work for world peace. Our Flag can lead to such a final triumph. It is the Flag of Destiny."

By WILLIAM FORTUNE

President of the American Peace Society

"MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

"Almost eleven years have passed since the great World War which took a toll of more than thirty-seven million lives, and cost directly and indirectly the incomprehensibly stupendous sum of nearly five hundred and fifty billions of dollars. This enormous and staggering burden, expended for waste and destruction, must be borne by present and future generations. Used constructively it would provide for all the needs of human welfare and banish poverty from the earth. Nearly three-fourths of our own national expenses go toward the payment for wars of the past and to prepare for what may come in the future. Never before have the safety and progress of civilization and

world peace been so inevitably and firmly bound together.

"The World War, terrible as it was in its havoc of brutality and destruction, was only a gesture in the direction of what we may expect if another great conflict ever blights the world. Modern science and invention, since the armistice, have gone ahead, planning agencies of destruction so comprehensive that the human imagination fails to grasp their awful possibilities. Certain it is that civilization could not withstand the shock of such a conflict.

"The next war, if there should be one, would not consist of combat between armed troops. The rapid development of aviation relegates to the realm of forgotten things the military programs of the past and creates a future battle front that would include whole nations. Gigantic explosives and devastating gases would be dropped upon every little cluster of humanity, whether the victims be defenseless women and children or fighting armies. The destruction of entire countries not only would be possible but probable and untold millions would lie dead amid the ruins of once prosperous and peaceful cities. Such a calamity cannot be described, and yet it is but a faint suggestion of the war of the future.

"The American Legion's call for the mobilization of the nation's resources as well as its men comes not alone from those who served and survived but as well from the thousands of silent graves of our countrymen in France. They gave their all. Who can deny their right to demand that all of America's resources be available instantly if war comes again? The answer is that war must not come. Now more than ever before the energies of those who conceive, build and conduct our business—all who have any part in this complex modern structure of life—must be turned into the avenues whereby peace will be made sure. For the business interests of the country such a need becomes no less than sheer self-preservation.

"The peace movement was born in this country one hundred and one years ago with the forming of the American Peace Society. Some of our country's greatest statesmen and scholars were leaders among its adherents. They and those who came

after them have kept alive this sentiment for peace for more than a century. What was once the idealism of men must now be translated into a world fact through united action.

"You may ask: 'What can I do to aid peace and prevent war?' It is not an abstract question. It is not a thing that everybody can leave to somebody else. The peace movement is one in which every loyal citizen must have a part. You men and women of America can begin thinking of the honorable settlement of international disputes by peaceful means rather than on the bloody field of conflict. You can at every opportunity add your voice to the world-wide demand that only peaceful means be employed. You can join us in practical efforts for peace. You are needed, one and all.

"The General Pact for the Renunciation of War, in the development and negotiation of which our distinguished speaker, Mr. Kellogg, had the most important part, is the most encouraging and hopeful step that has been taken. Practically all of the civilized peoples of the earth have agreed to renounce war methods. With that sentiment so widely expressed our next step must be the development of adequate means whereby the peaceful settlement of controversial questions may be made easier and surer.

"The promulgation of this treaty needs to be only the beginning of organized peace effort. More than ever before the people of the world must support the peace movement, not through the weak and futile efforts of many separate though conscientious groups, as we have witnessed in past years, but by uniting voluntarily in a great cohesive and practical organization for the establishment of a peace that will endure.

"I have great confidence that the practical minded business and professional men of our country can solve any problem to which they give their united thought. I have faith that they can provide for the peace movement that impetus it must have to make it successful. We are trying to make the American Peace Society the standard about which they may rally as they agree upon a practical program for the promotion of peace.

"Civilized men no longer settle their disputes by mortal combat; states do not guard their boundaries and maintain great military establishments for the settlement of questions that courts of justice now adjudicate. Shall we not look to the future with confidence that the nations of the earth, knowing war no more, will make world peace a reality through the application of a greater and even more patriotic exemplification of justice and honor? Then mankind's highest hope will be realized."

By FRANK B. KELLOGG

Former Secretary of State

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN :

"I am pleased to accept the invitation of the American Legion and the American Peace Society to deliver an address in the interests of world peace. It is a cause worthy of the influence of these great organizations and the day is most appropriate. The celebration of Flag Day was designed to instill in the minds of the people patriotic devotion and love of country, of which the flag is the great emblem. It reminds us of the struggles and heroic sacrifices made that the flag might ever remain to signify liberty, free government and human progress. The American Legion has authority to speak upon the subject of peace which is unequalled by any other organization. Its sacrifices in the Great War, its heroic dead in their eternal slumbers, lend a silent but impressive voice to the world's longing for peace.

"While the highest test of patriotism is to lay down one's life for his country, yet patriotism can have no nobler object than furthering the cause of peace. During the ages how many millions of lives have been sacrificed to satisfy the ambitions and greed of men under a mistaken sense of chauvinism. How many nations have been wrecked upon the rocks of ambition! Does the twentieth century civilization offer no alternative, no higher method for the adjustment of international disputes than the sacrifices of war? I am satisfied there is a powerful and growing sentiment for world peace; that nations are taking steps to prevent another such terrible cataclysm as swept

Europe and involved nearly all the world in the last war; and that war is a relic of barbarism only perpetuated by the instincts of primeval man. This movement for peace which includes all the peoples of the world is evidenced by treaties of conciliation and arbitration, treaties of guaranty and arbitration like Locarno and the world anti-war treaty signed by sixty-two nations and ratified by forty-three nations. That this movement is something more than the mere execution of treaties is evidenced by the fact that the principles of settlement by diplomatic means, by conciliation and arbitration, have had a great impetus in the last ten years. I might cite as notable examples of this in South America the settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute, the adjustment now in progress of the Paraguay-Uruguay boundary difficulty and the settlement of many other boundary disputes throughout Central and South America which in ordinary times might have resulted in war. It is a profound example to the world of the statesmanship and the high purpose of our neighbors on the south to maintain perpetual peace. If time permitted, I could also cite many cases in Europe in the disturbing times following the war.

"But the supreme expression of world desire and determination to establish a permanent peace was the negotiation and signing of the multilateral anti-war treaty. I have so often discussed the treaty and the negotiations have all been so widely published and commented upon, that it is unnecessary now to bring home to the American people the significance of this act. It was the culmination of the efforts, the result of the determination of governments and peoples to abolish war as a national institution, to make it a crime against civilization, to reverse the practice and the law of nations and outlaw it so that any nation resorting to it would be a criminal in the eyes of all civilized people. I have said before, and allow me to repeat it, the treaty was not the work of any single individual or of any nation. It could not have been negotiated without the sanction of world opinion, and I can not bring myself to believe that this solemn act, whereby practically all the nations of the world have earnestly

dedicated themselves to the cause of peace, has not a significance far beyond that of an ordinary treaty. It is to my mind the most solemn and sacred promise, sanctioned by nations and consummated by the prayers of millions in the upward march of the human race. If this great promise is to be fully realized, it must continue to receive the support of the public opinion of the world. You can therefore perform no greater service than to help carry on this educational movement which received such a tremendous impetus by the disasters of the great conflict.

"Great reforms do not come in a day. If we are going to reverse the practice and the international law of centuries there must be a determined and continuous educational progress toward a higher and more enlightened standard.

"There are two concrete practical steps which can be taken by the nations which will greatly aid world peace: First, The establishment of methods of conciliation and arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. Second, The reduction of armament, both of land forces and naval.

"First. The establishment and extension of the machinery for arbitration and conciliation has been noticeable in the last few years. During my administration as Secretary of State the United States entered into no less than twenty arbitration treaties with European countries, and I am satisfied that within a short time every European and far-eastern country will have entered into such treaties with the United States. These treaties provide for the arbitration of all juridical questions. Along with these treaties the United States has entered into thirteen conciliation treaties with European countries. These treaties provide for conciliation and settlement of international disputes of every kind. At a conference of the American states held in Washington in December, 1928, and January, 1929, the United States entered into a multilateral arbitration treaty with every Central and South American state except one, which is an advance over any form of arbitration treaty ever entered into by the United States, and at the same time entered into a multilateral con-

ciliation treaty for the settlement of all disputes between them. These treaties evidence a determination by the American states to adjust all their differences by pacific means, and at that conference I discovered a great desire among the nations represented to take the most advanced steps for the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere. There are also in existence in the world nineteen of the conciliation treaties entered into by Secretary Bryan. During the war many of the boards of conciliation under these treaties had lapsed, but during the last three years all the vacancies have been filled and those treaties are in full force.

"I must not pass this subject without mentioning the fact that the European countries have also taken very advanced steps upon this subject. Under the Locarno treaties not only has arbitration been provided for but conciliation, and the signatories of those treaties have pledged themselves against war for the settlement of their disputes. A general treaty of arbitration has been suggested by the League of Nations and the high principle of pacific adjustment of disputes is making progress in Europe as it is in the Western Hemisphere.

"The most encouraging indication in reference to conciliation and arbitration is their practical application for the settlement of international disputes. All over the world today steps are being taken by governments to adjust disputes by these means. The Great War left, especially in Europe, a legacy of bitter disappointments, racial animosities and disputes over boundaries of the new nations which had come into existence under the Treaty of Versailles. I am sure that at no time has Central and Eastern Europe had more difficult problems for solution than during this period. Yet we have witnessed the most persistent efforts and successful negotiations for the adjustment of these disputes. How many times in the last few years have war clouds appeared upon the horizon, how many times has the better judgment of men, under their solemn obligation to the people, adjusted their differences and prevented conflicts. This is not only true of Europe but of Central and South America, where practical steps have been taken to adjust disputes by

these means. It is also true of the Far East. Though China since the war has been torn by internal dissensions and at times seemed on the verge of war with other countries, yet by patience and good sense these international conflicts have been avoided and China is now on the upward path of internal stability. I believe that public opinion is bearing with tremendous force upon the disturbing elements in China and they are approaching a unity of action and a stabilization of government which will be of inestimable value to China as well as to the world. In that country the influence of the United States has been exerted to the utmost to avoid any conflict, to adjust our differences by diplomatic means and to relieve China from the burden of treaties which were causing animosities between that ancient and this modern country. This has always been the traditional attitude of the United States to China. We should use every possible means for inculcating into the minds of the men and women of this country the high purpose we have in view—the prevention of war. As the Anti-War Treaty was the result of the world-wide determination to abolish the institution of war, it can only be made successful when it is backed by public sentiment.

"Second. As a natural result of the renunciation of war, there should be a reduction and limitation of land and naval forces. Of course, I realize that the practice of centuries cannot be reversed in a single day. I realize that the time has not come when nations can entirely disarm; but I do advocate only the maintenance of reasonable armies and navies for national protection, and I do assert that many of the military and naval establishments, either now existing or contemplated by building programs, are unnecessary for this purpose and can only be a world peril and an inducement to warfare. There is no greater danger to the world than competitive building of navies and establishment of land forces. If these forces are reduced to a degree only adequate for national protection, they will be rendered incapable for use as instruments of conflict and aggression and there will be lifted a tremendous burden of taxation from the world. The moral

effect of such a step would be inestimable. It would relieve the fears and soften the animosities of peoples. I have given a great deal of thought to this subject during the last four years and I am satisfied that a large degree of disarmament can be accomplished if the countries involved will come to a realization of the fact that no nation is going to dominate the seas or dominate a continent.

"If instead of military offensive or defensive alliances and the establishment of large armies and navies to maintain the balance of power we substitute principles of arbitration, solemn declarations to maintain peace and reduction of armies and navies to the minimum necessary for reasonable defense, we will establish a greater security for the world and relieve the people of the burdens of war. There have been notable attempts in the last few years to reduce and limit armament, but they have been only partially successful. The sentiment for disarmament is like the sentiment for peace. Its growth is gradual. It does not spring into being in an instant, nor is it accomplished by a stroke of the pen. But public opinion is growing and is moving with tremendous force toward the goal of world peace. It has reached a point where the great nations must heed it. Existing armies and navies, either now established or projected, must be reduced. If in the future as in the past we must put our trust in the armies and navies alone, there is no hope for permanent peace.

"The great powers—I mean those maintaining large armies and navies—have now an opportunity to make good their frequent pledges to the principles of disarmament. The often-dreamed-of goal of world domination is today impossible. Nations must and will be permitted to live in peace and work out their own destinies without the fear of such domination by another nation.

"There is light and foolish talk about the possibility of war between Great Britain and the United States. I do not say such a war is impossible, but I do say, in the light of our modern civilization it is unthinkable and it should be made impossible. When we think of the appalling destruction of human life and property in the last war and when we realize

the development of science and the instruments of human destruction and for wholesale devastation, we can easily visualize the appalling results of such a modern warfare. I do not believe that western civilization would survive such a conflict.

"Prime Minister Baldwin, at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9th last, emphasized the importance of the Anti-War Treaty, and said:

"Believe me, the alternative before us in Europe is very simple, and the choice ought to be easy. We must either keep faith with the spirit of the pact that we have signed, or in time we must go down the steep place altogether like the Gadarene swine and perish eternally."

"I have heard a good deal in the last year or two about the bad relations existing between Great Britain and the United States. I realize there is altogether too much nagging, charges and counter-charges by public men and the press on both sides of the Atlantic and it is not confined to any one of the countries. I think that most of it is unreasonable, unnecessary and tends to a certain extent to inflame public opinion. It is my opinion—and for five years I have been in a position to judge—that there are no serious outstanding problems between the British Empire and the United States which should furnish any foundation for the fear of such international conflict. All that is needed is a realization of what such a conflict between the countries would mean to the world and a little tolerance and good sense. When it comes to a final agreement for disarmament or limitation of armament, it is not solely a naval or military question, but must be decided by governments on the principles of international relations and world peace.

"I do not think we should be discouraged by the fact that more has not been accomplished in the repeated efforts for disarmament. There has been a wide discussion which has been enlightening. There has been a development of public sentiment favorable to disarmament. I believe that without delay there should be another conference. I realize the difficulties of all the nations in the world entering into an agreement for reduction of

armament because their location, their conditions and circumstances are so different. But if the leading nations having large land and naval armament will unite, they can start a work which will spread over the world. If we had ever attempted to negotiate the Anti-War Treaty with all the nations to start with, it would never have been accomplished. So far as the nations are concerned, there are really only five whose naval armament can possibly be a menace to any other countries.

"I have no doubt whatever that a formula can be found for comparative strength of navies which will do justice to the various powers. I have given much time during the last four years to a study of this problem. I am not discouraged by the failure of the preliminary conference at Geneva to agree upon a plan for reduction of armament nor of the three-power conference. I do not deny that it is politically necessary and undoubtedly in the interest of peace that there should be substantial equality or a ratio of equality between the armies and navies of certain nations. But one thing must be accomplished.

"These armies and navies should be reduced to a point where they will not be a menace to peace and a limitation should be fixed by treaty which will prevent competitive building. If we need any demonstration of the dangers of such competition, we have only to consider the result of such competitive building in the years preceding the Great War. I shall not discuss the details of such reduction and the respective size or tonnage of the navies as these points are now being studied by the various nations. But I may say this, that so far as the defense of their respective territories go neither Great Britain nor the United States needs a largely increased navy; in fact, I believe they do not need navies as large

as I fear are now contemplated. All the navies of the rest of the world combined, if it were possible to make such a combination, could not threaten the security or endanger either one of them. It can not be possible that Great Britain and the United States contemplate war with each other. I cannot believe that any question can arise between them which would bring on such a conflict. If this is not true, there is little hope for peace in the world. If it is possible that these countries are building against each other, no augmentation of the navies would do either one of them any good.

"The President, in a very remarkable speech delivered at Arlington Cemetery on Decoration Day, stated with great ability and vision the case for reduction of armament as a further step to make good the pledges of the Anti-War Pact. He said:

"Limitation upward is not our goal, but actual reduction of existing commitments to lower levels."

"This states the position of the United States with extraordinary clearness—that no such armament as is contemplated by the great naval powers is necessary.

"The domination of the seas by any one nation is not only unnecessary to world peace but is impossible of realization. If nations can agree on principles of international law, they can agree on rules governing maritime or land warfare and they can agree on principles which control those having the largest as well as the smallest navies.

"These views may be in advance of any hope of present realization. But unless the leading nations of the world set a high standard and patiently work for the consummation of that greater object, perpetual peace will not come to the troubled world."



NON-RESISTANCE IN NEW ENGLAND*

By MERLE E. CURTI

A fresh study by a college professor, in the early struggles of men for a better solution of the problem of war; a picture of what may happen when abstractions head into reality. Of course, the American Peace Society never became non-resistant. The following article, indeed, reveals the Society's will from the beginning to marry peace and justice, a will from which it has never wavered. Professional movements avoid unhappy waste by knowing their history.—The Editor.

WHILE one young man pondered, during the early summer of 1838, on an address he was to make before the Harvard Divinity School, an address destined to startle his hearers, another somewhat older man was busy making ready for a convention to inaugurate some of the "new revelations and prophecies" that both shared. Not that Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Reverend Henry Clarke Wright were entirely agreed on the ailments of the present order and the proper prescription for its cure, but both of them for years had been weighing in their minds the doctrine of non-resistance. Seven years before this eventful summer of 1838, when Emerson was still in his twenty-ninth year, he had wished that "the Christian principle, the ultra principle of non-resistance and returning good for ill, might be fairly tried."¹ Thus Emerson had advanced many steps to the left of William Ellery Channing, who had condemned non-resistance as an effort to escape "the labor of responsibility and moral discrimination."² About the same time, the Reverend Henry Clarke Wright, who had turned from hatmaking to preaching, began, like Emerson, to reflect on the evils of the spirit of revenge. He went ultimately much further than the Concord Transcendentalist, and proselyted for his cause until he became the most notable of the champions of non-resistance. Hence the story of the non-resistance movement

in New England is in considerable measure the story of Henry Clarke Wright. His voluminous manuscript journals tell it with unquenchable enthusiasm.³

It was in 1823 that Andover had given a license to preach to this hatmaker of Sharon, Connecticut. His neighbors in Newburyport, where he settled, could not have been entirely comfortable in the presence of his stern visage with its steel eyes that saw mercilessly and righteously out from under heavy, forbidding brows. The Gospel was his all. It is true that after long and painful quandaries he once decided, at a time when it was hard to keep the wolf from the door, to spend ten dollars for having his teeth filled rather than to give the money to God; but it hurt this resolute Puritan to compromise even to this extent with the ways of the world. With all the strength in his Savonarola-like face, however, there were also traces of tenderness and suffering. For example, we know that he loved children with a wisdom rare enough in his day. During the early thirties, while employed as an agent of the American Sunday School Union, he denounced corporal punishment of children, and pleaded with mothers to treat their offspring like grown-ups, to instill in them the Christian precept of returning good for evil. "The first principle of all education," Wright reflected, "should be to direct the affections to God, to restrain the passions and form the appetites and habits on Christian principles."⁴

Precisely when Wright began to cherish

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¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journal*, ii, 418.

² W. H. Channing, *Memoir of William Ellery Channing*, iii, 18-20.

³ *Journal and Commonplace Book of Henry Clarke Wright*, 31 vols., 1832-1842, Harvard College Library.

⁴ *Journal*, vii, 69; xii, 53, Nov. 5, 1834.

the principles of Christian non-resistance cannot easily be determined. His journals show that until 1835 he was concerned with it rather less than with Christian education, anti-slavery, feminism, and temperance. None the less, he tells us that in 1833 he had rebuked William Ladd, the chief peace man of his time, for not manifesting "more sternness and earnestness in showing up war," and for countenancing those who tolerated it in any form. Ladd, who was searching his heart for the truth regarding non-resistance, did not turn a deaf ear to Wright. Apparently Wright was partly responsible for his conversion at this time to the doctrinaire position of condemning wars of defense as well as wars of offense. It is certain that Wright's attendance at the anniversary of the American Peace Society in 1833 sharpened his own convictions as to non-resistance, and he resolved to "pray more for peace and preach much more about it."⁵

As Wright studied his New Testament, he found abundant and irrefutable evidence for the maxim that good must under all circumstances be returned for evil. The basis of his belief was the command (Matthew 5: 34-42) to overcome evil with good and emulate the example of Christ in executing this command. Almost daily his conviction that the spirit of Christ and the spirit of war could not dwell in the same heart was strengthened. He was presently convinced that it was better to die in any case than to kill. When Ladd stopped in Newburyport to have dinner with him in May, 1835, he made it clear that it would be his duty to refuse to obey the command of the government to fight in any case whatever. Wright not only believed in non-resistance, but acted accordingly. In a Philadelphia hotel he submitted to being struck, telling his assailant, "I feel no unkindness toward you, and hope to see you at my house." The man came to his room early the next morning begging forgiveness.⁶

It was not until the following year, 1836, that Wright entered into the discussions over the limits of pacifism which had been agitating, for some five or six years, the organized friends of peace. The American Peace Society itself evaded the question of defensive wars, but its periodical, edited by William Ladd, admitted arguments pro and con. Some contributors felt with the president of Bowdoin College, Dr. William Allen, that if the principles of non-resistance and passive obedience were acted upon by all good men, "then the whole of the civilized and humanized world would be subjected to the brutal passions of a few armed banditti." Others maintained that the example of the Quakers proved the contrary. Thomas S. Grimké, of Charleston, South Carolina, tried to refute the argument that defensive war was justified by the right of organized society to take life for its own safety. The so-called right to take life, Grimké contended, was not a mathematical axiom, but open to question from the point of view both of ethics and of expediency. For example, no method other than punishment of criminals had ever been tried. How could one be sure, without trial, that capital punishment was the only way of protecting society? Might measures not be taken to reform criminals and to prevent crime? Wright read Grimké and profited, and the battle over the limits of pacifism continued to rage in the peace periodicals.⁷

Wright took pains to tell Ladd that if the American Peace Society would assume the responsibility for the logical deductions from the peace argument, and declare against *all* war, the question would "shake the world as nothing else has." An opportunity to further the radical position of outlawing wars of self-defense came to Wright in the summer of 1836, when he accepted an agency for the American Peace Society. There was ample reason for Ladd to fear, as he did in sanc-

⁵ H. C. Wright, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1849), 328; *Harbinger of Peace*, ii, no. 12, April 30, 1830, 277; *Journal*, i, 107.

⁶ Wright's *Journal*, xv, March 15, 23, 1835; Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance in all its Important Bearings*, Philadelphia, 1846, 200.

⁷ *Harbinger of Peace*, no. 5, September, 1829, 101; *Calumet*, i, May, and June, 1833, 403; July and August, 1833, 442, January and February, 1834, ii, 529, no. 6, March and April, 1835; Wright's *Journal*, March 27, 1835.

tioning Wright's agency, that the new agent was heading into a stormy sea. At Albany Wright applied to five Christian ministers before securing permission to preach in a single pulpit. He observed that the cause of peace had never been more dear to his heart than it was after these disappointments. At the Baptist Church Brother Kirke objected that Wright's extreme position endangered organized civil government. After a whole week in Albany, Wright discovered but two men willing to follow in his footsteps. At Saratoga he put the whole village "in a blaze" and so stirred up people that at least "everyone was talking about peace." At Schenectady he wrestled with the president of Union College, Dr. Eliphalet Nott, who, although approving the principle of non-resistance, from the point of view of the Gospel, feared it would lead to "things not allowable" and hence was at a loss to know what turning to take. On the railroads and on the canals Wright seized every opportunity to promulgate his extreme pacifist ideas and to test the defensive issue. On the whole it was clear that Wright's message was too strong for his audiences to swallow. Finally, Ladd announced that if Wright, in advocating extreme non-resistance, denied the right of the civil magistrate to punish by the sword, he did so on his own responsibility. And the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, after expressing dissatisfaction with its agent, dismissed him from the service.⁸

But if fortune did not smile on Wright, the Society had by no means heard the last of him. At its annual meeting in May, 1836, he had been largely responsible for having a committee appointed to draw up a new constitution more thorough-going in its purpose. Now Wright left no stone unturned to secure his end. After suggesting to Ladd this formation of a new peace society based entirely on non-resistance,

he solicited aid from the Grimké sisters, from Joseph Sturge, a British Quaker, and from Lewis Tappan. He wrote articles for *Zion's Herald*. He lectured and talked in Massachusetts and in Philadelphia, charging the atmosphere with non-resistance.

At the annual convention of the American Peace Society in 1837, the constitution was so far amended as to outlaw defensive war.⁹ Although Dr. William Allen, of Bowdoin College, left the Society because of this surrender to the radicalism of the day, other conservatives stayed in and determined to back-water. They were led by the new corresponding secretary, the Reverend George C. Beckwith, a man who sincerely believed that the Peace Society's platform should be broad enough to include all the friends of the cause, and who henceforth labored to rescind the doctrinaire amendment to the Society's constitution. On the other hand, the radical non-resistants weighed the amended constitution in the scales and found it too conservative. To them a peace society, to be effective, must come out against the man-killing principle, must declare against the use of force for all occasions, for individuals as well as for nations.

Thus Wright found others who shared his views. None of these was so formidable as William Lloyd Garrison.¹⁰ As early as 1833 Garrison had been responsible for the article in the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society which promised that the society would never, "in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force." During the spring of 1835 meetings were held in Boston in which Wright, Garrison, and Edmund Quincy tried their wings. "I am more and more convinced," wrote Garrison to Mary Benson, "that it is the duty of the followers of Christ to suffer themselves to be defrauded, calumniated, and barbarously treated without resorting to their

⁸ Wright's *Journals*, for 1836, vols. xxviii; *Advocate of Peace*, i, no. 3, December, 1837, 123; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, August 22, 1836 (Ms. Records of the American Peace Society, Washington, D. C.).

⁹ *Advocate of Peace*, i, no. 1, June, 1837, 30.

¹⁰ *William Lloyd Garrison on Non-Resistance, together with a Personal Sketch by his Daughter, Fanny Garrison Villard, New York, 1924, passim.*

own physical energies, or to the force of human law, for retaliation and punishment. It is a difficult lesson to learn."¹¹ The psychologist might find in such a dictum a reasoned defense for such a hopeless minority as the extreme abolitionists were; unable to defend themselves against mob violence, what was more natural than for them to repudiate force? Not unnaturally, Garrison, like Wright, took to task the American Peace Society for "enrolling upon its list of members, not converted but belligerent commanders, generals, colonels, majors, corporals and all." It was "radically defective in principle, and based on sand."

Two years later, in August, 1837, the abolitionist gave notice of his intention to part company with the peace societies as he had done with the colonization society, unless "they alter their present course."¹² The more Garrison pondered, the more certain he became that if individuals could not resort to physical force to break down the heart of an adversary, then they could not join with an ungodly State in so doing. As long as men resolved not to bear the cross of Christ and be crucified in the world, human governments would remain in violent resistance. The *Liberator* of June 23, 1837, raised the flag to the topmast and denounced "human governments as the results of human disobedience to the requirements of heaven"¹³ This was heresy! It smelled of the anti-government notions of J. H. Noyes' perfectionism.

It was in this frame of mind that Garrison talked with Wright just before the annual meeting of the American Peace Society in Boston, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1838. When Beckwith read the yearly report of the Society, it seemed to them that it was without vital principle and went much too far in emphasizing the idea of conservative reform. How fearful Beckwith seemed of offending public opin-

ion! What a bad taste his appeals for harmony and co-operation with conservative friends of the cause left in the mouths of Wright and Garrison. Then, at the business meeting of the Society the next day at the Eagle Bank, Beckwith showed his colors by offering a motion to strike out of the constitution the newly adopted article which declared all wars, defensive as well as offensive, inconsistent with the Gospel. Though the motion failed, its introduction led Wright to offer one for the calling of a convention during the coming year to discuss the principles and means of securing peace. The motion, put by Ladd, who was in the chair, carried; and a committee, consisting of the Reverend Samuel J. May, H. C. Wright, Edmund Quincy, and the Reverend George Trask, was appointed. These men, though all Garrisonian abolitionists, differed in their views on peace. May, during the discussion, had taken the ground that the American Peace Society ought not to limit itself to opposing international war, but should strike at the root of the evil by extirpating war from the heart of men.¹⁴

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society on the next day, May 31, 1838, a committee including Wright and Garrison was also named to call a peace convention. As a concession to the feminists in the anti-slavery organization, the invitation to deliberate and vote in the forthcoming convention was extended to women. Thus during the summer of 1838, while Emerson was preparing his Divinity School Address, Wright was preparing for a convention to further the cause of non-resistance. A series of meetings was held at the Town Hall, theories of government were aired, and the doctrine of the inviolability of human life came in for a large share of attention. In all these meetings Wright was the leading spirit. Similar ones were held in Newport, Weymouth, Marshfield, Hingham—in fact, in nearly all the towns of eastern Massachusetts. These manoeuvres roused the wrath of the clergy. The

¹¹ William Lloyd Garrison, *Story of His Life, by His Children*, 4 vols., New York, 1885, ii, 52, November 7, 1835.

¹² William Lloyd Garrison, *Story of His Life*, ii, 222.

¹³ *Liberator*, vii, 103.

¹⁴ Wright, *Journal*, xxxviii, May 29, 30, 1838; Garrison, *Story of His Life*, ii, 222; Samuel E. Coues, Ms. *Peace Album* (Harvard College Library); *Advocate of Peace*, ii, July, 1838, 46-47.

caldron was soon bubbling. On September 17, the day before the opening of the convention, the moderate peace men met at Eagle Bank. Their purpose was to prevent the extreme non-resistance measures of Wright from coming up in the convention, thus to save the cause from the extravagance of the radicals.¹⁵

On the next day, September 18, 1838, the Reverend Samuel J. May called together the long-anticipated Peace Convention in Marlboro Chapel, founded three years earlier by Boston abolitionists to advance "the cause of humanity and free discussion." The radicals were out in full force. The rolls of the convention showed an attendance of one hundred and twenty-four from Massachusetts and thirty odd from the other New England States, with three from Pennsylvania. Among those who most markedly enjoyed the gift of tongues in the convention were Wright, Garrison, George Benson, Effington Capron, Charles Whipple, Wendell Phillips, Adin Ballou, A. Bronson Alcott, William Ladd, Amasa Walker, and finally Abby Kelley "in her modest dress." The proceedings opened with an address from the Reverend Samuel J. May and the election of Sydney Willard as presiding officer. Garrison, despite the grave countenances of those who hoped the woman question might not be brought into the proceedings, suggested that females be admitted to the full privileges of voting and serving on committees. When Abby Kelley and Mrs. Maria Chapman, "with her swift eyes of clear steel blue," were put on committees, it was more than the conservatives could stomach, and the Reverend George C. Beckwith, editor of the *Advocate of Peace* and a leading official in the American Peace Society, together with George Russell, Baron Stowe, and John Walker, requested that their names be erased from the roll of the convention.

To bring matters to a head, Wright then introduced a resolution declaring that, according to the Gospel of Christ, no man and no government had the right to take the life of man on any pretext whatever. Dr. Charles Follen delivered himself of

an ingenious speech against the resolution, and there were others who followed in like vein. Amasa Walker suggested a somewhat modified substitute motion, to the effect that human life was "inviolable and can never be taken without sin against God." Ladd, whom Garrison described as "a huge and strange compound of fat, good nature, and benevolence," supported Walker's resolution. His broad and irresistible humor was oil on troubled waters. This "Apostle of Peace" was of the opinion that to doubt the safety and expediency of the principle of non-resistance was to deny the wisdom and goodness of Jehovah. At length Wright's original motion carried, and it was resolved to form a society based on the principle of the inviolability of human life and non-resistance to enemies in all cases whatsoever. Without much delay the committee appointed to draw up a declaration of sentiments and a constitution made its report. Both documents came largely from the pen of Garrison, and but twenty-eight, all Garrison abolitionists, voted aye.¹⁶

The spirit of the declaration of principles thus adopted was condensed in the preamble:

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of Mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world, the subjects of which are forbidden to fight, in which Mercy and Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. We register our testimony, not only against all war, but against all preparation for war.¹⁷

The opposition to preparation for war was expressed in this same meeting by the

¹⁵ Wright, *Journal*, xxxvii, September 21-23, 1838; *Proceedings of the Peace Convention*, Boston, 1838, *passim*; *William Lloyd Garrison, Story of His Life*, ii, 222 ff.; S. E. Coes, Ms. *Peace Album*, testimony of the Rev. Samuel J. May; John Hemmenway, *Memoir of William Ladd*, Boston, 1877, 73-75; *Advocate of Peace*, ii, October, 1838, 117-118.

¹⁷ *Principles of the Non-Resistance Society* (Boston, 1839).

¹⁵ Wright, *Journal*, xxviii-xxx, *passim*; *William Lloyd Garrison, Story of His Life*, ii, 222 ff.

adoption of a report urging the convention to petition the legislature to apply to non-resistants the exemptions enjoyed by Friends.¹⁸

By the constitution of the new organization—the New England Non-Resistance Society—its members concurred in the opinion that no man, or body of men, however constituted or by whatever name called, had the right to take the life of man as a penalty for transgression; no man could sue another for redress of injuries, or thrust any evil-doer into prison, or fill any office in which he would be liable to execute penal enactments, or take part in military service, or acknowledge allegiance to any human government, or justify any man in fighting for the defense of property, liberty, life or religion. No member could adhere to any plot to overthrow any government, no matter how corrupt and inefficient, though he would obey “the powers that be” except in the cases in which they should bid him violate his conscience, and then he was meekly to submit to the penalty of disobedience. The constitution opened membership to all persons on equal terms and without distinction as to sex. Anne W. Weston and Thankful Southwick were elected to the Executive Committee, and Maria Chapman was made Recording Secretary. Lucretia Mott later availed herself of this opportunity for advancing woman’s rights and took an active part in the first anniversary of the new society.¹⁹

Garrison said that never before had a more “fanatical” or “disorganizing” instrument been penned by man. In the *Liberator* he announced that the three days of the peace convention would prove more memorable than the Three Days in Paris.²⁰ To the new society Garrison devoted a larger and larger portion of the *Liberator*, until at least half of the fourth page was regularly given to it. Certain friends of abolition feared that the cause would suffer by its association with non-resistance

and so advised Garrison. When Mrs. Maria Chapman, friend that she was of both causes, added her voice to the abolition protestants, Garrison was bound to pay heed.

In need of an organ for their cause, the radical pacifists founded the *Non-Resistant*, a semimonthly, small folio of four columns to the page. Its editors were Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, and Garrison. They took as the motto of their journal the caption “Resist Not Evil—Jesus Christ.” The success of the paper exceeded the very modest hopes of its founders. Much of its material came from the pen of Henry Clarke Wright.

But the new organization won friends very slowly and encountered scathing, bitter condemnation. Of periodicals, only the Brandon (Vermont) *Telegraph* spoke a kindly word for the new society. The *Christian Examiner* and the *Universalist Quarterly* denounced its tenets in weighty articles. Arthur Tappan returned his sample copy of the *Non-Resistant*, refusing to be “instrumental in disseminating non-government sentiments.” Many radical pacifists were unable to join the new society. Amasa Walker, for instance, although a believer in non-resistance, could not see the propriety of refusing “to exercise the franchise or to take part in the civil duties and responsibilities of society.”²¹ Ladd found the Constitution too ultra for him, and was compelled, reluctantly, to give his vote in the negative. “I fully agree with many of their sentiments,” he wrote to a friend, “and I bid them godspeed so far as they follow Christ. I consider the new society as ultra high; but almost the whole world are ultra low on this subject, and, if I must choose between the two ultras, give me the ultra high one; for I have always found it more easy to come down to the truth than to come up to it.”

Garrison wrote that Ladd went nineteen-twentieths of the way, and said he expected him to “go the whole” next year. None the less Ladd felt compelled, in a letter answering implications in the *Lib-*

¹⁸ *The Non-Resistant*, i, January, 1839.

¹⁹ *Principles of the Non-Resistance Society*; Wright, *Journal*, xli, September 25, 1839.

²⁰ *William L. Garrison, Story of His Life*, ii, 288-229.

²¹ *The Non-Resistant*, i, no. 2, January 19, 1839; *Christian Examiner*, xxi, 164-174; S. E. Coues, *Ms. Peace Album*, testimony of Amasa Walker.

erator regarding his position, to wish that Garrison and his friends would return to the circle and "be more ready to advance known and partially acknowledged truth than to spend time and energies in exploring far distant and unknown regions of speculations." He also made it clear that though he believed *all* war was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, and that capital punishment should be abolished, these questions were no more attached to the cause of peace than to temperance or the anti-slavery question. While, however, he held it was his duty to vote for the best men, it was not his duty to pay tribute to support war, or to take part in military service or in any civil office that might compel the taking of life. With such opinions it was not strange that Ladd attended the annual meetings of the Non-Resistance Society, and finally concluded, shortly before his death, that while the society was not likely either to do much good or harm, its existence was perhaps justified as a reminder that there was no ultraism so bad as ultra-conservatism. The year before Ladd died, Wright, after a two hours' talk with him, noted in his *Journal*, "William Ladd does not differ from me at all in his principles."²²

Nor was Ladd the only prominent member of the American Peace Society whose radical views on peace lent some color to the charge that the Society itself was ultra. Samuel E. Coues, who within three years was to become president of the older organization, satisfied Wright that at heart he was a non-resistant, and that Amos Dresser, a pioneer of peace in Oberlin, Ohio, was likewise minded. Samuel J. May, who, according to Garrison, acted inconsistently at the convention, "got frightened, confused and did some harm," could not embrace all the principles of the Non-Resistance Society; yet he was fully convinced that Jesus was a non-resistant, and that the principle would always be despised by worldly men living for wealth and power. He co-operated with the society, preached non-resistance from many pulpits, and refused chaplaincies which

involved ministering to those condemned to death. Gerrit Smith's impression at the time of the organization of the Non-Resistance Society, in 1838, that its principles were right was confirmed in his mind the following year, and he contributed a hundred dollars to the *Non-Resistant*, at the risk of being pronounced "a recreant abolitionist."²³

With such prominent peace men in sympathy with the non-resistant position, it was not strange that its advocates insisted that their conclusions must be deduced from the premises laid down by the American Peace Society in its declaration that *all war* was contrary to the Gospel. Indeed, the *Democratic Review* held that, in reducing peace principles to their ultimate implications, the New England Non-Resistance Society had rendered important service to the American Peace Society.²⁴

On the other hand, the Beckwith group of conservatives in the older organization, which controlled the *Advocate of Peace*, disclaimed all connection with the new society and insisted that not more than one or two members had joined it. "It is an enterprise altogether distinct from our own," said the editor of the *Advocate of Peace*, and he rejoiced that these "extraneous views, so often unjustly charged on us, are now embodied in a distinct organization." In similar terms the New York Peace Society repudiated the non-resistants, emphasizing the point that the orthodox peace societies aimed merely to abolish international war and had no concern with the domestic affairs of governments.²⁵

Although Wright as well as other non-resistants felt that the American Peace Society was thus without any vital principle, he continued to attend its anniversaries, and in 1840 was allowed to speak, on his own responsibility, for fifteen min-

²³ S. E. Coues, *Ms. Peace Album*, testimony of the Rev. Samuel J. May; *The Non-Resistant*, vol. i, no. 9, May 4, 1839; Wright, *Journal*, xii, Sept. 28, Oct. 12, 1839.

²⁴ *Democratic Review*, March, 1839, quoted in *Principles of the Non-Resistance Society* (Boston, 1839).

²⁵ *The Non-Resistant*, i, no. 2, January 19, 1839; *Advocate of Peace*, ii, no. 5, October, 1838, 117-118.

²² Wright, *Journal*, xxxviii, September 22, 1838; xliii, April 27, 1840; Hemmenway, *Memoir of William Ladd*, 73, 76, 117.

utes. But Wright and the *Non-Resistant* contended that the American Peace Society had spent itself without having made any appreciable impression on the martial character of the nation.²⁶

Both the conservatives and the non-resistants realized the importance of winning support from the British peace movement. Beckwith printed a letter from the Reverend James Hargreaves, secretary of the London Peace Society, a more radical organization than its American counterpart—a letter obviously in answer to an inquiry. The point of the English communication was to show that one might be a thoroughly committed radical peace man without assuming an anti-government position. Beckwith reminded the faithful that the strongest peace men in England stood aloof from the new heresy. Wright, not to be outdone, kept in touch with radicals in England, corresponding with the famous free-trader and abolitionist, George Thompson, who accepted the non-resistance creed; with the eminent Quaker, Joseph Sturge, and with the thoroughgoing peace advocate, John Scoble.

Within a few years Wright was authorized by the Non-Resistance Society to undertake a mission to England for the propagation of non-resistance doctrines and other causes. He addressed his tract, *A Kiss for a Blow* (London, 1843) and his more comprehensive work, *Defensive War Proved to be a Denial of Christianity* (London, 1846) primarily to a British audience. Garrison joined him in England and contended with “ministers, lawyers, merchants” in debates on non-resistance. He scattered copies of the *Non-Resistant* and tried to make converts. These Americans made little headway. Even Friends like Joseph Gurney, the brother of Elizabeth Fry, visiting the United States in 1839, felt that non-resistance, in so far as it encouraged individuals not to co-operate with the civil government, was unreasonable, though he rejoiced at the antidote which even such

objectionable views afforded to the prevalent American militia system.²⁷

It was in New England the Non-Resistance Society chiefly sowed its seed. For a decade after its organization it struggled for a cause against which fought the stars in their courses. It was encouraging to gather a thousand dollars during the first six months, but such support was not enduring. In fact, by 1844 Garrison could tell Wright in England that “the Society has had only a nominal existence during the past year and, indeed, ever since your departure. It is without an organ, without funds, without agents, without a publication.”²⁸ Considerable prejudice was shown during the sessions of the society and a mob once made demonstrations of hostility.

The spreading of the doctrines of the society was due mainly to two men. Henry Clarke Wright, of course, was one. He lectured in New England and in the Middle States as the agent of the society. His influence may also have been felt in the West; the principles of the society were adopted by a communistic society in Lexington, Indiana. He wrote epigrammatic and sensational non-resistant articles for the periodical of the society until it expired, in 1842, and tracts from his hand served the same end. Wherever he could, Wright fraternized with the Quakers, for he believed their doctrines to be entirely in keeping with non-resistant principles. The younger Friends were often willing to co-operate, and after attending a yearly meeting in Newport, Rhode Island, Wright expressed renewed faith in their support. The meeting-houses of Friends were more often opened to him than those of any other denomination. It is clear, none the less, that this hospitality did not mean that the Friends as a body favored the doctrines of the New England Society. They printed at least one disclaimer of the tenets of the non-resistants.²⁹

²⁷ *Advocate of Peace*, iii, December, 1839, 91, 232; Wright, *Journal*, xl, June 5, 1839, xliii, April 27, 1840; Joseph G. Gurney, *Journey in North America*, 219.

²⁸ William Lloyd Garrison, *Story of His Life*, iii, 80.

²⁹ *The Non-Resistant*, i, no. 13, July 6, 1839; June 1, 1839; April 20, 1839; Wright, *Journal*, xlii, xliii, *passim*; *Advocate of Peace*, iii, December, 1840, 232.

²⁶ Wright, *Journal*, xl, May 28, 1839; xliii, May 27, 1840; *The Non-Resistant*, i, no. 17, September 7, 1839.

No less devoted to the cause than Henry Clarke Wright was the Reverend Adin Ballou, a Universalist, an advocate of the cause of labor, of the abolition of slavery, of woman's rights, temperance, and Christian socialism.³⁰ At the annual anniversary of the Non-Resistance Society in 1839, Ballou maintained that if the professed friends of the New Testament were consistent they would withdraw from all governmental society which was constitutionally committed to the war principle. This anticipated the founding of Hopedale Community by Ballou in 1842. The address, which was at once recognized as a significant event, was published in tract form as well as in the *Non-Resistant*. In October, 1843, Ballou was chosen president of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Two years later he took measures to resuscitate its periodical, which had been suspended. In 1848 it was decided to change the name of the revived publication to the *Non-Resistant and Practical Christian*, and this paper now became the official organ of the Society. Wright, who had just ended his long mission in Europe, contributed to its columns accounts of his labors abroad.³¹ Besides his editorial work, Ballou conducted many debates on non-resistance, and, at the request of Theodore Parker, preached to his congregation in Boston on the subject. While Parker was not entirely convinced of the practicability of the doctrine, he felt that in nine cases out of ten violence was needlessly resorted to.³²

In 1846 Ballou published the most thorough exposition of non-resistance made in the pre-Civil War period. In the preface of this book, *Christian Non-Resistance in all its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended*, the author stated that the cause was most unpopular and but

little understood. Arguing from the Scripture text, "I say unto you, resist not evil," Ballou urged that the doctrine was not contrary to nature, since it was a universal law that like begets like; hence kindness would beget kindness. The safety of the principle of non-resistance was elaborately illustrated by examples.

The early enthusiasm of the non-resistants, except in rare instances, soon waned, and little is heard of the movement in the fifties. The last annual meeting of the society was held in 1849. For the decline of a movement which probably never numbered more than two hundred persons there were good reasons. Perhaps the most important was the extreme character of the cause. Wright's language was so violent that even Ballou was somewhat distressed with his lack of discrimination and judgment. At the anniversary meeting of 1848, Wright offered a resolution to the effect that "no man that rejects the doctrine is entitled to be called a Christian or a disciple of Christ." Harriet Beecher Stowe asked if Wright was not an infidel, what else he could be called? Among the clergy the Reverend Edward Beecher was not alone in associating the non-resistants with atheists.³³ Perhaps one of the most aggressive non-resistants was Stephen Foster, the author of a vigorous assault on the church and clergy, *The Brotherhood of Thieves*.

A second reason for the decline of non-resistance, the *crème de la crème* of ultraism, was its conflict with abolitionism, a vigorous and growing cult. Garrison asserted that during the two and a half years that he was nominally one of the editors of the *Non-Resistant* he had not devoted half a day to the writing of editorial matter for its pages, and that his time, means, and labors were so absorbed in seeking the emancipation of his enslaved countrymen that he could not do very much specifically and directly for non-resistance. For some time, none the less, Garrison continued to think of the two causes as more or less in-

³⁰ Charles A. Staples, A memorial of Reverend Adin Ballou, in *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity*, 1890, xxxv, 99-112 (Worcester, 1890).

³¹ William S. Heywood, ed., *Autobiography of Adin Ballou*, Lowell, 1896, 307-309, 380.

³² *Ibid.*, 382; C. B. Frothingham, *Theodore Parker, A Biography*, Boston, 1874, p. 361.

³³ William Lloyd Garrison, *Story of His Life*, iii, 27, 227, 397-400.

separable. If the slaveholder should become a non-resistant, for example, he could never again strike a slave, never again compel him to labor, nor reclaim him if he ran away, nor resort in any wise to violence by which the relation of master and slave originated and was maintained. It seemed to Garrison that non-resistance was "the temper of mind in which all enterprises for humanity should be undertaken, rather than a distinct enterprise in itself."³⁴ When Charles Stearns formally renounced his non-resistance views during the troublous times in Kansas, Garrison still held to the faith. What was more to the point, he even argued in its behalf with John Brown in the parlors of Theodore Parker one January evening in 1857. But with the John Brown raid, Garrison surrendered. On the day of the execution of Brown, Garrison, in a speech at Tremont Temple, declared that wherever there was a contest between the oppressed and the oppressor, his heart must be with the oppressed, and that therefore he could but wish success to all slave insurrections. "Give me," he said, "as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill and Lexington and Concord, rather than the cowardice and servility of a Southern slave plantation." In the same breath he tried to persuade himself and his hearers that he had neither stained nor compromised his peace profession.³⁵

Even the archangel of non-resistance, Henry Clarke Wright, came down to earth and sustained the Government during the Civil War, declaring that the preservation of the Republic, the destruction of slavery, and the rights of the laboring classes everywhere depended on the reelection of Lincoln. He scorned the anti-government plots of the Knights of the Golden Circle; it was a Daniel came to judgment. As his non-resistance doctrines evaporated, his interest in spiritualism and in the prevention of "undesigned and un-

desired maternity" increased until his death, in the summer of 1870.³⁶

With but few exceptions, the non-resistants succumbed to the ways of the world, yielding "allegiance to the war god when with his battle-axe he cleft asunder the fetter of the slave." Adin Ballou was one who refused to surrender his principles, and until his death, in 1890, devoted thought and labor to a cause that other champions had forgotten. In the last years of his life recognition came from Count Leo Tolstoy, who wrote his deep love and respect for the unreconstructed non-resistant, whose work had done "great good" to the Russian soul and whose tracts, translated into the Russian, were "propagated among the believers and richly appreciated by them."³⁷ Tolstoy acknowledged an even greater indebtedness to Garrison, who was "the first to proclaim this principle as a rule for the organization of the life of men." There seems to be no evidence, however, for the claim made by one of Garrison's children, that it was from the great abolitionist that Tolstoy first learned of the doctrine of non-resistance.³⁸

Thus Emerson's advice, "Trust the principle of non-resistance," was not heeded by its most noisy exponents. Contrary to his warning,³⁹ they sought to "vamp and abut principles" which tried their patience and stood in the way of another cause so close to their heart.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 110. The titles of some of Wright's later books reflect his interests: *Marriage and Parentage, or the Reproductive Element in Man as a Means to His Elevation and Happiness*, Boston, 1855; *The Unwelcome Child, or the Crime of an Undesigned and Undesired Maternity*, Boston, 1858; *The Living Present and the Dead Past* (Boston, 1865).

³⁷ Adin Ballou, *Autobiography*, 421; Lewis G. Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance" in the *Arena*, xiii, December, 1890, 1-12.

³⁸ Leo Tolstoy to V. Tchertkoff, in *William Lloyd Garrison on Non-Resistance*, 46, 55, and Fanny Garrison Villard's statement, xii.

³⁹ Emerson's *Journals*, v. 302-303, October 27, 1839.

³⁴ *William Lloyd Garrison, Story of His Life*, iii, 16, 79-80.

³⁵ *William Lloyd Garrison, Story of His Life*, iii, 419, 488, 491 ff.

INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

Meetings at Geneva, Switzerland, August 23-31

THE Council of the Interparliamentary Union, five of the six Permanent Study Committees, and six sub-committees will meet this year, August 23-31, not in Arcachon, France, as originally planned, but in Geneva, Switzerland.

The meetings are being organized by the Bureau of the Union. M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, President of the Council and of the Executive Committee of the Union, and Dr. Christian L. Lange, the Secretary-General, are at the head.

PERMANENT COMMITTEES

The Union possesses six Permanent Committees, all of which, excepting the Committee for the Reduction of Armaments, will meet at Geneva. Every Group may be represented on each Committee by a delegate who alone is entitled to take part in the discussion and in the voting. All members of the Union are, however, entitled to be present at the meetings of the Committees as listeners. A delegate who is prevented from attending may be represented by another member of his Group who has been duly authorized for that purpose.

COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATION QUESTIONS

Agenda:

(a) Consideration of the proposals prepared by the Sub-Committee with regard to the new Scale of Constitutions and the development of the Union.

(b) Continuation of the work of the Union on the *Evolution of the Parliamentary System*. Instructions to be given to the special Sub-Committee.

(c) Individual proposals.

(d) Election of officers.

The Committee will meet on Wednesday, August 28, from 10 a. m. onwards.

COMMITTEE FOR JURIDICAL QUESTIONS

Agenda:

(a) To examine the proposals of the Sub-Committee on the Penal Responsibility of States.

(b) Report from Signor di Stefano-Napolitani, President of the Committee, on the draft Model Arbitration Treaty presented by Mr. Richard Bartholdt (United States of America).

(c) Decision with regard to other questions on the programme of the Committee, particularly:

1. The drafting of a general plan of Codification of International Law.

2. The fixation of legal rules making it possible to carry into execution Art. 9, § 2, of the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States adopted by the Berlin Conference.

3. The institution of mixed international tribunals for disputes belonging to private law.

(d) Individual proposals.

(e) Election of officers.

The Committee will meet on Tuesday, August 27, from 10 a. m. onwards.

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL QUESTIONS

Agenda:

(a) To examine the conclusions of the Sub-Committee on International Trusts.

(b) Individual proposals.

(c) Election of officers.

The Committee will meet on Tuesday, August 27, from 10 a. m. onwards.

COMMITTEE FOR ETHNIC AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

Agenda:

(a) To examine the report and the preliminary draft resolution presented by the Sub-Committee on minority questions.

- (b) Individual proposals.
- (c) Election of officers.

The Committee will meet on Wednesday, August 28, from 10 a. m. onwards.

COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS

Agenda:

(a) To examine the proposals of the Sub-Committee on the Protection of Mothers and Children.

(b) Report from M. de Rabours (Switzerland) on the creation of a sub-committee for the study of Labor questions.

(c) Report from M. Brabec (Czechoslovakia) on the proposal of Mr. Stephen G. Porter (United States of America) relating to the compulsory treatment of drug addicts.

(d) Individual proposals.

(e) Election of officers.

The Committee will meet on Tuesday, August 27, from 3 p. m. onwards.

SUB-COMMITTEES

Several Sub-Committees which have not been able to meet since the last Conference will be convened before or after the full Committees. Their members will receive individual notices. These sub-committees are composed of a limited number of members nominated by the Committees themselves, and not by the National Groups, as in the case of members of full Committees.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION

Agenda:

Continuation of the work begun in Paris in connection with the re-organization of the finances and the development of the Union.

Adoption of the report to be submitted to the full Committee.

The Sub-Committee will meet on Monday, August 26, at 10 a. m.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Agenda:

Organization of the work of the Sub-Committee in accordance with the decisions of the full Committee for Political and Organization Questions.

The Sub-Committee will meet on Saturday, August 31, from 10 a. m. onwards.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES

Agenda:

Discussion of the proposals presented by Mr. V. V. Pella (Rumania).

Proposals to be presented to the full Committee for Juridical Questions.

The Sub-Committee will meet on Saturday, August 24, at 10 a. m.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRUSTS

Agenda:

Consideration of the conclusions of the rapporteurs, Baron Szterenyi (Hungary) and Mr. Rennie Smith (Great Britain), and of the memorandum of Professor Lehnic (expert).

Proposals to be presented to the full Committee for Economic and Financial Questions.

The Sub-Committee will meet on Saturday, August 24, from 10 a. m. onwards.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE PROTECTION OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

Agenda:

Consideration of the answers to the questionnaire sent out by the Bureau.

Proposals to be submitted to the full Committee for Social and Humanitarian Questions.

The Sub-Committee will meet on Monday, August 26, from 10 a. m. onwards.

MIXED SUB-COMMITTEE ON SECURITY

Agenda:

Consideration of the memoranda prepared by certain members of the Sub-Committee and by the Bureau.

Organization of the work of the Sub-Committee and, possibly, distribution of the different questions amongst the members.

The Sub-Committee will meet on Friday, August 23, from 10 a. m. onwards, and if necessary on Saturday, August 24, at 3 p. m.

A GENERAL MEETING

There will be a general meeting, which all members of the Union may attend. As the Statutes of the Union make no provision for such a meeting, no decision binding upon the Union can be taken on that occasion.

This meeting, to which all members of the Union present at Geneva will be invited, will, as a result of a decision of the Executive Committee, be devoted to the free study of the following important problem of international politics:

The Implications of the Kellogg Pact.

The discussion will be mainly directed to

- (a) The development of international juridical organization.
- (b) The reduction of armaments.
- (c) The consequences of a violation of the Pact. The responsibility of the contracting States in this respect.

The meeting will take place on Thursday, August 29, and will commence at 10 a. m. If it should prove impossible to conclude the meeting on that day, an additional sitting will be held on the same evening, or on Friday, August 30, in the afternoon.

The Inter-Parliamentary Council will meet on Friday, August 30, from 10 a. m. onwards.

Each Group is invited to send a representative on each Study Committee, and

two delegates to the Council. In theory, therefore, the delegation of each Group should consist of seven members. It is, however, possible for the same member to sit on the Council and on one of the Committees, or for a delegate to be a member of two Committees. On the other hand, some Groups may wish that one or several of their members who have been nominated as substitute members on the Committees should be present without however taking part in the debates. Taking these two possibilities into account it is therefore not impossible that a delegation should consist either of more or of less than seven members. Each Group will make its own decision on that subject, according to the importance which it attaches to being fully represented.

Members will not be asked to pay any contribution. The expenses of the meeting will be borne by the Union itself.

The American Group of the Union will be ably represented both by members of the Senate and of the House.

President Burton has appointed the following delegates:

Committee for Political and Organization Questions:

- SEN. ELMER THOMAS, of Oklahoma.
- REP. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM, of Maryland.
- REP. F. F. KORELL, of Oregon.

Committee for Juridical Questions:

- REP. CARL R. CHINDBLUM, of Illinois.
- REP. ROY G. FITZGERALD, of Ohio.
- EX. REP. RICHARD BARTHOLOLT, of Missouri.
- REP. JOHN J. MCSWAIN, of South Carolina.

Committee for Economic and Financial Questions:

- REP. SOL BLOOM, of New York.
- REP. A. PIATT ANDREW, of Massachusetts.
- REP. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, of Massachusetts.
- REP. FRED S. PURNELL, of Indiana.

Committee for Ethnic and Colonial Questions:

- REP. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, of Virginia.
- REP. MORTON D. HULL, of Illinois.
- SEN. TOM CONNELLY, of Texas.

Committee for Armament Questions:

SEN. THEODORE E. BURTON, of Ohio.
 SEN. MILLARD E. TYDINGS, of Maryland.
 REP. FRANKLIN F. KOBELL, of Oregon.
 REP. FRED A. BRITTEN, of Illinois.

Committee for Social and Humanitarian Questions:

REP. STEPHEN G. POBTER, of Pennsylvania.
 SEN. HENRY F. ASHURST, of Arizona.
 REP. JED JOHNSON, of Oklahoma.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

INTERNATIONAL BANK

Outline for International Settlements

ANNEX I

OF THE YOUNG PLAN

In Section 3 of the following outline provision is made for an organization committee, which will have the duty of putting the bank project into effect. This outline has been drawn up for the benefit of the organization committee which will have power generally to modify its provisions or to make substitutions for any or all of them, provided always that such modifications or substitutions shall not be inconsistent with the essential functions of the bank with respect to the experts' plan as a whole.

1. PURPOSE, NAME AND LOCATION—The bank organized under this plan shall be known as the "Bank for International Settlements."

The purpose of the bank is to provide additional facilities for the international movement of funds and to afford a ready instrument for promoting international financial relations. In connection with the German reparation annuities it shall perform, as trustee for the creditor countries, the entire work of external administration of this plan, shall act as the agency for the receipt and distribution of funds and shall supervise and assist in the commercialization and mobilization of certain portions of the annuities.

It shall be located in a financial centre hereafter to be designated. In selecting the country of incorporation due consideration shall be given to obtaining powers sufficiently broad to enable it to perform its functions with requisite freedom and with suitable immunities from taxation.

2. SHARE CAPITAL—The authorized capital of the bank may be expressed in the currency of the country of domicile and shall amount to the round equivalent of \$100,000,000. Upon the formation of the bank the whole authorized capital shall be

issued, but only 25 per cent of each share shall be then paid in. The board of directors of the bank shall have power to call for the payment of further instalments. It shall also have the power to authorize an increase or a reduction in the total capital stock of the bank.

In each country in which the shares of the bank may be offered for sale the shares shall be issued through the central bank of that country or other agency to which the central bank offers no objection.

In the seven countries to which members of the present committee belong, issues or allocations of shares shall always be made in equal amounts. The central banks of these countries, or banking groups not objected to by them, shall guarantee the subscription of the whole of the first issue in the round equivalent of \$100,000,000. But they may agree with central banks or groups in other countries (particularly those interested in reparations) that an amount of the first issue not exceeding the round equivalent of \$4,000,000 for each and not exceeding the round equivalent of \$44,000,000 in all may be issued in other countries.

In the event of an increase in the authorized capital and a further issue of shares, the distribution among countries shall be decided by a two-thirds majority of the directors of the bank on the above principles. In particular, the percentage of the total shares issued in the seven countries first mentioned above shall not fall below 55.

Apart from countries interested in reparations, only countries which have, at the time an offering of shares is made, a currency stabilized on a gold or gold exchange basis may participate.

The shares may be expressed in the currency of the country in which the bank is domiciled and shall state the amount of the share at the gold mint parity of the currency of the country in which they are issued. They shall be registered and continue to be registered, but may be freely negotiated. Transfers of the shares after issue shall not affect the voting power reserved to the central banks as described below.

Payments to the shareholders on account of dividends or at the liquidation of the bank shall be made in the currency of the country of domicile.

The shares shall carry no voting rights; but voting rights corresponding to the number of shares originally issued in each country shall be exercised by the central bank of that country in the general meetings of the bank (taking the place of the general meetings of shareholders), which the representatives of the participating central banks will attend.

The shares shall be entitled to participate in the profits of the bank as indicated in the section "Distribution of Profits."

Duties of the Organization Committee

3—For the purpose of taking the preliminary steps for putting the bank project into effect a temporary committee shall be created which will be known as the "organization committee." This committee shall be appointed by the governors of the central banks of the seven countries to which members of the present committee belong. The governor of each of these seven central banks shall be entitled to designate two members of the organization committee with due regard for the necessity of including in its membership persons versed in banking, the issue of bonds and the work of the present committee of experts.

If for any reason the governor of any of these central banks shall be unable officially or unofficially to designate members of the organization committee, or refrains from doing so, the governors of the remaining central banks shall invite two fellow-nationals of the governor not participating to act as members of the committee.

The members thus selected shall have in all respects an equal vote in the work of the committee with the members otherwise chosen. The decisions of the organization committee shall be taken by a three-quarters vote.

As an essential part of its work the organization committee shall proceed with drawing up a charter for the bank which shall be consistent with the provisions of the plan and shall take such steps as may be necessary to insure its timely granting or enactment by appropriate public authorities.

The organization committee shall, until such time as the board of directors of the bank is appointed and takes office, proceed with the physical organization of the bank. It shall arrange in accordance with the procedure prescribed in Section 2 for the subscription of the capital stock and, in accordance with the procedure prescribed in Section 4, for the appointment of the board of directors.

It shall call the first meeting of the board of directors and designate the temporary chairman to preside at that meeting, pending the election of the regular chairman. It shall draw up the statutes for regulating the administration of the bank and submit them to the board of directors for consideration. These statutes shall make provision for such matters as are usual in banking organization and in particular provide for the following:

(1) The qualifications for membership on the board of directors.

(2) The nature and duties of the permanent committees of the board of directors including the executive committee.

(3) The administrative departments to be created within the bank.

(4) The time and place of the meetings of the board of directors and of the executive committee.

(5) The form to be used for the convocation of the general meeting as well as the conditions and the methods for exercising voting rights on the part of representatives of central banks.

(6) The form of trust certificates which the bank shall issue to the creditor governments under the plan.

(7) Provisions with regard to liquidation of the bank.

The organization committee shall cooperate with the general organization committees provided for in this plan.

Directorate and Management of the Bank

4—The entire administrative control of the bank shall be vested in the board of directors whose duty it shall be to supervise and direct the operations of the bank and in general so to act as to carry out those purposes of the plan committed to the administration of the bank.

In particular the board of directors,

(1) Shall have the right to adopt, modify, limit or extend the statutes of the bank in such a manner as shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of the plan.

(2) Shall have the power generally to modify the provisions contained in the outline of the bank's organization or to make substitutions for any or all of them, provided always that such modifications or substitutions shall not be inconsistent with the essential functions of the bank with respect to the experts' plan as a whole and with its existing engagements.

(3) Shall appoint the chief executive officer of the bank and fix his remuneration.

(4) May appoint an executive committee and delegate such powers to it as may be provided for in the statutes of the bank.

(5) May appoint advisory committees to deal with any questions upon which information or advice is desired.

The functions of a director are incompatible with those involving national political responsibilities. The statutes of the bank shall make the necessary provision in order to avoid such conflict of functions. All the directors shall be ordinarily resident in Europe or shall be in a position to give regular attendance at meetings of the board.

The Board of Directors shall be made up in the following manner:

(1) The Governor (or as the case may be the chief executive officer) of the central bank of each of the seven countries to which members of the present committee belong, or his nominee, shall be a director of the bank *ex officio*. Each of these Governors shall also appoint one director being a national of his country and representative either of finance or of industry and commerce.

In case the Governor of any central bank shall be unable to act either officially or unofficially according to the provisions of this paragraph, or refrains from doing so, action shall then be taken in accordance with the alternative procedure given in Section 12 of this outline.

(2) During the period of the German annuities the Governor of the Bank of France and the president of the Reichsbank may each appoint, if they so desire, one additional director of his own nationality being a representative of industry or commerce.

(3) The Governor of the central bank of each of the other countries participating in the share ownership of the bank, as provided in Section 2 of this outline, shall furnish a list of four candidates of his own nationality for directorships.

Two of the candidates on each list shall be representative of finance, and the other two of industry or commerce. The Governors in question may themselves be included in this list. From these lists the fourteen or sixteen directors mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2 above shall elect not more than nine other directors.

(4) From those first appointed, four groups of five directors shall be chosen by lot. Their terms respectively shall end at the close of each of the first, second, third and fourth years from the establishment of the bank. Subject to this, the term of office of the directors shall be five years, but they may be reappointed.

(5) In case of vacancy in a position on the Board of Directors arising from death, resignation or other causes, the vacancy shall be filled in the same manner as prescribed for the original appointments. If a vacancy occurs before the expiration of a term, it shall be filled for the remainder of the term only.

The directors shall elect a chairman annually from among their own number. The

chairman's duties shall be to preside at meetings of the Board of Directors. At the first meeting, until the chairman shall have been elected, a member of the board, selected for the purpose by the organization committee shall act as chairman.

The ordinary decisions of the board, including those involving elections, shall be made by a simple majority vote. In case of an even division the chairman shall have a deciding vote. For decisions involving the adoption or amendment of statutes of the bank, modifications or substitutions in the present project for the organization of the bank, the distribution among countries of additional issues of stock in the bank, or other matters for which the statutes of the bank make appropriate provision, a two-thirds majority shall be required. Should a member not be able to attend a meeting of the board, it will always be open to him to empower one of his colleagues, by registered letter or by telegram, to vote for him and on his behalf.

If decisions of the board are disputed on the ground that they are inconsistent with the provisions or intent of the plan, recourse may be had to arbitration under the procedures laid down in Part 8 of the plan.

The chief executive officer of the bank shall select the officers and heads of the departments of the bank. For the latter the appointment shall be subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

Bank Has Right to Receive Deposits

5. DEPOSITS—The bank, in carrying out its functions with respect to the facilitation of international settlements or in connection with the German annuities, shall have the right to receive deposits of a nature consistent therewith. The Board of Directors or, as it may decide, the Executive Committee shall consider applications to open deposit accounts, with authority to determine whether such applications come within the scope of the bank's functions.

Deposits shall be received in only those currencies which satisfy in the opinion of the Board of Directors the practical requirements of the gold or gold-exchange standard.

Any classification of deposits which the Board of Directors may set up shall include:

(1) Deposits on annuity account—These deposits the bank receives in its capacity as trustees for the creditor governments. They shall be managed according to the procedure given in Section 8 of this outline.

(2) Deposits from central banks—These may be either current account deposits or investment account deposits.

(3) Deposits on clearing account—The bank shall have the right, subject to such terms and conditions as the Board of Directors may set down, to accept deposits from

central banks for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a fund for settling accounts among them. Such deposits may take the form of gold deliveries at the counters of the bank or of gold held for its account under earmark by any central bank participating in the fund for clearing accounts. The terms under which central banks may enter the clearing system, the rules and regulations for its operation and the rates of exchange at which gold is to be accepted as deposits in the clearing fund or to be withdrawn from it, shall be determined by the Board of Directors of the bank.

(4) Deposits originating in the exercise of the bank's functions in connection with the German annuities and tending to facilitate such functions—No such account shall be opened without the assent of the central bank of the country of which the prospective depositor is a national. If the Governor of the central bank in question (or his nominee) is present and voting at the time the Board of Directors (or the Executive Committee) of the bank authorizes the opening of the account, his favorable vote shall be taken as giving the required assent.

(5) Deposits constituting guarantee funds as provided in Annex 8 and relative to the mobilization of the unconditional annuity—The interest and the share in the profits which will apply to these deposits are provided for in Annex 8 and in the section on profits in this outline.

(6) Special deposit of the German Government—During the first thirty-seven years the German Government shall maintain at the bank a non-interest bearing deposit equivalent to 50 per cent of the average deposit remaining in the annuity trust account as described in Section 8 of this outline. This German Government deposit will not exceed 100 million reichsmarks.

The bank shall have the right to pay interest on deposits, but only on deposits not susceptible of withdrawal until at least one month from the time of deposit.

The rate of interest to be paid will be determined by the Board of Directors or, as the case may be, by the Executive Committee. In allowing interest on deposits the Board of Directors shall give due consideration to the value of the services performed for the depositor and the size of the depositor's balance.

6. LOANS, DISCOUNTS AND INVESTMENTS—The Board of Directors shall determine the nature of the operations to be undertaken by the bank. Such operations shall be consistent with the policies of the central banks of the countries concerned. The bank may in particular have the right (a) to deal directly with central banks, or (b) to deal through central banks which have agreed to act as its agent and correspondent, or (c) to deal with banks, bankers' corporations and individuals of any

country in performing any authorized function, provided that the central bank of that country does not enter objection. Whenever any proposed credit operation affecting any particular market comes up for decision the favorable vote of the Governor of the central bank concerned (or his nominees if the Governor is not present) sitting as a member of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee shall be taken as giving the assent of his central bank. If he declines to give his assent the proposed credit operation shall not be undertaken in his market.

Functions of Bank Are Outlined

Thus, the bank may perform such functions as the following:

(1) To buy and to sell gold coin and bullion, to earmark gold for the account of central banks and to make advances to central banks on gold as security.

(2) To buy and to sell for its own account, either with or without its endorsement, bills of exchange and other short-term obligations of prime liquidity, including checks drawn or endorsed by central banks or in respect of which three obligees are responsible.

(3) To open and maintain deposit accounts with central banks.

(4) To rediscount for central banks bills taken from their portfolios, to make loans to them on the security of such bills or to make advances to them against the pledge of other securities up to such amounts and for such period as may be approved by the board of directors.

(5) To buy and to sell for its own account intermediate or long term securities (other than shares) of a character approved by the board of directors. Its holdings of such securities at any one time shall not exceed the total of its paid-in capital and reserve funds.

To Invest in Germany

(6) To invest in Germany, with the assent of the Reichsbank, reichsmark funds standing to the credit of the bank at the Reichsbank which are not transferable owing to a declaration of transfer postponement.

The bank may realize upon any such investments, at its discretion, unless at the time the investment was agreed to by the Reichsbank some stipulation or arrangement affecting the possible sale was made a condition of such agreement.

The income from any such investments and the proceeds of such investments, if sold, shall be deposited to the credit of the bank as deposits under the conditions set out in Annex 8 of the plan of the reinvested consistently with the provisions of that annex.

If, in the opinion of the board of directors of the bank, counter obligations issued against its investments in Germany as collateral can be advantageously sold on non-Ger-

man markets, their net proceeds shall be distributed to the creditor countries in such proportions and under the same conditions as would have applied in the case of normal transfer.

The accounts of the creditor powers shall be charged with the reichsmark cost of the securities alienated or pledged in the course of any such transaction.

If the board of directors of the bank decides that counter-obligations cannot be sold advantageously the income and net proceeds of the investment, when finally disposed of, shall be distributed to the creditors.

An Additional Power

The foregoing power is in addition to the general powers of the bank to make and realize upon investments for its own account at any time, subject to the provision that such investments are to be made with the assent of the central bank concerned.

(7) To issue its own obligations at long or short term, secured or unsecured, for the purpose of relending to any central bank, in each case upon the specific decision of the board of directors by a two-thirds vote.

The investment powers of the bank shall never be used in such a way as to exercise a predominant influence over business interests in any country.

The board of directors shall guide the investment undertakings of the bank accordingly and shall be entitled, if necessary, to make special regulations in this respect.

Bank's Role as a Trustee

7. TRUSTEE FUNCTIONS, GENERAL PROVISIONS—The bank shall be trustee of the creditor governments in dealing with the German annuities and shall have such general powers of administration consistent with the plan as are necessary to the prompt and complete exercise of its duties in that respect. The organization committee shall draw up appropriate forms of trust agreement between the creditor governments and the bank.

The trust functions of the bank shall include the following:

(1) Receiving and disbursing to the paying agents the service on the German external loan, 1924. If arrangements can legally be made the bank shall also act in the capacity of one of the trustees for that loan.

(2) Receiving from Germany the various certificates and obligations provided for in the plan.

The bank shall hold these certificates and obligations in safekeeping and shall issue to the creditors its trust receipts for such certificates and obligations upon the completion of the payments called for under these certificates and obligations for any one year.

The respective creditor governments shall give their quittance to the bank, which, in turn, shall give its quittance to the German Government canceling and returning any coupons representing the payments made.

(3) Receiving and distributing the service of the German annuities. The specifications of this function are given in Section 8 of this outline below:

(4) Performing as regards deliveries in kind such functions as may be entrusted to it by the governments in connection with the acceptance of the new plan.

Dealing with Safeguards

(5) Dealing with the measures of safeguard provided in the plan. Upon receiving notification from the German Government, consistently with the provisions of the plan, the bank shall convene the special advisory committee whose composition procedure and action are provided for in Section 8 (E) of the plan.

(6) Acting as trustee under trust agreements. The bank shall have the power to act as trustee under trust agreements entered into by it with the approval or on the initiative of its board of directors, which has as its purpose the issue by the bank of trust certificates or other obligations against investments in securities pledged as collateral therefor.

This power may be exercised in addition to the powers with respect to investments provided for in Section 6, above.

(7) Acting as trustee under special agreements. The bank shall be authorized to act as trustee under any special agreements among the creditor countries covering the reparation of the annuities or the guarantee of any parts of them.

In particular the bank shall have power to act as trustee under the agreement specified in Annex 8 of the plan. The bank shall be authorized to pay interest on any guarantee fund deposited with the bank in connection with any such trust and to arrange the terms on which the deposit is to be received and the fund managed, all in accordance with the plan.

(8) Acting as trustee at the request of a creditor government, the German Government or the central bank of any one of those countries. The bank shall have the right, upon the approval of the board of directors, to undertake any trust functions which any creditor government or the German Government or any of their respective central banks proposes that it shall undertake, provided such functions are generally consistent with the purpose of the plan.

Depository for Reich Payments

The bank, in its capacity as trustee for the creditor government, shall receive and dis-

tribute the funds represented in the service of the German annuities.

In fulfilling these functions the bank shall work in cooperation with the central banks of the countries concerned. The relations thus established shall be the ordinary relationships obtaining between a bank and its correspondent banks.

The procedure for conducting these operations, subject to the right of the board of directors of the bank to make modifications, provided the general purposes of the plan are observed, shall be as follows:

(1) The bank shall maintain on its books as general deposit account to be known as the annuity trust account.

(2) The German Government shall be responsible for the payment to the bank in instalments, as provided in the plan, of all sums applicable to the service of the annuity.

These payments shall be credited to the annuity trust account.

The organization committee shall make the necessary provision whereby the Reichsmark payments to the account of the bank at the Reichsbank in respect to the railway contribution shall be immediately released to the German Government against equivalent payment in foreign currencies to the annuity trust account.

Payments Subject to Plan

(3) Subject to the operation of the clauses of the plan relating to transfer postponement and except as the bank may request that payments be made in Reichsmarks to the credit of its account at the Reichsbank described in Paragraph 4 below, the German Government shall make all payments on account of the annuity in foreign currencies.

Payments in foreign currencies, not on a gold or a gold exchange standard, shall be made only with the consent of the bank.

As a matter of business practice, the bank, acting in advance of the payment dates, may notify the German Government or its agent, the bank's preferences with respect to the currencies in which the payment may be made. In case the bank's preferences are not complied with payment shall be made to the bank in the currencies of the seven countries whose nationals are members of the present experts committee, divided as nearly as may be in proportion to their respective shares in that portion of the annuity accruing to them.

(4) All Reichsmark payments for credit to the annuity trust account shall be paid into an account of the bank at the Reichsbank.

The bank shall be entitled to draw upon it in making all Reichsmark payments necessary for the operation of the plan, including payments for administrative expenses incurred in Germany, payments for deliveries in kind and any other disbursements on annuity account.

The bank shall also be entitled to withdraw Reichsmarks from this account or to deposit Reichsmarks in it in the course of conducting operations referred to in Paragraph 14 below, and it may open other accounts at the Reichsbank for use in connection therewith.

Such additional accounts shall be operated according to ordinary business principles.

The bank shall have available at all times sufficient funds in Reichsmarks to cover current requirements on account of payments for deliveries in kind.

Bank to Give Receipt

(5) The bank shall give its receipt to the German Government for all sums which it pays or causes to be paid into the annuity trust account in the course of carrying out its obligations under the plan.

The receipt of the bank shall make note of the currencies received, but credit shall be given in the Reichsmark equivalent of those currencies. The German Government undertakes for the purpose of the present provision, as well as for the general purposes of the plan, that the Reichsmark shall have and shall retain its convertibility into gold or devisen as contemplated in Section 31 of the present Reichsbank law and that for these purposes the Reichsmark shall have and shall retain a mint parity of 1-2790 kilogram of fine gold as defined in the German coinage law of August 30, 1924.

Sums paid in foreign currencies into the annuity trust account shall be calculated in terms of Reichsmarks at the average of the middle rate (*mittelkurs*) prevailing on the Berlin bourse during the half-monthly period preceding the date of payment. (See the letter from the President of the Reichsbank given in Annex 2.)

Bank's Receipt Normally Is Discharge

(6) The bank's receipt giving credit in reichsmarks for payments made into the annuity trust account by the German Government, or on its behalf, shall, under normal operation of the plan, constitute a complete and sufficient discharge of the obligations of the German Government with respect to such payments.

If, however, transfer postponement should be in whole or partial effect, the bank's receipt giving credit in reichsmarks shall constitute a complete and sufficient discharge of the obligations of the German Government with respect to all payments into the annuity trust account made in foreign exchange and with respect to such portion of the payments made in reichsmarks as in the opinion of the bank provide current funds for deliveries in kind or services. As to the remainder, the receipt of the bank shall be in the nature of a temporary acknowledgment only.

(7) Withdrawals from the annuity trust account shall be made in accordance with provisions to be made by the organization committee. The bank shall pay no interest on funds deposited in the annuity trust account.

(8) All disbursements for reparation purposes shall be charged against the annuity trust account. A first charge against that account shall be the service currently due on the German external loan of 1924. The board of directors shall be entitled also to charge against the account such sums as they deem to be fair compensation for the services performed by the bank and such out-of-pocket expenses as it incurs in administering the plan. If, in the opinion of the directors, such service charges or costs cannot be equitably charged to the account as a whole, they shall be entitled to allocate them in such proportions as they see fit to the individual shares of any of the creditor countries.

(9) After charging against the annuity trust account the items referred to in the preceding paragraph and such other items as may be properly chargeable to the annuity as a whole, the bank shall proceed in the following manner with the distribution of the remainder of the available funds to the accounts of the several creditors in accordance with the provisions of the plan:

(10) During such period of time as payments for deliveries in kind and payments under reparation recovery act and similar procedures continue to be made, the bank shall make available to the several creditor countries reichsmark credits which shall be utilized subject to the applicable provisions of the loan.

(11) The bank, out of each instalment paid into the annuity trust account, shall set aside and accumulate funds for the payment of service on any bonds issued and outstanding which represent commercialized and mobilized shares in the annuity. Funds required for this purpose shall be charged against the accounts of the creditor countries in proportion to their respective interests in the bonds for which service is being accumulated.

At a suitable time in advance of the dates fixed for the payment of interest to the bondholders the bank shall pay to the paying agents the amounts due in interest and shall make disposition according to the terms of the bond of funds required for purposes of amortization.

(12) Out of the sums remaining in currencies other than reichsmarks, and after providing for any other charges called for under the plan, the directors of the bank shall distribute such aggregate amounts as they may determine to the creditor countries divided according to the propositions agreed upon among the respective governments. In withholding any sums from distribution and in fixing the dates at which distribution is effected, the directors of the bank shall be

guided on the one hand by the need for prompt action in the interest of the creditor countries and on the other by the interests of the plan as a whole, including due consideration to the bank by way of compensation for its services in managing the annuity.

Arrangements for Distributing Cash

(13) The bank shall make distribution of cash by crediting the accounts which the central banks of the several creditor countries maintain with it, notifying them simultaneously that such credits are for the accounts of their respective governments. The bank shall notify the proper financial authorities of the creditor countries when such credits have been made, and shall obtain receipts from them accordingly.

(14) The bank shall have the right to buy for its own account or for other trust accounts any reichsmarks held in the annuity trust account, giving foreign currencies in return. The foreign currencies thus acquired by the annuity trust account shall be available for distribution to the creditor countries under the conditions specified in the preceding paragraphs. The reichsmarks which the bank acquires shall be used only as the plan provides.

(15) The bank at the close of each business year, or more frequently if requested, shall give to the financial authorities of each creditor country a full accounting showing the disposition of its share in the annuity. As soon as any country has received its full share in the annuity for any one year its proper financial authority shall give to the bank his acknowledgment and shall enter the same upon the trust receipt provided for in Paragraph 2 of Section 7 of this outline. Such acknowledgment shall constitute a full and sufficient discharge to the bank with respect to the annuity covered by it.

9. AGENCY FUNCTIONS—The Bank shall be qualified, on terms to be mutually agreed upon, to act as agent and correspondent of any central bank and to appoint any central bank to act as its agent and correspondent. The services to be performed by either or both parties under such agreements shall be subject, so far as the Bank's interest is concerned, to the approval of its Board of Directors, and may include the purchase and sale of gold, of bills of exchange and other securities, the earmarking of gold, the exchange of information and advice, and the transaction of any business consistent with the functions of the Bank under the plan, on the one hand, and within the lawful functions of the central bank, on the other.

The Bank shall act as agent of any creditor government in mobilizing any parts of the annuities and in managing the service of bonds issued in connection with any such mobilization. The procedure for conducting the Bank's share in such operations, subject

to the right of the Organization Committee or the Board of Directors of the Bank to make modifications, provided the general purposes of the plan are observed, shall be as follows:

(1) Upon the request of the creditor governments or any of them, the Bank shall initiate operations for marketing bonds if, after examination, it considers market conditions warrant such operations. Such operations may take place in the international markets or may be restricted to the domestic market or markets of the countries concerned in the proposed mobilization, as the Board of Directors may decide. In determining the markets where offerings are to be made, the Bank shall make inquiries from the central banks concerned and if any central bank offers explicit objection to an offering being made in its own market the directors shall decide accordingly.

(2) The Bank shall proceed to carry out requests from any creditor government for the creation of bonds to be issued on its domestic market in connection with conversion operations up to an amount represented in its share in the annuities. Each State shall be free to offer such bonds on its own market on whatever conditions it can obtain.

(3) If, in the opinion of the Bank, the time is opportune for an issue of bonds even if no request for mobilization has been received, the Bank may inform the creditor governments accordingly.

(4) If the creditor governments so request, the Bank shall arrange with issuing bankers the conditions upon which bonds are to be issued on the open markets, either of one or of several countries as the case may be. The Bank shall fix the minimum price at which such issues shall be made and it shall supervise the execution of the loan contracts.

(5) If bonds are issued against the annuity shares of more than one country, the proceeds shall be deposited with the Bank, which shall then distribute the proceeds to the creditors according to their participation. The handling of the service of issued bonds shall be carried out as provided in the preceding section of this outline and in Annex 3.

(6) Apart from the operations described above, the Bank may conduct any other operations (such, for instance, as contango operations on bonds issued against the annuities, advances on coupons, etc.) as are involved in the supervision of transactions relating to these bonds and their service.

Special Regard to Bank's Liquidity

10. RESERVE REQUIREMENTS—The Bank, since its deposits in part will be derived from central banks, shall be administered with particular regard to maintaining its liquidity. For this purpose the

Bank shall observe the following reserve requirements:

(1) Deposits on Clearing Account—All funds held by the Bank on clearing account, whether gold in vault or gold under earmark for the Bank's account in central banks, shall be reserved for exclusive use in effecting settlements among the depositaries in the account.

(2) Deposits Payable on Demand—Against such deposits the Bank shall hold a minimum of 40 per cent in gold or in devisa at their gold value. Devisa eligible as reserve against demand deposits shall consist of bank-notes; prime bills of exchange having not more than ninety days to run of a character which central banks ordinarily buy for their own account, and cheques payable on demand, drawn or endorsed by central banks or in respect of which three obligees, including a bank of known solvency, are responsible. All devisa included in the foregoing classifications shall be denominated in currencies which satisfy, in the opinion of the Board of Directors, all the practical requirements of the gold or gold exchange standard. Gold in transit or devisa satisfying the foregoing requirements which are in process of collection may be counted as reserve.

(3) Deposits on Investment Account (Time Deposits)—Deposits payable in fifteen days or less shall be classified as demand deposits and be subject to the reserve requirements specified in the preceding paragraph. Against investment account deposits of longer maturity the Bank shall hold a minimum of 25 per cent in gold or in devisa at their gold value. Devisa eligible as reserve against investment account deposits shall meet the same requirements as those eligible as reserve against the demand deposits.

If the Board of Directors is of opinion that these reserve requirements should be altered they shall have the right by a two-thirds vote to increase, diminish or otherwise modify them consistently with sound banking principles.

11. DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS—The yearly net profits of the Bank shall be applied as follows:

(1) Five per cent of the yearly net profits shall be paid to the legal reserve fund of the Bank until that fund reaches an amount equal to 10 per cent of the paid-in capital stock of the Bank as it may stand from time to time. The legal reserve fund on the liquidation of the Bank shall be merged with the general reserve fund.

(2) After making the foregoing provision for the legal reserve fund the yearly net profits shall be applied to the payment of an annual dividend up to 6 per cent on the paid-in share capital. This dividend shall be cumulative.

(3) Twenty per cent of the remainder shall be paid to the shareholders until a total maxi-

imum dividend of 12 per cent is reached. The Board of Directors of the Bank shall have the right in any year to withhold all or any part of this addition to the regular dividend and to place it to the credit of a special dividend reserve fund for use in maintaining the cumulative dividend provided for in the preceding paragraph, or for subsequent distribution to the shareholders.

How Reserve Fund Will Be Built Up

(4) After making provision for the foregoing, one-half of the yearly net profits then remaining shall be paid into the general reserve fund of the Bank until it equals the paid-in capital. Thereafter 40 per cent shall be so applied until the general reserve fund equals twice the paid-in capital, 30 per cent until it equals three times the paid-in capital, 20 per cent until it equals four times the paid-in capital, 10 per cent until it equals five times the paid-in capital and from that point onward 5 per cent.

The general reserve fund shall be available for meeting any losses incurred by the Bank. In case it is not adequate for this purpose recourse may be had to the legal reserve fund provided for under Paragraph 1. In case the general reserve fund by reason of losses or by reason of an increase in the paid-in capital falls below the amounts provided for above after having once attained them, the appropriate proportion of the yearly net profits shall again be applied until the position is restored. Upon the liquidation of the Bank the balance in the general reserve fund shall be divided among the shareholders.

(5) The remainder of the yearly net profits after meeting the foregoing requirements shall be paid in to special funds as follows:

(a) Seventy-five per cent to the governments or central banks of the creditor countries or of Germany which maintain time deposits at the Bank, withdrawable in not less than five years from the time of deposit and, after four years, on not less than one year's notice. The fund shall be disbursed annually in amounts proportionate to the size of the deposits maintained by the respective governments or central banks aforesaid. The directors of the Bank shall have power to determine the volume of each of these deposits which would justify the distribution provided for.

(b) Twenty-five per cent to be used to aid Germany in paying the last twenty-two annuities provided the German Government elects to make a long-term deposit with the Bank, withdrawable only on the terms specified under subparagraph (a) above and amounting to the minimum sum of 400,000,000 reichsmarks. If the German Government elects to make such long-term deposit amounting to a sum below 400,000,000 reichsmarks the participation of the German Government shall be reduced in proportion and

the balance shall be added to the 75 per cent in subparagraph (a). The fund shall carry compound interest at the maximum current rate paid by the Bank on time deposits. If the fund should exceed the amount required to pay the twenty-two last annuities the balance shall be distributed among the creditor governments in proportion to their outpayments during that period. In case the German Government elects not to make any such long-term deposit the fund shall be distributed as provided in subparagraph (a).

Reparation Commission's Duties Ended

12. GENERAL PROVISIONS—Any balances remaining in the hands of the Agent General for Reparation Payments on the winding up of his accounts shall be transferred to the bank for credit to the annuity trust account, subject, of course, to the respective interests of the creditor countries therein and to any claims and commitments which may be outstanding at the time.

The relations of the Reparation Commission with Germany will be terminated. The Bank shall take over as promptly as possible such functions of the Reparation Commission with respect to Germany as are required under the provisions of the plan and also such functions of the Agent General for Reparation Payments, the trustees and commissioners holding office under the experts plan of 1924, or any of them, as may be required under the provisions of the plan, all according to the general scheme given in Part 6 of the plan and Annex V.

If in any country there is more than one bank of issue, the terms "central bank" as used in this outline shall be interpreted to mean the bank of issue situated and operating in the principal financial market of that country.

If in the process of organizing the Bank or in the performance of its functions after establishment it is found that the central bank of any country or its governor is unable to act officially or unofficially in any or all of the capacities provided for in this outline, or refrains from so acting, alternative arrangements not inconsistent with the laws of that country shall be made.

In particular the governors of the central banks of the countries whose nationals are members of the present committee or as many of them as are qualified to act, may invite to become members of the board of directors of the Bank two nationals of any country, the central bank of which is eligible under this outline to take part in forming the board of the bank but does not do so. The two nationals of that country upon acceptance of the invitation, shall be qualified to act in the full capacity of directors of the Bank as provided in this outline.

Further, the directors of the Bank shall be authorized to appoint in lieu of any central bank not exercising any or all of the functions, authorities or privileges which this outline provides that central banks make or shall exercise, any bank or banking house of widely recognized standing and of the same nationality.

Such bank or banking house upon appointment and acceptance shall be entitled to act in the place of the central bank in any or all capacities appropriate to central banks under this outline, provided only that such action is not inconsistent with the laws of the country in question.

The balance sheet and accounts of the Bank shall be audited each year by independent auditors of recognized standing who shall be appointed by and report to the board of directors.

In case the measures proposed in the plan with respect to the avoidance of double and triple taxation of the Bank was not fully in effect when the Bank begins operations the board of directors shall deal with the matter within its discretion.

If any administrative act of the Bank or any decision of the board of directors is disputed on the ground that it is inconsistent with the provisions or intent of the plan, recourse may be had to arbitration under the general provisions for arbitration.

POSSIBLE MITIGATION OF ANNUITIES

(Signed concurrently with the report of the committee of experts).

1. In the annuities provided in the report, the following amounts are required to cover outpayments:

(IN MILLIONS OF REICHSMARKS)

2—	965.1	17—	1,460.9	32—	1,525.4	46—	1,627.6
3—	942.3	18—	1,456.9	33—	1,543.2	47—	1,634.2
4—	955.4	19—	1,472.3	34—	1,535.0	48—	1,637.9
5—	1,136.4	20—	1,467.1	35—	1,547.4	49—	1,644.6
6—	1,199.0	21—	1,461.5	36—	1,546.8	50—	1,654.7
7—	1,224.9	22—	1,503.9	37—	1,573.7	51—	1,659.6
8—	1,271.8	23—	1,487.9	38—	1,566.9	52—	1,670.5
9—	1,334.0	24—	1,498.1	39—	1,566.1	53—	1,687.6
10—	1,352.5	25—	1,498.1	40—	1,575.9	54—	1,691.8
11—	1,375.0	26—	1,509.4	41—	1,599.2	55—	1,703.3
12—	1,487.6	27—	1,504.5	42—	1,602.9	56—	1,683.5
13—	1,437.9	28—	1,499.1	43—	1,613.1	57—	925.1
14—	1,455.1	29—	1,506.7	44—	1,621.5	58—	931.4
15—	1,451.5	30—	1,538.6	45—	1,624.9	59—	897.8
16—	1,464.7	31—	1,515.4				

It is represented that in the event of modifications of those obligations for outpayments by which the creditors benefit there should be some corresponding mitigation of the Ger-

man annuities. The experts of the four chief creditor countries and of Germany, therefore, recommend that Germany and all the creditor governments having obligations for outpayments should undertake between themselves an arrangement on the following basis:

2. Any relief which any creditor power may effectively receive in respect of its net outward payments on account of war debts after making due allowance for any material or financial counter considerations and after taking into account any remissions on account of war debt receipts, which it may itself make, shall be dealt with as follows:

As regards the first thirty-seven years:

(a) Germany shall benefit to the extent of two-thirds of the net relief available by way of a reduction in her annuity obligations thereafter.

(b) One-third of the net relief shall be retained by the creditor concerned in addition to the amounts otherwise receivable from Germany.

Concerning Overdue Credits

(c) Nevertheless, so long as any liability of Germany persists in respect of the period after the 31st of March, 1966, the creditor concerned will retain annually only one-fourth part of the net relief, the balance being paid to the Bank of International Settlements.

(d) These payments to the Bank of International Settlements shall accumulate to assist Germany toward meeting her liabilities in respect of the period after the 31st of March, 1966; any sums found after application of the funds provided in Annex 1 not to be required for this purpose (together with the accumulations thereon) shall be returned to the creditor by whom they were provided.

As regards the last twenty-two years:

The whole of such relief shall be applied to the reduction of Germany's liabilities.

3. We recommend that the creditor governments should agree that if the operation of the relief to Germany envisaged in respect of a possible reduction of net outpayments is such as to change materially the proportions in which the total annuities provided for in the present plan are divided among them, they meet to consider a revision tending toward the restoration of the present proportions but having regard to the follow-

ing conditions set out below and any other relevant factors then existing:

Service Must Be Met

(a) The service of any bonds mobilized by the creditor country, and the balance of its net outward payments in respect of war debts remaining to be covered must continue to be met out of the share falling to it in the annuities thereafter to be paid by Germany.

(b) Due allowance shall be made for any material or financial counter-considerations accepted by the creditor country in connection with the relief accorded to it in respect of war debts payments.

4. It was originally suggested that the postponable annuities should be regulated by reference to the net amounts which the various creditors were themselves able to postpone in respect of interallied war debts, the general conditions therein governing postponements to be applied.

For various reasons this method of calculation could not be adopted, but endeavor was made to adapt the moratorium provisions in such a way that the rights granted to Germany should not be greater than those of the creditor powers. The unconditional part of the annuity has, therefore, been fixed, while guarantees have been provided for the remainder.

News In Brief

BULGARIA CELEBRATED ON MAY 10, THE MILLENNARY of Tsar Simeon the Great, and on May 15, the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of the country from the Turks. Both celebrations would have taken place a year ago, had it not been for the tragic results of last year's earthquake.

SOME FORTY-FOUR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, to occur between May and November are listed by the Bulletin of *International News*, London. All but two of the conferences are in Europe. The subjects under consideration range all the way from medi-

cal and scientific matters to educational subjects, including Boy Scouts' "Jamborees." International cooperation, however, in all fields, is the chief object of the meetings. Then, too, there are the many summer conferences and courses on international matters which will come off in the United States during the summer.

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION ANNOUNCES twenty inter-American conferences for the next five years. Included among them are those on journalism, highways, sanitation, education, municipalities, science, commerce, customs, agriculture, Red Cross, and child welfare.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESENTED its sixth institute under the Harris Foundation, June 17-28. The courses always aim to promote international understanding, the topic for this year being problems of population and migration. The subject was vitalized by the presence, as lecturers, of experts from Japan, Italy and Germany. The lectures will later be published in book form.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MUSIC CLUBS, founded in 1898, held in June its sixteenth biennial convention and festival, in the city of Boston. The federation is made up of some five hundred music clubs, scattered over this country with neighbors in Alaska and Hawaii. It is this year working out a plan for the exchange of scores and other literature with corresponding European organizations.

THE "PEACE PRIZE" FOR 1928 WAS AWARDED by the Czechoslovak Society for Peace, Justice and Collaboration of the Nations to Dr. F. Ulrich, Mayor of Hradec Králové, an honorary freeman of Prague, for his work in improving the cultural and economic conditions in Bohemia.

HOMER SAINT-GAUDENS, THE SCULPTOR, has been made a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold by the King of Belgium. In 1927 Mr. Saint-Gaudens was made a Knight of the Legion of Honor by the President of France; in 1928, the King of Italy made him an officer of the Crown of Italy. All these orders were originally awarded for military achievement. Only of late have they been awarded for distinguished peace-time services.

THE CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, held in Amsterdam, July 8-13, attracted about 1,000 business men from some forty countries. The four discussion groups indicate the nature of the work: 1. Industry and Trade; 2. Finance; 3. Legal questions; 4. Transport.

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION OF LAWYERS was organized in the spring, with headquarters in the Palace of Justice, Brussels, Belgium. P. E. Janson, Belgian Minister of Justice, is the first president. Lawyers from Luxembourg, Poland, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and other countries are members. One of the Union's chief objects is to bring about a rapprochement among nations.

THE "BERLIN TO BAGDAD" SCHEME has lately been made possible in a way undreamed of by pre-war Germany. The route is by airways controlled by four Powers. It goes from Berlin to Moscow, thence south to Baku in the Soviet state of Azerhajian, then to Teheran, Persia, and on to Bagdad. The trip will be made in quicker time than it would have taken in the proposed Berlin to Bagdad railway, though over a much more devious route.

A CHILDREN'S THEATRE IS TO BE CONSTRUCTED in Santiago, Chile. In this building immorality and violence will not be portrayed. It is intended to present only plays in good taste and with good psychological influence—only those plays calculated to develop in the child a love for wholesome things.

JAPAN IS READY TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION on any fair proposals for naval limitation as soon as they are expressed by the United States or any other naval power in concrete form. Thus Admiral Okada is quoted in the *TransPacific*, Tokyo, after a conference with fleet admirals and naval counsellors. At about the same time Japan communicated to the United States Government, her general acceptance of the naval reduction principles outlined at Geneva, in April, by the American delegate, Ambassador Hugh Gibson.

YUGOSLAVIA PLANS A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE in ship construction for the next few years. Tourist traffic along the Dalmation coast is to have increased facilities. Apart from the coastal trade there is considerable

traffic between Croatian merchants and South America, particularly Argentina and Chile, where nitrates are bought for sale in Egypt and other Mediterranean ports.

A WORLD ENGINEERING CONGRESS, the first ever held in the far-East, will meet in Tokyo, October 29-November 7, 1929. The Congress is sponsored by Kogakkai, a federation of Japanese technical societies. Its object is to effect an international exchange of the latest knowledge of the sciences and practices of engineering and to bring together the leaders in research, education and business who are directing the trend of engineer activities. The original suggestion for the Congress was made by interested individuals in the United States in 1925. Seventeen delegates to the Tokyo meeting from the United States have been designated and their appointment approved by the President.

THE PACT OF PARIS, WITH ITS TWO BRIEF ARTICLES, was printed in large type on a full page of the *Journal* of the National Education Association for May. A footnote recommends that every child memorize the pact, since it may one day rank with the Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence in historic importance.

THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED THE Hall of the Knights at the disposal of the Society for the League of Nations and Peace, for a peace and League exhibition to be held at The Hague in the autumn. The history of the peace idea will constitute four of the five sections of the Exhibit. Propaganda for the League will make up the fifth section.

NORTHERN RHODESIA IS TO HAVE A NEW CAPITAL, some two hundred miles further north than Livingstone, the present head of the British-African colony. It will be situated on a high, open plateau near Chilangas, on the Cape Town railway. The move is rendered advisable because of the rapid development of mining operations in the northern area, which cannot conveniently be handled from Livingstone on the extreme southern border.

KING ALEXANDER, OF YUGOSLAVIA, has ordered the use of the Latin alphabet throughout the country, to replace the complicated cyrillic characters still used in Serbia and some other portions of the land.

This move is expected to aid in unifying the languages of the triune kingdom, and bring them all in cultural accord with other nations of Europe.

A GIFT OF \$1,000,000 HAS LATELY BEEN MADE by Senator and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim for an exchange of students between the United States and Latin-America. Scholarships are open to citizens of the United States, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay. Each fellowship carries with it \$2,500 and expenses for travel to the country of study.

Book Reviews

THE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF GERMANY. By *Frederick F. Blachley* and *Marion E. Oatman*. Pp. 749 and index. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1928. Price, \$5.00.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC. By *Johannes Mattern*. Pp. 667 and index. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1928. Price, \$5.00.

The German Republic, which has been functioning under its Weimar constitution only since August, 1919, is still so new that few comprehensive works on its system of government have hitherto appeared. These two books are not translations; they are written in the first instance for American readers. The first is sponsored by the Brookings Institution, and is to be followed by similar works on government and administration in other countries. For many reasons, however, this first volume of the series has particular interest. Germany's pre-war government, illiberal and autocratic though it was, had solved many problems of administration. The democratic spirit, too, had long been awake in the country, and in framing its constitution the new democracy had the advantage of other democratic constitutions with their faults and excellencies as models.

The book is particularly a study of administration, with a brief few pages at the

beginning, giving historical background, and at the end the Constitution itself, followed by an exhaustive bibliography covering, in fact, some sixty-nine pages.

Administration, however, is not all the story. Any system, to be understood, must be taken with its background of political philosophy, the functions it seeks to fulfil. To show this, a summary and conclusion at the close of each chapter sets the law and administration under the different governmental departments in relation to their political intent. Thus in the education system we see the state supervisory, the locality in direct authority. We are shown the attempt to give the teacher or professor security of tenure with freedom of expression, at the same time that education is made a function of the states. There are faults as well as merits in the system evolved, yet, on the whole, we are told, teachers in Germany now have a security and freedom unheard of in the United States.

In the same manner the book treats such topics as the relation of Reich and states, the work of the cabinet, revenue and property, and other subjects, running through twenty chapters.

It is a monumental work as thorough as the traditional German, himself.

The second book, much more technical in treatment than the other, was first given as lectures in Johns Hopkins University. In these chapters Dr. Mattern presents the principles upon which the fundamental law of the German republic was founded in the constitution of 1919. While a legal book, some subjects are of general interest. Of these, the story of the framing of the constitution, and the later consideration of such things as direct government, popular election, and some other topics will prove interesting to any reader.

It is, however, for the ordinary person, preeminently a book of reference. For the student of constitutional law and jurisprudence it will serve to unravel some problems and to stimulate original, individual research.

HEADING FOR THE ABYSS. By *Prince Lichnowsky*. Pp. 467 and index. Payson and Clarke, Ltd., New York, 1928. Price, \$7.50.

It is easy to understand why the publication during the war of "My Mission to Lon-

don" should have provoked the banishment of Germany's pre-war ambassador to England. The fact that the publication was without the author's knowledge or consent would have little weight in a country desperately pursuing a war which the London ambassador had vainly tried to prevent.

The present volume contains not only that document, which first appeared in Switzerland, then in London, and as late as 1919 (with certain omissions), in Berlin, it contains also many other letters and documents relating to the war, and written either by or to Lichnowsky. "England before the war," was dictated by him in 1914; "Delusions" was written from notes made in 1915; there are other articles and a large body of letters and reports which he sent to the foreign office during his incumbency of the London mission.

The sincerity of the documents is unquestionable, but the independent, not to say undiplomatic nature of the Ambassador himself is also obvious. His failure to influence greatly the foreign office, as then constituted, was a foregone conclusion.

"What on earth made the German people plunge into a world war to fight against the South Slavs' movement for national unity?" he asked in 1915. And, "My dispatches and the tenor of my repeated urgent warnings shield me from the reproach that I had not foreseen and predicted the development of events," he said soon after the war began. Indeed the whole book is a vindication of Lichnowsky's own record, at the expense, be it admitted, of his country's claims to innocence in initiating the war. Not that he believed or stated that Germany wanted or plotted war, much as he hated Bismarckian doctrines, but he charged, with many proofs, that Germany could have prevented war, that she would not, and therefore was surely responsible for the calamities which followed.

This book was published in Germany in 1927 and at once roused a storm of bitterly hostile criticism in that country. Worn out under the battering of personal abuse, Prince Lichnowsky died before his book was published in English. Published just now, it will doubtless affect deleteriously the German denial of war guilt, but hardly the lowering of reparations payments. However it is a human as well as a political document. It is public history and should be

read along with other books about the immediate causes and complex diplomacy of the war. If it helps to bring about an era of actually open diplomacy it will be worth all it has cost.

GOETHE. THE HISTORY OF A MAN. By *Emil Ludwig*. Translated from the German by Ethel Colburn Magne. Pp. 642 and index. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York, 1928. Price, \$5.00.

To write the biography of any well-known man is a large task, but to produce such biographies as rapidly as does Herr Ludwig, and to choose such widely different types as, for instance, Napoleon and Goethe, is a Herculean undertaking.

The interpretation of a genius is, in particular, delicate business. In this case the author has looked at his hero's career with apparently thorough knowledge of the new psychology. The peculiarities of Goethe are often traced to peculiarities in the boy's early emotional and intellectual environment. Ludwig follows a thread in unravelling Goethe's life-history, and he names the thread Goethe's "Daemonic nature." He shows the inner conflict of the man, between the two halves of his virile self. This is done, not only through biographical data but also by means of the dramatic and poetic productions of Goethe in the various stages of his development.

The book is a very necessary help in understanding this great poet. The following characterization is a case in point. "He always kept apart from the indiscriminate revolutionaries and mere hot-heads among his fellow-students. His 'Storm and Stress' was never concerned with politics or law; the anarchism of his period was alien to him. As a critic his quarrel was with spurious forms of literature; as a poet he used the symbols of all time to frame man's wrathful challenge to the gods."

But in minute analysis of the structure of a character the elusive spirit of genius somehow escapes. It defies analysis; it will not submit to microscopic examination. Like life itself it evaporates under one's hands. The structure of the butterfly wing may be examined, but the life of the butterfly is gone even while we look for it. This book is no exception. Even Ludwig has not succeeded in analyzing, hardly in presenting the genius of Goethe.

Yet the life story is finely and interpretatively told. The book is illustrated with a score of portraits of the poet at different ages. The selections from his diaries, letters and poems are many and well-chosen, well translated. It is, in many ways, the best biography of Goethe yet written.

TOWNS AND PEOPLE OF MODERN GERMANY.

By *Robert Medill McBride*. Pp. 278 and index. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$3.00.

Few books of this sort have been written about Germany since the World War. The literature on Germany has been greatly enriched lately, especially in the past two years, but writers are talking more about political and economic Germany—of Germany in her relations with other nations, and of her place in the political trend of the hour. This book is quite different. It tells of a recent trip through portions of the country. The impressions are fresh, the appraisals of places and of their historic significance are new.

The author makes no attempt to prophesy or to give statistical information. Rather he hunts out the beauties, natural and architectural. He carries a camera. He is also accompanied by an artist whose delightful sketches are somehow more interesting than the many half-tone plates of very good photographs.

The feature of the book which makes it of unique value at this time is the manner in which it links the present aspect of things with the long and worthy past of Germany. The past of the old city guilds, of the Cathedral builders, of the romantic Rhine and the picture towns of Bavaria; the past of Luther, of Gutenberg and Dürer; the past of Goethe and Wagner; and stretching away into the dim distance the Roman builders in Cologne and elsewhere. It bridges the chasm in our emotions made by the world war, and gives us Germany again a continuity in civilization.

Such a past as that of Germany is a universal possession, and to recall it does more than many an argument to give her back her place in the respected sisterhood of nations.

THE BALKAN PIVOT; YUGOSLAVIA. By *Charles A. Beard* and *George Radin*. Pp. 325. Macmillan Co., New York, 1929. Price, \$2.50.

As far as any book on the Balkans can, without a map, elucidate the political heritage and the present problems of a Balkan state, this study of Yugoslavia does so. Those inclined to sympathise with Croatian parties may find in it something of a Serbian bias. Macedonians, too, will hardly be satisfied with the somewhat casual summary of their political equipment. But the subject is large, there is confused partizanship everywhere in Yugoslavia, partizanship hot and positive, making it difficult to get at the unvarnished facts. Moreover, the intention evidently is to make the study of the backgrounds preceding the collapse of Austria in 1918 the merest sketch. There is no attempt here to fill in many details. The body of the book is devoted especially to a study of the constitution, the government and political history of Yugoslavia since the creation of the south Slav state.

Curiously enough, King Alexander made his coup d'etat just as the corrected proofs of this book were returning to the publisher. The constitution, therefore, the parliament and all the established system was abandoned, and a dictatorship initiated.

Nevertheless the book stands as the latest and best explanation of the political currents and cross-currents that made such a step on the part of the really democratic young ruler seem necessary to Yugoslav unity. Disunity in fact was everywhere, and that in the face of a tremendous need for a united front and consistent policy with foreign powers. There were minority problems, divergence in laws throughout the country, unemployment, agrarian chaos, and great need of agricultural, commercial and industrial development. Foreign relations with Italy, France and the Danubian countries are still pregnant with trouble. All this will be better understood if this book is read.

The work, undertaken at the instance of the American-Yugoslav Society of New York, stands, therefore, as an authoritative and well studied basis for further understanding of this pivotal Balkan state.

EDUCATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP. By *William G. Carr*. Pp. 214 and index. Stanford University Press, California, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

There has been increasing demand during the past few months for books and articles telling teachers how the schools can further world peace. Many appeals have come to this office, some by way of the United States Bureau of Education. To all such seekers this book will be of service. It is not quite the first in its field. The teachers of Los Angeles published in 1927 and again in enlarged form, in 1928, a brochure called "World Friendship," intended for the use of teachers. Mr. Carr's text, however, is considerably more analytical than the other, contains less in the way of concrete lessons, and deals more with the theory and method.

It is based on the tenable theory that in a democracy education for world citizenship is not in conflict with education for national citizenship. Democracy, however, is in both cases the vital word in his thesis, denoting civic responsibility and the need of training for it.

The treatment of patriotism all through the book is sane and discriminating.

The references for reading seem to lean rather heavily toward radical pacifism, and omit some excellent references. But they do give some part of both sides in controversial questions, and include many practical educational texts.

MEXICO AND ITS HERITAGE. By *Ernest Gruening*. Pp. 692 and index. Century Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$6.00.

Mexico, the northern outpost of Latin America, the land of mingled Spanish and Indian tradition, is the first country to be understood by the United States, if the hemisphere is to remain at peace. Otherwise border disturbances and consequent friction will stir up all sorts of trouble.

Mr. Gruening has had in mind since 1922 the writing of a book to explain the people of Mexico. He made studies to that end in Mexico in 1922, 1924 and each year since until this book was written. He has the reporter's knack of getting at the facts—of using his eyes and ears and of putting things together in relation to events. The result is a book of nearly 700 pages so packed with digested history and with keen tracing

of effects back to causes, that no future student of anything much about Mexico can afford to neglect this volume.

Mexico is seen to be predominantly an Indian land. The heritage from Spain reveals a history of military dominance, with the church in the background pulling strings. Oppression always breeds revolution in the long run and, after three centuries of the colonial regime, with a peace of stagnation, an eruption was inevitable. Meanwhile, however, the people were quite untrained in self government. Hence the results which we now see. A people naturally seeking for military dominance, with lack of confidence in the judiciary, suspicion of the church, ineptness in foreign affairs. Groening helps one understand the situation, yet points out that progress is real. Americans cannot expect so long a history of subservience to blossom in real freedom in a few years.

Agrarian problems, though complicated, are approaching solution; the labor movement is one of the most promising agencies in training for autonomy.

There is a good map, many illustrations from photographs, and the arrangement of the chapters, historical, geographical and lastly under topics, is good. It clearly represents Mexico, essentially Indian, with a real continuity of life from prehistoric times; its government a republic now gradually approaching a democracy. The book is readable, full of interesting bits from early letters and chronicles, with many more recent quotations from newspapers and official documents. The author does not claim that the study is complete, but it is almost incredibly inclusive and apparently destined to be authoritative for a long time to come.

STATE GOVERNMENT. By *Walter F. Dodd*. Pp. 597 and index. Century Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$3.75.

This, the second edition of the book, has been practically rewritten. State and local government in the United States and their relations to each other are clearly presented. The book contains many charts which, with its able handling, make it a book well worth study. The author, a lawyer, professor in Yale University, played a conspicuous part in the Illinois constitutional convention, and in the administrative reorganization of the government of Illinois, also of Ohio.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

One-Hundred-First Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors Held at Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C., May 4, 1929

(AN ABSTRACT OF THE MINUTES)

THE one-hundred-first annual meeting of the American Peace Society was held at the Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C., on May 4, 1929. The meeting was convened at ten o'clock, President Fortune in the chair. Those present were: William Fortune, David Jayne Hill, Jackson H. Ralston, Felix M. McWhirter, William Mather Lewis, John J. Esch, Henry C. Morris, George M. Morris, Arthur D. Call, Lacey C. Zapf, William H. Book.

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. Esch, seconded by Mr. Henry C. Morris, that the minutes of the last meeting of the Board be approved and the reading of them be omitted.

TREASURER'S REPORT

The report of the Treasurer was submitted as follows:

MAY 3, 1929.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
Mr. George W. White, *Treasurer*,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

We have examined the records of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY for the year ended April 30, 1929, and submit herewith the following statements and comments:

EXHIBIT "A"—Cash Account

For the year ended April 30, 1929

SCHEDULE "1"—Schedule of Investments
As at April 30, 1929

The Income for the year was tested and the Expenditures were checked to supporting vouchers with the exception of the Cleveland Conference expense.

Cash on Deposit was verified by direct correspondence with the Bank and Cash on Hand was verified by actual count. Petty Cash in hands of Mr. Book was accepted as shown by the records of the Society.

The Investments as shown in Schedule "1" were verified by actual inspection.

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the accompanying Cash Account, together with the Schedule of Investments, accurately accounts for the Cash Receipts and Disbursements as shown by the records of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1929, and correctly sets forth the Investments as at that date.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.

EXHIBIT "A"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.
CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1929

Balance of cash on hand and on deposit May 1, 1928..... \$4,966.04

RECEIPTS

Memberships, including subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	\$8,627.00
Special subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	551.70
Sales of pamphlets and books.....	1,165.29
Contributions.....	19,223.15
Permanent Peace Fund Trustee.....	5,714.19
Interest on bank balances.....	43.04
Income from Reserve Fund investments.....	438.25
Investments sold:	
U. S. Certificates of Indebtedness—Series T. J. 1929.....	5,000.00
Bank Loans—National Metropolitan Bank.....	5,000.00
Organization Special Fund.....	12,530.11

58,292.73

Total..... \$63,258.77

DISBURSEMENTS

Department of Home Office:

Salaries, Secretary, Office Secretary, Editor, Assistant Editor, Business Manager and Assistant Business Manager.....	\$17,437.50
Salaries—Clerks.....	991.02
Office rent.....	1,683.00

Postage, express, telegrams, etc.....	553.35	
Office supplies.....	86.82	
Telephone.....	119.60	
Library.....	103.20	
Newspapers and periodicals.....	44.58	
Letter service—mimeographing, etc.....	214.27	
Entertainment.....	118.91	
District of Columbia personal tax.....	18.71	
Travel expense.....	2,039.85	
Miscellaneous.....	158.43	
		23,569.24
<i>Department of Field Work:</i>		
Salaries.....	9,383.00	
Travel expense.....	2,922.63	
Hotel and miscellaneous.....	126.15	
		12,431.78
<i>Department of Publications:</i>		
Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	6,003.85	
Printing and distribution of pamphlets and books.....	1,923.60	
Miscellaneous printing, envelopes, etc.....	1,155.70	
		9,083.15
<i>Investments Purchased:</i>		
U. S. Certificates of Indebtedness—Series T. J. 1929.....		5,000.00
<i>Organization Special Fund:</i>		
Purchase of Treasury Certificates due December 15, 1929.....	10,049.64	
Stenographic service.....	5.00	
Rent of office space.....	90.75	
Travel expense.....	589.04	
Services.....	1,100.00	
		11,834.43
Cleveland World Conference Expense.....		594.10
		62,512.70
Balance cash on hand and on deposit April 30, 1929.....		\$746.07
<i>Represented by:</i>		
National Metropolitan Bank.....		\$634.27
Petty Cash—Office.....		11.80
Petty Cash—Mr. Book.....		100.00
		\$746.07

SCHEDULE "I"

**AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.
SCHEDULE OF INVESTMENTS AS AT APRIL 30, 1929**

	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Par value</i>
First mortgage 6½ per cent note of Poutsky, Silver and Rosen due November 1, 1929, secured by property 1262 Holbrook Terrace, N. E.	\$1,500.00	\$1,500.00
First mortgage 6½ per cent note of Poutsky, Silver and Rosen due November 1, 1929, secured by property 1270 Holbrook Terrace, N. E.	4,500.00	4,500.00
10 U. S. Treasury Certificates 4¼ per cent due December 15, 1929.....	10,049.64	10,000.00
	\$16,049.64	\$16,000.00

Respectfully submitted

GEORGE W. WHITE,
Treasurer.

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. Henry C. Morris, seconded by Mr. Esch, that the report of the Treasurer be approved and placed on file.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society:

Pursuant to the provision of Article 7 of the Constitution of the American Peace

Society, which requires that your Secretary shall make an annual report of the work of the Society to the Board of Directors, he submits respectfully the following as his report for the fiscal year 1928-1929, this being the one-hundred-first year of the Society's existence.

Your Executive Committee has held four regular meetings and five special meetings during the year. Minutes of

each of these meetings have been sent regularly to all members of the Executive Committee and subsequently duly approved.

The Board of Directors held their one-hundredth annual meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, on May 12, 1928, just after the conclusion of the World Conference on International Justice. An adjourned meeting of the Board was held in October, 1928, and a special meeting in November, 1928.

President William Fortune assumed his duties at the special meeting of the Board of Directors, November 24, 1928. In addition to his work as Secretary of the Society, your Secretary has continued as Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Mr. Leo Pasvolsky has continued as Associate Editor of the magazine. Miss Louise Anderson, now Mrs. Philip N. Néff, has continued as Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. Mr. Lacey C. Zapf has served as Business Manager, Mr. W. I. Smalley as Assistant to the Business Manager, and Mrs. Mabel W. S. Call as Librarian and Book-reviewer, Proofreader and aid in other fields.

Death of Directors

Since our last meeting the following Directors have died: Tyson S. Dines, attorney, banker, educator, public servant, our Director from Colorado; Dwight Bancroft Heard, merchant, farmer, financier, creative force in the upbuilding of our great Southwest, our Director from Arizona.

New Directors

During the year the following new Directors have been added: F. B. Caswell, Toledo, Ohio; Joseph B. Cotton, Duluth, Minnesota; William Fortune, Indianapolis, Indiana; Walter W. Head, Chicago, Illinois; Arch C. Klumph, Cleveland, Ohio; Ashley Day Leavitt, Brookline, Massachusetts; Thomas A. Marlow, Helena, Montana; Walter Scott Penfield, Washington, D. C.; Louis J. Taber, Columbus, Ohio; David W. Teachout, Cleveland, Ohio.

The names of our Directors, with their States, are as follows:

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

State	State representative	Directors at large
Alabama.....	Oscar Wells.....	Jackson H. Ralston.
California.....	.....	A. D. Call, Thomas E. Green, David Jayne Hill,
Dist. of Columbia.....	.....	George M. Morris, Walter Scott Penfield,
Illinois.....	Silas H. Strawn.....	George W. White, Lacey C. Zapf.
Indiana.....	Felix M. McWhirter.....	Walter W. Head, Walter A. Morgan, Henry C. Morris.
Kentucky.....	Edwin P. Morrow.....	William Fortune.
Louisiana.....	John M. Parker.....	Harry A. Garfield, Ashley D. Leavitt.
Maine.....	Hiram W. Ricker.....	Jay T. Stocking.
Massachusetts.....	.....	Philip Marshall Brown.
Minnesota.....	Joseph B. Cotton.....	Theodore Stanfield.
Missouri.....	Clarence H. Howard.....	F. B. Caswell, Arch C. Klumph, L. J. Taber, D. W. Teachout, Robert E. Vinson.
Montana.....	Thomas A. Marlow.....	P. P. Claxton.
New Jersey.....	.....	William Mather Lewis, H. W. Temple.
New York.....	.....	William Way.....
Ohio.....	.....	Charles L. Hyde.....
Oklahoma.....	.....	Reginald H. Parsons.....
Pennsylvania.....	.....	John M. Crawford.....
South Carolina.....	.....	John J. Esch.....
South Dakota.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	.....	.....

Permanent Peace Fund

Under date of May 29, 1928, our Society received from Thomas H. Russell, Esquire, the Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund, Boston, a letter enclosing the Annual Report of the Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund to the American Peace Society for the year, May 1, 1927, to May 1, 1928, together with check for \$5,714.19, being the net income for the fund for the year, in accordance with the vote of the Trustees.

The report follows:

BOSTON, May 1, 1928.

To the American Peace Society:

The Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund submits the following annual report for the period, May 1, 1927 to May 1, 1928:

Gross income received by the Trustees from real estate, bonds, stock and all investments.....\$9,123.69
 Gross expenses paid for repairs and taxes on real estate, water rates, salary of bookkeeper and agents, telephone, office rent, supplies, stationery, safe deposit box, insurance, services of trustees attending meetings and expenses, accrued interest on investments, made, etc. 3,409.50

Net income from the fund for year\$5,714.19

Check herewith to the order of the American Peace Society for the net income to date as per vote of Trustees,

Respectfully submitted,
 THOMAS H. RUSSELL,
President.

The Reverend Ashley Day Leavitt, Pastor of the Harvard Church, Brookline, Massachusetts, now a member of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society, is a member of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund.

Our Librarian

From the report of our Librarian, it appears that the Society's library has grown normally during the year. A file of pamphlets and documents accumulated during the world war has been sorted and the material of permanent value classified and cataloged.

Nearly four hundred outstanding books on international matters have been secured and many of them reviewed by the Librarian for the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. A

large part of the Librarian's time has gone into this and other work for the magazine. Some gifts have come to the Society, notably the valuable books put out by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Librarian has indexed the ADVOCATE OF PEACE as published each month, and in addition she has begun an index for the early years of the periodical. It is a cross-index, on cards, intended especially for the use of historians. She has already completed this task for the years 1828-1844, the first sixteen years of the magazine.

The following table gives the present status of the library:

Cataloged books, all classes....	3,112	volumes
<i>Uncataloged:</i>		
Bound periodicals.....	235	
French books.....	208	
German books.....	133	
Other foreign languages	38	614
		3,726
Accessions for the year.....	390	
This report does not include atlases, dictionaries, encyclopedias and other reference books.		4,116

Our Business Manager

Our Business Manager, Mr. Lacey C. Zapf, reports that the total income for the year is \$267.73 less than last year.

A special effort has been made to prevent loss through failure of members to renew. The result is that the income from renewals this year amounted to \$5,232 as against \$2,391 last year.

Several letters have been sent to a selected list of prospective new members. The drive for new members brought, with the aid of the field staff, \$3,395.

Contributions amounted to more than \$19,000, largely the result of the field staff.

The Society's income from memberships and contributions have increased from \$2,218.80 in 1920 to \$27,850.15 in 1929; while the income from foundations has decreased from \$22,978.77 in 1920 to \$5,714.19 in our last fiscal year.

Our Budget

The budget of our Society is divided into three parts: first, the Department of Home Office; second, the Department of Field Work; third, the Department of Publications.

The budget for the Department of Home Office for the year ending April 30, 1929, provided for an expenditure of \$24,000. The amount actually spent was \$21,546.24. The budget for the Department of Field Work provided for an expenditure of \$3,000. The amount actually spent was \$14,508. It should be explained that this discrepancy is materially modified by the unbudgeted expenditure of \$11,842 on account of field men which in turn is offset by an unbudgeted income from this source of \$13,343.

The budget for the Department of Publications provided for an expenditure of \$9,000. The amount spent was \$9,444.29.

The budget provided for a total expenditure of \$36,000 for the year. The total amount actually spent was \$45,498.53.

A Budget Committee, consisting of Messrs. McWhirter, Book and Harrison, was authorized by the Executive Committee and appointed by President Fortune to submit a budget for the year 1929-30.

Program

The American Peace Society has continued to adhere rigorously to its program, set forth in its magazine from time to time, and to do its share as an agency for scientific education in the ways of peaceful settlement of disputes between nations.

It has witnessed an increased scholarly interest in the historical foundations of the peace movement, as shown in articles and texts of the year, and by our own correspondence in this country and abroad.

It has beheld a growing interest in the results of research as the only bases of any hopeful analysis or synthesis in the realm of questions affecting war and peace.

Men are waiting for an authoritative compilation of the causes which, according to both sides, have led to the major wars, particularly of modern times.

They are waiting for an account of the rise of international law as it relates to war and peace.

There remain our six Commissions, on the International Implications of Industry, of Justice, of Education, of Religion, of Social Agencies, and on the Coordination of Efforts for Peace.

Excepting the promising work of the Commission on the co-ordination of efforts for peace, conducted at its own expense under the leadership of President Wilkins of Oberlin College, a work still going on, the best the Society has been able to do in these fields is to develop as best it could, with its limited resources, its periodical as a worthier world review, all in the interest of representative government, of a better international understanding, and the settlement of disputes between nations by means better than war.

It is the business aspect of the Society's work that has disturbed your officers. Our President and Business Manager are working with great industry and devotion upon this phase of our problem. To train a field force adequate to produce needed revenue, to work out plans for additional income, to increase memberships and meet fixed operating expenses, require business skill and organization, especially if the work of the American Peace Society is to command the support of business men.

Our Society's Program Committee—Messrs. George M. Morris, Hill, Penfield and Call—have recently submitted the following addition to the program of the American Peace Society. In a report submitted during the month of March, the Committee said:

“The Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War provides in Article II that the settlement of all international disputes ‘shall never be sought except by pacific means.’ It is the view of the American Peace Society that the nub of the peace movement probably for another one hundred years lies in the two words—‘pacific means.’

“The American Peace Society, therefore, is in position to petition for special financial aid for the following purpose, to-wit:

To compile, print and distribute a thorough-going study, by experts in the legal, economical, industrial and financial world, of the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War, with the view—

(1) Of weighing, analyzing, and evaluating the existing “pacific means” available for

the settlement of international disputes; (2) of readapting these existing agencies, if necessary, to the new demands of the new day; (3) of forecasting additional and desirable agencies as further "pacific means" for such purposes.

The American Peace Society offers this service with the understanding that such a study and survey be pursued in cooperation as far as possible with the United States Government.

The Committee contemplates with hope the time when President Hoover will appoint a commission with the advice and consent of the Senate for the purpose of entering into conversations with existing international agencies to the end that our United States may cooperate most effectively in behalf of those "pacific means" upon which the peace movement must rest.

There can be no doubt that the American Peace Society aims to play a developing part in our changing world.

The Need

The need for the American Peace Society was never greater. In spite of the recent agreement of nations to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to settle all of their disputes by "pacific means," the tinder of conflict abounds aplenty.

When on February 11, 1918, President Wilson, speaking before the United States Congress, emphasized that self-determination is an "imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril," he let loose forces he may have little suspected. Those forces had appeared in the Spain of the sixteenth century, in the England under Elizabeth, in the France under Louis XIV, in the Holland under William the Silent; and they had reappeared in the Italy and the Germany of less than sixty years ago.

Following the World War they have broken out in a rampant nationalism within ten new nations of Europe. And this right of self-determination, taken seriously to heart by millions of minorities in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, is the basis of a constant threat to the peace of Europe, and possibly of the world. Germany, Bulgaria, and especially Hungary, are

seriously convinced that injustices in the Peace of Versailles must be righted. Dictatorships in Italy, Spain, Jugoslavia, Poland, Russia, and elsewhere in the world, necessary and temporary though they be, carry little assurance of a hopeful or a permanent peace based upon justice.

When Woodrow Wilson delivered his address to Congress on July 8, 1918, the address containing the famous "fourteen points," he closed by calling attention to the fact that an evident principle runs through the whole program. He added: "It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another whether they be strong or weak." Since this principle remains still so far from realization, the need of constant education of public sentiment remains urgent as it is vital.

Respectfully submitted,
ARTHUR D. CALL,
Secretary.

Mr. Esch moved that the secretary be permitted to extend his remarks and report in the record of the meeting, and that they be printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The motion was seconded by Mr. H. C. Morris and passed unanimously.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

The report of the President was submitted as follows:

In accordance with constitutional requirement, the annual report of the president is herewith presented. Statistical and detailed information of the work of the fiscal year just closed is left to the reports of the secretary, treasurer and business manager.

The services of your president have covered only the part of the year since November 24, 1928. They have largely been directed toward the fundamental questions of organization and of the future of the Society. An examination of its condition, and an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining what might be done to better our situation, mainly occupied his attention.

In considering the future of the Society, your president has been impressed with the idea, possibly a mistaken one,

that the Society needs to be broadened from its activities of earlier years, that it needs to bring into it the interest and participation of a much greater number of people who are leaders of thought and who are influential in their localities and throughout the country; that it particularly needs the support of the practical-minded, such as the leaders of business of our country.

It is your president's conception that to get this successfully we must give a continuing service of information to our members, educative in its effect as to what we believe to be needed in the peace movement; and then we must bring them as actively as possible into participation in this work. That point of view is of one who has had no part in the work of the Society prior to election as president, who therefore may possibly be at some disadvantage in correctly judging the situation. Therefore, the president has desired to proceed very cautiously in recommending changes. It seemed his service might be better given in bringing attention, from an outsider's viewpoint, and with such experience in organization work as he has had, to needed changes, but to do so with conservatism and without any purpose more than to suggest; and without urging adoption of these suggestions over reluctance to venture upon a change, of those who so long have been in charge of its affairs.

As you know, there have been submitted suggestions for certain changes in the constitution. These have been considered by the Executive Committee and approved for submission, with some modifications, to this meeting. You have also had a copy of a letter from the president to the secretary outlining views regarding the proposed amendments.

The aim of the proposed changes is twofold: (1) To provide elasticity of organization sufficient for expansion for larger work than heretofore if that can be accomplished, or, if not, to enable the organization to adapt itself to a simple and less expensive plan; and (2) to bring the membership of the Society into more active participation in such a way as to keep it both informed and interested in the work of the Society. The first purpose involves also the defining of administrative authority in the president, which, consid-

ered from what is intended to be a wholly detached point of view, seems necessary if the Society is to be operated on an efficient and sound business basis. The proposals further make provision for a selected and approved membership, pledged to the unchangeable object of the Society, making it possible for the Executive Committee to hold the membership up to the high standards that would perhaps add some effectiveness to the organization.

In working upon the organization problems, the president obtained a promise of financial support for developing the program of broadening the Society and attracting to it and, through it, to the peace movement, the business men of the nation. Some of that has been made available and has been expended in pursuance of our investigations and of developing the plans for this wider constituency of practical-minded persons.

As rather incidentally connected with organization plans, we have put into effect the provisions of the old constitution with reference to the disbursement of money.

Thus far, the president's service has been directed more toward the organization affairs of the Society than to the carrying out of plans in promotion or accomplishment of peace. There is great need of thorough attention to the important object of the Society, and particularly now because of the opportunities afforded for a new and effective kind of work under the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War.

The officers and directors of the Society called upon President Coolidge in his executive offices at the White House on the day when your new president began service, to acquaint President Coolidge with the aims of the Society and its desire to be helpful to the government in efforts to preserve peace. The response of President Coolidge was cordial, gratifying, and encouraging.

In closing this report, the president desires to express appreciation of the support and cooperation of officers, members of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Directors of our Society. Our future success must depend very largely upon your counsel and cooperative efforts.

WILLIAM FORTUNE,
President.

Dr. Hill moved that the president's report be adopted, approved and printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Mr. Esch seconded the motion and it was passed unanimously.

REPORT OF BUDGET COMMITTEE

The report of the Budget Committee, composed of Mr. Felix M. McWhirter, chairman; Mr. Leonard V. Harrison and Mr. William H. Book, was submitted.

Mr. McWhirter moved that the report be approved. The motion, seconded by Mr. George M. Morris, was approved, and the budget recommended by the committee was adopted as the budget of expenditures of the Society for the ensuing year.

CONSTITUTION

After considering the amendments to the Constitution submitted to the Board by action of the Executive Committee, section by section, *it was voted*, upon motion of Mr. Henry C. Morris and seconded by Mr. McWhirter, that the Constitution, as approved and amended, article by article and section by section, be adopted as the Constitution of the American Peace Society. The Constitution as adopted reads as follows:—

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

(Adopted at the One-Hundred-First Annual Meeting of the Society, May 4, 1929)

I

NAME

This Society shall be known as the American Peace Society.

II

PURPOSE

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

III

ORGANIZATION

The American Peace Society shall be organized into such departments as the Board of Directors shall determine.

IV

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The affairs of the Society shall be controlled by a Board of Directors to be constituted as follows: The President (*ex officio*), Secretary (*ex officio*), Treasurer (*ex officio*), fifty Directors who shall, as far as practicable, be representative of the forty-eight States forming the United States of America and the District of Columbia, and not more than twenty-five Directors-at-large chosen because of service to the cause of international peace or to their country, all duly elected at the annual meeting of the Society, and the Executive Committee (*ex officio*).

2. To be eligible for membership on the Board of Directors, a person must be in accord with the purposes of the Society and its Constitution; otherwise he shall be disqualified from serving on said Board. Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Board of Directors.

3. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the Directors by a vote of two-thirds of the Directors present at any annual or special meeting.

4. No new Director shall be elected, however, who shall not have been nominated, in writing to the Secretary by some member of the Board of Directors fourteen days before an annual or special meeting.

5. A list of the persons so nominated, with the names of the proposers, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Directors seven days before a meeting, and no other nominations shall be considered except by the unanimous consent of the Directors present.

6. No Director shall receive compensation for his service as such.

7. The Directors shall fill all vacancies occurring in any elective office.

8. There shall be an annual meeting of the Board of Directors to be held in the month of May, at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee, notice of which shall be sent to all

Directors at least thirty days in advance of the date set.

9. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or by any five members of the Board of Directors on ten days' notice.

V

OFFICERS

1. The elective officers of the Society shall be a President, one or more Vice-Presidents and one or more Honorary Vice-Presidents, as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine; a Secretary and a Treasurer, all of which elective officers shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at its annual meeting in May.

2. The elective officers shall be elected for one year and shall hold office until their successors, duly elected, have qualified.

VI

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Society, to consist of the President (ex officio), Secretary (ex officio), Treasurer (ex officio), and twelve other persons to be appointed by the President, subject to the ratification of the Board of Directors.

2. The Executive Committee shall, during the interim between meetings of the Board of Directors be vested with all the powers, rights and duties of the Board of Directors.

3. The President and Secretary of the Society shall be respectively ex officio Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee.

4. The Executive Committee shall meet on call of the President or upon written notice by any three members of the Committee.

VII

THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY

1. The President—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, of the Board of Directors, and of the Executive Committee. He shall be vested with authority to direct the executive affairs of the organization. He shall appoint all employees. All such employees and all executive officers of the society shall be under his general executive authority. He shall appoint all committees, subject to the approval of the executive committee. He shall initiate the plans and means whereby the policies and

general purposes of the Society as expressed by its Constitution and its Board of Directors, shall be carried out; and shall make such recommendations from time to time to the Board of Directors as he may deem appropriate. He shall speak and act for the Society according to its objects, its Constitution and By-laws, its declaration of principles and acts of its Board of Directors, and as the official head of the Society he shall be vested with discretionary powers in the absence of any expressed authority from the governing bodies. He shall at all times exercise the powers of the official head of the Society, subject to its Board of Directors. With the Secretary he shall approve all bills submitted to the Treasurer for payment, and sign such instruments as require his signature.

2. Vice-Presidents—In the event of the expected absence or disability of the President, he shall designate a Vice-President to perform his duties, or if he shall not have designated a Vice-President for such purpose, then the duties of the President shall devolve upon and shall be performed by any Vice-President in the order of seniority of office. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, the Board of Directors shall designate an Acting President who shall perform the duties of the office until the Board of Directors elects a President.

3. Secretary—The Secretary shall issue notices of all meetings, keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society and its Board of Directors and Executive Committee. He shall have charge of the records of the Society, and shall make such reports and perform such other duties as are incident to his office or may be required of him by the President, the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

4. Assistant Secretary—One or more Assistant Secretaries may be appointed by the President, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, to assist the Secretary in the discharge of his duties.

5. Treasurer—The Treasurer shall receive and receipt for all moneys, legacies, or gifts from whatever source paid to the Society. He shall keep a book of accounts, open at all reasonable times to the inspection of the Board of Directors. He shall recommend to the Board of Directors and Executive Committee the bank or banks for deposit, the rate of interest on bank balances and advise

relative to the investment of the funds of the American Peace Society in such manner as may best serve its interests. He shall disburse the funds of the Society upon the approval of the President and Secretary. The Treasurer's account shall be audited annually, or on order of the Board of Directors.

6. A Periodical. The Society shall issue a periodical, under the direction of an Editor appointed by the President with the approval of the Board of Directors.

VIII

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIETY

The principal office of the Society shall be in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia.

IX

TYPES OF MEMBERS

1. Annual Members—Any citizen of the United States or of its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society, may, upon approval by the Executive Committee, become an Annual Member of the American Peace Society upon the payment of such dues as may be fixed by the Board of Directors. Such members shall be entitled to receive the Society's periodical.

2. Sustaining Members—Any citizen of the United States or of its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society may, upon approval by the Executive Committee, become a Sustaining Member of the American Peace Society upon the annual payment of not less than ten dollars. Such members shall be entitled to receive the Society's periodical and other publications of general character.

3. Contributing Members—Any citizen of the United States or its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society may, upon approval by the Executive Committee become a Contributing Member of the American Peace Society upon the annual payment of not less than twenty-five dollars. Such members shall be entitled to all the publications of the Society.

4. Life Members—Any citizen of the United States or of its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society, may, upon approval of the Executive Committee, become a Life Member of the American Peace Society, upon application to the Board of Directors, election and payment of

not less than two hundred dollars. Each Life Member shall, during his lifetime, receive the publications of the Society.

5. Institutional Members—Any institution aiming to promote the cause of international peace, if approved by the Executive Committee, may become an Institutional Member of the American Peace Society. This membership shall be an annual membership for which the institution shall pay annually to the American Peace Society not less than twenty-five dollars. Institutional Members shall be entitled to the same benefits as contributing members.

6. Honorary Members—Those who have rendered specially meritorious or distinguished service to the cause of international peace, and have been approved for such distinction by two-thirds vote of the members present at any meeting of the Board of Directors, shall become Honorary Members.

7. Other classes of membership may also be established upon recommendation of the President approved by the Board of Directors.

8. The Board of Directors may adopt any additional plan of financing the work of the Society, including the establishment of trust funds or endowments, by which the Society may be made the beneficiary of income either in behalf of its general purpose or any specific purpose in harmony therewith which may be specified in such trust agreements.

X

REFERENDA

1. The Executive Committee, by a two-thirds vote of those present, shall have power to submit to the membership of the Society from time to time in the form of questionnaire or otherwise, for referendum vote, any question relating to the preservation or better assurance of international peace, which said Committee shall deem important, timely and appropriate for consideration.

2. In order to carry out this purpose, the Executive Committee shall prepare and adopt a set of rules and regulations for the guidance of itself, its officers and its members.

XI

BY-LAWS

The Executive Committee shall adopt from time to time such by-laws as it may deem necessary and appropriate within the scope

and provisions of this Constitution, for the guidance of the Officers, Committees and employees of the Society in their activities on behalf of the Society and in their attitude towards the membership or the public.

XII

AMENDING THIS CONSTITUTION

The object of this Society shall never be changed, but the Constitution may in all other respects be amended at the annual or a special meeting of the Board of Directors by a two-thirds vote on the recommendation of the Executive Committee; provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been mailed to each member of the Board of Directors at least ten days prior to the meeting.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

On motion of Mr. McWhirter, seconded by Mr. Esch, the officers of the Society were placed in nomination for reelection.

By unanimous vote the following officers were elected:

President: William Fortune.

Vice Presidents: David Jayne Hill, Silas H. Strawn, Hiram W. Ricker, Jackson H. Ralston.

Treasurer: George W. White.

Secretary: Arthur D. Call.

Executive Committee: John J. Esch, Thomas E. Green, David Jayne Hill, Felix M. McWhirter, George M. Morris, Henry C. Morris, Walter Scott Penfield, Ernest N. Smith, Lacey C. Zapf.

Directors:

Philip Marshall Brown	Arch C. Klumph
Arthur D. Call	Ashley Day Leavitt
F. B. Caswell	William Mather Lewis
P. P. Claxton	Thomas A. Marlow
Joseph B. Cotton	Paul V. McNutt
John M. Crawford	Felix M. McWhirter
John J. Esch	Walter A. Morgan
William Fortune	George M. Morris
Harry A. Garfield	Henry C. Morris
Thomas E. Green	Edwin P. Morrow
Walter W. Head	John M. Parker
David Jayne Hill	Reginald H. Parsons
Clarence H. Howard	Walter Scott Penfield
Charles L. Hyde	Jackson H. Ralston
	Hiram W. Ricker

Ernest N. Smith
Theodore Stanfield
Jay T. Stocking
Silas H. Strawn
Louis J. Taber
David W. Teachout

Henry W. Temple
Robert E. Vinson
William Way
Oscar Wells
George W. White
Lacey C. Zapf

Honorary Vice-Presidents:

Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Chancellor, New York University; W. H. P. Faunce, President, Brown University; William P. Gest, President, Fidelity Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles Cheney Hyde, Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University, formerly Solicitor for Department of State; Elihu Root, Attorney, New York City. Formerly Secretary of State, and for many years President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; James Brown Scott, Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C., President, American Society of International Law; Charles F. Thwing, President Emeritus, Western Reserve University.

FURTHER ACTION

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. Call, seconded by Mr. Esch, that the President appoint a committee to draw up a set of by-laws, including rules and regulations for the referenda.

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. George Morris, seconded by Mr. McWhirter, that the President appoint a committee of which he shall be an active member to study and report to the Executive Committee the subject of the various classes of membership which may be desirable.

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. George M. Morris, seconded by Mr. Lewis, that the Secretary be authorized to attend the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union to be held at Arcachon, France during August of the current year.

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. Henry C. Morris, seconded by Mr. Esch, that the meeting adjourn to be reconvened at the call of the President.

The meeting stood adjourned at four-thirty o'clock.

ARTHUR D. CALL,
Secretary.

THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the good offices of one or more friendly nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INSURE

In Behalf of Your Country

The Life
The Property
The Income
The Peace

of

Your Wife
Your Children
Your Father
Your Mother
Your Fellow-men of
All the World!

The Policy

With your contribution the American Peace Society promises to do all in its power to lead nations to substitute the processes of justice for the modes of war.

The Premium

A contribution to the American Peace Society
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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

Founded 1828

20 Jackson Place

Washington, D. C.

ADVOCATE OF

5
PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



ARMISTICE

THEODORE E. BURTON

INTERPARLIAMENTARIAN
COMMITTEES

SENATOR SWANSON ON THE
WORLD COURT

FINANCIAL EVIDENCE OF
EUROPEAN RECOVERY

CHARACTER BASES OF WORLD
PEACE

THE CONDITIONS IN CHINA

TROUBLES IN PALESTINE

FASCISTI

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor

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

THEODORE E. BURTON

SENATOR THEODORE E. BURTON, President of the American Peace Society, 1911-16 and again 1924-28, died at his apartments, 2101 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., Monday, October 28, at 9:47 P. M. The passing of Senator Burton leaves in the heart of every member of the American Peace Society a profound sorrow. We who have long been privileged to associate with him in his self-sacrificing labors to end the methods of war, we who saw him stand up in spite of physical illness and play his distinguished part as President of the World Conference on International Justice in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society in Cleveland, Ohio, back in May, 1928, and who were with him in his last persistent labors in behalf of the Interparliamentary Union, know that Theodore E. Burton, in a very real sense, gave his life that a peace of justice between nations might prevail.

It was but a natural thing that his fellow Senators should arrange funeral services on the afternoon of October 30 in the Chamber of the United States Senate. It was inevitable in such circumstances that the President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Diplomatic Corps, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, mem-

bers of the House of Representatives, and numberless others, should be present at those last sad rites in that Capitol where for a period of nearly forty years Theodore E. Burton labored so incessantly and with such conspicuous ability for the upbuilding of America and the strengthening of those ties which bind nation with nation.

Theodore E. Burton was one of the great outstanding figures in public life. His reputation as a statesman spread across the world. His death is a loss to us all.

October 31, 1929.

OUR RELATIONS TO THE WORLD COURT

THE American people are sure to hear increasingly the question whether or not the United States should adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice now at The Hague.

No single principle stands out as more American than that States should settle their disputes in accordance with the principles of law and equity. We are accustomed to that method of settlement in issues between our own States. We have stood for it in international conferences. We have preached it in the Senate. We have incorporated it in countless texts.

Indeed, we have strongly supported in the past the doctrine of compulsory jurisdiction for international courts. Our delegates to The Hague in 1899, in-

structed by John Hay, and our delegates to The Hague in 1907, instructed by Elihu Root, stood for compulsory jurisdiction of the proposed court on the theory that in no other way can real offenders be brought before the court. Mr. Root then argued that the court could succeed only if the most insignificant nation had the right to call the most powerful nation to the bar of international justice. He later presented these views to the commission of jurists that drew up the plan for the existing Permanent Court of International Justice. The jurists agreed. The plan submitted by the commission to the League provided that the court should have compulsory jurisdiction over all disputes of a legal nature. Largely because of the opposition of Lord Robert Cecil of Great Britain, the compulsory jurisdiction provision was eliminated.

The leaders of thought in this country, believing in the settlement of disputes in accord with the principles of law, have favored an international court with compulsory jurisdiction in cases of justiciable disputes. These justiciable disputes as worked out by a committee of English jurists in 1919 include issues affecting the interpretation of treaties, questions of international law, the existence of any fact constituting a breach of an international obligation, the nature or extent of the reparation to be made in the case of the breach of an international obligation. A court with power in such cases has been favored by the majority of our thoughtful people, at least outside the United States Senate. As to the Senate, we recall that it passed a resolution in 1926 consenting to ratification of the World Court protocol, with the reservation, however, that the adherence of the United States was not to include an acceptance of the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction.

We are inclined to expect opposition to our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice on some such grounds as the fact that the court is the agent of the League of Nations. Opponents in the Senate will also undoubtedly wish to know who, under the Root formula, shall decide whether or not the United States has an interest in a given dispute, involving perhaps an advisory opinion. Some Senator will insist upon knowing who shall decide whether or not the United States shall withdraw from the court in case its wishes are flouted. It will be asked what law is the court to determine, and what provisions are being made further to develop a system of laws for the court to work upon.

And yet there can be no doubt of America's faith in the processes of law and in the importance of a permanent court of international justice. Even our Senate has agreed to adhere to the existing Permanent Court of International Justice, with five reservations. The first four of these reservations have been agreed to by everyone. The Root formula changes no one of them. There remains the fifth reservation affecting advisory opinions. It is this reservation that has held up our final adherence to the court. The Root formula aims to meet the special conditions of adherence stipulated by the Senate in its fifth reservation. The debate in the Senate will probably revolve around the question whether or not the formula is sufficiently adequate to its purpose. Our own view is that we need worry no longer over this phase of the case, for the reason that the day of handing down advisory opinions by the court is past.

The American Peace Society does not forget that it has, for more than a hundred years, fought for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. It dares to believe now that the United States Senate will very soon add

very materially to the whole world concept of justice between nations, and bring still more closely together those forces within our own country and those aspirations of other peoples concerned to promote the judicial settlement of disputes between nations.

We do not fear discussion in the Senate. We favor it. We know that nothing but good can follow from the fullest, freest deliberations upon this matter in that representative body responsible with the President for the conduct of our foreign affairs.

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER IN THE UNITED STATES

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, Prime Minister of Great Britain, had one central reason for coming to the United States. That reason was to become personally acquainted with President Hoover. Measured by the purpose, the visit was an unqualified success. There is no doubt now that Mr. MacDonald knows Mr. Hoover and likes him. Neither is there any doubt that President Hoover knows Mr. MacDonald and likes him. This is all to the good. President Washington, whose "first wish" was to see war "banished from the earth," "to see the whole world in peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind," wrote to his friend, Lafayette, in January, 1788, saying: "Would to God the harmony of nations were an object that lay nearest to the hearts of sovereigns." The conferences between Ramsay MacDonald and Herbert Hoover, it would seem, were in a measure an answer to the prayer of George Washington.

It is most unfortunate just at this stage of world affairs that Gustav Stresemann of Germany should die, and that

Aristide Briand of France should fall as Premier of France, for these three men—MacDonald, Stresemann, and Briand—were peculiarly necessary to each other, particularly just now. They were most intimately acquainted with the larger possibilities involved in the Young plan, the international bank, the reduction of armaments, the work at Geneva, the whole of the immediate future in the realm of international peace.

In the present situation we are comforted by the reflection, however, that great events are not wholly dependent upon any one person. Great international movements, greater than any of us can understand, are in the wind. They will not die because of the passing of any man.

A BRANCH OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION FOR THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE?

THERE are twenty-two governments in the Western Hemisphere, each with its parliament responsible, not only for the laws within its own territory, but in varying degrees for the determination, support and direction of its country's foreign policies. These governments naturally have many common interests to reconcile. Most of these mutual interests require parliamentary action, and that often outside the treaty and other executive functions of states. One wonders, therefore, why there is so little effort on the part of the members of these parliaments to become acquainted with each other. Pan American conferences on a wide variety of themes are held almost continuously. Why are there no meetings of the parliamentarians of our Hemisphere?

There is an Interparliamentary Union with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. It held its twenty-fifth conference at Berlin in August, 1928. As said else-

where in these columns, its permanent study commissions, concerned with political and organization questions, juridical, economic, financial, ethnic, colonial, social and humanitarian matters, have just been holding sessions in Geneva, from August 23 to 31. Twenty-one parliaments were represented, the United States by fourteen delegates. The only other parliament of the Western Hemisphere to have a delegate was the Republic of San Salvador. Thirty-six parliaments belong to the Union, carrying a membership of nearly four thousand parliamentarians; but only eight of these are from the Western Hemisphere, and of these eight only four paid their dues during the last year—the United States, Canada, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela.

The Interparliamentary Union is an international agency of proved importance. Founded in 1888, upon the initiative of William Randal Cremer of the British House of Commons, there have been conferences as follows: first in Paris, 1889; second in London, 1890; third in Rome, 1891; fourth in Berne, 1892; fifth at The Hague, 1894; sixth at Brussels, 1895; seventh at Budapest, 1896; eighth at Brussels, 1897; ninth at Christiania, 1899; tenth at Paris, 1900; eleventh at Vienna, 1903; twelfth at St. Louis, 1904; thirteenth at Brussels, 1905; fourteenth at London, 1906; fifteenth at Berlin, 1908; sixteenth at Brussels, 1910; seventeenth at Geneva, 1912; eighteenth at The Hague, 1913; nineteenth at Stockholm, 1921; twentieth at Vienna, 1922; twenty-first at Copenhagen, 1923; twenty-second at Berne and Geneva, 1924; twenty-third at Washington, 1925; twenty-fourth at Paris, 1927; twenty-fifth at Berlin, 1928.

The Union has been able, through these conferences, to exert an abiding influence. Both Cremer, its founder, and Lange, its present Director, have received the Nobel Peace Award.

At the Conference in Washington, in 1925, sixteen of the forty-one parliaments represented were of the Western Hemisphere. The Latin-American delegates played a conspicuous and helpful part in the deliberations. Since, however, so few of these parliaments send delegates to the conferences in Europe, it would seem that there is a special interest in the parliamentary aspects of international relations peculiar to the Western Hemisphere. If this be the fact, why not have a Parliamentary Conference for the Western Hemisphere, with the view of ascertaining what work, if any, can be done by parliamentarians of our Western World, laboring together for their own enlightenment and the mutual advantage of their respective peoples?

At the recent meetings in Geneva, the standing committee on Political and Organization Questions urged that the Interparliamentary Bureau should assist and facilitate mutual visits between the groups of the Union, and organize journeys for the purpose of enabling members of foreign parliaments to study each other's problems. A meeting of the parliamentarians of the Western Hemisphere would be in line with the spirit of that suggestion.

The United States Government believes in the Interparliamentary Union. It appropriates six thousand dollars a year for the support of the headquarters at Geneva, and ten thousand dollars a year for the expenses of its own Group. It was host to the Union in 1904 and again in 1925. If understood, the other parliaments of our Western World would not be slow to cooperate similarly according to their strength.

Governments follow where their interests appear to lead. There are parliamentary interests, common to the States of the Western Hemisphere, especially economic, humanitarian and social, which can not be trusted to work out themselves,

or left wholly to diplomats. These are often matters of peculiar concern to the lawmakers. A conference of parliamentarians, therefore, unofficially called and conducted, might be made the means of a wiser legislation all along the line, of a friendlier solution of many of our common problems as they arise, indeed, of prime importance to the parliamentary system itself.

The Interparliamentary Union has been a constructive force. It had a direct influence upon the constitution of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, provided for in 1899 at the first Hague conference. It was primarily responsible for the calling of the second Hague conference, in 1907. Its model arbitration treaty received at the second Hague conference the votes of thirty-two out of forty-four States represented. Perhaps its greatest achievement has been the promotion of intelligent relations between governments by enabling the parliamentarians of the world to get acquainted with each other. The head of the Union is Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies. The Executive Secretary is Dr. Christian L. Lange. The venerable and venerated President of the United States Group, Senator Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, has labored valiantly in behalf of the Union for twenty-five years.

A Conference such as is here proposed would naturally be held, not outside the Interparliamentary Union, but as a part of it and in closest harmony with the spirit and principles which through the years it has so successfully developed. It would of course be premature here to forecast any program for such a Conference. The fact is, however, there is a very active branch of the Interparliamentary Union made up of the Baltic States, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and including the thousand-year-old parliament of Iceland. From time to time it has been proposed that there should be

branches of the Interparliamentary Union, say, of the representatives from the parliaments of Japan and the United States, of certain Near Eastern States, and elsewhere. The suggestion here, however, is that there be a Conference of delegates from the twenty-two parliaments of the Western Hemisphere, with the view of studying what new direction, if any, interparliamentary cooperation here may wisely and profitably take.

The ways of peace between states are the ways of justice. The language of justice is the law, and law is the very object of parliaments. It is necessary only to mention this aspect of the case.

A meeting of parliamentarians from our Western States could do no harm. It might, indeed, open happy and profitable courses of action as yet quite unsuspected by the statesmen concerned to advance the real interests of our Americas.

BARON THEODOR ADELSWAERD

BARON THEODOR ADELSWAERD, long head of the Interparliamentary Union, died at his country seat of Adelsnäs, near Aatvidaberg, Sweden, during the night of September 28. Baron Adelswaerd was known and greatly respected by many members of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union and by many other Americans who were privileged to meet him, especially during the twenty-third Conference of the Union, which was held in Washington, New York, and Ottawa in October, 1925. Many of these Americans sent their sympathy to Baroness Adelswaerd; and also to the Swedish Group whose President the deceased was for many years.

Baron Adelswaerd was born in 1860. He became a civil and mining engineer. At the age of twenty-three he was director of his family's interests, principally forests, mines and timber trade. In 1906

he was elected a member of the Swedish lower house. From 1911 to 1914 he was a member, as Minister of Finance, of the liberal cabinet formed by Mr. Staaff. He entered the Swedish Senate in 1922, where he remained until 1924. He was for years a member of the Council General of his Province, of which he was through the later years its Chairman. Upon entering Parliament he immediately joined the Interparliamentary Group and took part in the conferences of the Union at London in 1906, at Berlin in 1908 and at Brussels in 1910. He became President of his Group in 1914, and together with his colleagues of the Danish and Norwegian Groups he led the very important work done by the Scandinavian Groups during the war, which contributed more than anything else to keeping alive the interparliamentary tradition. Following the war Baron Adelswaerd was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Interparliamentary Union, and when, in 1922, Lord Weardale was forced for reasons of health to resign as President of the Interparliamentary Council, Baron Adelswaerd was universally acknowledged as his appropriate successor. He held this important office for six years. His successor is M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies.

During the administration of Baron Adelswaerd the Interparliamentary Union underwent reconstruction, both in its organization and outside activities. The statutes were revised under the general principle that the Union is an embryo world parliament. Baron Adelswaerd looked upon the Interparliamentary Union as the beginning of a popular chamber of a universal league of nations. In consequence the work of the Union broadened from the study of questions of juridical nature to the study of economic, financial, social, political, ethnic and colonial questions. As President of the

Executive Committee, Baron Adelswaerd supervised the administrative and financial development of the Union. He served as President of the Permanent Commission on Political and Organization Questions and of another Permanent Commission on Ethnic and Colonial Questions. He also took part in the work of other Commissions dealing with economic matters and the reduction of armaments. Thus he did more than to carry on the fine traditions left by his predecessors, Beernaert and Weardale. He enriched with his ability and charm every department of the Union.

ARBITRATION OF THE "I'M ALONE" CASE

THE United States is showing the world once more how an acute international dispute can be settled in terms of common sense. Wars have heretofore been fought over issues of less moment than the one involved in the case of the *I'm Alone*.

On March 22, 1929, the United States Coast Guard vessel *Dexter* sank the schooner *I'm Alone* off the coast of the United States. The schooner was of alleged British nationality, registered in Canada. The case became at once the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Canada. In a note of April 17, 1929, addressed by our Secretary of State to the Minister of the Dominion of Canada, it was stated that if the Canadian Government, after careful examination, still found itself unable to concur in the findings of facts and the conclusions of law set forth in the note, the Government of the United States would agree to submit the matter to arbitration as provided for in the convention between the United States and Great Britain of January 23, 1924. Within a week the Canadian Minister informed the Secretary of State that his Government

accepted the proposal of the United States.

Here is an illustration of that wisdom in high places calculated to promote and maintain peace between sovereign States.

We are informed by our Department of State that the United States has designated the Honorable Willis Van Devanter, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as the American member on the commission provided for in the convention. The Honorable George Wharton Pepper, former United States Senator from Pennsylvania, has been retained as agent to represent the Government of the United States before the commission. The time and place of hearings will be settled by agreement between the commissioners. The Canadian Government has announced the appointment of Eugene Lafleur, K. C., of Montreal, as the Canadian member of the Commission, and of John E. Read, Esquire, as Canadian Agent, and of W. N. Tilley, K. C., of Toronto, and Aimé Geoffrion, K. C., of Montreal, as counsel.

Eugene Lafleur, K. C., LL. D., D. C. L., of Montreal, is one of the outstanding leaders of the Canadian bar, and it is generally believed that he has more than once been urged by the Canadian Government to accept a high judicial position. He has had great experience in cases involving constitutional and international law. In 1911 he served as President of the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and in 1928 he was nominated by the Canadian Government for a seat in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Mr. Read is Legal Adviser to the Canadian Department of External Affairs, and was formerly Dean of the Law School of Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Here again is an illustration of the truth expressed years ago by Elihu Root

that there is no dispute between nations that cannot be settled peaceably if only the parties are so disposed.

CITIZENS OF BOONVILLE, Indiana, on October 23, summoned President William Fortune, of the American Peace Society, back to their city to honor him for his long record of service in the many movements for public welfare.

Boonville is Mr. Fortune's native town. There he was born. There in boyhood he waged his earlier battles of life. Proud of his achievements and the distinctions that have come to him, including the honor of the presidency of the American Peace Society, Boonville went at the business of giving him a royal home-coming celebration.

It was a most unusual affair. It is not unusual to hear of a community thus honoring a native son who has gained distinction in politics or, perhaps, athletics; but one rarely if ever hears of a community thus honoring one of its sons who has spent his life in the less ostentatious movements "pro bono publico." Boonville, we are told, has its stars in the athletic firmament, and its men who have held important state and national public office; but it also has as its claim for recognition the fact that it is the birthplace of the man who has perhaps spent more of his life in unofficial public service than any other. It was for this that Boonville citizens wished to honor Mr. Fortune.

They welcomed him home, as though he were a conquering hero of old. School children, waving flags, lined the streets, as the reception committee which had taken him in charge drove by. At the Kiwanis Club luncheon and at the high school assembly in the afternoon he was called on for addresses. In the evening

the celebration reached its climax, with a public banquet. Boonville citizens in welcoming speeches praised his record of service. Letters and telegrams of greeting from the Governor of the state and many other distinguished persons were read. Officers of the American Red Cross and many other organizations Mr. Fortune has served so well sent expressions of gratification. That Indiana city's pride in her native son is one of the finest, most hopeful and stimulating things in our American life.

AMERICAN REPUBLICS are working out highway transportation programs, in connection with the proposed inter-American highway, with a long view as to their importance. Senator Oddie, appointed by President Hoover to represent the Senate at the Second Pan American Highway Congress at Rio de Janeiro, reports: "The leaders in all countries are looking forward to the day when it will be possible to link all the mainland countries of North, Central and South America with roads. Certain sections of the highway, such as those from Texas to Panama, from Brazil to Bolivia and from Chile to Argentina or Peru, will be completed before the passage of many years. There can be no doubt of the importance of rapid transportation to the economic welfare of every nation." Furthermore, according to our Department of Commerce, the development of aeronautics depends materially upon the extension of highways. The welfare of the Western Hemisphere depends in no small measure upon the ability to transport men, money, mail and merchandise with the least possible delay. We agree with Senator Oddie when he says, "An inter-American highway system, therefore, would be a distinct adjunct to the inter-American railroad, waterway and skyway systems which will soon link

the New World together with indissoluble ties of business and friendship."

A CONGRESSIONAL resolution was approved last March, authorizing an appropriation of \$50,000 to enable the Secretary of State to cooperate with any Latin-American Government in reconnaissance surveys to develop the facts and to make possible a report to Congress regarding the feasibility, cost and other considerations connected with the construction of an inter-American highway or highways. It was provided that this assistance should be extended to any Latin-American Government which might make a request or signify a desire for it to the Pan American Union.

We know that the Nicaraguan Government has already expressed its desire to accept the benefits of this resolution, and that it has requested the cooperation of our government in the premises.

IMPROVED methods of transportation continue their wonders to perform. Visitors to the western coast of South America are now offered "combination tickets," enabling their holders to travel either by air or steamship. Two fine motor ships, the *Santa Inez* and the *Santa Rica*, have just been added to the service between New York and Valparaiso. By these ships one may now go from New York to Buenaventura in eight days, to Guayaquil in twelve days, and to Valparaiso in from seventeen to eighteen days. The company operating these ships has an agreement with the air ways of the United States and of Peru. The "combination tickets" are good for either route.

LET us be frank. The American Peace Society craves more sustaining sentiments like unto the following. Dr. Charles F. Thwing, revered President Emeritus of Western Reserve University,

writes: "I feel the Society (American Peace Society) is one of the permanent forces for the permanent betterment of this dear old and dearer future world of ours." Reverend Melvin V. Oggell, D. D., pastor of the Wabash Avenue Presbyterian Church, Crawfordsville, Indiana, writes, our modesty forbids us to quote it all:

"I have a good deal of respect for Dr. Call's work as an editor. He has avoided a too naive and uncritical view of the League and its Court. . . .

"Nothing can come from the Kellogg pact automatically. Many circumstances attendant upon its negotiations and certain events since its signing in Paris have been most unfortunate; they do not evidence a hearty faith in the instrument which has been solemnly signed—an actual turning about face. However, the pact itself carries an unqualified pledge to abstain from war, and by aggressive leadership it can be used as the opening wedge for the creation of a real international law of peace and for the setting up an international court with real jurisdiction—i. e., affirmative jurisdiction—over those international disputes over which the projected code gives it jurisdiction.

"These, in bold outline, are my views of the present complex situation as to peace. In some ways the outlook for peace seems dark, in other ways bright. As I see it, it all depends on the leadership we get in the next few years, particularly from this country."

WHEN President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald closed their conferences with a statement given to the public, President Fortune of the American Peace Society gave the following statement to the Associated Press:

"The joint statement of President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald at the conclusion of their conferences in Washington gives the best assurance to their people of the banishment of war. Step by step, it is evident, we are proceeding in a practical, sane and effective manner to do what we have pledged to do

in the Paris Pact—bring an end to the use of war.

"The American Peace Society warmly commends the steps the President and Prime Minister have taken. It is especially pleased with the tenor and substance of their joint statement.

"They are bringing into working operation the idea that practical-minded peace advocates long have promoted, the use of arbitration and conciliation in settlement of international differences.

"The program that is outlined in their statement will have the hearty support of the American Peace Society. We see in this at last a real opportunity for achieving the world's passion for peace.

"Our President happily combines with an idealism a most practical and effective plan for achieving the ideal. It will never be achieved by idealism alone."

ELIHU BURRITT, one time Secretary of the American Peace Society and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, is referred to as a "Christian internationalist" in *The Congregationalist* of August 22, 1929, by Reverend Theodore A. Greene, pastor of the Center Congregational Church of New Britain, Connecticut. Dr. Greene's article does justice in many ways to the memory of Elihu Burritt. The first paragraph, however, contains an inaccurate statement which Mr. Burritt himself tried to avoid. The paragraph reads:

"At a time when Americans are claiming credit for leadership in the peace movement, it may be of interest to readers of *The Congregationalist* to turn back the hands of the clock ninety years and consider the life and work of a Congregational layman, Elihu Burritt, America's earliest apostle of world peace."

In 1872 there appeared a memoir of William Ladd, "The Apostle of Peace," a book of 272 pages, by John Hemmenway. The first fourteen pages of the book contain an introduction by Elihu Burritt. In

this introduction Mr. Burritt refers to William Ladd as "the apostle of peace," and writes—

"The writer of these introductory notes, who was one of Mr. Ladd's disciples and successors, felt it his duty to present the proposition, pure and simple as his master developed it, at the great Peace Congresses at Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, and London; and today it stands before the world, the scheme of William Ladd."

MISSIONARIES seeking support for their work in Latin America should not fall into the error of arousing the animosities and of creating the ill-will they exist to obviate. The Missionary Department Superintendent of one of our most powerful church organizations is quoted as saying of Latin America:

"What battalions of ignorance and superstition are entrenched in this vast territory. What spiritual slavery enthralles its masses, what spiritual famine starves its infidel intellectuals.

Eighty million people with not as many teachers as the State of New York, not as many ordained ministers as the State of Iowa; marvelous cathedrals and irreverence toward the Savior, centuries of Christianity and a Christless people; such ignorance that three out of five cannot read; such immorality that in Chile alone one-third of the children are illegitimate and three-fourths die in infancy. A continent with a great future. How shall it "be delivered from the body of this death"?

Such a statement is manifestly unfair because it is essentially untrue. To say such things can not make the work of the missionary in South America easier. Furthermore, it is indirectly a reflection upon the work of the Catholic Church in those lands, and as such it is far from a helpful statement. At a time when publicists and governments are doing everything in their power to promote Pan American good will, such an unjust characterization of those proud and cultured peoples to our south is quite inapposite.

IN 1926 it was proposed to set up a nation-wide survey of history textbooks used in the schools of the United States. This survey has been completed by the American Association of University Women, in collaboration with the World Federation of Education Associations. The committee has examined twenty-six high school and seventy-five grade school texts. The purpose of the examination was to determine whether or not the texts now being used in the public schools fit the best standards of the times. It was agreed that these standards are as follows:

"1. Teaching must cultivate attitudes. All materials used in teaching history, therefore, should be carefully selected as to historic worth and accuracy.

"2. In presenting the events representing conflicts between nations, the facts should be given with no attempt to determine the justice or injustice of either, the student satisfying himself from the facts.

"3. Always there should be an attempt to relieve national jealousies and racial hatreds.

"4. The facts of history should be carefully selected with unflinching regard for those characters and events which have resulted in the advancement of the race toward freedom, better mode of living, culture, and the realization of ideals.

"5. The study of wars need not be avoided. They were an instrument or means among the primitive peoples and of use when nations had little other contact. It should be kept before the student that civilization and its advance is marked by the turning away from the military and accepting the civil rule.

"6. The great characters who have figured in history are closely connected with the events and conditions which have preceded, also there are the characters and events which have helped to shape the future and direct its trend. This phase should be carefully worked out and presented in such a manner as to give the student a proper visualization of the relationship of events to individuals."

The committee is convinced from its

study that the textbooks on United States history sin more by their omissions than by their commissions. The committee complains of such misleading presentations as giving the impression that Cyrus W. Field accomplished as a personal enterprise the laying of the Atlantic cable; when, as a matter of fact, an Englishman should share the honors. Again, treating of the War of 1812, the majority of textbooks tell only of the burning of Washington by the British; and make no mention of the fact that Americans had previously burned the city of Toronto. The committee concludes that there should be a more definite handling of the subject of war in relation to the general nature of reasons why nations fight, the origin of disputes, the costs of war as compared with the gain; and that there should be a better understanding of how the United States can assist in the maintenance of peace. It is proposed that the American Association of University Women should establish a standing committee on textbooks with the view of keeping in touch with the most progressive thought on the subject of teaching history, and of being able to judge the textbooks as they appear.

THE INTERNATIONAL advertiser comes now to take his place among the influences for good or evil in the relations of nations. The convention of the International Advertising Association held in Berlin during the last summer emphasized advertising as "the key to world prosperity." It was pointed out at the conference that 95 per cent of us measure our lives by advertisements, and that advertising therefore is one of the most important of the raw materials of industry. Mr. E. G. Hart, industrialist of Great Britain, pointed out that the international advertiser breaks down the evils of chauvinism, insularity, and prejudice. His

services foster international good faith and amity by creating new contacts with all manner of people, committing all hands to a high and constant standard of quality. Certain it is that the advertising business is increasing the tourist trade by leaps and bounds. If there is anything to gain through international understandings and personal contacts, it would appear that the advertisers are in fact increasing the friendships of peoples.

GENERAL JAMES G. HARBORD, President of Radio Corporation of America, writing in the October number of the *North American Review*, supplements this truth by calling attention to our modern methods of transmitting news and commercial commodities. Because of our improved methods of communication, he points out, truth can at last overtake falsehood. The General says: "Through future decades this auspicious movement toward common cultural sympathies will be increasingly promoted by radio in alliance with the press, the talking motion pictures, the phonograph and the automobile."

PARITY of navies, particularly in the case of the United States and Great Britain, is giving rise to no little discussion throughout the world. The doctrine of parity, fortunately, was rather adequately defined as long ago as July 25 by our Secretary of State. We remind our readers of that statement. Mr. Stimson said:

"The doctrine of parity which was adopted by the Washington Conference in 1922 between the American and British fleets as to capital ships was not a doctrine of warfare, but a doctrine of statesmanship. It does not look to a future combat between those two fleets but has an exactly opposite purpose, namely, to prevent such a conflict. Its immediate pur-

pose is to prevent those two navies from building against each other and to accomplish instead, a reduction of their respective naval power. It thus represented an agreement that they should not regard each other as possible enemies in that they agreed not to take the step which potential enemies would take as the very first step against each other, namely, to try to outbuild the other fleet. The doctrine of parity as thus used instead of being an impossible or futile doctrine is supremely intelligent. In fact, it is the only doctrine by which two proud and independent nations in the positions occupied by Britain and America could agree to be friends and eliminate the thought of war between them.

"This beneficent principle is now proposed to be extended and agreed to as the principle which should control the relations of the British and American navies not only as to capital ships, but cruisers and the other categories of vessels which constitute those navies."

TO BE hopeful for the peace movement just now may be natural; to be complacent is inexcusable. Before us is a press report of a statement by the German General von Mudra delivered at the assembly of the Haeselerbund at Wesel in September, 1927, in which he is quoted as saying: "We shall not forget the time when we were powerful, and dominated the world. If I have the power, I have the right; without the power I have not the right; we shall have our right only when the thought of obligatory service inflames our heart. If we do not understand how to hate our enemies, we shall not have the power. It is our duty to bring back our splendid army against the hour that is sure to come. We shall not attack France tomorrow but some next year. I hope to see that the children shall hate all that which is French and 'Welsch' (of the Latin race)." Over against this silly talk we find that M. Léon Daudet of France has no confidence in any Franco-German under-

standing, for, as he believes, the German is "generally outrageous, intensive, an asker of questions and ill-bred." We do not refer to these views of two extremists as typical. We call attention to them as the expression of real persons participating in a phase of public opinion. Complacency, thy name is foolishness.

AMERICAN interest in international affairs is developing rapidly. This is shown by the increasing number of students electing courses in international relations, by the increasing number of courses devoted to international law and kindred subjects in our universities, and by the increased amount of time allotted to such courses. Professor Philip C. Jessup, of Columbia University, reports that there are nearly 3,000 more students taking international courses in 1929 than in 1926. During the same period the number of institutions offering one international law course increased from sixty-eight to eighty-three; offering two courses, from fourteen to nineteen; offering three courses from one to seven. The number of institutions giving one international relations course jumped during the last three years from fifty-nine to sixty-six; offering two courses, from eighteen to twenty-eight; offering three courses, from one to fifteen.

THE cotton loan of former Confederate States issued on the London market in 1863 at seven per cent is still unpaid and is carried as such on the books of the British Government. The principal of this loan is now some eleven million dollars, and the interest has been in arrears from the time when the first payment was due. This does not include those other obligations of the Southern States of the Union, classified as defaulted, and having an ap-

proximately outstanding principal of about sixty million dollars, plus interest in arrears which, computed at six per cent, now amounts to approximately one hundred and eighty million dollars. We confess to a disagreeable feeling at being reminded that these items are carried in the report of the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bond Holders.

WHEN John Drinkwater wrote his essay in reply to the question, What would he say if he "could preach just once," he announced that he would make a plea for peace. While he is not sure that to talk peace will bring it about, he nevertheless asserts that to talk war will surely bring war. He added "When . . . one stands up and proclaims war as being inevitable, I would say to him that in his heart he wants war."

INTER-RACIAL committees can establish peace in Palestine, according to Felix Warburg, of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, bankers. Mr. Warburg believes the thing to be done in Palestine is to start small joint committees of Arabs and Jews, "working for better roads, better schools, for better technical education, for better civil service training." Only in such ways, he believes, can a basis of co-operation be built up between the Zionist and Arab executives, and that with the approval of the British government. Mr. Warburg may be right. Such joint committees, working for the interests of all, might conceivably engender a mutual appreciation and lessen the vicious agitation that seems capable just now of achieving nothing but harm.

GILBERT SELDES, author of a number of works, including a play called "The Wise Crackers," has this to say of

wise-cracking: "If you like wise-cracking, it is because you have a mean nature; if you hate it, it's because you have an inferiority complex; if you judge a wise-crack by its wisdom instead of by its crack, you are lonely seven days a week." Whether or not we be mean, inferior or lonely, we do not know; but we seem to see something besides a crack in this from the Cincinnati *Times-Star*: "In this topsyturvy planet the sun of world peace is rising in the West." And this from the same source: "According to Francis P. Garvan, our attitude toward war must hereafter be a chemical reaction." Here's another from the Philadelphia *Enquirer*: "Chemists are of the opinion that future wars can not last long because of modern methods of destruction, but what the world wants are future wars that don't start at all."

IMMIGRATION to the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1929, does not indicate any special dislike for the United States on the part of peoples abroad. Among the sixty-seven nations recorded only the following did not send their full quota of immigrants: Afghanistan, Andorra, Arabian peninsula, Bhutan, British Cameroon, French Cameroon, Ethiopia, Iceland, India, Irish Free State, Japan, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Morocco, Muscat, Nepal, New Guinea, Ruanda and Urundi, Samoa, Siam, Union of South Africa, Southwest Africa, Tanganyika, British Togoland, French Togoland and Yap. This statement is based upon visas actually reported as issued under each quota.

THE multiplicity of languages continues to present its international complications. When a short time ago the eighty Belgian cavalymen, members of

King Albert's crack military band, arrived in New York, it was found that they could not ride the United States Army horses in their parade because our American horses do not understand French. It appeared that the distinguished musicians were naturally accustomed to giving all their commands to their mounts in that language. It was clearly foreseen that regrettable incidents might arise from trying to mount French speaking cavalrymen on horses versed only in English.

"NO MORE WAR!" published by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, is sixty-three pages of the horrors of war. It is a book of pictures, half-tone cuts calculated to influence boys and girls who today have no painful recollections of what war is, "so that they too may know and fear the terrors which lie in ambush behind its marching bands and streaming colors." The pictures are half-tone reproductions of actual photographs. They leave nothing to the imagination. They are horrible.

OUR increasing proficiency in foreign trade, according to A. S. Hillyer, Chief, Commercial Intelligence Division, of our Department of Commerce, is due to the fact that when Americans become interested in a thing, they strive with the utmost enthusiasm and effort to do that thing well. We like to believe that this is a fact.

THAT we are "foreign-trade minded," at last, is shown by the fact that more business enterprises in this country are actively and directly engaged in selling their products overseas than ever before in our history.

THE character of our exports has been undergoing a change. Whereas formerly they were made up almost exclusively of raw materials and food stuffs; now more than sixty per cent of our total exports are of the manufactured or semi-manufactured kind. This increase is attributed to the quality of American goods.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

INTERPARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES AND WORLD PROBLEMS

FIVE of the permanent study committees of the Interparliamentary Union met at Geneva from the 23rd to the 31st of August, last. These committees were: (1) on political and organization questions; (2) on juridical questions; (3) on economic and financial questions; (4) on ethnic and colonial questions; (5) on social and humanitarian questions. In addition, there was a subcommittee on security, meetings of the Interparliamentary

Council, of the Executive Committee; and a general public meeting.

Fourteen delegates of the American Group attended the meetings. The delegates were: Senator Millard E. Tydings, Representatives J. Charles Linthicum of Maryland, F. F. Korell of Oregon, Carl R. Chindblom of Illinois, Roy G. Fitzgerald of Ohio, John J. McSwain of South Carolina, Sol Bloom of New York, Richard B. Wigglesworth of Massachusetts, Andrew J. Montague of Virginia, Morton D. Hull of Illinois, Thomas C. Cochran of Pennsylvania, Fred A. Britten of Illi-

nois and Jed Johnson of Oklahoma, Richard Bartholdt, ex-member of the House, of Missouri. The Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, accompanied the delegation.

The committee on political and organization questions, the oldest of the six permanent committees of the Union, has undertaken since the war to enlarge and strengthen the work of the Union. This year it had before it proposals presented by its subcommittee on the development of the Union. The report of the subcommittee offered a plan for providing the Union with a yearly income of 300,000 gold francs. It calls for contributions from the various Groups in accord with the scale adopted by the League of Nations. The amount to be contributed by each Group is set at 300 gold francs for each unit of the scale. Since the United States is not a member of the League, it was suggested that its contribution should be fixed by agreement between the Executive Committee and the American Group, subject to the approval of the Council. Since there are approximately 210 members of the American Group, Senators and Representatives, this would call for a contribution from the American Group of 63,000 francs. The committee emphasized the importance of the research work carried on by the various committees of the Union. It favored the meetings of the Council and study committees either in the capitals of the different countries or at the seat of the Union at Geneva, and a continuation of the practice of paying the travel and hotel expenses of members of subcommittees from the funds of the Union. It favored enlarging the *Interparliamentary Bulletin* and making it a monthly rather than a bi-monthly publication. It looks to the Interparliamentary Council or to the Executive Committee for reports from time to time upon special political questions affecting the good understanding between nations. It recommended mutual visits between the Groups of the Union as they may seem desirable, for the purpose of enabling the members of foreign parliaments to study conditions in a given country. It was decided to leave the subcommittee full liberty to reconsider these

and other suggestions, and to prepare a report to be submitted at the next meeting of the full committee. It was agreed that the subcommittee should prepare a program for a new discussion on some of the bigger problems concerning the parliamentary system, as, for example, the independence of parliaments from undue influence of certain economic organizations, the representation of economic interests, the political education of citizens, and other matters. Signor Di Stefano-Napolitani of Italy was re-elected president of the committee on political and organization questions.

The committee on juridical questions discussed a report from the permanent subcommittee on the criminal nature of war, a subject which has been on the agenda of the Interparliamentary Union for some years. A subcommittee on this subject was formed at the conference, held in Washington in 1925. This committee was instructed to study the political, economic and moral causes of aggressive war and to find practical solutions for the prevention of this crime; and to draft a preliminary international penal code. Under this mandate, the subcommittee, under the leadership of V. V. Pella, of Rumania, is studying the repressive aspects of the problem, leaving preventive aspects until the mixed subcommittee on security has made its report. The repressive features of the code are provisionally divided into two parts, one relating to individuals and the other to States. It is taking into consideration the international criminal responsibility of persons, and working upon definitions of international offenses committed by individuals likely to disturb peaceful relations between States, as well as crimes and offenses during an armed international conflict committed by soldiers in occupied territory. It is endeavoring to discover to what extent the general principles relating to repression contained in the national codes, and the penalties attached, are applicable, and to determine what exceptions should be made. It should be said that this method of approach has not as yet met with unanimous approval in the committee, some urging, for example, that the subcom-

mittee should study in the first place preventive measures which can be taken against the criminality of States.

The declaration of the rights and duties of States, adopted by the conference at Berlin, came again before the committee in a discussion over the rules of procedure. The matter was finally referred to the subcommittee formed in Berlin to study the amendments proposed to the declaration of the rights and duties of States.

The committee discussed also the arbitration treaty presented by Mr. Richard Bartholdt of the United States, which proposed treaty was first presented to the Paris conference in 1927. Because the treaty had been drawn up prior to the conclusion of the Paris Pact and because it did not deal with the League of Nations or the Permanent Court of International Justice, the committee did not recommend the treaty, but proposed that it be sent to the subcommittee on security. Discussions on the possibilities of international mixed tribunals for disputes in private law, and on the creation of a general plan for the codification of international law, had to be postponed.

The committee on economic and financial questions worked primarily upon the problems of international trusts and cartels, their relations to agriculture and other phases of international life. It was agreed that cartels and trusts should be in some way controlled without interfering with the development of modern economic life. It was felt that it is necessary to establish supervision over possible abuses with the view of preventing them. The committee agreed that publicity, implying the obligation of registration, is an essential first step toward a rational control. It was believed that compulsory written agreements should be required of such combines as a condition precedent to legal protection. It was pointed out that there should be created in each State a committee on trusts and cartels independent of the government on which the consumer and the worker should be represented. The committee on cartels should, it was argued, be entrusted with all inquiries of a general nature; whereas particular cases should only be made the

object of inquiry at the request of the highest competent authority. Reports of the committee on cartels should be made public. The competent central authority should be entitled to institute proceedings for the punishment of abuses, and in certain cases to advocate the evidence of treaties by the competent courts.

The committee on ethnic and colonial questions discussed the problem of national minorities, in connection with a report presented by M. Studer of Switzerland. This work is a continuation of labors begun at the interparliamentary conference held in Copenhagen in 1923. The committee agreed that the extension of the system for the protection of minorities to all States is in the interest of peace and good understanding between the nations. It was pointed out that in this way existing juridical rules relating to minorities are not only possible but hopeful. Parliaments were urged to complete the procedure followed by the League of Nations for the protection of minorities by relieving the Council of the League, if possible, from the task of examining minor individual cases which do not raise any question of principle; by distinguishing between the organ for preliminary investigation, whose duty it is to establish the facts; and by appointing a body qualified to examine the dispute and to give an award. The conference regarded it as of particular importance that conciliatory bodies should be created within the States signatories to the minorities treaties, not only as fact finding bodies but as agencies for offering ways of settlement.

The committee on social and humanitarian questions reviewed first the report of its subcommittee on the protection of mothers and children. It had before it the results of an inquiry relating to the legislation in this field in the different countries. It was proposed that the three following questions should be studied further and reports given: First, as to the efforts toward the ratification of the Washington convention of 1919 concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth, the employment of women in agriculture and domestic work, the creation of homes for expectant

mothers, and the establishment of other social institutions for the protection of mother and child; second, as to the protection of women workers not nationalists of the country in which they are employed; third, as to the situation in the protection of illegitimate children and of deserted children in the different countries. Following a discussion participated in by M. Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor Office, a subcommittee on labor questions was set up. The proposal of Representative Stephen G. Porter of the United States looking toward the compulsory treatment of drug addicts was presented and discussed by Mr. Linthicum, Representative of Maryland. Members of the committee expressed their doubts of the possibility of making the treatment compulsory by law. The matter was referred to Brabec of Czechoslovakia, Linthicum of the United States, and Dr. Grinda of France, to prepare proposals on the subject. On the motion of M. François of Belgium, the recommendation in favor of the ratification by all States of the international convention on relief to populations stricken by calamities was adopted.

The subcommittee on security, confronted with such proposals as a general act of arbitration, radical disarmament, measures for preventing the export of arms to a State for the purposes of war, agreed to undertake at once the study of the following questions:

1. A political study of the problem of arbitration, ways and means of obtaining the adherence of the different States to the treaties for the peaceable settlement of international conflicts; and, if necessary, the conclusion of regional treaties or of special treaties with the same object.

2. The necessity of disarmament in the light of the recent inventions, and the possible application of a system of sanctions; the study of the latter to be based upon the reports to be obtained from military, scientific and industrial experts in various countries.

3. The consequences of a violation of the Paris peace pact for States signatories to the Pact, who are not members of the League of Nations; with particular reference to their economic and other rela-

tions with the State having violated the Pact. Morton D. Hull of the United States is charged with the labor of drafting a report to the subcommittee in the name of the special committee of the American Group instituted for this question. The committee is interested to learn what modifications of the internal legislation of States, if any, are now needed in order to meet the spirit of the Paris Pact.

4. The general problem of sanctions.

At the public meeting, held August 29, the international public of Geneva filled the *Salle Centrale*. The subject chosen for discussion was the implications of the Pact of Paris of the 27th of August, 1928. This was divided into three sections: The development of international juridical organization, discussed by Count Apponyi of Hungary and M. Jean Odin of France; the reduction of armaments, discussed by MM. David of Germany, de Brouckère of Belgium, and Munch of Denmark; the consequences of the violation of the Paris Pact and the responsibility of States in this respect, discussed by MM. Norman Angell of Great Britain, Andrew J. Montague of the United States and Mario Roustan of France. The meeting lasted throughout the morning and afternoon. M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies and President of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, presided.

The Interparliamentary Union has been invited by the British Group, with the support of Mr. MacDonald, to hold its next, the twenty-sixth conference, in London. The Union has not met in London since 1906. In the light of the labors of the committees in Geneva last August, the questions to be discussed at the conference of the Union will probably relate to minorities, the control of international trusts, and to certain aspects of the question of security.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE

THE conference of the powers interested in the German reparation settlement, embodied in the Young Plan, remained in session at The Hague from

August 6 to August 29. From the very beginning, the conference became the scene of a struggle between the British delegation, headed by Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Philip Snowden, and the delegations of the other powers represented. Mr. Snowden refused, on behalf of the British government, to accept certain provisions of the Young Plan, claiming that the share of reparation annuities assigned to Great Britain was inadequate and that some of the provisions were detrimental to British interests. After long and bitter controversy, the British demands were satisfied in the main, and the first step was taken toward making the Young Plan operative.

Purpose and Composition of the Conference

The Hague conference was convened to make a decision as to the adoption of the Young Plan "for a complete and final settlement of the reparation problem." Connected with the financial problem were certain political questions (including that of the evacuation of the Rhineland) arising out of the decision of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Japan at Geneva on September 16, 1928. The principal delegates to the conference were as follows:

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Henderson, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Graham, President of the Board of Trade; and Sir Eric Phipps, British Minister in Vienna.

FRANCE.—M. Briand, Prime Minister; M. Chéron, Finance Minister; M. Loucheur, Minister of Labour; M. Moreau, Governor of the Bank of France; M. Tirard, High Commissioner in the Rhineland; and General Guillaumat, Commander-in-chief, Army of the Rhine.

GERMANY.—Herr Stresemann, Foreign Minister; Herr Hilferding, Finance Minister; Herr Curtius, Minister for Economic Affairs; Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank; Herr Kasti (with Dr. Schacht a principal German delegate to the Committee of Experts).

BELGIUM.—M. Jaspar, Prime Minister; M. Hymans, Foreign Minister; Baron Houtart, Finance Minister.

ITALY.—Signor Mosconi, Finance Min-

ister; Signor Grandi, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

UNITED STATES.—Mr. Edwin Wilson, First Secretary of the Paris Embassy, attended the conference as an "observer."

Progress of the Conference

Following is a diary of the principal events at the conference:

August 6.—Opening of the Conference. At the first plenary session Mr. Snowden stated the British objections to the Young Plan.

August 7.—The Conference set up two committees—the Political Committee and the Finance Committee. The British members of the latter were Mr. Snowden and Mr. Graham, and Mr. Henderson sat on the Political Committee.

August 8.—Meeting of the Financial Committee. Mr. Snowden reiterated the three British demands. "Upon this matter," he said, "we cannot compromise." He proposed the appointment of a sub-committee to deal with his three points and other questions. M. Chéron, French Finance Minister, rejected Mr. Snowden's proposals.

August 11.—At a meeting of the Financial Committee Mr. Graham stated the British objections to deliveries in kind. M. Chéron replied. Mr. Snowden, in answering the French Minister's speech, said it was high time they came to grips. He could not delay a decision on his resolution very much longer. Mr. MacDonald sent Mr. Snowden a telegram assuring him of the support of Parliament, the Press, and the public, and declaring, "We have reached the limit of inequitable burdenbearing."

August 12.—Financial Committee adjourned for 48 hours to enable the other Powers to explore the possibilities of concessions. Herr Stresemann declared in the Political Committee that German public opinion would not accept the adoption of the Young Plan without immediate evacuation of the Rhineland.

August 16.—First written offer by the Four Powers. This was rejected by Mr. Snowden as "quite inadequate." The British delegation estimated the offer as representing between 20 and 30 per cent of the claims.

August 19.—At a meeting of the Occupying Powers and Germany Mr. Henderson stated

that the withdrawal of British troops from the Rhineland would begin in September.

August 26.—After 48 hours' deliberation, the Four Powers submitted written proposals, which Mr. Snowden had already rejected. They represented 57 per cent of the British claim for £2,400,000. The British delegation replied that the offer was inadequate.

August 27.—At an all-night meeting of the Powers an agreement in principle was reached, securing to Great Britain £2,000,000 of the £2,400,000 demanded, fairer treatment in the distribution of the unconditional part of the annuity, and concessions in regard to deliveries in kind.

British Demands and Their Satisfaction

The demands set forth by Mr. Snowden were divided into three points as follows:

(1) Compensation for the loss in the total amount of distribution under the Young Plan owing to the non-application of existing agreements—namely, the Spa percentages. This loss was put at 48,000,000 marks.

(2) A fairer distribution of the unconditional, mobilizable portion of the payments. Of this portion France obtains under the Young Plan recommendations five-sixths and Great Britain, comparatively speaking, nothing. Great Britain's share under the Spa percentages would be some 120,000,000 marks.

(3) Modifications of the system of deliveries in kind, which hits British trade and unemployment exceptionally hard, especially the re-export of such deliveries, the possibility of their uncontrolled increase in case of a moratorium granted to Germany, and the unfair competition of Reparation coal in the Italian market.

The agreement provides, to meet the claims under (1):

(a) The sum of 100,000,000 marks allocated to Great Britain (from the surplus arising out of the overlapping of the Dawes and Young Plans from April to August, 1929, inclusive) in order to cover her debt payments to the United States for the year 1929-30. This sum is to be paid in cash. In the last offer of the other creditor Powers its annuity value for 37 years was assessed

on the 6½ per cent tables at 7,200,000 marks; and apparently, as on the remaining sum the other Powers are guaranteeing annuities at that rate, the British delegation are accepting the assessment for the general purpose of calculating the total.

(b) The other creditor Powers guarantee annuities to the amount of 28,800,000 marks. This is subject to the consent of Germany abandoning her claim to a say in the distribution of the balance of the surplus remaining after the debt-cover deduction. This balance is estimated at 300,000,000 marks, so that the source of roughly three-quarters of the 28,800,000 marks is clearly indicated. The other quarter, it may be surmised, represents the Italian offer at the beginning of the week to guarantee an annuity of some 7,000,000 marks on the strength of Italy's problematical receipts from the Czechoslovak liabilities under the Liberation Debt of the Austro-Hungarian Succession States, although, under the new arrangement it appears she merely guarantees without indicating her hopes of recovering the money.

The agreement provides, to meet the claims under (2):

(a) That the 36,000,000 marks, being in the form either of capital sums or of guaranteed annuities, should be regarded as equivalent to unconditional receipts.

(b) That Great Britain should receive 18,000,000 marks out of the undistributed surplus of the unconditional annuity arising from the progressive diminution of the Dawes Loan service. This would appear to leave the smaller creditor Powers provided for after all.

(c) Forty-two million marks to be made available by rearranging, subject to the consent of Germany, the annual amount of the unconditional annuity without increasing the aggregate total, in such a way that the amount available for distribution, after meeting the service of the Dawes Loan, should be a fixed sum each year. These sums amount to 96,000,000 marks, out of 120,000,000 marks under (2).

The arrangement to meet the British claims under (3) requires 1,000,000 tons of British coal a year to be purchased by the Italian State Railways for three years.

Rhineland Evacuation

The agreement reached by the Political Committee on the subject of the evacuation of the Rhineland and on other political question was stated as follows in the Committee's report:

The deliberations of the Political Committee were concerned with two subjects: First, the evacuation of the Rhineland and, secondly, the method for dealing with possible difficulties relating to the observance of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles.

As regards the first, the Committee are happy to be able to report that the three Occupying Powers have agreed to begin the process of evacuation during the month of September. The Belgian and British forces will have withdrawn within three months of the date on which operations start, while the French troops will evacuate the Second Zone within the same time limit. The withdrawal of French troops from the Third Zone will be begun immediately after ratification by the French and German Parliaments and the putting into operation of the Young Plan, and the withdrawal will proceed without interruption as rapidly as physical conditions permit, and, in any case, will be completed within a period of eight months and not later than the end of June, 1930.

As regards the second subject, the Political Committee charged with the solution of the questions raised under Paragraph 3 of the Geneva Agreement of September 16, 1928, resolved to recommend to the interested Powers the following resolution:

"In order to facilitate in the common interest a friendly and practical settlement of any difficulty which may arise between Belgium and Germany or between France and Germany concerning the observance of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles (prohibiting Germany from constructing fortifications or maintaining military forces on the left bank of the Rhine or within a line drawn 50 kilometres east of the Rhine), the German, Belgian, and French Governments agree that the task of settling amicably any such difficulty shall be accomplished by the Commissions set up under the Arbitration Agreements concluded at Locarno on October 16, 1925, by Belgium and by France with Germany. These Commissions shall act in conformity with the procedure laid down and

with the rights accruing under the Conventions.

"If any such difficulty should arise it will be submitted, either to the Belgo-German Conciliation Commission or to the Franco-German Conciliation Commission, according to whether the difficulty arises between Belgium and Germany or between France and Germany.

"This agreement does not in any way affect the general provisions applicable in such cases, and, in particular, is subject to the reservation that the powers of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations to make the investigations under Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles remain intact. It is also subject to the understanding that each of the Powers which signed the Treaty concluded at Locarno on October 16, 1925, between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy, retains the right to lay any difficulty at any time before the Council of the League of Nations in conformity with Article 4 of that Treaty."

Further Steps

The work of the Hague conference does not, by any means, exhaust the labor of putting the Young Plan into effect. A number of committees are now in session to complete the task. Three of these committees, dealing with the various aspects of the liquidation of the Reparation Commission, sit in Paris; a committee to prepare the transition from the Dawes Plan to the Young Plan sits in Berlin; and the Committee charged with the preparation of the statutes of the Bank for International Settlements sits in Baden-Baden. After these various committees complete their work, a second Hague conference will be convened for the purpose of officially adopting the results.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

TWO important developments marked Soviet Russia's foreign relations in the past few months. One was the successful outcome of negotiations for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Great Britain. The other was the break with China over the status of the Chinese-

Eastern Railway, which threatened at one time to plunge the two countries into a war.

Inauguration of the First Anglo-Soviet Conference

Following the induction into office of the second Labor government in Great Britain, steps were taken by it to carry out its election pledge to resume diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Established by the first Labor government in 1924, these relations were broken in 1927 by the Conservative government, following a police raid on the offices of the Soviet commercial mission in London. On July 17 the British Government transmitted to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through the Norwegian Minister in Moscow, the following Note:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have carefully considered the existing state of the relations between this country and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and are prepared to re-establish the normal machinery of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the understanding that the reciprocal rights and duties which international law recognizes as incumbent on States in their relations with one another subsist between this country and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. To this end his Majesty's Government invite the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to send a responsible representative to London, in order to discuss with the Foreign Secretary direct the most expeditious procedure for reaching as rapidly as possible a friendly and mutually satisfactory settlement of the outstanding questions between the two countries, including those relating to propaganda and debts.

The reply of the Soviet Government, received on July 24, was as follows:

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics note the communication from the British Government that they are willing to re-establish diplomatic relations with Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the interruption of which was not the consequence of fault or desire of Government of the Union. The Government of the Union

welcome this proposal in the interest of both countries and of the cause of peace. The Government of the Union consider it necessary that there shall be established as soon as possible a lasting agreement regarding disputed questions, and believe that such a lasting agreement can only be attained through both parties being treated as having equal rights and by the maintenance of reciprocal dignity and esteem.

The Government will assume the rights and duties of States in diplomatic relations between themselves as soon as the British Government take upon themselves these rights and duties.

In view of the fact that the Note from the British Government aims at a preliminary exchange of views exclusively regarding the procedure to be followed in subsequent discussion of disputed questions and not at an actual discussion of these questions, and being of the opinion that these deliberations regarding procedure can be concluded in the course of a very short period, the Government are requesting M. Dovgalevsky, plenipotentiary representative of the Union in France, to journey to London for this purpose.

Failure of the First Conference

M. Dovgalevsky arrived in London on July 29 and began conversations with the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Arthur Henderson. The conversations lasted for three days, and on July 31 a break-down of the negotiations was announced from the British Foreign Office. The following official statement was made on that occasion:

The conversations between Mr. Henderson and M. Dovgalevsky, which began on July 29, were resumed yesterday evening (July 30). M. Dovgalevsky returned to Paris this morning (July 31) and the conversations will not be continued for the present.

In his original invitation Mr. Henderson made it clear that it was the desire of his Majesty's Government to resume regular relations with the Government of the U. S. S. R., and that a responsible representative of the latter would be welcomed with a view to discussing the most expeditious procedure for the settlement of outstanding questions, including debts and propa-

ganda. Though the reply of the U. S. S. R. to this invitation was somewhat ambiguous, it was presumed that in offering to send M. Dovgalevsky to London the U. S. S. R. had authorized him to discuss the procedure for settling outstanding questions on the lines proposed by Mr. Henderson.

In their first interview Mr. Henderson explained to M. Dovgalevsky the lines on which his Majesty's Government wished to proceed, that he was anxious to avail himself of the present Parliamentary recess in order to set up the necessary machinery for dealing with such outstanding questions as debts, claims, trade, etc. He felt sure that, with good will on both sides, sufficient progress might be made to enable him on the reassembling of Parliament in October to report what had been achieved, that the principles on which a settlement could be worked out had been defined, and to request authority, even if complete settlements of all outstanding questions had not been reached, for the exchange of fully accredited Ambassadors between the two countries.

M. Dovgalevsky, on instructions from his government, replied that in the view of his government the best method of proceeding was the immediate exchange of Ambassadors, that the Government of the U. S. S. R. could not, at present, accept Mr. Henderson's proposals, and would have to refer them to the next session of the Præsidium of the Central Executive Committee.

His Majesty's Government adhere to their desire to resume normal relations with the U. S. S. R., and take note that the Government of the U. S. S. R. will consider the new proposals of his Majesty's Government at their next session.

Resumption of Negotiations

On September 10, the British Foreign Office dispatched a new Note to Moscow, announcing the readiness of the British Government to resume conversations. The Soviet Government's agreement to new negotiations was given two days later, and on September 24 M. Dovgalevsky and Mr. Henderson met again. This time a satisfactory arrangement was reached, and the following Protocol was signed:

The undersigned, the Right Honorable Arthur Henderson, M. P., his Majesty's Prin-

cipal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and M. Valerian Dovgalevsky, Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the French Republic, having, on instructions from their respective governments, entered into an exchange of views on questions connected with the above-mentioned subject, have reached the following agreement:

1. The following questions shall be settled by negotiation between the two governments:

- (1) Definition of the attitude of both governments towards the treaties of 1924.
- (2) Commercial Treaty and allied questions.
- (3) Claims and counterclaims, inter-governmental and private: debts, claims arising out of intervention and otherwise, and financial questions connected with such claims and counterclaims.
- (4) Fisheries.
- (5) Application of previous treaties and conventions.

2. Negotiations between his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with a view to the settlement of the above-mentioned questions shall take place immediately on the resumption of full diplomatic relations, including the exchange of Ambassadors.

3. The aforesaid negotiations shall be conducted on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the Soviet Ambassador in London, and on behalf of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom by his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

4. The Plenipotentiaries of the two governments shall, if necessary, be assisted by joint Committees, the members of which shall be appointed in equal number by each government from among their nationals, whether officials or not, specially acquainted with the matters under discussion.

5. These experts shall report to each of the Plenipotentiaries on the results reached in their joint examination of the respective questions and on the solution thereof which they suggest.

6. All agreements resulting from the negotiations between the Plenipotentiaries shall

take the form of a treaty or treaties between the two governments.

7. Immediately on the actual exchange of Ambassadors, and not later than the same day as that on which the respective Ambassadors present their credentials, both governments will reciprocally confirm the pledge with regard to propaganda contained in Article 16 of the treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8. Simultaneously with the approval by both governments of the procedure laid down in paragraphs 1-7, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will take the decision to resume normal diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including the exchange of Ambassadors.

9. The steps to be taken, as set out in the preceding paragraphs, including the decision concerning the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, will be brought for approval before Parliament early at the beginning of the next session. Immediately after this question shall have been discussed in Parliament, each of the two governments will take the usual steps for the appointment of their respective Ambassadors.

(Signed) ARTHUR HENDERSON.

(Signed) V. DOVGALEVSKY.

London, Oct. 3, 1929.

Article 16 of the treaty of August 8, 1924, to which reference is made in the Protocol, is as follows:

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

Soviet View of the Agreement

The signing of the Protocol was greeted in Moscow as a victory of the Soviet diplomacy. The official *Izvestia* declared it a "triumph of Soviet firmness and determination." M. Litvinoff, Acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs, issued a public statement, in which he said:

The Soviet Government considered itself justified in expecting that the new British Government, which came into power in June, and which publicly declared its intention to resume relations with the U. S. S. R., which had been severed in 1927 by the Conservative Government, would put this intention into effect by a single act, without any preliminary negotiations between the two governments. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government, complying with the wish of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Henderson, accepted the latter's proposal, stated in his Note of July 17, to send to London a representative to agree on the procedure for the discussion of outstanding questions, which was to take place after the resumption of normal relations. In its reply of July 23 the Union Government emphasized that preliminary negotiations must be restricted exclusively to questions of procedure, avoiding the substance of the controversial questions.

M. Litvinoff added that "of course" the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs could not "even agree to discuss these proposals." He continued:

When Dovgalevsky met Mr. Henderson for the first time in London, he unfortunately was suddenly confronted with proposals such as had not been foreshadowed in the exchange of Notes mentioned above, and which, in fact, had been rejected beforehand in the Union Government's Note. The adoption of these proposals would have conflicted with the position the Union Government has held for years.

When, however, Mr. Henderson in a Geneva interview declared, and later repeated in his official invitation, addressed to the Soviet Government, that he would be willing to meet our representative again to discuss procedure, we accepted the invitation, again emphasizing that conversation on procedure must under no circumstance be converted into a discussion of the questions themselves. Dovgalevsky was given corre-

sponding instructions, to which he strictly adhered throughout the London conversations with Mr. Henderson.

Causes of the Break With China

The break with China was the result of the action on the part of the government of Manchuria in removing the Russian personnel from the administration of the Chinese-Eastern Railroad. Under the terms of the Russo-Chinese agreements of 1924, the railroad was to be jointly administered by the two countries. The Manchurian Government justified its action by the claim that the Russian personnel utilized its position for conducting subversive communist propaganda.

On July 13 the Soviet Government dispatched an ultimatum to China, denying the allegations of propaganda and demanding immediate restoration of the Russian personnel. The Chinese countered with an offer to negotiate and conversations were begun. In the meantime, however, both sides concentrated military forces at the Russo-Manchurian frontier, and while no real military operations have taken place, there have been several armed clashes.

First Step in the Negotiations

The first important step in the negotiations between Russia and China was taken on July 22, when Tsai Yun-sen, the Chinese Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, called on the M. Melnikoff, the Soviet Consul at Harbin, and made to him the following proposals:

1. The arrested Soviet employees in China to be released.

2. The Soviet Government to appoint a manager and an assistant to represent its interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway.

3. A conference of plenipotentiaries of both countries to be called to regulate as speedily as possible the controversy over the Chinese Eastern Railway.

4. The Soviet Government to have the right to declare that it does not recognize the order established since the dispute, and that this order shall have no standing in future negotiations.

5. If these proposals be accepted by the Soviet Government Chang Hsueh-liang to re-

quest the ratification of the Nanking Government.

While these proposals were considered at Moscow, Chang Hsueh-liang, the ruler of Manchuria, addressed a letter to M. Karakhan, the Soviet Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, in which he offered the following terms of settlement:

1. The Chinese and Soviet Governments should each appoint a representative for the purpose of convening a conference on the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute.

2. The existing situation with regard to the railway be considered temporary and subject to regulation after the conference, on the basis of the Peking and Mukden agreements.

3. Arrested U. S. S. R. citizens in China be released and deported to Soviet territory, while the Chinese arrested in the U. S. S. R. be also released.

In reply to Chang's letter, Karakhan stated that his terms were so different from Tsai-sen's proposal that the Soviet Government considered them as "disrupting the settlement of the dispute."

Negotiations With Germany As Intermediary

The next attempt at negotiations was made not directly, but through the intermediary of Germany, which, at the beginning of the controversy, was requested by Russia to protect her interest in China and by China to protect hers in Russia. On August 28 Dr. von Dirksen, the German Ambassador in Moscow, visited Litvinoff and stated that on August 27 the Chinese Legation in Berlin requested the German Foreign Office to hand to the Soviet Government the text of a declaration which the Chinese and Soviet Governments might sign as a preliminary to direct negotiation of details of an agreement. The declaration was in the English language and consisted of four short paragraphs:

1. Both parties agree to settle all disputed questions according to the agreement of 1924, "especially conditions for the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway in accordance with Article 9 of the Peking Agreement." Both parties are immediately to appoint representatives to confer on the disputed questions.

2. Both parties consider it necessary by means of this conference to change the conditions consequent on the railway conflict according to the Peking-Mukden Agreement of 1924.

3. The Soviet Government will recommend a new manager and assistant manager for the railway whom the directorate of the railway will then appoint. The Soviet Government instructs its own nationals employed by the railway strictly to observe Article 6 of the Agreement of 1924.

4. Both parties are immediately to release all persons arrested since May 1, 1929.

On August 29 Litvinoff handed to the German Ambassador his reply, in which he agreed to the joint declaration with a slight alteration. Litvinoff in his draft deleted "new" from the third paragraph, and inserted "immediately" after "appoint." He also asked that the Chinese Government should instruct local authorities and organizations to observe Article 6 of the 1924 agreement (enjoining abstention from propaganda).

Litvinoff informed the German Ambassador that the Soviet Government saw no reason to recommend a new manager and assistant manager in the place of those dismissed, who had carried out their duties strictly in accordance with the agreement, but if the Chinese Government would appoint a new chairman of the directorate instead of the present chairman, who had caused a breach of the agreement, the Foreign Commissariat would recommend the Soviet Government to consider the new appointments at the time of signing the joint declaration.

Following Litvinoff's reply, there was a lull in negotiations, and up to the time of this writing no new steps have been taken toward a further development of negotiations.

"KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA"

WITH the same suddenness with which he had proclaimed his dictatorship last January, King Alexander announced, on October 3, a far-reaching administrative reorganization of his kingdom. Henceforth, the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State, created after the war, will be

known officially as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Instead of its historic divisions, the names of the three most important of which had been incorporated in the official designation of the country, the Kingdom will now be divided into nine provinces for purposes of administration.

Details of the New Organization

The following official communique gives the details of the new administrative organization of Yugoslavia:

To-night (October 3) the Prime Minister informed the Cabinet of the decision to bring in a law on the name and the administrative division of the country. The Kingdom is now officially to be called the "Kingdom of Yugoslavia." It will consist of nine *banovinas* (counties). Their names will be the Drava (with Ljubljana as county town); the Sava (Zagreb); the Vrbas (Banyaueka); the Maritime (Split); the Drina (Serajevo); the Zeta (Cetinje); the Danube (Novi Sad); the Marava (Nish); and the Vardar (Skopje).

Belgrade will form a special administrative unit. A Governor will be at the head of each of these counties. The law will provide for decentralization of the administration, and wide powers will be given to the Governors, who will work independently, and only under the supervision of the Minister concerned.

This law will be in force in two months time, when the Governors will be appointed from among a number of ex-Ministers. Each Governor will have a Deputy Governor, who will be appointed from among the ex-Zupans. The work of the Ministries of Trade, Public Works, and Social Welfare will be transferred to the Governors in their respective counties.

This new administrative division of Yugoslavia will be made on the lines of the existing military divisions of the country, which are based on geographical situation and communications.

The most interesting feature of the new administrative division is the disruption and reunion of different parts of former provinces. Dalamatia, for instance, has been cut in two, one part being added to the former Croatia and the other to parts of the former Herzegovina and Bosnia. Bosnia has ceased to exist and is cut into

many pieces. The province of Slovenia has been left as it was.

Disappointed Hopes

Ever since the proclaiming of the royal dictatorship, speculation has been rife in Yugoslavia as to the manner in which the administration of the country would be reorganized. The Croats, particularly, whose bitter conflict with the Serbs had brought on the abrogation of the post-war Constitution and of the parliamentary system, had been hoping for the establishment of local autonomy for the traditionally distinct units within the kingdom. The King's action, while it has relieved suspense, has disappointed many hopes.

The new law shows clearly the aim toward which the King is working systematically. The change of the official title of the State to "Kingdom of Yugoslavia" and the deliberate, almost brutal, disregard in the new law of all the historic boundaries between the different provinces of the country prove that he hopes to wipe out all distinctions between the different branches of the nation, and on the other hand that he has no idea of granting local autonomy to provinces with a special character of their own. The nation is to be fused into one; there are to be no Serbs or Croats or Slovenes or Bosniaks or Dalmatians or Macedonians; only Yugoslavs.

ACCENTUATION OF FASCISM

RECENT changes in certain phases of the structural organization of the Fascist régime have given rise to statements that Mussolini is contemplating a normalization of the political system in Italy by a return to more or less accepted forms of parliamentary government. Steps toward the absorption of the Fascist militia in the general armed forces of the State have been taken as evidence of a movement in the direction of a self-suppression of the Fascist Party. Recent ministerial changes, leading to Mussolini's giving up seven out of the nine portfolios held by him, have been cited as even clearer indications of the trend of affairs. The Italian dictator has not been slow,

however, in demolishing these views. In a speech delivered by him on September 14 before the National Fascist Assembly, he characterized unequivocally the trend of development in the Fascist movement as one of "accentuation," rather than weakening, of Fascism.

Mussolini's Resignations

On September 12, the dictator announced his resignation of the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Corporations, Public Works, Colonies, War, Marine, and Aviation. He retains the posts of Prime Minister and of Minister of the Interior.

In allocating the vacant portfolios Mussolini followed the plan of promoting the previous Under-Secretaries. Thus Signor Grandi became Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Balbo became Minister of Aviation; Signor Bianchi, Minister of Public Works; Signor Bottai, Minister of Corporations; General de Bono, Minister of the Colonies; General Gazzera, Minister of War; and Admiral Sirianni, Minister of Marine.

The *communiqué* issued on September 12 also announced changes in other government positions. Signor Martelli left his post as Minister of National Economy. This Ministry, which is henceforth to be called the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, was assigned to Signor Giacomo Acerbo. A special Under-Secretary is to be attached to the Ministry to be responsible for the application of the Law of Land Reclamation, and this post will be filled by Signor Arrigo Serpieri. Similarly, the Ministry of Public Instruction is to be called the Ministry of National Education. Signor Belluzzo, the former Minister, was replaced by Professor Balbino Giuliano. Signor Renato Ricci is to be attached to the Ministry as special Under-Secretary for physical and youth training.

These all-round promotions made vacant several Under-Secretaryships. The most important appointments perhaps were those of Signor Amedeo Fani as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Signor Alessandro Lessona as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Professor Salvatore di Marzo for Education, and Signor Leandro Arpinati as Under-

Secretary for the Interior. Three of the new Ministers—General Balbo, Signor Bianchi, and General de Bono—were among the Quadrumvirate of the March on Rome; of the other Ministers two, Signor Grandi and Signor Bottai, are only 35 years of age.

Future of the Fascist Party

In his speech before the National Fascist Assembly, Mussolini discussed the Ministerial changes, characterizing them as a "distinct Fascist accentuation." The change in the name of the Ministry of Education was meant as an indication that the State has "not only the right, but the duty to educate the people," and not merely to instruct them. The most salient feature of the change is, however, said the Duce, his renunciation of the "Military Ministries," which he had held for four years of intense work. The "spiritual unification" of the armed forces had in so far as was possible been achieved, while measures in course of preparation would bring the National Militia under his direct control together with the Coun-

cil of State, the Accounts Court, the Treasury, the Bar, and the Police.

Turning to the question of the future of the Fascist Party, Mussolini declared that the self-suppression which has been talked of in some quarters would be "grotesque and ridiculous," and said that those who had advocated this "insensate hypothesis" must have done so out of lack of comprehension, out of perfidy, or for motives of revenge. "If the party did not exist," said Signor Mussolini, "I should invent it exactly as it is to-day . . . numerous, disciplined, ardent, and with a rigidly structural hierarchy." The question, however, said the Duce, "is to place the party in the State." The party, as he had said in his circular to the Prefects, "is only a civil and voluntary force at the orders of the State." It exercises not authority so much as an "apostolate." It is the party which gives to the authority of the State "voluntary consent and the incalculable contribution of a faith." "For dualism of authority and hierarchy," affirmed the Duce, "has disappeared."

WORLD COURT FORMULA APPROVED

By SENATOR CLAUDE A. SWANSON, OF VIRGINIA

(Senator Swanson is a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.)

IT IS evident that there is a wide interest in the so-called Root formula providing for the adherence of the United States to the protocol of the statute of the World Court. I was the author of the resolution which passed the Senate in 1926 which provided for the adherence of the United States to the World Court upon certain conditions and reservations. This resolution, including the reservations, was very fully debated in the Senate and finally approved by a vote of 76 to 17. I shall discuss these reservations and present wherein the Root formula differs.

The statute of the World Court provides for compulsory jurisdiction in certain specified disputes, which jurisdiction can be accepted by states when adhering to the statute. Many states have accepted com-

pulsory jurisdiction. Compulsory jurisdiction, when accepted by a state, enables the court to summons that state to answer a complaint by another state. When a state adheres to the statute of the court it may do so by only giving the court voluntary jurisdiction which prohibits the court from summoning that nation before the court, and it can only have jurisdiction in such matters as the state consents for the court to hear.

Voluntary Jurisdiction

The Senate of the United States, when it passed the resolution of adherence, accepted only voluntary jurisdiction which limits the court to hearing and determining only such matters as the United States may agree shall be referred to the

court. This voluntary jurisdiction is not in the least modified by the Root formula—under it the court would have jurisdiction only of such matters as the United States should consent to have brought before it.

The resolution passed by the Senate of the United States also provides that recourse to the court for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other state or states can only be had by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute. This is similar to the provision contained in the resolution of adherence to the convention establishing the Court of Arbitration at the Hague in 1907. The Root formula continues this provision without any modification whatsoever. Thus under the Root formula, as under the original resolution, all cases that go to the World Court in which the United States is interested must be by general or special treaty made by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the consent of the Senate when given to either a general or special treaty must be by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting. Every right and interest of the United States is fully and completely protected as required by the Federal Constitution.

Doubts Relieved

The next reservation to be considered is the one declaring that adherence to the World Court shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States with the League of Nations or assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Treaty of Versailles. This reservation was not necessary as the World Court has a statute, assented to by 48 nations, absolutely distinct from the statute creating the League of Nations which has been assented to by 58 nations. The World Court is controlled by its own statute, adopted separately and independently and derives no authority from the statute creating the League of Nations. The League cannot in any way modify or amend the statute of the court. This provision was included to allay the apprehension entertained by some and the clamor sought to be created by opponents of the court, who argued

that adherence to the court would mean entrance into the League. This reservation relieves all doubts and completely answers the charges. The Root formula does not in any way modify this reservation.

The next reservation permits the United States to participate, through representatives designated for the purpose, upon an equality with other state members respectively of the Council and Assembly of the League, in any and all proceedings of either Council or Assembly for the selection of judges or deputy judges of the court, or for the filling of vacancies. The Root formula does not in any way interfere with this reservation.

Participation in Expense

The next reservation to be considered is the one providing that the United States shall pay a fair share of the expenses of the court as determined and appropriated for from time to time by the Congress of the United States. It should be noted that this reservation provides that the amount to be paid by the United States shall be determined and appropriated by the Congress. Therefore, Congress determines the expenses to be incurred by the United States as her share of the expense of the court. The Root formula does not in any way interfere with this reservation.

The next reservation to be considered is that which provides that the United States may at any time withdraw from adherence to the court and that the statute creating the court shall not be amended without the consent of the United States. The statute of the court being a treaty, the United States by a joint resolution of Congress may at any time withdraw her adherence. The Supreme Court has held that a joint resolution of Congress repeals a treaty or convention that had previously been ratified. The Root formula does not in any way modify this reservation.

Avoiding Controversy

It was believed that since the United States gave her adherence to the existing statute of the court, it was wise to reserve the right that the statute could not be amended without her consent, and thus

avoid any controversy in the future upon this question. This also relieves the apprehension that some entertain that the court in the future might become different from the one to which the United States gave her adherence. This provision completely eliminates this foreboding and gives full assurance that the court cannot be changed without our consent. The Root formula does not in any way modify this provision.

The resolution of adherence contains a declaration of policy upon the part of the United States which does not in any way affect the statute of the court, or require the assent of other nations. This declaration of policy emphasizes that the United States in adhering to the court should not be construed in any way as an abandonment of its foreign policy, generally known as the Monroe Doctrine. This declaration clearly emphasizes the fact that the United States would not, at this time or at any time, abandon its long-cherished foreign policy known as the Monroe Doctrine, and relieves all apprehension that this well known American policy has been in any way jeopardized or altered by adherence to the World Court. The Root formula does not in any way modify this declaration contained in the Senate resolution.

In Thorough Accord

Thus upon all these important matters the Root formula is in thorough accord with the reservations contained in the Senate resolution of adherence.

I will now consider the fifth reservation in the resolution of adherence and compare it with the Root formula and point out the differences between the two.

The fifth reservation, which has been the subject of much discussion, relates to advisory opinions which the court may give when requested to do so by the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations upon any specific matter or question. The rendering of advisory opinions is optional with the court. Since the Council or Assembly of the League alone has the right to ask the court for an advisory opinion, it was thought but right that the United States, when it adhered to the court, should have the same right and protection possessed by nations that were members of

the League. Reservation 5 was prepared to accomplish this purpose and give this equality of right and protection to the United States. This reservation is as follows:

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

Difficult Question

The most difficult question to solve in providing for the adherence of the United States to the statute of the World Court upon an absolute equality with other nations was that relating to advisory opinions. As previously stated, all requests for advisory opinions were confined to the Council or Assembly of the League. As the United States was not a member of the League, this presented a most difficult problem for solution. The solution was provided for in the latter part of reservation 5. This reservation was addressed to the jurisdiction of the court by its terms and so intended. It would prohibit the court from entertaining any request for an advisory opinion upon any matter in which the United States was interested or claimed an interest. It gave a veto power on the part of the United States to any request to the court for an advisory opinion on any matter in which the United States was interested. If the United States appeared before the court and claimed an interest and would not consent to an advisory opinion, the jurisdiction of the court to render an advisory opinion ceased. It was believed that this reservation was necessary in order to place the United States on an equality before the court with other nations that were members of the League.

Equal Rating Desired

It was believed that in asking for an advisory opinion the Council or Assembly could only act by a unanimous vote. Hence the veto of the United States for

an advisory opinion was only equal to that possessed by the nations that are members of the League. But there are those who insist that the League in asking for an advisory opinion is only exercising methods of procedure which, under the terms of the League, require only a majority vote. The court has not passed upon the question whether the request must be by a majority or unanimous vote of the Council or Assembly. If the court should decide it requires a unanimous vote the veto of the United States would be effective, since the Root formula provides:

"There shall be attributed to an objection of the United States the same force and effect as attaches to a vote against asking for the opinion given by a member of the League of Nations in the Council or in the Assembly."

Thus the Root formula gives the United States equality in this respect to that possessed by members of the League, whether the court decides it requires a majority or a unanimous vote of the Council or Assembly. But reservation 5 was intended to protect the United States, even if the court should decide that a majority of the Council or Assembly could request an advisory opinion.

States' Consent Needed

Under the statute of the World Court, in order for it to obtain jurisdiction and render judgment, it must have the consent of the states that are litigants. No state can be haled before the court without its consent given either voluntarily or by the acceptance of the court's compulsory jurisdiction. In either case the consent of the state must be obtained. The same principle should apply to advisory opinions. All members of the League that have adopted the Covenant of the League consented that the Council or Assembly could act as their agents in requesting an advisory opinion. The Council or Assembly as agents created by nations that are members of the League could ask or refuse to ask for an advisory opinion. All that reservation 5 gives to the United States is that the United States as principal acting for itself should have the same power as members of the League

had conferred on their agent, namely the Council or Assembly. In this respect there seems to me an equality of right. But the nations refused to give the absolute veto power to the United States upon requests for advisory opinions. They were apprehensive this power might be abused and would interfere with the valuable work of the Court in connection with advisory opinions. Many nations belonging to both Court and League felt this would be a dangerous power to give any nation. A solution was sought by Mr. Root whereby all the rights and interests of the United States could be fully protected and other nations be relieved of any apprehension of danger in giving the United States veto power in connection with advisory opinions.

Solution Presented

The so-called Root formula presents as a solution of this question the following:

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

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

for a period sufficient to enable such an exchange of views between the Council or the Assembly and the United States to take place. * * *

Withdrawal Automatic

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

An analysis of the Root formula shows that it provides:

First—That the United States shall be notified of any proposal before the Council or Assembly for obtaining an advisory opinion from the Court.

Second—That there shall be an exchange of notes between the Council or Assembly and the United States as to whether it has an interest in the proposed advisory opinion.

Third—That whenever a request for an advisory opinion comes to the court the registrar of the court shall notify the United States thereof, fixing a reasonable time limit in which a written statement from the United States concerning the request will be received.

Postponement Provided

Fourth—If for any reason no sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views upon such request should have been afforded and the United States advises the court that the question upon which the opinion of the court is asked is one that affects the interests of the United States, proceeding shall be stayed for a period sufficient to enable such exchange of views between the Council or Assembly and the United States to take place.

Fifth—It provides if after this exchange of views no agreement is reached and the United States is not prepared to forego its objections, then the United States may withdraw without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to co-operate generally for peace and good will.

Thus under the Root formula the court can render no advisory opinion without the consent of the United States and require the United States to continue a member of the court. Under the Root formula the United States is given the option of making reservation five of the Senate resolution operative or else promptly withdrawing its adherence to the court. The United States will have the full protection of reservation five so long as it is a member of the court and when this ceases the United States can immediately withdraw. Thus no detriment can possibly accrue to the United States by adhering to the court under the Root formula.

Necessary for Protection

I do not believe an advisory opinion will ever be rendered by the court over the protest of the United States. I believe the fifth reservation is necessary for the proper protection of the United States and when it is ignored by the court it is time for the United States to exercise its right of withdrawal. It would not do for the United States to continue a member of the court and have an advisory opinion rendered without its consent and not abide by the opinion. The Root formula relieves the United States from such embarrassment. I believe it will be effective and make operative the fifth reservation, but if it develops that it does not, the United States can and should promptly withdraw from the court.

I can see no danger that can come to the United States by adhering to the court under the Root formula. I believe the United States should join the World Court, as it is the only organized court for the settlement of international differences. The decisions and work of the court have been of such high character as to command the respect of all, and it has become a most potential factor for world peace. The Kellogg pact outlawing war makes a World Court indispensable for us and other nations to hear and settle international disputes which will inevitably arise. Without such a court, the Kellogg peace pact will become a failure, and practically all disarmament and peace conferences futile.

ARMISTICE DAY

By WILLIAM FORTUNE

President of the American Peace Society

President Fortune delivered the Armistice Day address in his home city of Indianapolis, November 11. The impressive exercises were under the auspices of the American Legion, and almost within the shadow of the national headquarters of that body. Many of the national officers of the Legion attended. Among those in the reviewing stand for the parade that preceded the address was Major-General D. E. Nolan, commanding officer of the fifth army corps area, and head of our Intelligence Service during the war. President Fortune's address follows in full text.

ELEVEN years ago this morning, along a front where foe faced foe and where the mightiest engines of destruction roared defiance at each other, there came an order—and all was still. Anticipated though it was, the end was startling and dramatic in its suddenness, in its power to transform men from agencies of death to normal human beings who again drew the breath of life without the feeling that death lurked near. That order was expressed in two words—"cease firing!"—and those of you who were at the battle front obeyed; not only because you were soldiers used to discipline, but as well by reason of the fact that you and the rest of the world were weary of war.

The Unfinished Task

On this anniversary of proclaimed peace, I greet you today and congratulate you again; not only upon your notable achievements as members of the American forces at home and abroad, but also upon the virility of your patriotic idealism as expressed in the magnificent organization of which you are a part. We stand here today, in sight of an unfinished shrine, in process of erection to the memory of your comrades who answered the call and who never returned. We may look upon that unfinished edifice as symbolical. The work of your dead comrades also was unfinished when they fell. The torch you grasped from unfeeling hands to hold aloft through the succeeding years was reflected in their sightless eyes. You saw ahead where they ceased to see, and the determination became more firmly fixed with you that never again should you or your children, or your children's children, be required to pour out life's blood upon a field of carnage to bring

about a settlement that could have been concluded better by men meeting in fairness and justice around a council table.

There has not always been agreement as to how this end might best be achieved. Even while extremists have not differed about the goal, there have been various and devious routes suggested as to the most advantageous way to reach it.

The world has striven these eleven years since the armies ceased firing, to find a basis of mutual understanding. When the armistice came it found hatred and the demand for revenge. Little by little vision cleared. Hearts were cleansed of hatred and the desire for revenge against peoples who had been misled, became fainter with each succeeding year. It was agreed that those who had provoked the havoc should bear the brunt of its cost; but as the victors went back to peaceful pursuits they discovered that the black trail of disaster follows victory no less than it follows defeat. The cost in men and misery no human mind can compute; and thus we have been more eager, during the succeeding decade, to resolve that it must never happen again.

If it should happen again it will surpass in horror anything that has ever blighted the world or that can be conceived. Progress in the mechanical, chemical and physical sciences will make it different from anything we have known. We have visions of whole cities and millions of lives snuffed out with gigantic explosives and suffocating gas dropped from the clouds, and yet the desire for peace should have a stronger motive than fear. I like to believe that our altruistic aims and yearnings are sufficient for the establishment of it. Peace has ever been an ideal of religions and has been the highest

hope of mankind since the Messiah came on earth.

As Americans we have told the world again and again that we cherish no imperialistic ambitions, that we covet the friendship of other nations near and far, that we believe in fairness, equity and justice between governments as well as between men and that guided by these principles we were ready, yes eager, to go forward along the paths of peace, if those to whom we addressed our sentiments were willing to meet us upon equally high ground.

The New Hope

The last two years have witnessed greater progress toward the goal than has been made previously in the history of mankind. We may with great confidence and courage press forward, with certainty that the goal is not beyond reach.

All the civilized nations of the world have made solemn agreement to abandon war as the instrument they shall use in the settlement of their differences, and to employ only peaceful means. Until now, war has been an accepted institution. Now, very deliberately, we renounce it forever. It is now illegal; as much so as piracy.

The Central Principle

But, we have, by no means, completed the task. We are yet far from the goal of permanent peace. We have yet to ascertain and develop the peaceful methods that nations shall use in adjusting their differences. That calls for the sanest, most practical thought of which we are capable. Through it all, one principle will stand out, and that is the principle of justice. It is the great principle which the American Peace Society has advocated for more than a century, in its belief that only peace based on justice will be enduring. The working methods by which justice may be achieved are now the concern of the American Peace Society and every other group of earnest, practical-minded seekers after peace.

Practical Problems

There is yet another angle to the problem. If our pledge to renounce war

means what it says, the time has come to be serious about decreasing the burden of armaments. It has not been long since we were reminded by President Hoover that it is significant that none of our great Presidents was either pacifist or militarist. This is not a time for extremists of either belief. They have both in the past hindered the coming of permanent peace. Fortunately, our governmental leaders are working on the problem from neither standpoint. There is a middle ground where peace will more likely be found, with clear understanding of the practical problems involved. Thinking of disarmament, independently of an extremist point of view, it is natural to conclude that, if there is to be no more of warfare, nations can come to honorable agreement for lessening the burden of armaments. We have just witnessed the start of a great forward step in this direction in the visit of the British Prime Minister to talk, in a practical way, with our President about naval disarmament.

We have learned some of the practical problems that are involved. A year ago, President Coolidge, in a message addressed to the American Legion, reminded the world of some of the problems of America—our long coastlines, our lack of fueling stations, our obligation by international treaty to protect the Panama canal, and various factors which do not confront other countries.

In an appeal a few weeks ago that was carried by radio to every nook and corner of our country, Premier MacDonald pleaded with us to be patient with the British people for, as he said, they live by the sea, their possessions are far flung and they have placed reliance in their navy for centuries past. Consequently, any reduction of naval strength on the part of Great Britain must come, he concluded, only after England and her colonies have prepared public opinion to support such a step. If there is necessity for the English mind to agree to further reductions of armament on the part of Great Britain before any such project can hope to be concluded, so is there necessity for a similar forming of public opinion in our own country. Happily for all of us the minds of American citizens seem

to be turning in that direction because they yearn for honorable peace.

Establishing Security

We live with an unguarded boundary line between us and the Canadian people and there is no fear or feeling of alarm on either side of the border. That trust and confidence has been built upon a foundation of fair dealing, friendliness and understanding. We speak the same language, and that may have more to do with our ability to understand and trust each other than we realize. With Canada and the United States as examples of what can be done between nations, we look forward to the day when every border will dismiss its guards, dismantle its forts and have no need for armed display.

We know not when that day shall come, but we approach closer to it month after month and year after year. We are nearer to it now than when the allied command gave the order to cease firing. The civilized world has agreed to many peaceful commitments since then, and as time goes on it will agree to more; but as we tread the path that leads to peace we must realize that nations are collections of individuals and, as individuals think and act, so do the nations to which they belong. We know that the time has not yet come when we can live in our cities and towns and in our rural districts without protection. In our schools and churches, through the press and countless other earnest agencies we preach the doctrine of obedience to law, respect for life and property, and yet we prepare to cope with those who do not accept such teachings. In short, we must maintain police departments and other establishments in an effort to have the peace kept, to awe into submission those who would break it, to apprehend and bring to justice those who trample the law and the rights of society under foot. All this we must have as individuals, living in what we are fond of calling peaceful communities. If that need exists in our domestic relations the force of similar restraints between nations becomes all the more emphatic.

The physical act of disarmament is but child's play compared to the gigantic task of mental preparation for such a happy

day. And yet we do not grow faint-hearted or fear that day will never come. Rather do we press forward to it, more confident than ever, more hopeful of results, with greater certainty of an epoch when peace will reign triumphant throughout the world.

In making such an approach we must keep an open mind. We must phrase our own proposals and the arguments to support them in such manner that the justice of our pleas will be evident and their sincerity never doubted. We must prepare to bring the same mental attitude to bear upon the suggestions that come to us from the other governments of the world. We must come, finally, to the realization that another great war is unthinkable, that if justice can be had with honor as between individuals so is it possible for equitable settlements to be made between nations. As the needs for an international police force become less apparent, that force we call our army and our navy will diminish; but until then we must accept the situation for what it is, rather than as our hearts desire it.

Soldiers War to End War

You men went to war not because of lust for blood, but because your country had been attacked. Every honorable and peaceful means to avoid or postpone such an eventuality was utilized without avail; and, finally, the time came when you were asked to forsake your homes and loved ones, cross the seas and enter a conflict unlike any the world had ever known, for this was the war to end war. And so you went to battle for a peace that would endure, a peace that would banish forever from the minds of men the thought of war.

We realize today that words are inadequate to express the debt of gratitude we owe to those comrades of yours who never returned. Their valor and their sacrifice will live while men have memories and the glory of their service shall never become dim. Therefore, it is for us, the living, to resolve that those patriots and heroes of America who died for their country did not die in vain. If they gave their lives for a principle it is our solemn duty to uphold it, to keep it con-

stantly before our eyes and to strive wholeheartedly for its enduring triumph.

This is not a day to glorify and exalt war, but to commemorate the end of it. Eleven years ago today there came a peace

that we believe it is our duty to perpetuate, and we must not falter. We can and shall have peace on earth, my friends, when and where there is good will to men.

THEODORE E. BURTON

By Bishop William F. McDowell*

"The genuine statesman will be tested also by the size of the issues he makes supreme in his public service, the size of the purposes he steadfastly sets before him, the kind of relationships which he selects and cherishes for his life. A younger Senator said to me the other day: 'It is easier to take a large view, harder to take a small one, easier to go right, harder to go wrong in the consideration of public questions when Senator Burton is around.' . . .

"Take the single matter of world peace to which Senator Burton gave early and prolonged study and devotion. Even as this man, twice president of the American Peace Society, slips out of our sight the Prime Minister of Great Britain sails from our shores after a significant visit to the President in the interest of the new day, the day of reason and good will instead of hate and war. As he sails he sends back to this Senator a message of good will and solicitude as to one like-minded with himself in the high purpose that brought Mr. Ramsay MacDonald here. . . .

"It is interesting to speculate upon what Senator Burton might easily or naturally have been if he had wholly given himself to other lines than those to which he has devoted his life since this city sent him to Congress four decades ago. Had he con-

tinued to be a college professor he would have attained distinction as an educator. Had he given himself to the practice of law he could easily have come to eminence at the bar or on the bench. Had he given himself to banking he would surely have been a captain of finance. He might readily have accepted the proffered Secretaryship of the Treasury, and he would have adorned the Secretaryship of State or shone as two other Clevelanders, John Hay and Myron Herrick, have recently done as ambassadors to friendly nations, and he was wholly worthy of and equal to the presidency itself. He represented the Christian scholar in public life at the highest level. It is one of the proofs of real greatness that it does not exhaust itself in its occupations but is always in itself larger than the things it actually does. . . .

"And if you ask me the words that came to my lips when the end came I will repeat them. They had been spoken to me of him by one who knew and honored him. 'Senator Burton had clean hands and a pure heart; he has not lifted up his soul unto vanity nor sworn deceitfully. He naturally ascends into the hill of the Lord.' And we may use these words concerning him this October afternoon, here and on yonder holy hill, commanding the sleepless lake."

* Extracts from the Bishop's funeral sermon, preached in Cleveland, Ohio, October 31, 1929.

THE SITUATION IN CHINA

By THE RED CROSS COMMISSION

The most comprehensive statement of the conditions in China is the report of the American Red Cross Commission to China. The committee consisted of Ernest P. Bicknell, Chairman; William M. Baxter, Jr.; and Ernest J. Swift, Secretary. The report was adopted by the central committee of the American National Red Cross, September 27. The full text of the report follows:

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS COMMISSION TO CHINA

CONDITIONS existing in China today do not conform to the popular American conception of the term "famine." The average person is inclined to think of famine as a situation in which there is little or no food to be had, and in which rich and poor alike face starvation. Famine of this character does not now exist in China; nor is it probable that this condition has ever obtained on any large scale, yet throughout Chinese history we find the ever present record of "famine."

In many countries, the crop failures now occurring in China would not result in famine, for probably in no other part of the world are so many people living so close to the border of starvation. It is estimated in an official publication of the United States Department of Commerce that 80 per cent of the population, or 340,000,000 people, are engaged in agricultural pursuits. Relatively few, from year to year, produce more than they require for themselves and families, and little is built up in the way of reserves of cash or food supplies. With this lack of economic margin, it is inevitable that large numbers should fall below the existence level when any cause brings about a shortage of food. The poor, falling quickly below this level, starve in large numbers; the middle class survive or starve, dependent upon the duration and severity of the food storage, while the well-to-do seldom suffer except from an economic standpoint.

Famine Defined

What then is famine? In failing clearly to distinguish between the tre-

mendous volume of destitution which is everywhere apparent and a "famine" such as has been the subject of appeals to American sympathy during 1928 and 1929 much confusion has resulted. In the China famine of 1920-21 this confusion led to the adoption by the China International Famine Relief Commission of the following definition of famine:

"Famine is a failure of food supply due primarily to natural causes."

This definition has been widely accepted in China. It may not be sufficiently comprehensive to be fully accurate but it serves the essential purpose of drawing a line between the destitution constantly and everywhere present and the recurring instances of more concentrated areas of distress in which failing harvests are a principal factor.

Investigation by philanthropic bodies in China in 1928 seemed to indicate that while crop deficiency was the immediate precipitating cause of the severe privation in a number of provinces, the distress could not be classified as a "famine" under the accepted definition, because it was evident that the failure of food supply was not primarily due to natural causes. Since there was no reasonable doubt, however, that much suffering existed in the districts in which crops had failed, the agencies which were collecting and distributing American relief discarded the famine definition previously established. At once they found themselves adrift upon the shoreless sea of China's poverty. Estimates of the extent and intensity of the famine, thus unrestricted, leaped to bewildering figures. They ran from a minimum of 10,000,000 persons to a maximum of 65,000,000. Anybody's guess was as good as another's and there is no reason to doubt that the volume of destitution in the affected provinces was as great as was indicated by the highest estimate.

It soon became evident that the American people were reluctant to assume the tremendous burden being urged upon them. In this contingency the American agency engaged in collecting the relief

fund, requested a group of Americans resident in China and well known for their public spirit and their knowledge of Chinese affairs to serve as an Advisory Committee in Peiping. This Committee recommended promptly an immediate return to the definition of famine as a failure of food supply due primarily to natural causes. The American organization accepted the recommendation and reduced the basis of its appeal to the number of famine sufferers suggested by the Advisory Committee, namely, 4,000,000.

Causes of the Present Situation

It will be seen that the point here lies in the attempt to bring America's task within measurable limits rather than to prove that the amount of distress in China had been overestimated. But the discussion must be carried further if we are to reach basic facts. If natural causes did not account for the "famine" of 1928-1929, what were the responsible causes? They may be enumerated briefly:

First: For years China has been in a state of political and economic disorder. Ambitious war lords, recruiting their own armies, have operated in almost every province. As these armies have been lawless organizations without official support or control, they have lived upon the country in which they have moved. The cities have paid high tribute; the country districts have been stripped ruthlessly of grain, of live stock, of carts, of farming implements. Surplus grain saved against time of drought or for seed for the next harvest has been seized. Scores of armies including millions of men have marched and countermarched across the country, or have settled down during the periods of inaction to fatten upon the half starved farming population.

Second: The military leaders have seized railways, monopolized their engines and cars, destroyed tracks and bridges in order to hamper opposing forces. They have thus prevented the normal movement of commerce. Grain and other essentials to life could not be sent into the interior provinces which had suffered most seriously from the military depredations. To this day hundreds of engines

and thousands of cars belonging to China's several railways are held rusting and rotting in Manchuria by the military head of that region, who fears that if he releases them to the railroads to which they legally belong, they will fall into the hands of his enemies. It is quite possible that this fear is well grounded. Meantime the business of the country is crippled and shipment of grain to the famine areas is but a fraction of the quantity necessary. On August 15, this Commission observed hundreds of tons of grain lying unprotected upon the railway platform at the station of Feng Tai, the junction point from which grain goes forward toward the famine regions of Shansi, Shensi and Suiyuan. Frequent rains were rapidly destroying this grain, while the bags were rotting and bursting. At the same time relief agencies were urgently appealing to the railway authorities for cars with which to convey grain to the famine sufferers.

For a few months no active military operations have been in progress; the armies are chiefly lying quiet awaiting the turn of events. The Nationalist government is in the ascendant and is laying plans for disbandment, but in August, 1929, little visible progress had been made in that direction. Meantime the manner in which the various war lords are maintaining their armies was indicated in a statement by Mr. Sun Fo, Minister of Railways, in a conference with newspaper representatives at Nanking, August 22, 1929. Mr. Sun Fo in a discussion of the deplorable plight of the Chinese is quoted as saying:

"On account of interference by military authorities it has been most difficult to reorganize the various railways of the country. Four months ago the railways in the North were paying more than \$2,000,000 monthly to various local military groups. The Peiping-Hankow line was paying the Second Group Army Corps every month \$500,000 and the Third Group Army Corps \$350,000, although the total monthly income of the line was only about \$2,000,000. The average monthly income of the Peiping-Suiyuan railway was about \$300,000 and it had to pay \$200,000 a month to the Third Group Army Corps. The southern section of the Pei-

ping-Mukden formerly had to pay the Fourth Group Army Corps and later Gen. Tang Seng-Chi's troops \$300,000 monthly. The Lunghai railway pays \$400,000 monthly to the Second Group Army Corps. . . . The average income of the Peiping-Suiyuan railway used to run up to \$800,000, but in recent years it has dwindled to \$300,000. The chief cause is that, owing to its heavy subsidies to military authorities, it had to raise its freight rates. The rates are so high that merchants have stopped shipping the goods on the line."

Third: During the recent years of turmoil and military confusion, the soldiers of routed armies, along with deserters and miscellaneous outlaws, have turned to banditry in very large numbers. It is doubtful whether the amazing extent and menace of this form of outlawry in China is comprehended in America. Literally hundreds of thousands of desperate and reckless men are engaged in banditry. Groups of bandits numbering hundreds are not uncommon. They operate with a contempt of local authorities or perhaps at times in collusion with them. Lacking all discipline, responsible to no higher authority, they carry on their atrocities with heartless savagery, sparing no one. Your Commission has in its files copy of a petition sent to the President of China by a famine relief committee of Kansu Province, one of the most severely afflicted famine areas. In this petition for relief of famine victims it is stated that of the 78 counties (hsien) of Kansu, 70 have been ravaged by bandits. In addition to seizing all food and clothing and other portable property, bandits frequently kill the people and burn the villages, especially in communities which try to conceal or withhold anything from them.

Fourth: Taxation has been a constant device of oppression. Although carried on in the name of law, it is subject to unrestrained abuse. Taxes in theory are levied and collected by the governor or "tuchun" of a province, who is an appointee of the central government. In practice, since the revolution of 1911, with few exceptions, the war lord who has the necessary military power seizes the provincial capital and sets himself up as an independent despot. If he requires

money for the support of his personal army, if he wishes to wage war with a rival general, or desires to lay up a fortune against the rainy day which is certain to come in time, he levies new and heavier taxes. It has become a favorite method during the exigencies of civil wars in the last two or three years for the provincial despots to send out their collectors to demand payment of a year's taxes in advance. After these have been paid the collectors are sent round to demand payment for a second year in advance, and instances have been reported in which three years' advance taxes have been collected. These collections are enforced with merciless vigor and in lieu of money, grain, animals, implements or clothing will be taken and stories are current of houses being pulled down in order to obtain the few wooden poles used in their construction, which, in this country of few trees, have a real value.

Fifth: Highways are almost unknown in those sections of China in which famine is found today. The Province of Shansi, however, thanks to the leadership of an exceptionally able and farsighted governor, General Yen Hsi-shan, is a notable exception to this statement. He has constructed several hundred miles of substantial dirt roads and as a direct result of this improvement the needs of the famine areas in his province have been met with notable success, notwithstanding the fact that the province contains only one short line of railroad. In many extended areas the only means of communication consists of narrow mountain trails traversed by donkeys, wheelbarrows, native carts or men carrying packs upon their backs. Where famine areas can be reached only by this means it is obvious that the importation of food in sufficient quantity to feed a large population is quite impracticable.

Sixth: China's population will be double its present total by the end of this century unless the normal increase is checked by famines, epidemics and wars. In past centuries tremendous catastrophes of such character have reduced the population by many millions, but as they did not reduce the rate of increase, their effect was overcome within a few years.

Other nations look to the acquisition of new lands for the accommodation of their surplus people. China's problem is far too great to find adequate relief by that device. If other nations opened wide their doors to Chinese emigrants, and if all the ships engaged in intercontinental passenger traffic on the seven seas were withdrawn from their usual routes and devoted themselves henceforth solely to transporting Chinese from their native land to other countries, it is believed they could not keep pace with the year by year increase of population. In a word, China presents a population problem which defies solution by any available means.

The nation seems to be approaching a period where her land cannot support her people. By economies undreamed in America, the Chinese people are still able to sustain themselves by the soil, but so delicate has become the balance between food supply and naked starvation that any serious interruption in the regular routine of existence precipitates disaster.

Seventh: Finally we come to natural causes. When in a district which for months or years has suffered from one or more of the causes just enumerated, there occurs a season of partial or total crop failure, starvation conditions quickly follow. The reserve stocks of food, the grain which should have been saved for planting, the draft animals, the necessary farm tools and implements have been taken away. The normal means of bringing in relief supplies have been destroyed or have always been totally inadequate. And so the population of the famine area is pushed below the starvation line and public benevolence is demanded.

Difficulties

In these circumstances foreign relief agencies can do little. This Commission has heard no expression of doubt that enough food existed in China to have prevented starvation in 1928 and 1929. In fact it is reported that large quantities of cereals have been exported. The fact is that the operations of the contending rival generals with their independent moving armies, said to have numbered more than 2,000,000 men, swept the normal stock of food from many provinces

and destroyed or paralyzed the only facilities for bringing in food from those areas where food is abundant.

If the restricted definition of "famine" as a "failure of food supply due primarily to natural causes" be discarded and we think of a famine simply as a condition in which many people in a given area lack sufficient food, there can be no doubt that famine has existed in China in 1928-1929. But this "wide open" definition brings its own difficulties. It leaves no clear barrier between the accidental and temporary victims of conditions and the "30,000,000 Chinese who are continually attempting to sustain life on less than the minimum required for subsistence." It lays before the world an invitation to make good the looting and robbery and confiscations of the war lords and bandits, thus providing them with the opportunity to repeat their exactions, to maintain their outlaw armies, to perpetuate the disorganization which is retarding China's recovery and stabilization.

Notwithstanding the dark threat of suffocation by the weight of its own population, numerous measures have been discussed which should have some effect in lessening the pressure of life upon the patient Chinese people. The great areas of Tibet, Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia, nominally the possessions of China, constitute more than one-half the total area of the country. These regions are of limited value for agriculture because of their mountains, lofty plateaus and arid plains. But it is believed they might provide homes and support for a population several time greater than their present estimated 10,000,000 inhabitants. Manchuria contains thousands of square miles of unimproved fertile lands. Already Chinese emigrants from the famine areas of Honan and Shantung are being welcomed in Manchuria and an organized effort to promote this movement is in operation.

Necessities

Irrigation and reclamation projects, increasing productivity of the land, reforestation, river control, extension of the railway system, now consisting of a total of only 7,000 miles, construction of high-

ways, etc., are among the improvements which are under contemplation and which may some day help to prevent famines "due primarily to natural causes" and bring added opportunity and security to many. A number of provinces are contemplating the construction of irrigation systems and road building projects, and the central government has voted to set apart for railroad extensions several million dollars which will be received from the Belgian Boxer Indemnity funds. One of these projected extensions would carry a railway line to Sianfu, capital of Shensi Province, thus skirting a large district which long has been subject to famine. The transportation of food to this district has heretofore been exceedingly difficult, slow and costly. With the completion of the railroad, it should be possible under normal conditions always to prevent serious food shortage by promptly importing large stocks of grain when a period of crop failure is foreseen.

As to current famine relief measures, the Chinese National government has not actively participated. It has made no attempt to conduct relief operations, to direct policies or methods, or to coordinate activities conducted by private or public agencies. It has, however, not been indifferent to the needs of the famine areas. In March, 1929, it announced a famine relief bond issue of \$10,000,000 (approximately \$4,500,000 gold). Through a "Famine Relief Commission" the greater part of these bonds were reported to have been distributed to provincial relief committees. The provincial committees in turn were reported in some instances to have sold these bond quotas at heavy discounts and in other instances to have held them unsold. Because of the absence of definite information, it is not possible to state the amount of relief funds obtained from this bond issue. No little cynicism was expressed as to the manner in which it was handled. One circumstantial statement was to the effect that \$3,000,000 of the bonds went to support Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang's army; another was that in one province bonds were sold to the amount of \$500,000 and that with the famine almost ended in that

province, the money still remained unexpended in the committee's hands.

In addition to this issue of bonds, the National government has provided free railroad transportation for relief supplies, eliminated customs duties and promised protection from bandits for relief personnel. It also has given free transportation to emigrants sent from crowded famine districts to the more sparsely populated lands of Manchuria.

Effects of Civil War

It is but fair, in referring to the somewhat meager and comparatively ineffective participation of the Chinese government in famine relief, to call attention to the fact that China has been torn by civil war and is not yet freed from her pre-occupations with armies and hostile military leaders, while her new government has still to reach a point of assured stability. Indications are not lacking that in the future China's interest in the welfare of her people will show a gratifying awakening.

The organizations most frequently encountered and actively engaged in relief work were the China International Famine Relief Commission, provincial government committees, foreign missions, the Salvation Army, the Chinese Red Cross, and the Swastika Society. In the province of Honan is a committee for the transportation of famine sufferers, which has an extensive program of assisting emigrants in moving to Manchuria. Numerous other relief organizations are contributing to this work or are themselves carrying on relief programs. Their work, however, is less widespread than that of the organizations named, and in many instances is limited to a few committees.

The program of the China International Famine Relief Committee, having a centralized control, is the only one which is reasonably uniform throughout the various famine areas. The relief work which it is doing consists in general of labor projects, such as irrigation works, road building and dikes, sale of cheap grain (or *p'ing t'iao*), and contributions to gruel kitchens managed by other organizations.

The relief programs of the provincial governments, while they vary as between provinces, include the same character of relief as that being rendered by the China International Famine Relief Committee, although p'ing t'iao and gruel kitchens are the principal features of their program. The relief programs of the foreign missions, Salvation Army, and Swastika Societies include gruel kitchens, refugee camps, in other words, free relief projects. These gruel kitchens or refugee camps are in some instances partially supported by the China International Famine Relief Committee or the provincial governments.

Lack of Co-ordination

During its extensive study of famine areas and the relief measures employed in many communities, your Commission found little or no cooperation among the relief organizations operating in the same fields. On the contrary they manifested a surprising ignorance of each other's work. An attitude of indifference, even of suspicion, was occasionally noted. It is obvious that much effectiveness is lost by these relations of aloofness among the agencies. The increased power and momentum which result from united effort would be reflected in added strength for each unit in the combined action. Failure to take advantage of this well established principle is equivalent to accepting a smaller return for the money and effort expended, when a larger return is available at no greater cost.

The fact should be strongly stressed that famine relief in China is chiefly a matter of the purchase and transportation of grain. The grain is to be found in Chinese territory and in many instances of famine, grain for relief purposes has been available in neighboring provinces. The grain need not be ground or made into bread, or in any way prepared for consumption. It should be delivered in proper quantities at proper times to the famine sufferers in their own or nearby villages, leaving to them its conversion into food. Every village is supplied with the simple stone rollers by which the grain is crushed for use. This method of relief giving reduces organization and administrative costs to a mini-

mum. It permits the people of the famine region to remain in their homes, to hold their families together, look after their lands and stock and other small belongings. It permits them to supplement their dry food rations with roots and leaves of certain herbs and bushes and even of the shredded bark of elm trees. In a word, it holds family and community life together and prevents the demoralization inevitable when famine is allowed to drive families to distant places for work or food.

The Chinese peasant is perhaps as much the creature of custom and tradition as any class of people in the world. His family, his gods, his land, his habits of work, his ingrained industry and thrift, fix him in a groove from which it is hard for him to break away. To the question then, "Does not the supply of free food to the famine sufferer induce laziness and a desire to hold on to this free support as long as possible?" the answer would seem to be that the life routine passed down for centuries from father to son can scarcely be broken down by a temporary supply of food without cost. The possible harm is greatly reduced by the fact that the normal home life is uninterrupted and the usual home and community responsibilities and associations are unchanged.

Preventive Measures

Much has been said in favor of employment upon the construction of public works as means of relief for famine sufferers. In principle this method is probably sound and doubtless would have the support of students of social work. Nevertheless, the plan involves features which to this Commission seem open to question. Unless famine relief by employment is strongly supplemented by free relief, it cannot prove satisfactory because it reaches only a small proportion of those entitled to help. For example, an irrigation project in the Province of Suiyuan was expected to give employment to 15,000 men, whose earnings could scarcely have supported more than 75,000 persons. The number of famine sufferers in that area, however, has been estimated as high as 2,000,000. It is important that the American people

who give funds to China under the urgency of poignant appeals to save starving millions should realize that their gifts may be expended upon projects which, however valuable, bring aid to a much smaller number of persons than the same amount of expenditure would help if applied to other forms of relief.

A program of prevention is essentially the responsibility of government, and cannot under any circumstances be developed to a worth-while extent until such time as a stable and efficient central government is established. In the summer of 1928, Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Chinese Government, speaking with John Earl Baker, who represented China Famine Relief, Inc., said with emphasis that the Chinese Government does not wish foreign organizations to undertake in China relief projects which involve the construction of public works. He said that such works affecting rivers, highways, and the property and rights of Chinese citizens should be the sole concern of the Government of China, that the government itself needed no charitable assistance. He added that if charitably inclined Americans wished to help the Chinese Government they might do so by buying its bonds. On August 20, 1929, this Commission was afforded an excellent opportunity also to discuss this subject with Dr. Wang in Nanking. He holds clearly to the same views expressed to Mr. Baker a year ago.

China's Responsibility

China's problems are enormous, complex, and inseparably interwoven with each other. They have been vastly increased by the political chaos which prevailed almost constantly from 1911 to the end of 1928. The famine of 1928-1929 has been an inextricable part of this chaos. Its causes go straight back into chronic conditions of disorder, the crushing exactions of war lords, the unchecked depredations of bandits, the confiscatory taxes by provincial despots, the paralyzed railways, with the consequent restrictions upon commerce.

The American Red Cross Commission embraced the opportunity to meet Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, head of the National government; Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister

of Foreign Affairs, and many other officers occupying responsible places in the national and provincial governments. The impression is inescapable that new China is occupying the seats of power. Everywhere young men are directing affairs, but only time can test their ability to unite China's strong men in the common cause of the country's welfare, to remedy ancient abuses, disband the useless and menacing armies which now prey upon the poverty-stricken people, and inaugurate an era of peace and progress.

By far the greatest need in China today is the development of a consciousness on the part of the Chinese people respecting some of the fundamental causes of famine in their country. The people of China would give more thought to these underlying causes if they were obliged to assume responsibility for the resulting relief needs, and any large measure of relief from outside sources cannot but retard the development of this public opinion, without which no real progress can be expected.

The situation then embraces two problems, one of immediate relief for the destitute people in those areas in which food supply is inadequate, and the other a program of preventive measures that will tend to overcome the chronic famine situation confronting the country. Such problems can and should be worked out by the government and people of China themselves. The immediate relief problem, now rapidly subsiding, due to recent rains, is not of such magnitude that it cannot be handled if local existing resources are made available. Only the power wielded by a strong-handed government can command these resources and the time to work out the vast program of progress required in transportation, reclamation, taxation, education, industry and agriculture; only the government can exercise the authority and the leadership essential to the unification of the country and the establishment of a reign of law without which the noblest plans for elevating the lives of China's millions must end in failure.

ERNEST P. BICKNELL

WM. M. BAXTER, JR.

ERNEST J. SWIFT

Shanghai, China, Aug. 27, 1929.

A PROPOSAL FOR SIMULTANEOUS ADJUDICATION

By DR. SIMON REISLER

THE signing of the Multilateral Treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and agreeing to settle disputes by pacific means was the signal challenging humanity to accomplish that which has heretofore defeated all efforts. It means that the deadly machinery of war must be stored, though properly oiled and ready for use in the emergency of defense, and the tools of pacific means must be inspected, adjusted, brought up to date and made efficient, to run smoothly and without interruption.

The machinery of international justice is admittedly the most important and necessary of the pacific means at our disposal, comprising a respectable body of international law, a Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague and provision for Special or Mixed Courts of Arbitration. It would require an optimism unaffected by facts to warrant a belief that these instrumentalities of justice are sufficient, that they come up fully to the needs of the world. There is need for further codification of international law, of modification of the functions of the World Court so that all the nations would have sufficient confidence in it, and above all there is need of a court that would promptly initiate the processes of justice before an international dispute becomes unmanageable.

All members of the League of Nations adhere to the World Court, and are bound by treaties of arbitration and conciliation, yet the greater powers sidetrack and are unwilling to submit to adjudication any important or vital question in which there is an element of uncertainty as to the decision; at times for ulterior motives, but mostly for lack of complete confidence in the court and for fear that such judicial decision, from which there is no provision for appeal, may prove unpopular, promote internal dissension or political upheaval. On account of the fallibility of human justice, nations as well as individuals usually demand recourse to more than one court of justice for a satisfac-

tory settlement of their various differences.

America interposes a serious objection to the World Court in the matter of advisory opinions. As a reservation to our adherence, we would not allow the World Court to render an advisory opinion in any case in which we claim an interest, unless we specifically ask for it.

While the World Court is beset with these and other difficulties, the Special or Mixed Courts of Arbitration are similarly handicapped, and at times they face the dilemma of being unable to make their decisions acceptable to the nations concerned. All the judiciary machinery is limited by the lack of enforcement measures, depending mostly upon world public opinion for support.

Providing that these primary difficulties are not operative and the wheels of international justice, such as it is, are set into motion, there still remain at least two very important factors that hinder progress and induce failure. First is the time allowed to elapse between the occurrence of the incident and the beginning of the proposed adjudication. Second, the diplomatic but nonjudicial methods employed in the interval. Both act in a way as to prejudice public opinion, introduce political and personal elements, and make it difficult for the judiciary processes to arrive at a just decision; and more difficult or even impossible for the acceptance of the decision and the settlement of the case. Complete confidence and reliance on justice are essential on both sides, particularly because there are no penalties or machinery to enforce decisions.

Under the present diplomatic usage, if an incident occurs involving two or more nations, the matter rests with the respective State Departments or Foreign Offices. These administrative departments are necessarily a part of the political machinery of the administration and therefore subject to political influence and pressure; with the result that the ensuing international exchanges may be evasive or omisive, circumventing the true facts of the

case on both sides of the controversy. Meanwhile the press, in presenting the case to the public, creates a public opinion based perhaps upon only part of the facts in the case, and produces an immense amount of friction and ill-feeling which it is difficult to overcome.

After many exchanges and much loss of time, when it is finally decided to arbitrate the case through a Mixed Court, a World Court, or a Regional Court, public opinion on both sides has already been set by a tampering propaganda, intending either to justify the injustice or to magnify the injustice to such great dimensions as to arouse the emotions of the people and render them unwilling to submit to reason, to lawful and just settlement. Under such conditions, it is difficult even for a conscientious and impartial court to render an absolutely just decision under international law, necessitating settlement by compromise or conciliation. Arbitration and conciliation are under great disadvantage of political meddling and misinformed public opinion, which are the result of procrastination of the processes of justice, thus allowing the intrusion of factors that militate against peaceful and just settlement.

It is generally agreed that our present instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of international disputes are inadequate. Nations still place most reliance upon armament, lacking the security which law and its enforcement would afford them. On the other hand, it is also true that the world has just signed the Paris Pact agreeing to settle all international disputes by peaceable methods. On the whole, peaceable methods involve justice, and the usual way of securing justice in this seeking and competitive world is through law. Since the existing instrumentalities are insufficient, it therefore follows that they must either be perfected, or additional new and more practical instrumentalities must be sought. To fill this need and to correct the difficulties in the initiation, conduct and progress of lawful processes between nations, the author proposes the institution of Simultaneous Courts, one in each country, for the simultaneous adjudication and rendering of advisory opinions

to their respective governments. The proposal would carry provisions substantially as follows:

1. The undersigned Powers, through their high representatives, agree to create or assign a Permanent Court within each country, composed of four judges of their own nationals, qualified and competent to render opinions and judgments based on international law.

2. The Signatories further agree to submit to their respective Courts all judiciable matters affecting the relationship between their own and other nations immediately and as a primary action, for the purpose of securing a just and unbiased legal opinion based upon all the facts in the case; which it will be the duty of the court to secure and to place at the disposal of the other Court in the case, for simultaneous judicial action.

The advisory opinions thus rendered simultaneously for each nation involved will become a basis for the settlement of the incident or dispute by mutual agreement, or for further adjudication or arbitration of the differences in the findings, by means of a Mixed Court, unless the nations concerned agree to the Permanent Court of International Justice by preference.

If the findings of a Mixed Court of Arbitration are unacceptable to the nations concerned, the case is to be reviewed and settled by the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose decision would become binding.

3. Any one of the Signatories may lend the offices of its Court for the arbitration of differences between other nations, providing the offices of such a Court are sought by the nations concerned.

The advantages of simultaneous adjudication, such as is here proposed, might be expected in some such ways as:

1. All cases coming under International Law are immediately taken up by the processes of law, simultaneously by the nations concerned.

2. The facts are gathered by a Fact-finding Commission appointed by the Court and made available to all concerned, without being subjected to tampering by the press, or to the self-justifying propa-

ganda of government agencies, bureaus or functionaries.

3. Political influences are removed from the case.

4. If the opinions of the two Simultaneous Courts are essentially the same, the case is settled; if they differ materially, those differences are much easier to arbitrate by a Mixed Court than the whole case.

5. Recourse to a World Court is still open as an ultimate means of settlement, if this cannot be reached by the above judicial machinery or by conciliation.

6. Confidence in law is established from the beginning, public opinion is calmed by the assurance of the lawful procedure of the case, and much bitterness is prevented.

7. It is an additional mechanism of law, the first step towards lawful settlement,

starting the machinery of law into motion, facilitating its progress, adding to its efficiency and making it more complete.

8. No nation could justify itself in an unwillingness to submit to its own court for an advisory opinion, no matter how vitally important the case may be.

This proposal rests upon the principles: that international justice is the basis for permanent world peace; that confidence is the essential requisite in international adjudication, particularly because decisions cannot always be enforced; that the reason for the insufficiency of our present instrumentalities for securing justice between nations is due to lack of complete confidence in them; that the judicial processes must start early, if they are to effect just and acceptable settlements, in order to prevent the intrusion of political and other factors, obstructing or preventing justice.

What Price Glory?

A bugle note,

A manly lad,

Khaki clad.

A hasty kiss,

A drum's deep beat,

Marching feet.

The postman's whistle,

Bright, eager eyes, . . .

A hushed surprise.

"Killed in action,"—

Message brief—

Glory . . . grief.

THE TROUBLES IN PALESTINE

By M. W. S. CALL

THE world was shocked and distressed, when, in mid-August, riots occurred in Jerusalem, which resulted in many deaths. Beginning on August 16, at the Wailing Wall, a spot sacred to the Jews for one reason and to the Moslems for another, and continuing for several days, Arab-Jewish hatred raged not only in Jerusalem, but also elsewhere in Palestine.

While Great Britain, as Mandatory power, has succeeded finally in restoring order with her troops, yet even now the situation remains critical. A general strike called by the Arabs in the middle of October is evidence of the continuing friction, which extends even into the schools. A British inquiry commission is, at the time of this writing, investigating the causes of the disturbances, with the view of reconciling Arab and Jewish interests.

This outbreak is not the first of its kind. There were riots in 1920 and 1921, not to mention the revolt of the Druses in Syria in 1925; all of which indicate deep-flowing streams of antagonism.

Arabian Aspirations

One of the greatest of these causes of trouble lies in the nationalistic ideal of the Arabs, as opposed to Jewish Zionism. An autonomous confederation of Arab States, extending from Persia to the Red Sea, and from the Yemen to the Mediterranean, has long been a dream cherished by prominent Arabs, who wished to throw off the Turkish yoke. During the World War these ambitions were fanned and utilized by Great Britain and France, so that, with the help of the Arab army under Feisal, associated with the mysterious English Colonel Lawrence, Syria and Palestine were wrested from Turkey.

When it came time to distribute the territory gained, it transpired that the Franco-British promise to support Arab independence in Syria was interpreted by Arabs to include Palestine; while the British maintained that Palestine was no part of the "Syria and Mesopotamia"

named by the Anglo-French statement of policy in which they pledged aid to Arabian autonomy.

The Balfour Declaration

Indeed, Great Britain had definitely committed herself to the Zionist policy in Palestine through the Balfour Declaration, which was announced to the public on November 2, 1917. This, too, was largely a war measure to gain the powerful support of the Jews. The Balfour Declaration runs as follows:

"His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People, and will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

This Declaration was subsequently endorsed by the governments of France, Italy and Japan, and agreed to in principle in 1922 by a unanimous resolution of the American Congress.

Zionism

Persecuted in many countries for centuries, Jews have cherished for years a dream of returning to the Holy Land. The Zionist movement was organized in 1897, and, though not universally supported by Jews, it has powerful branches in many lands. In 1902, Great Britain offered to allot lands in Uganda for a Jewish home; but Palestine remained the Land of Promise in Zionist eyes.

At the outbreak of the World War various Jewish enterprises were already inaugurated in Palestine, and for the most part Jews, Moslems and Christians, among whom are many Arabs, dwelt peacefully side by side. The Jewish population has increased rapidly since the war, however, about 90,000 since 1919; and despite the economic benefit they have been to the country, Arab nationalism is thoroughly

awake, fearful and hostile. With Jewish settlement in Palestine now definitely encouraged by other nations, Arab antipathy is the more easily fanned into flame.

The Jews claim that their aspirations in Palestine are cultural, not political; but Arabs find it difficult to believe that such an intention would survive numerical equality. Too, the Arabs take little stock in the Jewish claims based on the possessions of older times, arguing that Rome uses no such arguments for retaking the British Isles, Persia the Valley of the Nile, or the Arabs a great part of Europe. At present, Arabs outnumber Jews in Palestine four to one; but they regard Jewish immigration as excessive and dangerous. Jews, on the other hand, complain that Great Britain has, as mandatory State, restricted immigration unjustifiably.

The Mandate

The British mandate in Palestine, decided upon by the Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo, April, 1920, did not come into force until September 29, 1923, at the same time that France assumed the mandate for Syria.

Palestine is an "A" mandate, of the type which contemplates ultimately independent Statehood for the mandated territory; but in this case there is no specific provision for bringing about independence. The mandate provides for the protection of holy places, preserving simply the *status quo*; with disputes to be settled by a special commission, not yet appointed by the League of Nations. It sanctions the Balfour Declaration, including the requirement that nothing shall be done prejudicial to non-Jewish communities.

The problem of satisfying all interests, Arab, Zionist, British, foreign, religious and League, is proving a heavy burden to the administration.

Great Britain, as mandatory, granted, in 1922, a constitution in the interests of good government. This provides for a national legislative council of ten appointed British officials, and twelve elected members—two Jews, two Christians and eight Moslems. The elections, which took place in 1923, were boycotted by the Arabs, because they felt themselves en-

titled to a majority of the seats. The election was therefore annulled, the constitution remaining in a condition of suspended animation.

Palestine has since been governed by a high commissioner and a small appointed council of British officials. Towns and villages have their own local councils, some of them elected. The Jewish Agency of the Zionist organization is recognized by the government as an advisory board.

The administration has made three successive proposals to secure Arab cooperation: 1. The establishment of a legislative Council on which Arabs would have been represented by ten elected members; 2. The reconstruction of the advisory council so as to secure effective Arab representation; 3. The recognition of an Arab agency with functions similar to those assigned to the Jewish agency under the terms of the mandate. In all these proposals Arabs have refused to cooperate.

In spite of these drawbacks, British administration appears to have been for the most part competent and non-partisan, though no faction is entirely satisfied.

Other Problems

Palestine is a small country, not much greater in extent than the State of Vermont. It is a land sacred alike to Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. It has been many times in its long history the scene of bitter religious hostilities.

The people, now predominantly Arabian, speak many languages, Hebrew, Turkish, Arabic, English and many European tongues. Next to the political problems involved in conflicting nationalistic ideals come the religious and other cultural differences.

The economic problems are also difficult, in a land of limited natural resources. The country's development requires modern engineering methods and education, difficult to impose upon a people many of whom are of nomadic tendencies, who have little regard for property rights, and little interest in development in the ways of our western world.

Whether or not Great Britain, backed by the League, can bring about a com-

promise between the claims of Arabs, which are backed by very real arguments, and the seemingly equally well-founded claims of Zionists, is still in the lap of the future.

It is, however, indubitably true that to Great Britain, more than to any other power, it is of importance that a contented and orderly populace shall inhabit lands adjacent to the Suez Canal.

PUBLIC FINANCES REFLECT EUROPEAN RECOVERY

R. M. STEPHENSON, CHIEF, EUROPEAN SECTION, DIVISION OF REGIONAL INFORMATION

THE economic recovery of Europe, accomplished within the last few years, is strikingly reflected in the present position of European public finances. Until as recently as two years ago financial instability was a major problem confronting the governments of many European countries. This problem is not yet in every instance completely solved, but a review of recent budgets discloses the fact that in very few cases is it still a serious issue.

The success of the measures adopted by several countries during the period 1924 to 1928 to stabilize currencies, balance budgets, and consolidate debts is particularly noteworthy. The application of these measures, setting up new monetary values and involving drastic financial reorganization, occasioned in the nations affected economic readjustments of varying severity and duration. This phase of adjustment may now be taken as practically complete and consequently the governmental budgets in their present form are not likely to be radically altered in the course of the next few years. Tendencies now observable, therefore, will probably be continued and developed.

Radical Changes from Pre-War Status

Conditions have altered so fundamentally in the last fifteen years that comparisons of present with pre-war budgets are of very doubtful value. Budget totals are in general much larger even on a pre-war price basis, the outstanding change being the heavy increase in expenditures

for debt service. These have increased, for example, in percentage of total expenditure: For Great Britain, from 12.3 to 45.3 per cent; for France, from 18.7 to 48.8 per cent; for the Netherlands, from 15.9 to 30 per cent. Appropriations for social services also have markedly increased. Probably the most general decrease is in the proportion of expenditures for defense. On the revenue side heavy increases in taxation are universal. The creation of new States as a result of the war and the introduction of new budgetary methods make accurate comparison with the pre-war period very difficult.

Budget Totals Stable Over Recent Years

Budget totals over the last few years tend to be stable, with only gradual increases or declines. It can not be said that, on the whole, expenditures are decreasing, though there have been some notable instances of reductions as a result of administrative economies. In the face of the heavy demands for debt service and for reconstruction purposes, material reductions in expenditures are practically impossible, but with the gradual amortization of public debts and a slackening in the requirements for capital needs, the tendency toward lower expenditures may be expected to become more marked.

Budgets in General Satisfactorily Balanced

European budgets are now generally in balance. Ordinary expenditure is met from ordinary revenue and in those cases

where recourse is had to loans to balance total expenditures it is because of heavy demands under the extraordinary budget. Extraordinary expenditure is normally for debt consolidation and for capital purposes, which are regarded as properly to be met by borrowing, particularly as every effort is made to avoid an increase in the already serious tax burden. In some instances where the public debt is low, it has been thought preferable to meet constructive expenses by increasing the debt within reasonable proportions rather than to risk discouraging industry and trade by heavier taxes.

In the accompanying table revenues are shown exclusive of borrowings, giving in some instances a deficit which would not otherwise appear. The deficit is often largely, if not entirely, offset by amortization payments and is not to be taken as an indication of serious lack of balance in the finances of the government involved.

Actual Returns Close to Estimates

The figures given in the table are those of the most recent budget estimates, except where actual returns for 1928 are available. In two instances—Belgium and the Netherlands—the figures are as proposed to the legislature by the Minister of Finance, but no material changes are to be expected in the estimates as passed. Returns of actual receipts and expenditures are not available for most countries until two or three years after the close of the fiscal year, but the estimates offer a satisfactory guide to the financial administration, as they are usually drawn up conservatively and there is normally no great divergence in the actual returns. At present preliminary results indicate that tax receipts are running close to estimates, with very satisfactory excesses in several countries.

The separate budget items noted in the table are not absolutely comparable, one

country with another. The central government's share in expenditures for education, for example, will vary according to the proportion of total costs borne by local governments, and the same applies to the charges for social services. The latter, too, are not similarly classified in all countries but, so far as possible, in this tabulation they include unemployment insurance, labor bureaus, social insurance or old age pensions, charity, etc., but not public health. Expenditures for defense include those for army, navy, and military aviation. Receipts for taxation as given are, of course, exclusive of local taxation and do not, therefore, show the total tax burden.

Public Debts Declining—Dangerous Floating Debts Eliminated

The public debts of most European countries were enormously increased as a result of the exigencies of the war and immediate postwar periods. As in the case of budget totals, public indebtedness has in more recent years tended to remain stable and is now, in general, steadily declining through heavy amortization payments. The most notable achievement in this connection has been the radical reduction or elimination, through funding operations, of the floating debts which only recently gravely prejudiced the financial stability of several countries of Europe.

An entirely satisfactory tabulation of public debts is impossible, as many of the obligations arising out of the war and the peace treaties are still the subject of negotiations, and neither capital amount nor service has been fixed. Furthermore, in several instances no agreement has been reached in regard to old debts where currency depreciation has necessitated revaluation or where territorial changes have required reapportionment. These reservations must be considered in any compari-

Summary of recent European governmental budgets
[In millions of dollars, except as noted]

Country	Budget year	Surplus (+) or deficit (-)	Revenue from—			Expenditure for—				Public debt				
			Taxation and monopolies		Income tax	Import duties	Debt service	Defense	Education	Social services	Total	Per cent external	Per cent floating	Dollars per capita
			Total	Dollars per capita											Total	Amortization
Austria	1929 (estimates)	-25.9	144.8	22	21.7	35.7	10.5	13.6	8.5	36.6	332.6	(c)	(c)	50
Belgium	1929 (proposed)	-20.5	298.8	28	66.9	27.8	(c)	28.1	24.1	(c)	1,592.4	(c)	(c)	188
Bulgaria	1928-29 (estimates)	-10.3	310.3	28	31.1	27.8	(c)	28.0	16.1	(c)	1,592.4	(c)	(c)	188
Czechoslovakia	1928-29 (estimates)	-28.2	340.7	17	31.1	34.6	15.6	41.4	27.3	24.7	587.1	(c)	(c)	71
Denmark	1928-29 (estimates)	-1.0	244.7	26	24.0	22.5	8.0	15.7	16.7	10.2	394.1	(c)	(c)	75
Estonia	1928-29 (estimates)	21.5	89.5	10	14.2	24.5	(c)	14.6	13.5	1.5	36.7	(c)	(c)	27
Finland	1928 (actual)	-12.7	62.1	17	14.2	34.5	21.6	14.2	13.5	(c)	57.4	(c)	(c)	51
France	1928 (actual)	-2.6	1,778.3	38	358.0	187.6	69.3	523.2	121.0	(c)	711,481.7	(c)	(c)	280
Germany	1928-29 (estimates)	2,398.8	2,219.4	35	697.3	697.3	82.3	132.5	87.9	202.7	2,130.1	(c)	(c)	33
Greece	1928-29 (estimates)	-15.0	184.4	17	10.1	25.0	10.7	21.3	25.0	(c)	495.3	(c)	(c)	30
Hungary	1928-29 (estimates)	-40.6	161.7	19	20.0	35.0	3.7	20.3	25.0	(c)	275.9	(c)	(c)	32
Irish Free State	1928-29 (actual)	-21.9	109.5	34	20.0	35.0	3.4	34.2	21.5	13.1	275.9	(c)	(c)	34
Italy	1928-29 (actual)	-23.1	899.5	22	174.0	109.8	13.2	256.4	73.5	(c)	5,536.2	(c)	(c)	132
Lithuania	1928-29 (estimates)	-3.8	22.1	12	0.0	8.3	(c)	7.2	3.5	(c)	16.2	(c)	(c)	8
Netherlands	1928 (actual)	-3.8	328.3	17	0.05	4.7	(c)	4.9	3.0	(c)	16.2	(c)	(c)	8
Norway	1928-29 (proposed)	-69.2	229.3	29	32.2	4.7	62.5	43.9	60.5	29.2	1,048.9	(c)	(c)	135
Poland	1928-29 (estimates)	-3.2	282.0	29	25.8	23.0	5.0	10.4	13.2	7.4	438.1	(c)	(c)	136
Portugal	1928-29 (estimates)	-14.2	267.0	16	21.3	25.0	11.9	36.1	44.6	6.9	465.0	(c)	(c)	15
Rumania	1928-30 (estimates)	-1.5	62.3	10	37.6	20.2	(c)	20.9	7.0	(c)	523.0	(c)	(c)	83
Russia	1928 (actual)	-15.2	297.7	11	96.8	32.0	(c)	46.9	30.5	(c)	719.3	(c)	(c)	40
Spain	1928 (actual)	-43.3	563.2	52	36.8	38.8	(c)	119.0	30.0	(c)	3,197.3	(c)	(c)	130
Sweden	1928-29 (estimates)	-13.4	169.6	24	38.0	38.9	3.9	35.8	34.5	19.3	489.3	(c)	(c)	80
Switzerland	1928 (actual)	-4.0	64.0	16	.....	49.3	4.0	16.8	1.5	6.9	955.8	(c)	(c)	238
U. S. S. R. (Soviet Russia)	1927-28 (actual)	-297.1	1,513.4	10	118.6	363.5	(c)	393.4	188.2	11.5	1,060.4	(c)	(c)	7
United Kingdom	1928-29 (actual)	-89.5	3,363.0	73	1,156.3	579.0	279.8	523.3	240.9	249.2	38,390.4	(c)	(c)	809
Yugoslavia	1928-30 (estimates)	.....	123.1	9	(c)	(c)	(c)	44.9	14.2	0.6	594.0	(c)	(c)	41

1 Borrowing not included.
 2 Not available.
 3 Appropriations for Ministry of Industry, Labor and Social Service, \$16,537,000.
 4 Exclusive of debt arising from peace treaties.
 5 Receipts of autonomous amortization office in 1928 amounted to \$266,000,000. National defense bonds amortized, \$216,933,000.
 6 Appropriations for Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Service amount to \$48,373,000.
 7 Exclusive of "political debt."
 8 Proposed.
 9 Estimated.
 10 Estimated of reparations. "External war charges," \$366,520,000.
 11 Including war debts at "present value" at time of settlement.
 12 External debt nominal, as foreign flotations have been largely repurchased.
 13 Includes export duties.
 14 Commissariat of Education only.

son of total or per capita national indebtedness.

A general analysis of European public finance over recent years is contained in Trade Information Bulletin 654, "Budgets

of European Countries, 1929: Part II—Western and Central Europe," just released. Part I—"Northern and Eastern Europe" (Trade Information Bulletin 580) was issued last year.

CHARACTER EDUCATION AND WORLD PEACE

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

SECURITY and world peace must rest at last upon the character of peoples. Premier Aristide Briand appealed on September 5 to the Assembly of the League of Nations in behalf of the protection of children from false ideas of strife, from doctrines calculated to increase ill will. He appealed to the women of the world to interest themselves in this kind of peace education. Many peace organizations, especially the League of Nations, are going systematically at the business of working through the schools of the world in behalf of their special interests. The danger of much of this work is that it become tarred with the unpleasant implications we have become accustomed to associate with the word propaganda.

The whole technique of character education is in its infancy. How to hand down the generations the character maturity which one man may have achieved presents a difficult problem. To hand down the character maturity of a civilization is, of course, still more difficult. By reason of death the personnel of a nation completely changes in about seventy years. This means that the character qualities of a people are fluid and unstable. And yet educational institutions, such as schools, teachers colleges, and universities are fairly continuous through the generations. Such centers of influence as the United States Bureau of Education, various State departments of education, the National Education Association, the French Ministry of Education, the Mexican Department of Education, a vast number of teachers throughout the world, are avowedly in favor of character education in the schools. It is fair to assume that the compulsory school attendance laws of this and other countries have grown out of a belief that character education is essential to safety and the perpetuity of States.

Such organizations as the Character Education Institution, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., hold that it is comparatively easy to enlist support for character education in all schools to the point of universal application. They emphasize the importance of inculcating in the youth of all nations that elementary morality at the foundations of civilization. They point out that human beings will live in friendship and cooperation, provided character level is sufficiently high.

Educational authorities are not unmindful of the importance of character education. Boston has required character education in her schools for a number of years. The State of Nebraska has passed a law requiring it in all schools, public and private. Throughout our public schools there is a constant appeal to loyalty to country and to the best interests of humanity. A number of private schools add religion as a subject of instruction as an essential to character training.

The Character Education Institution, following years of research, has developed a children's morality code which it has issued in English, French and Spanish. It contains a character graph based upon a list of fifteen basic virtues of civilization. Since these virtues have been widely verified as essential to the character of a first-class human being, it is believed that the graph is applicable in all nations. It offers a Five-Point Plan for the guidance of instructors, setting forth essential factors calculated to influence children in their daily conduct.

The Character Education Institution points out that the public school has three objectives: the transmission of knowledge; the development of abilities and skills, including health; and the maturing of personal character. It holds that the development of personal character must be in

terms of those virtues essential to civilization as determined by human experience. If heredity determines the possibilities, education develops them. From a list of ninety-two desirable characteristics a list of fifteen basic virtues is offered as the make-up of a desirable character. These are: 1, honesty, sincerity, and truthfulness; 2, cooperation; 3, kindness and affection; 4, will power and poise; 5, muscular control, skill; 6, executive ability; 7, invention and construction; 8, discernment and thinking; 9, purpose and determination; 10, justice; 11, interest; 12, vitality; 13, industry and energy; 14, urges and ambitions; 15, family loyalty, public spirit and patriotism.

The character graph is based upon these basic civilization virtues. Students are asked to check after each one as to whether or not they qualify: always, nearly always, half and half, sometimes, seldom. There is a similar character graph on discernment and thinking, providing for like tests: in memory, in senses, in observation, in classification, in generalization, in verification, and in broad-mindedness.

Intellectual immoralities are classified under twenty-five headings, as follows: 1, carelessness in observations, "sloppy work"; 2, inaccuracy in determining units to be counted in statistical research; 3, slovenliness in logic, fantastic explanations; 4, generalizing beyond one's data; 5, confusing opinions with knowledge; 6, confidence in the results of research in disregard of weakness in proof and verification; 7, contentment with "discussion"; 8, poor judgment in research plan and procedure; 9, wavering interest, flitting attention, attracted by peculiar superficialities; 10, egoism allowed to crowd one to the invention of "new" theories for personal distinction; 11, inventing theories for the sake of selling them in books, articles, lectures and conversation; 12, pride allowed to result in persistent belief in a theory for which one has been given credit; 13, formulating an hypothesis on weak bases of facts, and then becoming blind to facts in opposition; 14, emotionalism during research, "I believe" instead of "I have proved"; 15, adjusting theories to popular likes and dislikes; 16, opposition to proof of another's theories because

of jealousy; 17, opposition to a theory merely because of ignorance and stupidity, "I can not see how"; 18, rushing into print with a report of research work that justifies no conclusions; 19, degenerating into a propagandist of an unproved hypothesis, instead of being true to the research purpose of discovering the truth; 20, cowardice in supporting a verified generalization because it is unpopular and conflicts with selfish interests; 21, impatience, unwillingness to proceed step by step through a research; 22, indulgence in dense verbiage for the sake of appearing superlearned; 23, ignorance of the mechanism of instruments of precision, which results in their use when out of order; 24, popularizing tentative generalizations for the sake of personal publicity; 25, resort to the authorities, or to sarcasm and ridicule, against data, arguments and verifications.

The trouble with overcoming such intellectual immoralities is complicated by the nature of human beings. Native abilities are variable, physical and mental. Instincts, curiosities and urges are all unequal quantities in various persons; indeed, they differ from time to time in the same person. Personal experiences, environment, produce convictions, beliefs, characteristics, and arouse personal interests difficult to classify with any scientific satisfaction.

A scientific approach to such complicated matters is itself beset with difficulties. To be of service in such a labor, one must possess a large amount of disinterested open-mindedness, alertness, discernment and accuracy. One must be constructive, persistent and confident, freed of prejudice and capable of ascertaining all pertinent facts and organizing them into a rational whole. A rather large order. But more serious still, to be a character educator one must have more than a scientific urge and training. The whole area of emotions may be of more importance both for the instructor and the instructed than what we are in the habit of calling the intellect. Of course, data must be gathered and organized, generalizations and verifications must be made. Our best men and women in the educational field will have to organize

methods and class-room technique, evolve a moral code, develop character projects, clarify character motives and personal influence and set up a system of records, all with the view of arriving at the simplest possible plan for character education. The character educator must himself embody the highest in character achievement, for his unconscious influence will exceed anything that may flow from his best laid plans.

It is but just to say that the Character Education Institution has begun a valuable work under each of these headings, as indicated by their Five-Point Plan for character education in elementary school classrooms. A revision of this plan has recently appeared.

In 1916 a prize of \$5,000 was granted for the best Children's Code of Morals. This code has been revised and verified. It has been compared with literature on the moral education of children, with the fifty-one other codes offered, and submitted to popular vote of State character education committees. It has been approved by the French Ministry of Education.

This morality code for elementary schools adapted for America is in outline as follows:

I

THE LAW OF SELF-CONTROL

Good Americans Control Themselves

Those who best control themselves can best serve their country.

1. I will control my tongue, and will not allow it to speak mean, vulgar or profane words. I will think before I speak. I will tell the truth and nothing but the truth.

2. I will control my temper, and will not get angry when people or things displease me. Even when indignant against wrong and contradicting falsehood, I will keep my self-control.

3. I will control my thoughts, and will not allow a foolish wish to spoil a wise purpose.

4. I will control my actions. I will be careful and thrifty, and insist on doing right.

5. I will not ridicule nor defile the character of another; I will keep my self-respect, and help others to keep theirs.

II

THE LAW OF GOOD HEALTH

Good Americans Try to Gain and Keep Good Health

The welfare of our country depends upon those who are physically fit for their daily work. Therefore:

1. I will try to take such food, sleep and exercise as will keep me always in good health.

2. I will keep my clothes, my body and my mind clean.

3. I will avoid those habits which would harm me, and will make and never break those habits which will help me.

4. I will protect the health of others, and guard their safety as well as my own.

5. I will grow strong and skillful.

III

THE LAW OF KINDNESS

Good Americans are Kind

In America those who are different must live in the same communities. We are of many different sorts, but we are one great people. Every unkindness hurts the common life, every kindness helps. Therefore:

1. I will be kind in all my thoughts. I will bear no spites or grudges. I will never despise anybody.

2. I will be kind in all my speech. I will never gossip nor will I speak unkindly of anyone. Words may wound or heal.

3. I will be kind in my acts. I will not selfishly insist on having my own way. I will be polite: rude people are not good Americans. I will not make unnecessary trouble for those who work for me, nor forget to be grateful. I will be careful of other people's things. I will do my best to prevent cruelty, and will give help to those who are in need.

IV

THE LAW OF SPORTSMANSHIP

Good Americans Play Fair

Strong play increases and trains one's strength and courage. Sportsmanship helps one to be a gentleman, a lady. Therefore:

1. I will not cheat; I will keep the rules,

but I will play the game hard, for the fun of the game, to win by strength and skill. If I should not play fair, the loser would lose the fun of the game, the winner would lose his self-respect, and the game itself would become a mean and often cruel business.

2. I will treat my opponents with courtesy, and trust them if they deserve it. I will be friendly.

3. If I play in a group game, I will play, not for my own glory, but for the success of my team.

4. I will be a good loser or a generous winner.

5. And in my work as well as in my play, I will be sportsmanlike—generous, fair, honorable.

V

THE LAW OF SELF-RELIANCE

Good Americans are Self-Reliant

Self-conceit is silly, but self-reliance is necessary to boys and girls who would be strong and useful.

1. I will gladly listen to the advice of older and wiser people; I will reverence the wishes of those who love and care for me, and who know life and me better than I. I will develop independence and wisdom to choose for myself, act for myself, according to what seems right and fair and wise.

2. I will not be afraid of being laughed at when I am right. I will not be afraid of doing right when the crowd does wrong.

3. When in danger, trouble or pain, I will be brave. A coward does not make a good American.

VI

THE LAW OF DUTY

Good Americans Do Their Duty

The shirker and the willing idler live upon others, and burden fellow-citizens with work unfairly. They do not do their share, for their country's good.

I will try to find out what my duty is, what I ought to do as a good American, and my duty I will do, whether it is easy or hard. What it is my duty to do I can do.

VII

THE LAW OF RELIABILITY

Good Americans are Reliable

Our country grows great and good as her citizens are able more fully to trust each other. Therefore:

1. I will be honest in every act, and very careful with money. I will not cheat nor pretend, nor sneak.

2. I will not do wrong in the hope of not being found out. I cannot hide the truth from myself. Nor will I injure the property of others.

3. I will not take without permission what does not belong to me. A thief is a menace to me and others.

4. I will do promptly what I have promised to do. If I have made a foolish promise, I will at once confess my mistake, and I will try to make good any harm which my mistake may have caused. I will so speak and act that people will find it easier to trust each other.

VIII

THE LAW OF TRUTH

Good Americans are True

1. I will be slow to believe suspicions lest I do injustice; I will avoid hasty opinions lest I be mistaken as to facts.

2. I will stand by the truth regardless of my likes and dislikes, and scorn the temptation to lie for myself or friends; nor will I keep the truth from those who have a right to it.

3. I will hunt for proof, and be accurate as to what I see and hear; I will learn to think, that I may discover new truth.

IX

THE LAW OF GOOD WORKMANSHIP

Good Americans Try to Do the Right Thing in the Right Way

The welfare of our country depends upon those who have learned to do in the right way the work that makes civilization possible. Therefore:

1. I will get the best possible education, and learn all that I can as a preparation for

the time when I am grown up at my life work. I will invent and make things better if I can.

2. I will take real interest in work, and will not be satisfied to do slipshod, lazy and merely passable work. I will form the habit of good work and keep alert; mistakes and blunders cause hardships, sometimes disaster, and spoil success.

3. I will make the right thing in the right way to give it value and beauty, even when no one else sees or praises me. But when I have done my best, I will not envy those who have done better, or have received larger reward. Envy spoils the work and the worker.

X

THE LAW OF TEAM-WORK

Good Americans Work in Friendly Cooperation with Fellow-Workers

One alone could not build a city or a great railroad. One alone would find it hard to build a bridge. That I may have bread, people have sowed and reaped, people have made plows and threshers, have built mills and mined coal, made stoves and kept stores. As we learn better how to work together, the welfare of our country is advanced.

1. In whatever work I do with others, I will do my part and encourage others to do their part, promptly, quickly.

2. I will help to keep in order the things which we use in our work. When things are out of place, they are often in the way, and sometimes they are hard to find.

3. In all my work with others, I will be cheerful. Cheerlessness depresses all the workers and injures all the work.

4. When I have received money for my work, I will be neither a miser nor a spendthrift. I will save or spend as one of the friendly workers of America.

XI

THE LAW OF LOYALTY

Good Americans are Loyal

If our America is to become ever greater and better, her citizens must

be loyal, devotedly faithful, in every relation of life; full of courage and regardful of their honor.

1. I will be loyal to my family. In loyalty I will gladly obey my parents or those who are in their place, and show them gratitude. I will do my best to help each member of my family to strength and usefulness.

2. I will be loyal to my school. In loyalty I will obey and help other pupils to obey those rules which further the good of all.

3. I will be loyal to my town, my state, my country. In loyalty I will respect and help others to respect their laws and their courts of justice.

4. I will be loyal to humanity and civilization. In loyalty I will do my best to help the friendly relations of our country with every other country, and to give to everyone in every land the best possible chance. I will seek truth and wisdom; I will work, and achieve, if I can, some good for the civilization into which I have been born.

If I try simply to be loyal to my family, I may be disloyal to my school. If I try simply to be loyal to my school, I may be disloyal to my town, my state and my country. If I try simply to be loyal to my town, state and country, I may be disloyal to humanity. I will try above all things else to be loyal to humanity; then I shall surely be loyal to my country, my state and my town, to my school and to my family. And this loyalty to humanity will keep me faithful to civilization.

Those who obey the law of loyalty obey all of the other ten laws of The Good American.

We do not defend this code as the last word in a code for schools. We look upon it, however, as a step in the right direction. If, as we believe, the yardstick of peace is the character of peoples, then all intelligent effort to advance character training throughout the schools of the world is as fundamental to the cause of world peace as anything we can now conceive. That the difficulties are very great should deter no one interested to advance the course of character education. One who halts because of the difficulties needs more character within before one can be of service in a business of these dimensions.

Reflections on the Personality of Edwin Emery Slosson

By THE EDITOR

Given at the Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, October 20, 1929

(Edwin Emery Slosson, Director of Science Service, editor, scientist, author of "Great American Universities," "Creative Chemistry," "Easy Lessons in Einstein," and other works, died in Washington, D. C., October 15, 1929. A memorial service in his honor was given at the Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, October 20, where addresses were delivered by Dr. William E. Ritter, Honorable John J. Esch, Reverend Moses R. Lovell and Dr. Arthur Deerin Call.)

TO SPEAK of the personality, of those felicities which made for charm in a loved one who is dead, means of course to talk with directness and intimacy.

I knew Edwin Emery Slosson through a number of years, but never so well as I wished. At this moment I deplore, more than I can express, the opportunities I might have improved to be with him and did not. Here are might-have-beens I shall remember always with both regret and sorrow.

We can never repay our debts to those greater than we. Long before I knew this man personally, I recall, as an humble fellow editor, when, writing for publication, I frequently asked myself, What, I wonder, would Edwin E. Slosson think of such or such a statement? I know a boy who is an industrial chemist. He is not always certain of his stand on matters of religion. I placed in his hands that illuminating "Creative Chemistry," those inspiring "Sermons of a Chemist," and certain other of those master essays that marry so beautifully the mind and spirit of our race. I can not express the gratification that came to me when I noted the relief on the face of that lad as he seemed to find his own high self interpreted at last in the lucid utterances of Edward E. Slosson. That boy and I were comforted to look upon him as our teacher and guide, and to sit at his feet and learn.

What, we ask, were those qualities in him which attracted us, led us towards him, held our abiding respect, and, for all who knew him best, aroused an abiding affection?

There was in him a scholarly seriousness, of the teaching type; a will to open

the minds of men to the possibilities of man. I recall hearing him lecture, adding clarity to substance with test-tubes, bottles and specimens held fascinatingly before us. Of such is the true scholar's simplicity. On more than one occasion he added to my vanity immeasurably by asking for my criticisms of a paper which he had prepared for some meeting. While I am not aware that he ever changed a jot or a tittle of one of his sentences because of my remarks, I shall always remember the thoughtful attention with which he listened to all I had to say. His published works—history, science, religion—all show the modesty of the scholar's mind.

As with most really great men, he had an abiding, individual, and inimitable sense of humor, with never anything of the guffaw. As I strive to repicture him in my mind, I see first those great eyes of his; not seeming to see me at first, quick-moving eyes capable of royal good humor, of irritation maybe, but eyes reflecting the poise and reality within. He could laugh heartily; but when finishing one of his rich, whimsical turns of phrase, there was seldom anything about him save a solemnity which contributed mightily to the fun in those eyes. I remember riding with him from Washington to Briarcliff Manor, New York, where we were for days together in a scholarly conference. I recall how he delivered an address which stood out among all the other learned papers as the first human note of the program. I recall riding with him and Mrs. Slosson from Briarcliff to Bear Mountain Bridge in company with a number of others, and how from the time we started to the time we returned, he was the life and joy of the party.

There was a classic something to his

humor. His writings, for example, "The Art of Keeping Cool and Comfortable," contain some of the most deliciously humorous things ever written in any language. There is the clarity, rich vocabulary and the genius for the apt word, with none of the extravagance sometimes discoverable in Mark Twain. The same thing is true of portions of "Creative Chemistry," indeed of most of his works.

I remember how once it fell to my lot to stand in this pulpit and to plead for some thousands of dollars with which to pay off a burdensome debt of this church. We had pledge envelopes and very little pencils—they were very little pencils—circulated through the congregation, with the view to getting promises where the money was not at the moment available. After my rather domineering performance, the money being raised, I shall never forget how, at the close, an usher came to the platform with a little scrap of paper upon which Slosson had written these words: "Can we please keep the pencils?" When I read aloud that question, the very solemn services collapsed in laughter.

Edwin E. Slosson was a gentleman. On a number of occasions he was kind enough to invite me to lunch with him at the club, when some man from out of town had arrived; mayhap interested in the problem of international peace, with which I have some connections, and in which he was deeply interested. The discussion between the visitor and me would sometimes become a bit involved and controversial. I shall always remember the sagacious gentleness with which that tactful man kept the ship of discourse on an even keel. He was able to stand firmly for his opinions, without any hint of a strut. His culture may be phrased as a creative appreciation of the non-economic values of life. One day in his *Journal*, Emerson scribbled some words on "Natural Aristocracy," winding up with the thought that a gentleman "is the truth's man." It was in that high sense that Edwin E. Slosson was a gentleman.

Our friend was a reverent man. Neither his brilliant humor nor his scholarly seriousness detracted from his sense of worship in the presence of the Infinite.

He believed in the contributions of the new physics to religion, and delivered one of his greatest addresses upon that subject. I snatch from that utterance the following paragraph:

The power of a personality to do good or harm has been immeasurably increased by modern science. There is all the greater need that the actuating purpose shall be right and wise. Each advance of science makes the need of religion more necessary. Science can only provide the motive power. Religion must supply the motive.

Great persons are our most precious possessions. It was a great man, E. Benjamin Andrews, afterward my college president, who in those days of the long ago opened my youthful mind to the possibilities of abiding recompense in the pursuit of the first things of life. That teacher of young men has been dead some twenty years. And yet in the things I try to do I find myself frequently striving, even now, to square them by the measure of that titan spirit.

Such an experience, of course, is in no sense peculiar to me. David Starr Jordan tells how, as a freshman at Cornell, he first met a great man. He was wandering across the fields above Ithaca, when he saw a man in his shirt-sleeves lying in the shade of a tree. He went up to him. He does not remember what that man said to him; but he came away exalted. His feet touched only the high places. He became for the time a poet, reminiscent of that wonderful day when Browning first saw Shelley face to face. He forthwith made a record of his experience in these words:

Once in his shirt-sleeves lying on the grass
Beneath the shadow of a chestnut tree,
I saw James Russell Lowell;
And the great poet rose and spoke to me.

Dr. Jordan never considered these four lines as poetry; but he did consider that event as everything from the standpoint of the dawning of a boy's intellectual life.

That boy I know feels toward Edwin E. Slosson as did Jordan in the presence of James Russell Lowell. So do I. So do you. There are thousands, who through their works and descendants will go on through the generations yet to come, re-

flecting the fine humanity that was Edwin E. Slosson.

But the essence of this man's personality consisted not in his learning or scholarship; not in his humor, his seriousness, his gentility, his reverence. It lay not in his inimitable style, incomparable as that was. It lay, rather, in an atmosphere, an inspiration, in a whatever phrase we may decide to conceal our ignorance of that mysterious thing we call personality. I prefer to call it himself. It must be said of great teachers and preachers that their art roots not in learning, not in style, but in themselves. "If I could prepare myself more truly I would

not need to spend so much time in preparing my sermons," said one of America's most beloved of ministers.

Before one can lead others to the truth and thrill of the spiritual; to an unerring insight as to what is best; to a fearless honesty in speech, whether or not it pleases the crowd; to that reverence which marks the soul that apprehends God, one must first be lifted to the stars and brought back with the aroma of the Infinite in one's life. Such must have been the experience of our friend. For without it we could never have had the charm, the delight, the contagious enthusiasm, the fructifying personality that was Edwin Emery Slosson.

The Legend of Scarlet Poppies

By CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ

The poppies smiled in the sunshine
That shone on the eastern plain,
Small guardians of a blessing—
The secret for deadening pain.

The wind brushed low in its passing
Where fields stretched fair and white
With blossoms that danced in the day-
time,
Or dreamed in the arms of night.

They gave of their blessing freely—
Frail petals fell like rain,
As the poppies yielded treasure
That the sick might ease their pain.

But opium meant for healing
For lust and greed was sold,
For changing man to a thing accursed,
Taking honor as well as gold.

In the lovely land of sunshine
On the petal-scattered plain,
There sprang up scarlet poppies
Where petals of white had lain.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE

NOTE: Following is the text of the documents bearing on the five-power conference on Naval Disarmament, to meet in London on January 20, 1930.

I. Premier MacDonald's Speech in the United States Senate.

(October 7, 1929.)

MR. PRESIDENT AND SENATORS: I cannot say that these walls are unfamiliar to me. I have been here before; but when I sat in one of these galleries, having been brought here under the wing of the late Senator Hoar, destiny never whispered to me that day, before I "ceased from troubling" I should stand here and now, facing you and receiving your good will and your honor.

I do not know what I can say, Mr. President, but you are overburdening me with your kind and your good wishes. The only thing that I feel is: Why have I been so long in coming over?

There are two functions that the prime minister of Great Britain fills. The first: He is the leader of his party and he is the head of a party government. But there is a second function, far more important than that: He represents his nation. He leads not only his party but the house of commons itself.

In the second capacity, Mr. President, I have come here; and I have come here in the second capacity because deep down in my heart there is a conviction, that nothing will ever remove, that the many misunderstandings, small but so deplorably effective, that have been growing up and existing between us do not belong to the substance of things, but belong to the appearance of substance; and I have come, full of faith, to try to reduce misunderstandings to substance, because I know, when that can be done, the misunderstandings will be completely charmed away.

I have come in consequence of one great

event that I believe will stand up like a monument in history. The event was the signing of the pact of peace in Paris—the pact of peace in the construction of which America played such a magnificent and such an honorable part.

America united with France, Mr. Kellogg alongside of M. Briand, gave the word that renewed hope and renewed energy, which is encouraging us to gird our loins together with more determination than ever before and pursue the path of peace.

Where do I find the great difference that the signature of that pact has made? It is this: You signed it; we signed it; other nations signed it.

Did they mean, when they put their names, or the names of their representatives, at the bottom of that pact—did they mean it to be merely an expression on paper? or did they mean it to be a guiding idea in policy? We mean it to be a guiding idea in policy.

Speakers in our country and speakers in your country innumerable have said that war between the United States and Great Britain is unthinkable. What has happened, and what has made the great change in the prospects of peace, is this: That up to now a proclamation has never been made solemnly, with all the dignity, with all the authority and with all the backing that can be given when two governments and the representatives of two governments make it. I think, Senators of the United States, that declaration can now be made.

There can be no war; nay more: It is absolutely impossible if you and we do our duty in making the peace pact effective, and that any section of our arms, whether land, sea or air, can never again come into hostile conflicts.

Think upon that when we face many of our own problems—problems of jealousy, problems of fear, problems that the young and rising and successful generation put into the hearts of the old generation. They all disappear, and in virtue of the fact that

they have disappeared we have met together, and we have said:

"What is all this bother about parity? Parity! Take it, without reserve, heaped up and flowing over."

That was the only condition under which competitive armaments could be stopped, and we could create a public psychology which could pursue the fruitful and successful avenues of peaceful cooperation.

That is one of the results of this visit. Another result of the visit is that we have come to understand each other. Ah, Senators! As long as you conduct your negotiations by correspondence over thousands of miles of sea, you will never understand each other at all.

In these democratic days when heart speaks to heart as deep speaks to deep, and silence talks to silence, personality, personal contact, exchange of views by the lip, sitting at two sides of a fireplace, as it was my great privilege to do this week-end with your President—these things are to be as important as anything else in laying the foundation of an enduring peace all over the world.

I did not mean, really to deliver you a speech. I am afraid that my remarks are rather developing into that. I really wanted to thank you—to thank you as the representative Senators of this great country and this wonderful people—for your kindness and for your hospitality.

But I must say that in the building up of these ideas, you and I, meeting together here today, must remember the tremendous contributions that have been made by other people. We are not out for any exclusive alliance. You would reject it. So should I. It is not for the benefit of either of us.

In the old days when two peoples used to talk together all the other peoples used to put their hands up to their ears and say:

"What are they saying? They must be conspiring against us."

That was the spirit of war, and that spirit must be extirpated. In these days when two nations talk together it ought to give hope and confidence to the other nations of the world, especially when neither of those nations, neither you nor we, will form any exclusive alliance directed against the existence or the interests of any other nation or group of nations on the face of the earth.

Our idea is the free, open, intellectually

and spiritually attracted cooperation of friends. We are not a criminal conspiracy to protect each other against policemen. We are a union of cooperation, a "bidy"—I doubt if there is the exact word in our English language—a cooperation, at any rate, of nations coming together, discussing together, living the open life, in order that their exchange of views, their common action, sometimes their conflict of opinion—why not? Conflict of opinion is a cooperator in the cause of peace when sane and honest men express contrary opinions—in order that that sort of combination, that sort of cooperation—I do not like the word "combination"—that sort of cooperation, that sort of free, friendly relationship, might be established not only between you and myself, not only between your country and my country, but between your country, my country, and all the other civilized and honest countries under the face of the sun.

And we must pay our tribute—and I do it in a sentence—to two great men who have helped on this work: First of all, M. Briand, that gay, genial, happy, humorous, eloquent man whose whole life has been devoted to the promotion of the cause of peace; and another, an old friend of mine, to praise whom, alas, at this moment is to lay a wreath upon his tomb—Gustav Stresemann.

Many a story could I tell you, many a picture could I paint to you, of that quiet, steady, heroic man, standing surrounded by enmity, not only abroad but at home, determined to play a perfectly straight game, determined to carry into practice the proverb that he who does not respect himself is respected by nobody else.

I would think I might, here on this platform of the Senate, in this way, paying my tribute to my dead friend, regard it as laying a wreath on his tomb.

Thank you—thank you very much indeed—for the hearty reception you have given me, and the patient way in which you have listened to me.

II. Joint Statement Issued by President Hoover and Mr. MacDonald.

(October 9, 1929.)

The visit of the British prime minister to President Hoover, which is now terminated, had as its chief purpose the making of personal contacts which will be fruitful

in promoting friendly and frank relations between the two countries.

Both the President and the Prime Minister are highly gratified by the keen interest which the people of both countries have taken in the meeting, and regard it as proof of the strong desire of both nations to come to closer understanding. The British Prime Minister has been particularly impressed and gratified by the warmth of his welcome and the flood of expressions of good will which have poured upon him.

During the last few days we have had an opportunity, in the informal talks in which we have engaged, not only to review the conversations on a naval agreement which have been carried on during this summer between us, but also to discuss some of the more important means by which the moral force of our countries can be exerted for peace.

We have been guided by the double hope of settling our own differences on naval matters and so establishing unclouded good will, candor and confidence between us, and also of contributing something to the solution of the problem of peace in which all other nations are interested and which calls for their cooperation.

In signing the Paris peace pact 56 nations have declared that war shall not be used as an instrument of national policy. We have agreed that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means. Both our governments resolve to accept the peace pact not only as a declaration of good intentions but as a positive obligation to direct national policy in accordance with its pledge.

The part of each of our governments in the promotion of world peace will be different, as one will never consent to become entangled in European diplomacy and the other is resolved to pursue a policy of active cooperation with its European neighbors; but each of our governments will direct its thoughts and influence towards securing and maintaining the peace of the world.

Our conversations have been largely confined to the mutual relations of the two countries in the light of the situation created by the signing of the peace pact. Therefore, in a new and reinforced sense the two governments not only declare that war between them is unthinkable, but that distrusts and suspicions arising from doubts and fears

which may have been justified before the peace pact must now cease to influence national policy.

We approach old historical problems from a new angle and in a new atmosphere. On the assumption that war between us is banished, and that conflicts between our military or naval forces cannot take place, these problems have changed their meaning and character, and their solution, in ways satisfactory to both countries, has become possible.

We have agreed that those questions should become the subject of active consideration between us. They involve important technical matters requiring detailed study.

One of the hopeful results of the visit which is now terminating officially has been that our two governments will begin conversations upon them following the same method as that which has been pursued during the summer in London.

The exchange of views on naval reduction has brought the two nations so close to agreement that the obstacles in previous conferences arising out of Anglo-American disagreements seem now substantially removed. We have kept the nations which took part in the Washington naval conference of 1922 informed of the progress of our conversation, and we have now proposed to them that we should all meet together and try to come to a common agreement which would justify each in making substantial naval reductions.

An agreement on naval armaments can not be completed without the cooperation of other naval powers, and both of us feel sure that, by the same free and candid discussion of needs which has characterized our conversations, such mutual understandings will be reached as will make naval agreement next January possible, and thus remove this serious obstacle to the progress of world disarmament.

Between now and the meeting of the proposed conference in January, our governments will continue conversations with the other powers concerned, in order to remove as many difficulties as possible before the official and formal negotiations open.

In view of the security afforded by the peace pact, we have been able to end, we trust for ever, all competitive building between ourselves with the risk of war and

the waste of public money involved, by agreeing to a parity of fleets, category by category.

Success at the coming conference will result in a large decrease in the naval equipment of the world and, what is equally important, the reduction of prospective programs of construction which would otherwise produce competitive building to an indefinite amount.

We hope and believe that the steps we have taken will be warmly welcomed by the people whom we represent as a substantial contribution to the efforts universally made by all nations to gain security for peace—not by military organization—but by peaceful means rooted in public opinion and enforced by a sense of justice in the civilized world.

III. Secretary Stimson's Explanation of the Joint Statement.

(October 11, 1929.)

In reading comments upon the Prime Minister's visit and the joint statement which was issued on his departure I have noticed a statement which so completely misconceives and misrepresents the actual facts and the spirit of our conference that I can not let it pass without correction.

Mr. David Lawrence says that "Great Britain and the United States have in effect agreed to pool their navies to maintain the peace of the world." During the whole of our conversations there was not a syllable of such a suggestion. The tenor of the conversations was exactly the reverse and I believe that the joint statement makes that perfectly clear. The understanding which we aimed at was a moral understanding. The influence which we are seeking to exert is a moral influence and not a military one. The basis of our discussions was the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Peace which aims at outlawing war and all forcible means of compulsion of nations and which relies wholly upon the public opinion of the world as its sole sanction. This breathes throughout the entire joint statement made yesterday from the beginning where we say that we discussed some of the "means by which the moral force of our countries can be exerted for peace" down to the final sentence where we said that we were endeavor-

ing to take steps which would be a contribution towards efforts for peace "not by military organization but by peaceful means rooted in public opinion and enforced by a sense of justice in the civilized world."

Nothing could have been further away from the truth than to suspect that we contemplated any joinder or pooling of our navies. No such idea was even broached or discussed.

IV. British Invitation to the United States to Participate in the Naval Conference.

(Transmitted to Ambassador Dawes, October 7, 1929.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith copies of the notes which I am today addressing to the French, Italian and Japanese Ambassadors in London inviting the French, Italian and Japanese Governments to participate in a Five-Power Conference to deal with the question of naval disarmament, which it is proposed to hold in London in the latter part of January, next.

Two. As I understand that the Government of the United States concur in the terms of the enclosed notes, I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will be so good as to confirm my impression that they will find it possible to participate in the conference above mentioned.

V. British Note to France, Italy and Japan.

(Transmitted to the Respective Ambassadors, October 7, 1929.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the informal conversations on the subject of naval disarmament which have been proceeding in London during the last three months between the Prime Minister and the Ambassador of the United States have now reached a stage at which it is possible to say that there is no point outstanding of such serious importance as to prevent an agreement.

From time to time the Prime Minister has notified Your Excellency of the progress made in these discussions and I now have the honor to state that provisional and in-

formal agreement has been reached on the following principles:

One. The conversations have been one of the results of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris in 1928 which brought about a realignment of our national attitudes on the subject of security in consequence of the provision that war should not be used as an instrument of national policy in the relations of nations one to another. Therefore, the Peace Pact has been regarded as the starting point of agreement.

Two. It has been agreed to adopt the principle of parity in each of the several categories and that such parity shall be reached by December 31, 1936. Consultation between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and His Majesty's Government in the Dominions has taken place and it is contemplated that the program of parity on the British side should be related to naval forces of all parts of the Empire.

Three. The question of battleship strength was also touched upon during the conversations and it has been agreed in these conversations that subject to the assent of other signatory powers it would be desirable to reconsider the battleship replacement programs provided for in the Washington Treaty of 1922 with the view of diminishing the amount of replacement construction implied under that treaty.

Four. Since both the Government of the United States and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom adhere to the attitude that they have publicly adopted in regard to the desirability of securing the total abolition of the submarine, this matter hardly gave rise to discussion during the recent conversations. They recognize, however, that no final settlement on this subject can be reached except in conference with the other naval powers.

In view of the scope of these discussions both governments consider it most desirable that a conference should be summoned to consider the categories not covered by the Washington Treaty and to arrange for and deal with the questions covered by the second paragraph of Article 21 of that Treaty. It is our earnest hope that the (blank) government will agree to the desirability of such a conference. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States are in accord that such a

conference should be held in London at the beginning of the third week of January, 1930, and it is hoped that the (blank) government will be willing to appoint representatives to attend it.

A similar invitation is being addressed to the governments of (blank) and the United States and His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions are being asked to appoint representatives to take part in the conference. I should be grateful if Your Excellency would cause the above invitation to be addressed to the (blank) government.

In the same way as the two governments have kept Your Excellency informally au courant of the recent discussions, so now His Majesty's Government will be willing, in the interval before the proposed conference, to continue informal conversations with Your Excellency on any points which may require elucidation. The importance of reviewing the whole naval situation at an early date is so vital in the interests of general disarmament that I trust that Your Excellency's Government will see their way to accept this invitation and that the date proposed will be agreeable to them.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom propose to communicate to you in due course their views as to the subjects which they think should be discussed at the conference, and will be glad to receive a corresponding communication from the (blank) government.

It is hoped that at this conference the principal naval powers may be successful in reaching agreement. I should like to emphasize that His Majesty's Government have discovered no inclination in any quarter to set up new machinery for dealing with the naval disarmament question; on the contrary, it is hoped that by this means a text can be elaborated which will facilitate the task of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission and of the subsequent general disarmament conference.

VI. American Acceptance.

(Note delivered to the British Foreign Office by the American Charge d'Affaires in London, October 11, 1929.)

I have the honor to refer to the note which you were good enough to address to the ambassador on October 7, and I take great pleasure in informing you that the American

Government hastens to accept the invitation of His Majesty's Government to a conference on naval armaments to take place in London the latter part of January, which will unite the powers signatory to the Washington Treaty in a discussion which will anticipate the problems raised under Article 21 of that Treaty as well as broaden its whole scope by the inclusion of the other categories of ships.

VII. Japanese Acceptance.

1. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated October 7, informing me of a provisional and informal agreement reached between the Prime Minister and the American Ambassador in London on the subject of naval disarmament, and inviting the Japanese Government to participate in a conference which it is proposed to summon in London to consider the categories of ships not covered by the Washington treaty and to arrange for and deal with the questions covered by the second paragraph of Article 21 of that Treaty.

2. Having laid before my government the contents of your note under acknowledgment, I am desired to state in reply that the Japanese Government are happy to signify their entire concurrence in the desirability of the proposed conference, and are ready to appoint representatives to take part in that conference. The date suggested for the opening of the conference, namely, the beginning of the third week of January, 1930, is also agreeable to my government.

3. The Japanese Government are further gratified to know of the willingness of the British Government to continue informal conversations with me, as hitherto, on many points which may require elucidation. They note that similar discussions conducted in London by the Prime Minister with the American Ambassador during the last three months had cleared the ground for an agreement on essential points between the British and American Governments, prior to the invitation extended to other naval powers to meet in a conference. My government attaches the highest importance to the same procedure being followed by the Japanese and British Governments, in order to insure agreement between them on various questions that are to be laid before the conference. The success of the forthcoming con-

ference no doubt depends in a large measure upon the satisfactory issue of such preliminary discussions, and my government confidently trust that the informal conversations between the British Government and myself on questions of special moment will be carried on and completed before these questions are presented to the conference for final adjustment.

4. In your note under review, it is intimated that the British Government propose to communicate to me in due course their views as to the subjects for discussions at the conference. The Japanese Government are looking forward to such a communication with keen interest, and, on their part, they will be glad to furnish the British Government with a corresponding communication as desired.

5. With regard to the four points of principle mentioned in your note as the subject of provisional agreement between the British and American Governments, the Japanese Government hopes to be able to submit their observations, in the course of the informal conversations which I shall shortly permit myself to hold with the British Government. They would, however, make use of this occasion to assure you of their cordial support of the principle that the treaty for the renunciation of war, signed at Paris in 1928, should be taken as the starting point for all discussions on disarmament. They feel confident that the sense of national security inspired by the provision of that treaty in the mutual relations of the contracting powers will pave the way for the final settlement of the outstanding questions relative to naval disarmament.

6. In conclusion, I am instructed to express the sincere and earnest hope of the Japanese Government that the conference will succeed in the adoption of plans calculated to promote international peace and good will, and to relieve humanity of the heavy burden of armament, whether existing or contemplated. It is not merely the limitation, but also the reduction of armament that all nations should seek to attain.

VII. Italian Acceptance.

The Italian Government has considered most seriously the note of the 7th instant in which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs after having informed the Italian

Government of the points upon which a provisional and informal agreement was reached between the British Government and the United States Government in the course of their conversations on the subject of naval disarmament proposed to the Royal Government that it participate in a conference to be held in London at the beginning of the third week of next January for the purpose of considering the categories of ships not covered by the Washington Treaty of 1922 and in order to deal with the questions covered by the second paragraph of Article 21 of that Treaty. The aim of this conference to which the powers signatory to the Washington Treaty are invited should be to elaborate a text to facilitate the task of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission and of the subsequent general disarmament conference.

The views of the Italian Government on the problem of disarmament in general and of naval disarmament in particular are too well known to the British Government to require further declarations with regard thereto. These views have been clearly expressed on repeated occasions and ultimately in the note verbale addressed to the British Embassy in Rome on October 6, 1928, in reply to the communication relative to the proposed Franco-British naval agreement of the past year.

Desirous as always of participating in any move whatsoever that may be proposed for the elimination of the losses and dangers of excessive armaments and entertaining the hope that the general initiative may result in real progress toward the solution of the general problem of disarmament, the Italian Government is happy to accept the invitation of the British Government to participate in the London Conference.

The Italian Government takes due notice of the British Government's proposal to communicate to it the British views on the subjects to be discussed at the conference and while waiting for these communications, it is considering in its turn informing the British Government of its own point of view on the matter.

"The real question is not whether the Kellogg treaty will end wars, but whether it will keep them from beginning."—*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*.

BOLIVIAN-PARAGUAYAN DISPUTE OVER THE CHACO

Final Report of the Conciliation Commission

The renewal of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Paraguay, the repatriation of prisoners, and a proposal for arbitration on the "fundamental question," the division of Chaco, have been effected, according to the final report of the Bolivian-Paraguayan Conciliation Commission submitted to the Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, by the chairman, Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy. The report follows in full text:

At its final meeting, held on September 13, the commission of inquiry and conciliation, Bolivia and Paraguay, authorized me to inform you, as successor to the chairman of the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration of the results of its labors concerning the conciliation of the incident which arose from the events of December last, in the Chaco Boreal, and the efforts made by the neutral commissioners to promote the settlement of the fundamental question still pending between Bolivia and Paraguay, with the request that you kindly transmit this report to the other governments of the Americas not represented on the commission.

I have the honor to carry out the mission entrusted to me by means of a review of our main activities, to which are appended the corresponding documents.

The commission met for the first time, on March 13, under the chairmanship of the Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States of America. The delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay delivered their memorials on April 4 and their answers on May 16. At several meetings of the neutral commissioners with the delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay, separately, the delegations furnished such additional information as was requested in order to elucidate various points in their respective memorials.

Military Forces of Two Countries Repatriated

Repatriation of nationals: At the plenary meeting of May 13 the commission, duly authorized by the governments of Bolivia and Paraguay, undertook the repatriation of the Bolivian and Paraguayan military men held by Paraguay and Bolivia, respectively, as a consequence of the events of December, 1928, in the Chaco Boreal.

After submitting them to the interroga-

ories formulated by the commission, the Paraguayan nationals were repatriated on June 29 by the neutral committee at Formosa (Argentine Republic) and the Bolivian nationals on July 8, by the neutral committee at Corumba (United States of Brazil). The commission duly expressed its appreciation to the governments of the Argentine Republic, the United States of Brazil and the United States of America, for the manifold facilities they gave and without which it would have been extremely difficult to repatriate the detained nationals.

Conciliation: Under the provisions of the Protocol of January 3, the commission was (1) to investigate, by hearing both sides, what has taken place, taking into consideration the allegations set forth by both parties, and determining in the end which of the parties brought about a change in the peaceful relations between the two countries; and (2) to submit proposals and to endeavor to settle the incident amicably under conditions which would satisfy both parties; (3) if this should not be possible, the commission was to render its report setting forth the result of the investigation and the efforts made to settle the incident, and (4) the commission was empowered, in case it should not be able to effect conciliation, to establish both the truth of the matter investigated and the responsibilities which, in accordance with international law, might appear as a result of its investigation.

Having fulfilled the first duty, the neutral commissioners made all the efforts necessary to discharge the second, that is, to conciliate the parties. While the conversations to this end were under way, the commission directed the drafting of the basis for the report it might be called upon to render in the eventuality contemplated by its third duty. The delegations of Colombia and Uruguay each submitted drafts for that purpose.

Resolution Adopted on Conciliation

Fortunately the conciliatory action met with full success, and in the plenary meeting of September 12 the commission unanimously adopted a resolution on conciliation entirely satisfactory to both parties.

Conciliation, the second function of the commission under the protocol of January 3, having been effected, it became unnecessary

to render the report and to establish the truth of the matter investigated and the responsibilities.

Thus was fulfilled the desire expressed during the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration that, whenever possible, conciliation be undertaken rather than proceeding to the investigation.

Settlement of the fundamental question.—The neutral commissioners being convinced that, in order to prevent new conflicts and establish conciliation on firm and permanent bases, it was indispensable to procure a settlement of the fundamental question, on May 31, the chairman stated to the delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay that the neutral commissioners entertained the hope that both delegations, duly authorized by their respective governments, would empower the neutral commissioners to prepare and submit to them, in a friendly spirit, such plans for a settlement as they might deem convenient, it being understood that this procedure did not imply the abandonment of the process of investigation then being conducted by the commission in pursuance of the protocol of January 3, 1929.

The foregoing suggestion having been accepted in principle in a note dated June 28, the chairman of the commission asked the delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay officially to confirm their consent thereto.

On July 1 the delegation of Bolivia and the delegation of Paraguay, under authority of their governments, confirmed their oral acceptance and on July 2 the chairman replied to them, on behalf of the neutral commissioners, saying that the latter regarded both countries as being in the same position in relation to the power they had granted to the neutrals.

Authorized by the parties to prepare and submit to them a plan for the settlement of the fundamental question, the neutral commissioners made a careful study of the different phases of the problem, with the unofficial advice to geographic, economic and other experts.

After sounding the interested delegations for the purpose of ascertaining their respective aspirations and of suggesting to them a plan for direct settlement, the parties expressed the opinion of their respective governments to the effect that such a plan was not acceptable to them, and in view of this

the neutral commissioners concluded that it was not possible, for the time being, to reconcile those divergent viewpoints of the parties and regretfully decided not to pursue their constant and earnest efforts of several weeks to promote the direct settlement of the fundamental question.

Arbitration: The neutral commissioners then proceeded to prepare a formula for arbitral settlement, and on August 31 the chairman delivered to the delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay a note transmitting a draft convention on arbitration and a draft supplementary protocol.

Plan of Arbitration Accepted in Principle

In their answers, dated September 9, the two delegations accepted, in principle, the idea of submitting the fundamental question to arbitration and formulated certain observations with regard to its application.

Under date of September 12 the chairman, on behalf of the neutral commissioners, replied to the observations of the parties and proposed to them methods intended to remove the obstacles which, according to each of them, prevented the acceptance of the arbitral plan proposed by the neutral commissioners.

In their note of September 14 the Bolivian commissioners replied that, since their full powers had lapsed on September 13, they had confined themselves to advising the Bolivian foreign office of the contents of the foregoing note of the chairman of the commission.

Furthermore, in order to continue to lend their assistance to the republics of Bolivia and Paraguay in the efforts they may make to settle the fundamental question, the neutral commissioners read into the minutes of the plenary meeting held September 13 their unanimous agreement to recommend to their respective governments that they proffer their friendly good offices to the parties in the event these might be of service to them. At the request of the chairman of the commission the neutral commissioners agreed to remain in Washington for a few days to await the results of the foregoing action.

Duties Declared to Have Been Fulfilled

Statement in conclusion.—The undersigned is of the opinion, also shared by the commissioners of the parties and the neutrals, that,

having effected conciliation of the incident arising from the events of December, last, in the Chaco Boreal, the commission duly fulfilled the duties with which it was entrusted by the protocol of January 3, 1929.

It should be stated that it would not have been possible to achieve a result so satisfactory to the two parties and affirming the principles of peace underlying Pan Americanism and continental solidarity, were it not for the conciliatory spirit of the delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay and the noble and fruitful endeavors of my distinguished neutral colleagues.

The sure juridical knowledge of the Mexican commissioner, Dr. Fernando Gonzalez Roa; the searching spirit of investigation of the commissioner for Colombia, Dr. Raimundo Rivas; the deep acquaintance with the problem of the commissioner for Uruguay, General Guillermo Ruprecht, and of his able secretary, Dr. Alberto Dominguez, and the great diplomatic skill of the commissioner for Cuba, Dr. Manuel Marquez Sterling, were of paramount importance to the success of the commission.

It is also just to commend the effective cooperation that the secretariat general rendered in the work of the commission. The secretary general, Mr. H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld; the counsellor, Mr. Walter Bruce Howe, and the Spanish secretary, Mr. Benjamin Cohen, ably assisted by a competent and hard working staff, discharged their duties in a manner which deserved the unanimous appreciation and congratulations of the commission.

Before closing, please allow me, Mr. Secretary, to reiterate to you the thanks of the commission for the splendid assistance that it received, at all times, from yourself and from the Department of State of the United States of America, not only by placing at its disposal the elements necessary to carry on its task, but also in serving as a channel of communication with several governments.

UNOFFICIAL AMBASSADORS OF OUR UNITED STATES

NEARLY four hundred thousand of our citizens are living permanently in other lands. This interesting fact appears from reports received during the past two years

from some three hundred and thirty American Consulates in all parts of the world.

Tourists and all others whose sojourn abroad was considered to be only transitory, nearly two hundred thousand annually, are not included.

Based on all available sources of information, the following estimates, we are assured by our Department of State, may be regarded as a fairly accurate world census as of last February of Americans living abroad:

South America

Argentina	3,619
Bolivia	360
Brazil	2,153
British Guiana	34
Chile	1,522
Colombia	771
Dutch Guiana	14
Ecuador	232
Paraguay	46
Peru	946
Uruguay	224
Venezuela	2,215
Total	12,136

Mexico and Central America

British Honduras	30
Costa Rica	424
Guatemala	626
Honduras	1,310
Mexico	14,607
Nicaragua	482
Panama	1,932*
Salvador	203
Total	19,614

West Indies and Bermuda

Bahamas	186
Barbadoes	24
Bermuda	27
Cuba	9,234
Dominican Republic	9,205**
Dutch West Indies	26
French West Indies	17
Haiti	515
Jamaica	214
Trinidad	131
Total	19,579

Canada and Newfoundland

Canada	234,039
Alberta	98,030

British Columbia	14,617
Manitoba	53,333
New Brunswick	451
Nova Scotia	718
Ontario	29,599
Prince Edward Island ...	19
Quebec	13,055
Saskatchewan	24,147
Yukon Territory	70
Newfoundland	108
Total	234,147

Europe

Austria	979
Belgium	857
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	11,717
Bulgaria	62
Czechoslovakia	2,600
Danzig, Free City of	18
Denmark	406
Estonia	18
Finland	236
France	25,860
Germany	3,027
Gibraltar	11
Greece	3,146
Hungary	1,200
Irish Free State	1,193
Italy	10,000
Latvia	86
Lithuania	750
Malta	26
Netherlands	241
Norway	600
Poland	6,000
Portugal, including Madeira and the Azores	479
Rumania	2,000
Russia	150
Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Kingdom of	2,500
Spain and Canary Islands	805
Sweden	658
Switzerland	1,438
Total	17,063

Africa

Asia

Algeria	57
Angola	765
Egypt	664
Ethiopia	25
Kenya	240
Liberia	187

Madagascar	89
Morocco	96
Mozambique	50
South Africa, Union of:	
Cape Province	167
Natal	230
Transvaal and Orange	
Tunisia	25
West Africa (French and British colonies and Mandated Territories)	350
Total	3,673
Arabia	24
Ceylon	61
China	12,233
Dutch East Indies	375
French Indo-China	51
Hongkong	418
India	3,723
Japanese Empire	3,136
Palestine	1,964
Persia	254
Siam	173
Straits Settlements	392
Syria	859
Turkey (including Turkey in Europe)	456
Total	24,119
<i>Australasia and Oceania</i>	
Australia	2,143
New Zealand	55
Oceania (exclusive of territory of the United States)	139
Total	2,337
Grand Total	392,668

* Exclusive of the 7,482 civilian Americans reported in 1928 to be residents in the Canal Zone.

** Includes a large number of Porto Rican citizens of the United States.

"It is not by mutual fault-finding or by exaggerating each other's peculiarities that we can arrive at understanding or appreciation. Not by antipathy but by sympathy; not by hostility but by hospitality; not by enmity but by amity, does one race come to know the heart of another."—Dr. Inazo Nitobe.

News In Brief

A NEW METHOD OF LIGHTENING and speeding the proceedings of international conferences was put in operation by the International Congress on Accounting, which met in New York in September. The main speeches were translated, printed in three languages and circulated for study. The author then was simply presented to the meeting, and discussion of his speech proceeded at once.

THE BALKAN SPORTS, held in Athens this year, on invitation of the Hellenic Athletic Union, should constitute a friendly bond between the participating countries. The events will be held in Athens for the next four years, pending arrangement for their celebration by other Balkan states. Turkey and Armenia will also be invited to send competing teams.

THE BRAZILIAN-COLOMBIAN BOUNDARY TREATY, approved by both governments, will be put into effect by the exchange of ratifications on November 15.

CHINA HAS, for the first time, opened an institute for industrial research. It is located at Tientsin, and sets itself the task of discovering remedies for trade and manufacturing stagnation; if necessary it proposes to use propaganda methods to bring about better industrial conditions in China.

AVIATION EXPERTS aided by the Guggenheim Fund have now completed instruments which make accurate air aviation possible even in darkness and dense fog. The instruments will shortly be installed in air-mail planes.

THE WORLD ADVERTISING CONGRESS, meeting in Berlin in August, unanimously passed the following resolution on world peace:

"Resolved, that this congress, representing the united advertising associations of the world, solemnly declares peace and international goodwill are essential to industrial progress and commercial success.

"Because of the spirit expressed by advertising men of all nations at this congress, the International Advertising Association is justified in pledging itself to support all movements working to attain these objects, thereby helping toward a better understanding and closer relationship between the nations of the world."

WHEN COSTA RICA, on October 1, deposited the record of her adherence to the Pact for the Renunciation of War with the State Department, there were fifty-three adherents to the Pact.

THE PAN AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY has chosen Mexico City, where its first conference was held in September, as its permanent headquarters. The second general assembly will be held three years hence in Rio Janeiro.

THE INFLUENCE of world-war moving picture films on the youth of England was studied lately by the League of Nations Union there. The Union reports that only 49 of the 1,149 children questioned in typical boroughs, were led to favor war by the world-war films they had seen.

THE CHINESE RAILWAY, running 280 miles in the province of Shantung, which had been run at heavy loss, was guarded from May, 1928, to May, 1929, by Japanese troops, though managed, as before, by Chinese. Protected thus from military and bandit confiscation of various kinds, the road paid off large debts, reinvested in improvements, and, at the time of the Japanese evacuation, had on hand a surplus of over one million dollars. Since that time it has continued to maintain efficient operation.

THE CORNERSTONE of the new League of Nations Building was laid on September 7, in Ariana Park, looking down on Lake Geneva. M. Gustavo Guerrero, President of the tenth Assembly, presided at the ceremonies. An American, Mr. Forstall, purchased adjacent property, "La Pelouse," which he sold at cost to the League later in the month.

THE TERM of the General Claims Commission, United States and Mexico, has been extended for two years longer.

A CHILD MARRIAGE PREVENTION bill was recently made law in India.

THE QUOTA OF IMMIGRANTS to Canada from non-preferred countries is to be reduced 25 per cent, it is announced by the Canadian Minister of Immigration. Certain classes of British immigrants will continue to receive Canadian assistance. These include families for land settlement, household workers, and supervised and properly accredited juvenile immigrants.

A FOURTH CONGRESS of the International Institute of Sociology and Political and Social Reforms is scheduled for February 17-24 in Habana. The Institute, organized in Turin in 1919, set itself the work of studying sociological, political and other related problems in the interests of rational world solidarity and, specifically, to "remove all traces of the World War." Headquarters of the organization are now located in Habana.

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, has, through its extension bureau, furnished the past year, some 450 speakers on foreign nations to clubs, schools, colleges and other organizations which have asked for them. The House itself furnishes a home for mature graduate students from foreign countries, temporarily in New York City.

"THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA" is to be henceforth the official name of the country which has previously borne the somewhat cumbersome title "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." At the same time that King Alexander made this announcement he stated that the land would be divided into nine counties, with a governor and a large measure of power for each, including considerable financial autonomy.

AN INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL CONFERENCE, under the auspices of the World Alliance for International Friendship, was well attended in Nashville, Tennessee, November 10-12.

THE INTERNATIONAL BOYS' WORK CONFERENCE, which met in Toronto in October, had for its main subject of discussion the development of international-mindedness among the youth of the world for the furtherance of world peace. More than one thousand representatives from service groups, such as Boy Scouts, Boys' Club Federations, Rotary, Kiwanis, Knights of Columbus, Prison Asso-

ciations, Children's Aid Societies and others, were in attendance. Delegates came from Australia, England, the United States and Latin America.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH EXHIBITION at the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh exhibited art from fifteen nations, sent in competition for prizes.

THE THIRD PROJECT of the Committee on World Friendship Among Children is announced to be treasure chests for the Filipino children. The chests will be decorated metal boxes with locks, which American children are to fill with articles, such as crayons, games, and at least one book in each, together with a letter. The first project was dolls for Japanese children; the second, friendship school-bags for Mexico.

DR. CHARLES E. MARTIN has been designated Visiting Professor of International Relations by the Carnegie Endowment, to lecture at certain Universities in Japan, China and other colleges in the Orient. Dr. Martin, head of the department of political science in the University of Washington, has been Visiting Professor in the University of Hawaii the past spring and summer.

PRESIDENT HOOVER and the Secretary of State have both been decorated by the Peruvian Government in recognition of their services to Peru and South America.

A DANISH ENGINEER, CHR. BJORN PETERSON, has won the first prize in an international design competition for a free port in Barcelona, Spain. Construction on this important new port is to progress gradually for some years. The aggregate cost is estimated at about 500 millions pesetas.

NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE AMERICAN COLLEGE in Bulgaria are nearly completed. It is now located at Simeonovo, seven kilometers from Sofia. The school, founded, 1860, at Philippopolis, has graduated many men, prominent today in Bulgarian art, scientific and business life. The number of resident pupils, boys and girls, is now about 420.

AN ENGLISH WEEKLY PUBLICATION, *The Balkan Times*, is announced, to be issued in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

M. EDOUARD HERRIOT, former French premier, now Mayor of Lyons, has been touring central Europe this fall, lecturing upon M. Briand's proposal for the economic collaboration of European States.

A DEPARTMENT OF SLAVONIC STUDIES, lately inaugurated in Austin College, Texas, will give an important place in its curriculum to Czechoslovak language and literature.

AMONG THE PUBLIC LECTURES TO BE DELIVERED in King's College, University of London, this fall are several courses arranged by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. Among these will be lectures on Hungarian literature, Polish novels, Russian drama, Czechoslovak history, Eighteenth Century Austria, and modern Estonian literature.

AIR MAIL SERVICE WAS ESTABLISHED between Buenos Aires and the United States on Columbus Day, October 12. The route runs via Santiago, Chile; thence over already established lines to Miami, Florida. The first Argentinian mails reached the United States in eleven days.

ARGENTINA HONORED THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of Edison's invention of the incandescent lamp, October '22, by naming after him streets or avenues in eighteen cities and towns. In Buenos Aires the name is given to an avenue upon which are located two large electric light plants.

Book Reviews

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION FROM ATHENS TO LOCARNO. By *Jackson H. Ralston*, Stanford University Press, 1929. I-XVI, 417. \$5.00, postpaid.

Students interested in international affairs will welcome this work, complementing as it does Mr. Ralston's previous standard text on "The Law and Procedure of International

Tribunals," the last edition of which appeared in 1926. As the former book is the outstanding work in its field, presenting a critical digest of the decisions and practices of international arbitral bodies; so this new contribution is the first comprehensive history of arbitration, setting forth the theory of arbitration and the present developments in that field of international settlement. The book is arranged in five well defined parts. The first two set forth the general principles of international judicial settlement together with the influences which are working today in that direction. Part three is a summary of arbitral tribunals from the beginnings in ancient Greece to and including our latest mixed arbitral tribunals. The last two parts treat of The Hague Peace Conferences, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. There is an appendix and bibliography. No one concerned to know of the theory and practice of international arbitration can afford to be without Ralston's two works: first, "The Law and Procedure of International Tribunals"; second, this definitive text on "International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno."

OTHER BOOKS FROM THE LIBRARIAN'S TABLE

VOLUMES come rapidly from the presses these days. We wish that all the useful and instructive books were also literature. There have been lately, however, a good many books, not only well-written and well-printed, but also books valuable to persons interested in better international relations. Of these one could select a score or more, all of some particular importance.

The Peace Pact of Paris, and its relation to present and coming international events is a matter of great moment to everyone. The recent book on *WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY* by Professor Shotwell, follows, with power and clarity, the diplomatic evolution of the Pact. The first four chapters would, of themselves, make a valuable handy volume on the change in modern warfare, which has grown from a simple strategy in man-power to a tremendous economic and industrial complexity. The attitude of the United States toward enforcement of peace is duly appreciated. The au-

thor shows, too, the value of international conferences, and the consummate need of the machinery of justice between nations. Mr. Shotwell believes that the Pact restores general belief in the good faith of nations; a belief which the war shattered and which has not hitherto been quite restored.

Another excellent book on the *PEACE PACT OF PARIS* is that by David Hunter Miller, who concludes that the pact while not amending does materially qualify our United States constitution. Dr. Miller, appointed in 1918, legal advisor to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, was, therefore, intimately associated with the final draft of the Treaty of Versailles.

The essays and addresses collected in *THE WAY OF PEACE*, by Viscount Cecil reflect quite faithfully his political creed, as it appears in international matters. He believes wholeheartedly in the League of Nations, writes of arbitration, peace, nationalism, and also, most interestingly of the conservative party in England, and other somewhat specially British topics. Like so many English statesmen Lord Cecil is a man of broad culture and writes with a ready pen.

The dean of the faculty of Social Science, in the University of Washington, Mr. Charles Martin, feels that a great break with the past has now definitely taken place, in the new world—a break so great that a new *POLITICS OF PEACE* is dawning. The book he writes on this topic represents a sort of taking account of stock in things as they now are. Constitutionalism, the forces for and against it, and other trends are his themes. Mr. Martin, it is a pleasure to note, is not at odds with the United States system of government, nor its doings. At the same time he looks forward to progressive ideas of democracy.

Dr. Elloitt, in *THE PRAGMATIC REVOLT IN POLITICS*, studies analytically the age of skepticism as it applies to the state. He finds much food for thought in the various anti-constitutional, anti-parliamentary movements. His conclusion is, however, that ideas as well as facts are social forces and, if guided by objective study and willingness to learn from experience, ideas could bring about a just and stable constitutional government.

Dr. Redlich, in *INTERNATIONAL LAW A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIPLOMACY*, makes the astonishing statement that the diplomat is the assistant, not the rival of the soldier, and reaches

the conclusion that only the international lawyer can save the world. There is much good sense in the book, though dogmatic in manner, and there is no doubt that international law has tremendous new tasks before it. But there must be, also, a large field in which the diplomat should function, in avoiding conflicts leading to the courts. At least so it seems to the layman.

THE PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE is interestingly treated by Dr. Hill, of Stanford University. The history of these increasingly important governmental conferences, their function, organization and procedure is a worthwhile study, since the future will doubtless build upon the past.

THE SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, put out for the Council on Foreign Relations by Mr. Howland, is a book of much but uneven merit. His history of the American attitude toward the League of Nations in 1919 is far from fair to the body of honest opinion opposed to the covenant; and scant credit is given to the influence of the peace movement in favor of a world court and congress of nations before the organization of the League to Enforce Peace. The great documents on these subjects produced by peace workers in the early 19th century are ignored. The sections of the book on finance, and limitation of armaments are, however, fair, instructive and comprehensive.

Two timely and thoughtful books on South America are worth reading. THE RIVALRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN IN LATIN AMERICA, by Professor Rippey of Duke University, is a history of diplomatic conflict in Latin America. It is not written in a provocative spirit. Rather it shows the growth of accommodation and cooperation between the two governments. The bearing which this history has upon Anglo-American naval rivalry today makes it particularly appropriate to a study of the disarmament question.

The other book is a revised edition of INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SOUTH AMERICA, by Miss Peck. It is an accurate up-to-date text on each of the South American countries in turn. It gives the physical characteristics, political divisions, resources, industries and products of each, with concluding paragraphs on business opportunities. Well arranged for easy reference, it is especially a book for the business man.

A book on the MEXICAN AGRARIAN REVOLU-

TION is sponsored by the Institute of Economics. It is, like all of the Brookings books, a factual, thorough study. It shows, what is much needed in America at the moment, how peoples with different institutional history, naturally approach differently even such basic questions as that of land holding.

THE ECONOMIC FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF GERMANY SINCE THE WAR is graphically outlined in a book by Dr. Reinhold, formerly Finance minister of the Reich. It is a tragic story—of inflation, breakdown and then patient, slow beginnings to recovery. Some bitterness in alluding to war-guilt is perhaps natural, but the book closes on a hopeful note of ultimate health for Germany.

The Stanford University Press puts out an attractive volume on the GOVERNANCE OF HAWAII, a study of territorial administration. Mr. Littler has the faculty of presenting his facts with a human touch, occasionally spiced with humor. The book is also, however, factual and instructive.

Those who have enjoyed Professor Zimmer's masterly daily resumés of the work of the League Commissions during sessions of the League Assembly at Geneva will welcome the collection of essays published under the title, AMERICA AND EUROPE. They are an exemplification of the phrase, The Scholar in Politics, which, by the way, is the title of the sixth chapter.

In the realm of humanitarian work for peace a new book on the war-work and after-war-work of the Society of Friends has been written by Lester M. Jones. QUAKERS IN ACTION is suggestive to all who have a liberal and tolerant but passionate desire for a better world.

Two new volumes, lovely in their colonial buff and blue, have appeared in the historical documents series of the *Institute Francais de Washington*. Some hitherto unpublished letters written by LaFayette between 1781 and 1785 show the young French general in new aspects. The other book, L'ENFANT AND WASHINGTON, places the far-seeing and able designer of the capital of this new country in his proper relation to the whole plan. Our sense of debt to France grows with each new volume in this series.

For the better understanding of other peoples several good books have lately appeared. Two novels of the soil, one English and one French, both by young writers, are

of high literary merit. The English story, *JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN*, by Freeman, gives a marvellous picture of a crabbed farm won into fertility by the toil and inarticulate love of an ex-convict and his six sturdy sons. The land itself is the real hero of the tale, moulding the men, but breaking the women with its elemental ruggedness.

THE ROAD, translated from the French of André Chamson, though very different in content, has also the simplicity of the peasants whom it depicts. Few characters are in this book. They are austere, penurious, mute as to their emotions, but one, at least, cherishes a dumb love of his home farm which provides the pathos of the story.

DESTINY BAY, one of the last books to be written before the untimely death of Don Byrne, has all the wit, mysticism and poetry of his other work. The plot is laid on the wild north coast of Ireland, the setting is fanciful, but the story and characters natural and lovable.

From the German comes a translation of *THE CASE OF SERGEANT GRISCHA* by Arnold Zweig, a story of the war on the Eastern front, with a Russian prisoner as the center of the action. Merely a stolid peasant, his life hangs in the balance through some forty chapters of intrigue. It is an excellent piece of literary work, with many lessons and morals which one might read between the lines.

Another translation from the German is the biography of *MOUSSORGSKY* by von Riese-mann. One of the first to rebel against the smooth melodies of Italian opera music, Moussorgsky, himself carrying peasant blood in his veins, tried as no other Russian had then done to interpret the Russian peasant. It is a tragic story. Somewhat reminiscent of Wagner's heart-rending trials, he was acknowledged a genius; but, like Wagner, few of the musical coterie to which he belonged shared his artistic ideas. The book is one of a series on Russian musicians.

The last book on our list, quite different, both in manner and subject, is the biography of *NOBEL*. The inventor of dynamite was one of an adventurous and interesting family, but he seemed to possess a business acumen which led to his greater success. One enters, in this book, a world of science and also the world of big business. The development of the peace idea in Nobel's mind is interesting to follow, though it is quite a

minor part of the narrative. The Nobel peace prizes, however, make the whole biography most interesting to those concerned with international harmony. It is probable that the founding of the peace prize by this clear-headed business man has added very much to the dignity of the peace movement in the eyes of the man on the street. It has perhaps been of some force to other men who wished to make donations for the betterment of the race.

WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY AND ITS RENUNCIATION IN THE PACT OF PARIS. By James T. Shotwell. Pp. 303 and index. Harcourt, Brace & Co. Price, \$3.00.

THE PEACE PACT OF PARIS. By David Hunter Miller. Pp. 283 and index. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, \$3.00.

THE WAY OF PEACE. By Viscount Cecil. Pp. 256. John Day Co. Price, \$3.00.

THE POLITICS OF PEACE. By Chas. E. Martin. Pp. 449 and index. Stanford University Press. Price, \$4.00.

THE PRAGMATIC REVOLT IN POLITICS. By W. Y. Elliott. Pp. 510 and index. Macmillan Co.

INTERNATIONAL LAW A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIPLOMACY. By Marcellus Donald Redlich. Pp. 208. Independent Pub. Co.

THE PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. By Norman L. Hill. Pp. 259 and index. Stanford University Press. Price, \$3.00.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. By Charles P. Howland. Pp. 596 and index. Yale University Press. Price, \$5.00.

THE RIVALRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN IN LATIN AMERICA. By J. Fred Rippy. Pp. 315 and index. Johns Hopkins Press. Price, \$2.75.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SOUTH AMERICA. By Annie S. Peck. Pp. 471 and index. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Price, \$3.50.

THE MEXICAN AGRARIAN REVOLUTION. By Frank Tannenbaum. Pp. 538 and index. Macmillan Co. Price, \$2.50.

THE ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF GERMANY SINCE THE WAR. By Dr. Peter P. Reinhold. Pp. 129 and index. Yale University Press. Price, \$2.00.

THE GOVERNANCE OF HAWAII. By Robert M. C. Littler. Pp. 272 and index. Stanford University Press. Price, \$2.75.

AMERICA AND EUROPE. By Alfred Zimmern. Pp. 213. Oxford University Press. Price, \$3.00.

QUAKERS IN ACTION. By Lester M. Jones. Pp. 226. Macmillan Co. Price, \$2.00.

LAFAYETTE IN VIRGINIA. UNPUBLISHED LETTERS. Pp. 64. Price, \$2.50.

L'ENFANT AND WASHINGTON. By Elizabeth S. Kite. Pp. 182. Johns Hopkins Press. Price, \$3.00.

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN. By H. W. Freeman. Pp. 372. Henry Holt. Price, \$2.50.

THE ROAD. By André Chamson. Pp. 246. Scribner's Sons Co. Price, \$2.00.

DESTINY BAY. By Don Byrne. Pp. 345. Little, Brown & Co. Price, \$2.50.

THE CASE OF SERGEANT GRISCHA. By Arnold Zweig. Viking Press. Price, \$2.50.

MOUSSORGSKY. By Oskar von Riesmann. Alfred A. Knopf.

NOBEL: DYNAMITE AND PEACE. By Ragnar Sohlman and Henrick Schuck. Pp. 353. Price, \$5.00.

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