

CAN WAR BE AVERTED?

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Thy art is to lay down the law of peace,
Sparing the conquered, trampling on the proud.
Virgil.



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To
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD MACLAY OF GLASGOW, P.C., LL.D.

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*Proem : Look Each
upon the Other!*

LOOK each upon the other! Here I take
A pen that is the heir of Rome and Greece,
Of England, Italy, of War and Peace,
To write in ruth and fear of what may break
The lives and hopes of millions. Come, forsake
The ways of enmity. Give fair release
To those that are in bondage, and surcease
To prides that drag red horrors in their wake.

Look each upon the other, and perceive
A likeness worn in difference to prove
The earth more happy that she did conceive
So many sorts of men to live and love ;
So many nations in their ways to move ;
The world were poorer else, we may believe.

L. C. M.

July, 1930

CHAPTER I

THIS WAR-MADE WORLD

I : PEACE AND THE WAR MAP

IF the world is ever to arrive at enduring peace it must order its affairs justly. Very grave causes of international difference still remain, and many of them are of such a character that it will be exceedingly difficult to settle them without strife. The world has been at war since before the beginnings of recorded history, and as a result of war certain nations enjoy great advantages while other nations endure grave disabilities. It is not reasonable to suppose that a datum line of peace can be suddenly drawn across the page of history to bring not only international strife, but the international division of the world's natural wealth and natural opportunity, to a final determination.

Age-long war has made and remade the world. The present making may suit some of the world's peoples ; very surely it does not suit others, and war looms ahead of us because possession, which is more than nine points of international law, is difficult for any nation to renounce, by whatever title held. No people of worth ever has or ever will consent to conditions of palpable injustice and unnatural deprivation, and treaties are waste paper which embody or assume the indefinite continuance of such conditions. History is littered with torn up treaties of peace, and who that considers the nature of many of them can pretend to regret their destruction ? As with treaties, so with pacts of peace. No pact that ignores the existence of injustice is a proper safeguard against war ; no pact can justify the *status quo*.

The fifty-eight nations, signatories of the International Treaty for the Renunciation of War (the Kellogg-Briand Pact) do not dissemble their love for each other. The High Contracting Parties declare solemnly, on behalf of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument in their relations with one another. They further agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin which may arise among them "shall never be solved except by pacific means."

This said, the High Contracting Parties continue to exercise themselves in arms, in each case with the avowed object of ensuring themselves in "security." There are more fighting men in Europe in 1930 than when the World War broke out in 1914, using machinery and chemicals which make each man a far more effective dealer of death than in 1914. All this in the name of Security. If a nation party to such an undertaking as the Kellogg-Briand Pact boldly proclaimed that it armed itself in defiance of that pact, it would reflect only upon itself. When, however, all the parties declare that their arms are only for security, each party obviously casts aspersions on the good faith of one or more of the others. Each in effect says "We have solemnly renounced war, and so have the others, but we remain in arms because we do not believe that the others mean it. The Pact of Paris has no power to defend us; we must defend ourselves." Of the victors of the War, Britain alone has reduced her armed forces; her army, as of old, is "contemptible" in point of numbers; her navy has been largely scrapped.

The nations have good cause to suspect that there remain occasions for war. Neither the Covenant of the League of Nations nor the Pact of Paris has or should have power to call that settled which is not settled, to call that just which is unjust, to call that a determination which ought not to be a determination. Steps are being taken to embody the Pact of Paris in the Covenant of the League of Nations, to make that

Covenant a plainer declaration against war as an instrument. But the League of Nations is itself part and parcel of the Treaty of Versailles, a dictated Peace whose motto was *delenda est Carthago*. Thus the solemn words of the Kellogg-Briand Pact become associated with other words which rise against them in mockery, with words of the sort that breed future wars. If the world wants peace it must arrive at even-handed justice, which obtained would make unnecessary solemn declarations against war. If, on the other hand, the nations refuse to consider and to settle grave issues justly, then war will come no matter how many solemn words have been uttered in defence of the *status quo*.

Many grave causes of international difference are examined in these pages, although they cannot pretend to exhaust the details of a subject which is as wide as the world itself. These causes may be grouped under three heads.

The first is Hate, born sometimes of fear, sometimes of racial antipathies. This cause, the most difficult of all to extirpate, is in our time most unfortunately renewed and exacerbated by the printing-press. In the old days, international or inter-racial hatreds could only be expressed in the occasional meeting of individuals or in the narrowly reported utterances of the leaders of men; nowadays, it is not uncommon to see articles and cartoons printed by the million copies aiming collective insults at foreign peoples. I often wonder how men who can hardly be unaware how difficult it is to ascertain the truth about the actions and motives of persons with whom they differ in their own country can have the hardihood to condemn lightly the statesmen or the people of another land. It is to be feared that it is at least as difficult to inculcate international good manners as to teach party politicians to moderate their expressions about each other's shortcomings. At first consideration it may seem strange that the cause of pacifism has many recruits whose love of peace in the abstract causes them to hate certain nations and certain individuals with uncommon ferocity, but this is

merely one phase of those imperfections which we excuse by the expression "human nature," a term which on strict analysis is found to describe those worst qualities of animal nature we condemn in the beast and pardon in ourselves. We can hardly wonder that mutual hate is to be found on either side of a political boundary line when we reflect on the internecine hates and feuds that disfigure and destroy families, domestic institutions and political parties, and have even, by disrupting governments formed wholly from the members of one party, changed the history of nations.

The second cause is found in the existence of old and new political boundary lines which violate racial and lingual groupings. Some of these are very old and others very new. As long as they disfigure the map, the peace of the world is in danger.

The third cause is both political and economic. It is that the world's fertility, the world's fuels, the world's metals, the world's useful land area—in sum, the resources without which men cannot live—are at present most inequitably divided between the world's peoples. We may, for reasons good or bad, be quite unwilling to look this fact in the face, but while we refuse to do so we play with words and with lives to talk of arriving at lasting peace by any method whatever. We must not suppose that populous nations of great genius, whose peoples have contributed mightily to civilisation, will consent for ever to be confined within certain areas, with no power to colonize the world's many rich unpopulated lands, and to see their citizens denied admission to colonizable countries save under humiliating conditions dictated by other powers. Those who, in the name of peace, would condemn talented peoples to such a fate, in effect make war upon them, and impoverish and destroy many of them. Of all forms of warfare, the economic blockade can hardly pretend to be the most merciful.

The World War, so far from ending war, has exacerbated this vital question of distribution and opportunity or, to use

a good and time-honoured expression, of "a place in the sun." As a result of the war, we see here an "enemy" stripped or dishonoured, and there an "ally" thwarted or denied. Scores of major and minor injuries have been deliberately inflicted upon suffering peoples. If we imagine that these and other factors of disturbance can be cancelled by pacts of peace which ignore real occasions for war, we thrust our heads into the sand. The world bristles with manifest injustices, real occasions for war which were magnified and multiplied by the Peace. Moreover, to talk of the World War as ending war is to ignore the fact that its much-debated issues were not concerned with many of the gravest world problems.

The world's peoples are grouped and possess territory by no means in proportion either to their numbers or their contributions to civilisation. The configuration of continents and the degree of access to the high seas have frustrated great peoples. Nations have furnished the world with intrepid discoverers and great scientists and yet by reason of lack of national opportunity have been denied the fruits of their own genius. Civilisation has been built by many races, and the world would have progressed much more rapidly if there had been among them some approach to equality of opportunity. The strange fact, perhaps the strangest in history, that two white nations should have been the world's chief colonizers, was much more a matter of luck than of judgment, and has had much to do with the existing inequitable division of the spoils of discovery and conquest. The time is rapidly approaching when the need for readjustment will force itself upon the attention of the nations and when it is doubtful whether any existing institutions can help the world to peaceful settlements. It may, however, be believed with reason that frank discussion of these problems of world distribution may help to solve them, if not peaceably, then with a minimum of conflict. How difficult it is to avoid conflict will appear, I think, as we proceed, for a present injustice, however grave,

may make no reflection upon the existing generation, which inherits all that has been done well or done ill, and which finds itself in dangerous situations for which those who have now to face them were not responsible.

2 : THE CONQUEROR-PACIFIST AND HIS POSSESSIONS

THE modern pacifist is mainly the product of successful conquering nations who by war have added to their possessions and to the wealth and honour of their citizens. The good pacifist, himself profiting as an individual citizen of a nation which has collectively profited by war, loudly exclaims against strife and demands to know why the nations cannot live in peace. There is lack not only of a sense of history but of a sense of humour in this attitude. The conqueror-pacifist stands where he does and enjoys what he possesses by virtue of what was gained and prepared for him by his fighting forebears. He finds it difficult to understand that there may be other men in other nations and circumstances, the inheritors of loss and frustration, who deny the right of any treaty or undertaking to deprive them of the opportunity, by whatever means, either to regain what has been lost or to enjoy some better share of the world's wealth.

Not that the appearance of the pacifist in modern times makes for anything but good. It is well that an increasing number of people should be asking themselves why the circumstances and the lives of men should be circumscribed by a succession of imperfect and transitory arrangements based upon the results of war. That eventually we shall arrive at a world federation of peoples in which war will be unthinkable is beyond doubt. We do not hasten that day, however, by associating the cause of peace with a defence of the world's

existing boundaries, or with the suggestion, outspoken or implied, that the wars which created the world as we know it have done their work so thoroughly and so well that peace may be finally established upon the basis of things as they are. When, therefore, the pacifist denounces war, it is very necessary for him to examine the results of past wars and to ask himself whether he is satisfied with what war has accomplished. If he holds that the wars of history have really given us so perfect a political and economic adjustment that the world may now consider its problems solved, and its states, territorial divisions and economic conditions to be unalterably fixed, the pacifist, in effect, praises past wars too much. If, on the other hand, there exist many just causes of dispute, the pacifist must question himself as to who has gained unduly by past war settlements and combine his praise of peace with a determination to pay the price of peace.

It is not contended that the pacifist would be illogical if he argued that peace may be the outcome of war. In the past, let us remember, conquest has been the chief giver of peace to great territories. The *Pax Romana* which ruled

From fair Britannia south to Libyan sands,
From Lusitania east to Babylon,

still remains the most incredibly wonderful thing that ever happened in the world. The Golden Age cost many lives in the making, and it assuredly preserved more lives than it cost, but, as the conqueror-pacifist forgets, a peace made by the sword can only be kept by the sword. The unmaking of Rome ushered in the long succession of European wars which have achieved by 1930 not unity but a melancholy list of over thirty sovereign states divided by political boundaries which are used to frustrate commerce and to deny the free movement of civilised men. Thus war both made and unmade Europe, and it remains to be seen whether its pacification can be achieved without further war.

I do not preface the exposition attempted in this book by

an historical survey of the wars which have made the existing map of the world what it is. It is very important to point out, however, at the very beginning, that after the great discoverers had revealed new worlds to Europe, the possession of sea-power was a decisive factor in European colonization, and that by virtue of sea-power Britain came to possess over one-fourth of the land surface of the world despite the rebellion and loss of the North American colonies, the retention of which, we may observe, would have made the British Empire measure nearly seventeen million square miles, or about one-third of the world in point of quantity and more than one-half the world measured by any reasonable standard of quality of area. This extraordinary achievement, which ranks in history only second to the building of the Roman Empire, gave peace to over one-fourth of the human race. It was a triumph of sea-power which secured extraordinary advantages for an island people, and gave unprecedented opportunity to millions of British citizens. Whatever else may be in doubt, there is every reason why the inheritors of this achievement should be content in future peace to wear intact the laurels of war.

3 : BRITAIN NO LONGER HAS ADEQUATE DEFENCES

IN 1914 Britain relied for security upon an impregnable navy which in 1914-1918 was not found any too strong for its purpose, and that although British alliances in the War permitted her with impunity to withdraw ships from the Mediterranean and the Far East. We had, in effect, to fight only one navy with a more than two-power navy. In August, 1914, the British Empire's naval tonnage stood at 2,160,326 tons, and in the test of war with a single opponent it suffered severely. By December, 1929, in pursuance of disarmament,

the tonnage had been nearly halved by reduction to 1,201,930 tons. In the same period, France and Italy also made naval reductions in some categories, but the navies of America and Japan were greatly increased. I am indebted to the Admiralty for the following comparative figures :

NAVIES OF BRITAIN, AMERICA, JAPAN, FRANCE AND ITALY.
(Sloops and miscellaneous vessels not included)

		August, 1914.		December, 1929.		Increase or Decrease.
		<i>Tons.</i>		<i>Tons.</i>		<i>Tons.</i>
British Empire	..	2,160,326	..	1,201,930	..	— 958,396
United States	..	848,403	..	1,095,992	..	+ 247,589
Japan	..	522,082	..	771,908	..	+ 249,826
France	..	746,214	..	472,400	..	— 273,814
Italy	..	353,861	..	268,784	..	— 85,077

Thus, by the end of 1929, the British Empire had resigned its naval superiority, since its sea-connections, as wide as the world itself, most obviously made its 1.2 million tons too weak a force to enable the Admiralty to make dispositions giving security in many circumstances which might arise.

The reduced figures of 1929 were in part the result of the Washington Five Power pact of 1921, by which the five nations agreed to limit the maximum tonnage of their capital ships until 1931. The treaty figures (for battleships only ; no other classes were limited) are 525,000 tons each for Britain and America, 315,000 tons for Japan and 175,000 tons each for France and Italy, giving ratios of 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.66 : 1.66.

In 1930, the London Naval discussions have ended in a treaty between Britain, America and Japan limiting their maximum tonnage in cruisers, destroyers and submarines until 31st December, 1936. France and Italy failed to reach an agreement, Italy demanding parity with France at any level, however high or however low, and France refusing to entertain the demand in view of her colonial possessions. In the following table, furnished me by the Admiralty, a further comparison is made in some detail :

BATTLESHIPS, CRUISERS, DESTROYERS AND SUBMARINES OF BRITAIN,
AMERICA, JAPAN, FRANCE AND ITALY.

(It will be seen that the aggregates of these figures, covering the chief categories, are rather less than those given in the previous table.)

	August, 1914. Tons.	December, 1929. Tons.	Pact of 1930 (for completed ships, not to be exceeded on Dec. 31st, 1936) Tons.
BRITISH EMPIRE.			
Battleships ..	1,200,535	556,350	
Cruisers ..	770,750	327,111	339,000
Destroyers ..	144,753	157,585	150,000
Submarines ..	26,382	45,534	52,700
UNITED STATES.			
Battleships ..	529,796	525,850	
Cruisers ..	272,244	106,001	323,500
Destroyers ..	35,099	307,155	150,000
Submarines ..	8,041	80,700	52,700
JAPAN.			
Battleships ..	260,680	301,320	
Cruisers ..	235,365	232,855	208,850
Destroyers ..	20,334	110,395	105,500
Submarines ..	2,364	66,068	52,700
FRANCE.			
Battleships ..	401,949	194,544	
Cruisers ..	266,547	144,335	
Destroyers ..	42,117	74,496	
Submarines ..	20,970	36,866	
ITALY.			
Battleships ..	197,648	88,970	
Cruisers ..	124,238	76,029	
Destroyers ..	15,406	75,438	
Submarines ..	4,048	27,263	

The British public believes that there have been all-round naval reductions since 1914, but its belief is the very reverse of the truth. Britain has halved her navy while America and Japan have made great increases. America, indeed, has to *build vigorously* to reach the cruiser strength allotted her by the London Treaty of 1930; her cruiser "reductions" are of the Hibernian sort; nevertheless in both America and Japan there is a strong section of opinion that too much was conceded to Britain. The American Senate ratified the pact

because it was persuaded that virtual American naval supremacy was obtained. The Japanese Diet was pacified by the assurance that in a few years the figures could be revised.

France, it will be seen, has reduced her capital ships, although they are still in excess of her Washington quota, and Italy has more than complied with the Washington treaty, having only 88,970 capital tons against her allotment of 175,000 tons. Both these powers, however, have greatly increased their submarine tonnage. The submarine figures given are being rapidly swollen; France has 97,875 tons built, building and authorised, thus nearly trebling her strength of December, 1929, and giving her an overwhelming supremacy in an arm which is of supreme importance to both Britain and Italy.

The net result of the astonishing naval changes which have occurred since 1914 is that in waters near and far, on every trade route, cruisers and submarines can be brought to bear as never before upon the ships which feed with food and materials a nation which is more dependent upon imports than any other in the world. We shall have only fifty cruisers with which to defend the Empire; the genius of ten Nelsons would be unequal to the task. In August, 1914, we had 108 cruisers.

Turning from the submarines and cruisers, which have such a peculiar interest for Britain, to air armaments, the following information has been given to Parliament by the Air Ministry (April 15th, 1930):

FIRST-LINE AEROPLANES.

				1925.	April, 1930	Probably to be increased in 1930 by
Britain	..	..	..	630	780 ¹	16
France	..	..	..	1,280	1,310	48
America	..	..	..	750	950	24
Italy	..	..	..	600	1,100	Not known.

¹ When the World War ended, Britain had 3,300 first-line aeroplanes, with a *personnel* of 300,000 men; in 1930, the *personnel* is 31,000.

So that in air strength Britain is a bad fourth. This is accentuated by the fact that so-called commercial aircraft are potential war vessels. The "air-liners" which carry passengers and small parcels are only commercial in name, for all of them are heavily subsidized with government money¹; all can be used for bombing purposes, and their uneconomic employment maintains pilots and aircraft plant ready for war. The public, as usual, is badly misled in this matter and has little or no idea that the world's so-called "commercial" aviation is run by the world's taxpayers, as no other trade is run, to make the next war more horrible than the last. Adding "commercial" to war machines, Britain is in great inferiority.

These facts are given here because I feel it ought to be made plain to the reader that Britain no longer possesses what is called "security." A writer who takes the grave responsibility of recommending steps towards peace should not conceal the position of the nation in relation to a possible outbreak of war. Moreover, Britain, even while disarming, has entered into formal contingent undertakings to wage war in defence of certain provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, with no guarantee whatever that fulfilment of that very serious engagement would not provoke another general European war. But to that we shall have occasion to return.

¹ In reply to Mr. Wise, M.P., the Air Ministry, February 19, 1930, gave the House of Commons the following information on this head: "The subsidies (to Commercial Aviation) voted in this country, Germany, France and Italy in respect of the financial year beginning at different dates in 1929, were, respectively, £354,000, 10,550,000 reich marks (excluding financial assistance from local authorities) 172,300,000 francs and 56,500,000 lire. No comparable figure can be quoted for the United States of America, since financial assistance for this purpose is there given in the shape not of direct subsidies but of mail contracts placed at higher rates than those recoverable from the public through air mail surcharges; the amount thus voted for payments to air mail contractors for the year beginning 1st July, 1929, was 17,600,000 dollars." With regard to Germany, the local contributions referred to are considerable and cannot be completely stated, but in 1928 9,400,000 marks were subscribed for the purpose by States, Cities and private institutions.

CHAPTER II

THE DISUNITED STATES OF EUROPE

I : EUROPE'S THIRTY-SIX DIVISIONS

EUROPE still leads mankind. Europeans have migrated to the three corners of the world since the voyages of the great discoverers began, and there are now over 170 millions of white people scattered about the globe outside Europe, the majority of them living in new states modelled more or less upon European lines. World leadership, however, remains with Europe, which still gives civilisation most of its new ideas and discoveries and continues to throw up a disproportionate number of the world's men of genius, whether in the arts or in the sciences. Indeed, it is not a little strange that as about one-fourth of all white men are now settled out of Europe, the transplanted Europeans do not furnish the world with a proportionate share of outstanding geniuses. The inventions and discoveries and artistic achievements of the last fifty years are evidence that Europe has maintained an extraordinary degree of leadership. Radioactivity, wireless communication, relativity, and other recent major scientific discoveries and developments originated in Europe, and the chief new industries, such as artificial silk and the trades based on the internal-combustion engine (which in its various applications to road vehicles, ships and flying-machines is changing the face of the world) are also the conceptions of Europeans. As for the arts, the extra-European achievements in literature, music, painting, sculpture and architecture are negligible in comparison with the works of European artists. The explanation is probably to

be found in the fact that the white stock overseas from Europe is very largely divorced from artistic tradition, is immersed in struggling with the forces of nature on a grand scale, and therefore devoted for the most part to crude materialistic development.

The opening of the twentieth century found the intellectual dominance of Europe still associated with unreconciled national ambitions. The lapse of more than fourteen centuries has brought us no nearer to the renewal of that peace which was broken by the destruction of Roman unity. This does not surprise us when we recall how swift are the years, how many of them were needed to build the *Pax Romana*, and how many more to recover a part of what was lost in the fifth century. From Rome's foundation until her fall we count some twelve centuries. From the beginning of the Dark Ages until the Italian Renaissance was ten centuries more. From the early years of the rebirth of civilisation in Italy until the opening of the World War was hardly more than five centuries. The modern world is young; we need not despair of the errors of its youth. But, if we would help civilisation, we must understand and face unflinchingly the differences and wrongs which frustrate human energy and embitter the life of the world. Understanding must precede pardon, reconciliation, readjustment, the creation of the conditions of common justice.

Those who made some sort of peace after the World War were found in great confusion of thought upon the unity of mankind. A peace treaty which contained the covenant of a league of nations was also devoted to the further disintegration of the world. The Europe of 1913 was divided into twenty-five independent states. In the new Europe, as a result of the War and the Peace, the number of states has grown to thirty-six, counting the Irish Free State as a unit. The new political boundaries in some cases were drawn across long-settled and balanced economic areas, dividing and despoiling the homelands of proud races, leading to the creation of

thousands of miles of new tariff walls, and impoverishing and disordering the lives of tens of millions of people.

The populations and areas in 1930 of the States of this freshly disintegrated Europe are set out in the statement on pages 36-37. The figures are estimates for which I am responsible ; they may be accepted as being near approximations to facts which can never be precisely determined. Europe in 1930 has over 500 million people. Four-fifths of them are the citizens of ten states, each with a population of over ten millions. These are, in order of magnitude, Russia, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Poland, Spain, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. It is not a little curious that three of these, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, were created by the War, and that a fourth, Rumania, owes her present great magnitude also to the War. Because of its exceeding importance, we may at once note that of these leading ten nations two only, the United Kingdom and France, have great possessions of extra-European territory.

British interests are involved in every part of the world, and we shall presently come to the special consideration of the British Empire and its enormous responsibilities. The United Kingdom, including Northern Ireland, has in 1930 nearly 46 million people. The people of the Irish Free State, not included in this figure, number about 2,900,000. The territories of the fortunate British Isles—fortunate alike in their natural defences and in their natural gifts as a work-place and home-place—were further augmented by the War, members of the British Empire being made the mandatories of the greater part of the colonies taken from Germany. The addition of these territories raised the aggregate area of the British Empire to 13,295,000 square miles, or over one-fourth of the land area of the globe. While the aggregate population of the Empire in 1930 is not accurately known, it can hardly be less than 475 millions. In Europe, Britain holds strategic positions at Gibraltar and Malta which are signal demonstrations of the overwhelming naval superiority which has been resigned.

2 : RUSSIA, POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES

THE territory of Russia, at once the world's most populous nation and its greatest enigma, sweeps across the globe, but not from sea to sea. A strange destiny for so mighty and so gifted a congeries of peoples, that it should be almost entirely landlocked or ice-locked in both Europe and Asia. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to use the official title, draws no boundary line between Europe and Asia, but that part of it which lies within the old-time European boundary has in 1930, perhaps, a population of 125 millions. The Soviet Union has more than a national constitution. It is a federation of socialist republics, and the aim and hope of its organisers is that it will eventually absorb all nations.

If we look at the war-made map of the world, we see at a glance the historic, centuries-old grievance of the world's largest state, and we see also how it was accentuated and magnified by the results of the World War. The position in 1913 was unsatisfactory enough, when the Russian Empire's only outlet on the west was in the Baltic, when the Arctic sealed her boundaries in the north, when the Turk, backed by the Europe which the Turk nearly destroyed, barred her way on the south, and when she vainly sought an adequate outlet in the Far East. What memories of war and rumours of war are connected with the history of Russia's attempts to realise her fair and reasonable ambition of reaching the open sea! The old Russia was successfully thwarted, in Europe by Britain and others; in the Far East by Japan. But let us not suppose that the fair and reasonable ambition is resigned, or that the world can for ever deny access to the sea to a people who number about one-twelfth of the human race.

The World War carved some 300,000 square miles out of European Russia. Finland obtained her independence. Four

RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC



Fig. 1. On the West, Russia's only access to the sea is in the Gulf of Finland, the new republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, with Finland, now possessing between them the Baltic coast of the Tzarist Empire.

other states, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, were established or resurrected. Bessarabia was given to Rumania, and Turkey was allowed to absorb Kars. The doctrine of self-determination re-erected Finland as a sovereign state, and gave independence to the million Estonians, the two million Letts, and the more than two million Lithuanians. These peoples are not Slavs, and the new boundary lines which define their territories fairly well accord with distinctions of race. The position of Russia in Europe, however, is much affected by these new independencies, whose aggregate populations, about five millions, amount to the figure which Russia gains in eighteen months by natural increase.

A resurrected Poland, like the little new states of the Baltic, finds herself face to face with mighty Russia, and dependent for her very existence upon the support of the Western Powers who established her sovereignty. Her eastern frontier, which marches with the Soviet Union, is manned by picked soldiers whose special guard is matched across a troubled boundary by Red troops. Poland, under the Treaty of Versailles, was constituted of Russian Poland, German Poland (Posen), Austrian Poland (Galicia), part of German Silesia, and a strip of Prussia giving her access to the sea. The ancient wrongs of Poland have been remedied, but after long years of tripartite development which have left ineradicable traces. This rebuilding of Poland has created other wrongs which leave grave danger spots on the map. Three-fourths of the wealth of Upper Silesia, developed by German enterprise, have been given to Poland, despite the existence of a huge tested German majority in the area.¹ Lithuania has seen her ancient capital Vilna, and its province, wrested from her with the

¹ It has, of course, nothing whatever to do with the question of right and wrong in this matter, but it happens that the transfer by the League of Nations to Poland of the splendidly-equipped German Silesian coal-mines has gravely injured the British export coal trade. Before 1914, British coal exporters had a virtual monopoly of the coal markets of Scandinavia, but Poland has very effectively used the mines presented to her by the League to dump coal in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, with the result that British coal now hardly supplies more than one-half of the Scandinavian requirements. Before the war, Germany herself employed the coal which Poland now uses for British discomfiture.

consent of the League of Nations. Within her boundaries Poland has 2,000,000 Germans, over 4,000,000 Ruthenians (otherwise called Little Russians or Ukrainians) who still claim national independence, besides many Russians, Lithuanians, Czechs and others. What with her heterogeneous population, the artificial character of some of her boundaries, and her war upon the Soviets, new Poland has already had a stormy and chequered existence. A member of the League of Nations, and a signatory of the Kellogg Pact of Peace, Poland is allied with France and with Rumania for mutual defence, is trained in arms by France, and keeps her powder dry. France regards Poland as a substitute for Russia as an ally against Germany, feeling, not without good reason, that a time will surely come when she will need one.

The flouting of the League of Nations over Vilna is a strange story. Under the Tsar, Vilna was a Lithuanian government or province of West Russia, having a fine capital of the same name. History tells us that Vilna has been Lithuanian since before the tenth century. It has now become part of Poland, forming a link or corridor between Poland and Latvia on the north and dividing Lithuania on the west from Soviet Russia on the east. How was this accomplished? As late as the end of 1919 the Allies excluded the province of Vilna and its chief city from Polish territory because of its history and mixed population. The Lithuanians took it from the Soviet Union in 1920 (after it had been occupied by Bolshevik troops) and retained it by treaty made with Moscow. The League of Nations then interfered on the appeal of Poland, and Lithuania withdrew her troops, Poland pledging herself not to violate the disputed territory. Upon this the Polish General Zeligovski seized the city and province in defiance of the League. So Poland helped herself to Vilna, and as a consequence Vilna has remained Polish. The Polish government disowned General Zeligovski but profited by his action. The League made a show of securing a peaceful settlement but in the event the policy of war triumphed and

THE STATES OF EUROPE IN 1930

STATE	POPULATION	AREA (SQUARE MILES)	DENSITY OF POPULATION (PER SQUARE MILE)
UNITED KINGDOM AND BRITISH TERRITORIES :			
England and Wales	39,700,000	58,319	681
Scotland	4,900,000	30,406	161
Northern Ireland	1,250,000	5,386	231
<i>Total</i> —United Kingdom	45,850,000	94,111	487
Irish Free State	2,900,000	27,200	107
Channel Islands	90,000	75	1,200
Malta and Gozo	235,000	122	1,926
Gibraltar	17,000	2	8,500
RUSSIA, POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES :			
Russia	125,000,000	1,793,000	70
Poland	31,000,000	140,000	221
Finland	3,700,000	144,255	25
Lithuania	2,400,000	31,700	75
Latvia	1,900,000	24,440	76
Estonia	1,100,000	23,160	48
THE LATIN NATIONS :			
France	41,100,000	212,659	193
Italy	41,800,000	118,100	354
Spain	23,000,000	190,000	121
Portugal	6,000,000	34,254	176
GERMAN STATES :			
Germany	64,500,000	182,213	354
Austria	6,700,000	32,396	208
Danzig, Free City of	420,000	580	740
Saar	810,000	772	1,049
Liechtenstein	12,000	65	184

THE LOW COUNTRIES :								
Belgium	..	..	..	..	..	8,100,000	12,117	670
Holland	..	..	..	..	..	7,900,000	12,580	627
Luxemburg	..	..	..	..	..	290,000	999	290
HUNGARY AND THE "LITTLE ENTENTE" :								
Hungary	..	..	..	..	..	8,800,000	36,000	244
Czechoslovakia	..	..	..	..	..	14,800,000	55,422	267
Yugoslavia	..	..	..	..	..	13,600,000	97,000	140
Rumania	..	..	..	..	..	18,500,000	122,000	152
THE REST OF THE BALKANS :								
Bulgaria	..	..	..	..	..	5,900,000	40,000	147
Albania	..	..	..	..	..	850,000	17,000	50
Greece ..	..	..	..	..	..	6,400,000	49,000	130
Turkey ..	..	..	..	..	..	1,050,000	7,000	
SCANDINAVIA AND JUTLAND :								
Norway and Spitzbergen	..	..	..	..	..	2,800,000	124,642	22
Sweden	..	..	..	..	..	6,200,000	173,035	35
Denmark	..	..	..	..	..	3,600,000	16,604	217
Iceland ..	..	..	..	..	..	107,000	40,450	2
OTHER STATES								
Switzerland	..	..	..	..	..	4,000,000	15,950	250
Andorra	..	..	..	..	..	5,000	193	26
Monaco	..	..	..	..	..	25,000	8	3,125
San Marino	..	..	..	..	..	13,000	38	342
<i>Total: EUROPE</i>						501,474,000	3,869,142	130

the Conference of Ambassadors,¹ in March, 1923, drew a frontier line between Poland and Lithuania which, strange to say, gave Poland what had been won by a *coup-de-main*. Lithuania protested in vain. She is a small republic which can oppose a mere two millions to Poland's thirty millions, and as Napoleon would probably have said, "The League is on the side of the big battalions."

Lithuania, deprived of her ancient capital, seats herself at Kaunas (Kovno, as the Russians called it), shuts her pathetic little frontier and forbids traffic with Poland. Soldiers guard the hated League of Nations frontier, and to travel from Vilna to Kaunas one has to go north, round the Lithuanian border to Riga in Latvia, and thence south again from Latvia into Lithuania. It is an illustration of the strength of the feelings which have been excited by the War and the Peace. This is but one of many cases in which a new treaty frontier divides friends, relatives and historic and economic ties.

Lithuania's loss of her capital helped her to understand how to obtain Memel. By the Treaty of Versailles, Memel was one of the territories of which Germany was stripped, and French troops occupied it pending the decision of its fate. What was contemplated was to make Memel a sort of Free State. This, however, did not suit Lithuania, who wanted Memel as a national possession. Taking the matter into her own hands, Lithuania solved the question by war, and her troops turned out the French in January, 1923. A month later the Conference of Ambassadors proposed that the Lithuanian settlement should be accepted, and finally the little territory was incorporated in the Lithuanian republic subject to a local autonomy, it being stipulated that there should be a joint international administration of the port works.

¹The Conference of Ambassadors consisted of representatives of Britain, France, Italy and Japan. It existed from 1920 to 1925, and was charged with the execution of the Peace Treaties, making many important decisions; it also concerned itself with other international incidents, the League of Nations bowing to its decisions as in the case of Vilna. In 1925 its work ceased and the League of Nations became of more importance.

3 : THE LATIN NATIONS

FRANCE is the fifth state of Europe in point of numbers, and the second in point of colonial expansion; in 1930 she numbers roundly 41 millions. Not all these are Frenchmen, however, for there has been such a considerable influx of aliens into France to make good the fall in French fertility, that it is probable that there are now hardly more Frenchmen in France than when the Franco-German war broke out. France is more sparsely populated than Britain, Germany or Italy, and in the great overseas empire which she now controls the number of white people is less than a million and a half. With mandated territories awarded her, the French Empire now covers nearly 5,100,000 square miles. The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine raised France to the third place among the world's iron-producing nations, Britain sinking to the position of a bad fourth.

Italy has become the fourth state in Europe in point of numbers, for although her birth-rate has declined it has not experienced the great fall which has occurred in France; in 1930 the population is roundly 42 millions. So it comes about that on an area hardly more than one half as large as that of France, Italy leads France in population.

The exceeding poverty of the Italian area is little understood outside her boundaries. We shall presently come to its examination. Here we may remind ourselves that the peninsula has neither coal nor metals, and that Italy is as peculiarly unfortunate in the factors of modern industry as Great Britain is fortunate. We shall see that the economic needs of the rapidly growing Italian population constitute a problem which Italy increasingly presses for solution.

Italy came into the War in May, 1915, and the (necessarily secret) Treaty of London defining the terms of her entry (an agreement concluded with Britain, France and Russia, but at Versailles scouted by President Wilson) coincided with the

formation of the first War Coalition Government in Great Britain ; indeed, Mr. Asquith held the urgent necessity of securing the help of Italy to be a sufficient reason for agreeing to the formation of a Coalition which he detested. By the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1919, and by the Treaty of Rapallo with Yugoslavia in 1920, Italy retained less than the territory she had conquered. In the north she obtained her ancient and natural frontier, giving her the territories of Trentino and the Upper Adige, with Trieste and Istria ; she withdrew her troops from Dalmatia, retaining only Zara. Subsequently, after it had been seized and held by D'Annunzio, Italy annexed Fiume, the League of Nations not interfering, and the annexation was recognised by Yugoslavia in 1924. These results as a whole, combined with the ignoring of Italy in the matter of mandated territories, are regarded by Italians with profound dissatisfaction. In their view, Italy was badly defeated at the Peace Conference by President Wilson. The fact that she had largely her own nerveless diplomacy to blame for the defeat does not make it any less bitter to the Italians. Mussolini has put it that " Italy emerged from Versailles with only a mutilated form of peace." There are many " ifs " of history, and not the least interesting is this : If Mussolini had been in power when President Wilson was assisted to transmute the wisdom and justice of his Fourteen Points into a peace that was no peace, what would have happened at Versailles ?

The annexation to Italy of the South Tirol, including both the Trentino, with its mainly Italian population, and the Upper Adige, with its mainly German-speaking population, has aroused much controversy. The Italian claim to this territory was founded upon the essential need, proved in obvious fact and bitter experience, of a frontier that could be defended, and it is not seriously maintained that a defensible line could be drawn south of the Brenner Pass. The Treaty of London conceded the territory to Italy on this ground, and even President Woodrow Wilson, who treated that document

ITALY AND THE SOUTH TIROL



Fig. 2. This diagrammatic map shows, within dotted lines, the territories taken by Italy from Austria in the War and annexed by her. The Trentino, including the Upper Adige, is seen as a wedge which threatened Italian security; the annexation gave Italy the high Alps for a secure frontier.

as worthless, could not but admit the strategic case. The ethnic case is worth further examination. In the territory as a whole, at the census of 1910, the population was roundly :

POPULATION OF SOUTH TIROL : CENSUS OF 1910.

					<i>Italians.</i>	<i>Germans.</i>
Trentino	..	..	..	..	361,000	13,500
Alto Adige	..	..	..	..	22,000	216,000
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					383,000	229,500

There was thus an Italian majority in the annexed territory as a whole, but a German majority in Upper Adige. The number of Germans thus included in Italy is very much smaller than that taken into France with Alsace-Lorraine, where over 80 per cent. of the population, or say, 1,600,000, is German-speaking, or included in the new Poland, which has 2,000,000 Germans, or in Czechoslovakia, which has 3,200,000 Germans, or in Jugoslavia, which has 500,000 Germans. It is impossible not to sympathise with all these people.

Italy has been attacked for her treatment of the Germans of the Upper Adige and there is no doubt that a policy of drastic Italianization has been pursued after an opening period of ultra-liberal administration. The Italians make a forcible defence. As to the strategic frontier, they point to the famous (and infamous) historic record and to the fact that the re-invasion of North Italy was freely discussed in Austria not long before 1914. As to the ethnic divisions, they say that the South Tirol had been systematically Germanized by giving German forms to old place-names, by colonization (as in Poland) and by constant persecution of the Italians. Professor Luigi Villari quotes, in his *Expansion of Italy*, what Mazzini had to say of the Trentino, in a passage in which he used that expression to include the Upper Adige to the Brenner Pass :

If ever a land was Italy's it is the Trentino. It is ours beyond Brunopoli to the girdle of the Rhaetian Alps. Ours are the internal Alps. Ours are the waters which descend to pour into the Adige and the Gulf of

Venice. Italian are the natural lines of communication; Italian is the language; out of 500,000 inhabitants only 100,000 are of Teutonic race, not compact and easy to Italianize. It is the gate of Italy, a vast fortress entrenched by nature, the sole true frontier, separating the waters of the Black Sea from those of the Adriatic.

That was written in now forgotten days when the Italian cause was warmly espoused in England. No one then doubted that Mazzini's claim was a just one.

The minority question in South Tirol, if much smaller and less grave than in many other parts of Europe, remains a difficulty. Here we have again illustrated a conflict of rights, and one is glad to think that in 1930 the Upper Adige exhibits little discontent, the Italian authorities not only tolerating but aiding the local German institutions.¹ If the Trentino, as Mazzini called the entire area in question, presents no such oppressions as are suffered, for example, by the 500,000 Magyars placed under a cruel and barbaric despotism in Yugoslavia, it is most unfortunate that the frontiers of Italy should include, even if on ancient Latin soil, 200,000 Germans, and Italy desired no such race burden as strategic necessity compelled her to bear; it is also unfortunate that the history of the Trentino and of the rule of the Austrians has been forgotten by so many of those who write of these things.²

Spain and Portugal have become remarkable illustrations, in international affairs, of the open contempt poured upon poor countries which cannot wield big armaments. International snobbery would be amusing if it were not so serious

¹ Thus on Sunday, October 12th, 1930, the Germans of South Tirol held their Festival of Historic Costumes at Merano, the German houses freely exhibiting Tirolese flags and emblems. Triumphant arches were erected bearing both the Tirolese and the Italian colours, and the procession carried the arms associated with the heroic liberator Andreas Hofer, who was shot by the French in 1810. The Italian authorities gave financial aid to the festival. The Italian soldiers have paid homage to Hofer by naming their barracks after him. It may be added in this connection that the Austrian ex-Service men who fought against Italy in the late War but are now citizens of Italy receive the same war pensions as Italian soldiers.

² In the Italian Chamber of Deputies on February 6th, 1926, Mussolini, replying to German critics, recited the terms which Austria had proposed to dictate to a defeated Italy. They included a large rectification of the frontier, absorbing much Italian territory, establishing for Italy a boundary impossible to defend, and the thorough Germanization of all the Italian institutions within the new Austrian boundaries so formed.

in its effects for hundreds of millions of people. Here are nations which possessed mighty empires ; which ranked as great powers ; which were dominant and wealthy. Spain had the finest army in Christendom and held the New World in fee. Portugal ruined her tiny population in a gallant attempt to hold great territories ; her sailor adventurers led the world in enterprise and daring. To-day the two nations count for little in the world of diplomacy which, despite the signing of peace pacts, reserves its respect in practice for those who maintain great armaments. Who would have believed, even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, that Spain would come to count for less than Japan in the councils of the world? Japan counts in the settlement even of Europe,¹ because she is looked upon as a first-class fighting power ; if she had failed to oppose Russia in the Far East, or if she had failed in the war with Russia, she would not be a " Great Power " to-day, although consisting of the same people, possessing the same inalienable rights to existence and recognition. The might of Spain has passed ; she is European, it is true, but can no longer make herself feared by the chief peace-loving covenanters of the League of Nations. Japan comes to London to explain what navy she needs for " security " ; the security or desires of Spain do not trouble us. And it is not the flag of Spain that flies at Gibraltar.

4 : THE GERMAN STATES AND THE LOW COUNTRIES

THE second European state in point of numbers is Germany, who, although reduced in area by the Treaty of Versailles from 208,810 to 182,213 square miles (a loss of 26,579 square miles of territory exceedingly rich in

¹ The Japanese Ambassador was a member of the Conference of Ambassadors which made so many important European decisions in 1920-1925.

THE PARTITION OF UPPER SILESIA

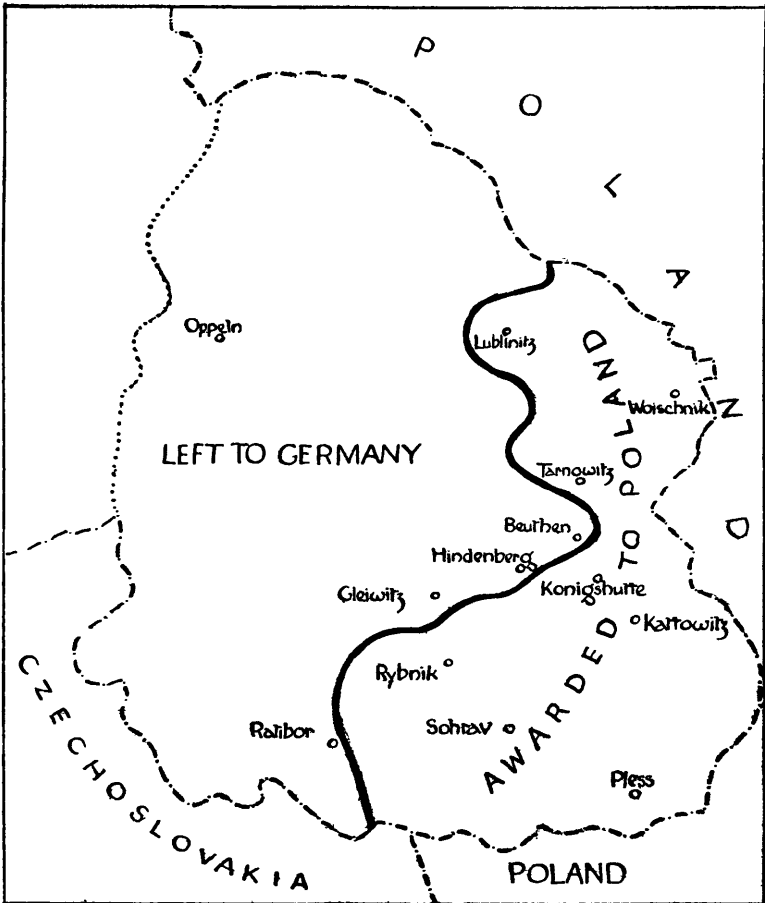


Fig. 3. The Treaty of Versailles provided that the people of Upper Silesia should decide by plebiscite whether they would belong to Germany or Poland. The actual plebiscite (1921) gave 717,000 votes for Germany and 484,000 for Poland, although the voters were intimidated by Poland. Nevertheless, a Commission appointed by the League of Nations awarded the richest part of the territory, including three-fourths of its industrial wealth, to Poland, and the League made its award accordingly. Thus the League became the instrument of a breach of the Treaty of Versailles. This map shows the partition made. Upper Silesia is an economic entity, and the award was as uneconomic as it was unjust. Fuel was separated from materials, power from plant, and workmen from their accustomed work.

coal, iron, zinc and potash, and containing a population of seven millions) has in 1930 almost as many people as when she entered the War in 1914, when she numbered some 67 millions. The case of Germany is so important that it will be dealt with in a separate chapter, but here, in our broad view of the European states as modified by the World War, we may note the nature of the dismemberment to which Germany was subjected by the Treaty of Versailles.

All the colonial possessions of Germany were taken from her and distributed among the Allies as "mandated territories."¹ This meant the seizure of lands with populations of almost 12½ millions. All German state property in these colonies was confiscated. In Europe, Germany was deprived of territories north, east and south. Upper Sleswick went to Denmark by a plebiscite. On the east, Upper Silesia was to decide her own fate by a plebiscite, but when the test (March, 1921), despite armed coercion by Poland, resulted in a big majority (717,000 to 484,000) for Germany, there were grave dissensions among the Allies, and finally a line was drawn by a League tribunal which gave most of the wealth of this rich industrial district, as developed by German brains and capital, to Poland. This was a breach by the League of Nations of the Treaty of Versailles.² Posen also was ceded to Poland.

¹ See Appendices I and VI.

² This creation by the League of Nations in Upper Silesia of a great political wrong, this almost certain factor of war, may be contrasted with the chief boast made on behalf of the League of Nations of its work in prevention of war. The case which is advanced as a glowing testimonial to the League is the settlement of a frontier incident between Bulgaria and Greece in 1925. In October of that year, as a consequence of a brush between Bulgarian and Greek sentries on the frontier north-east of Salonika, a body of Greek troops invaded Bulgaria for a distance of about four miles. Bulgaria thereupon telegraphed to the League at Geneva appealing to the Council under Article XI of the League Covenant (see Appendix I). The Secretariat promptly convened the Council and M. Briand as its President telegraphed to both the Greek and Bulgarian Governments calling upon them to cease hostilities. Immediately upon receipt of this telegram the Greek Government stopped the advance. The League Council demanded of Greece the evacuation of her troops within sixty hours, and it was arranged for the French, British and Italian military attachés on the spot to see to the evacuation. The League's orders were obeyed; before the sixty hours had elapsed, the Greek troops were withdrawn. Thus the League, which had bowed to France in the matter of Upper Silesia and which had in effect condoned the Polish intimidation of the Silesian electors, was found very urgent and effective in dealing with a frontier incident in the Balkans.

To give Poland access to the sea, a Polish lane was driven through Germany to the Baltic, and Danzig was made a Free City under League of Nations administration, Poland, however, having the control of its foreign relations. Thus a foreign corridor was made through the territory left to Germany. Memel, that ancient foundation of the Teutonic Order, dating from 1250, and afterwards a town of the Hanseatic League, was, as we have seen, shorn away and finally given to, or rather taken by, Lithuania. Eupen and Malmedy went to Belgium. The Saar basin with its rich mines, having a population of 783,000 in its area of 770 square miles, was detached from Germany; it is to be governed by a League of Nations Commission until 1934, when a plebiscite is to decide whether it is so to continue or whether it is to belong to France or Germany. There is no doubt as to the result of the plebiscite, but the mines were seized by the French under the Treaty and are the property of the French government. The Germans, however, have the right to re-purchase them upon agreed terms after 1935. Last, but not least, Alsace and Lorraine, with their population of two millions, were restored to France.

On the map, the treaty-made Polish lane through Germany to the sea is some 70 miles wide; to the German eye it seems 700. There is nothing like it elsewhere in the world, but there it is, in all its enormity, buttressed by the League of Nations. That institution is charged with the port administration of the Free City on the Baltic, Poland being political master of the whole, "Free City" and all. But that has not contented Poland. Danzig must be not only mastered but dethroned. With the aid of French capital, Poland has accordingly checkmated Danzig with a new port eight miles to the west of it, called Gdynia, which has already deprived Danzig of much traffic. The economic absurdity is as glaring as the political wrong. Danzig is protesting and Germany is indignant for, of course, the rise of Gdynia will give Poland a serious hold upon the late German shore.

The economic loss inflicted upon Germany in 1919 was enormous and far-reaching. What between Upper Silesia and Lorraine, Germany lost nearly one-half of the coal-producing area by virtue of which she rose to wealth. With coal went one-half of the blast-furnaces. The loss of Upper Silesia also cut off much zinc and lead, and with Alsace-Lorraine went the German potash monopoly, to say nothing of important textile works. The Lorraine mines had supplied the major part of the German iron-ore output. The loss of the eastern territory deprived Germany of one-fourth of her production of corn and potatoes. The lost German colonies had supplied one-fourth of Germany's requirements in rubber. The Allies also took all Germany's merchant ships, one-fourth of her canal-boats, 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 cars, in addition to demanding fantastic reparations. Finally, the property of all Germans in the ceded territories, whether in land, buildings, stocks or shares, was confiscated, it being left to the German government to compensate them. As the British government had previously (this had nothing to do with the peace treaty) seized all the private property of Germans in the British Empire, in defiance of international law, the punishment of Germany (if that is the proper term) could hardly be more complete. No nation would accept such treatment save under dire compulsion. How long, is it supposed, can Germany be kept under the harrow?

While we ponder that question we may observe the remains of Austria, left, as we see, with 32,000 square miles of territory and less than 7 million people. The degree of responsibility of Austria for the War was very great, but the Allies specially favoured those with a greater share in provoking the conflict. Left to Austria are the archduchies of Upper and Lower Austria, Salzburg and parts of Tirol, Carinthia and Styria. Bohemia and Moravia went to Czechoslovakia, the Trentino, Upper Adige, Trieste and Istria to Italy, parts of Carinthia and Styria to Yugoslavia. The Austrian Germans (nine-tenths of the people are German) are

GERMANY CUT IN TWO BY THE POLISH CORRIDOR

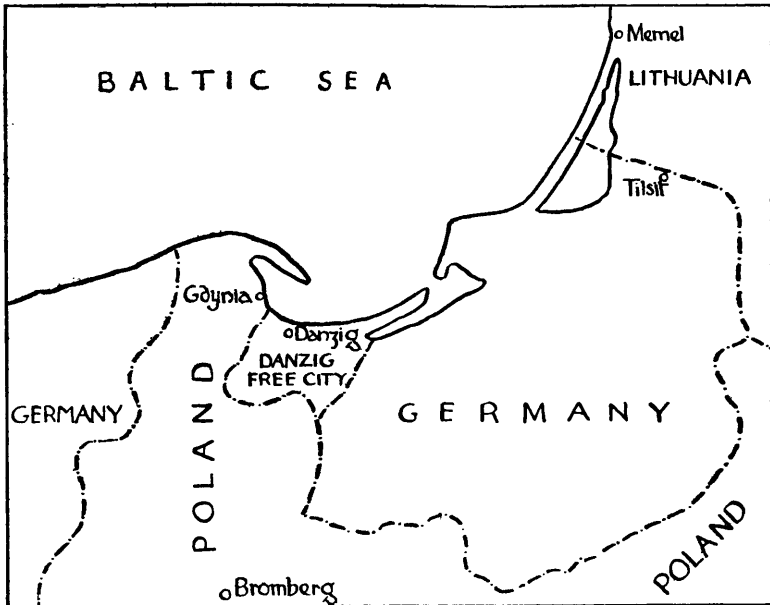


Fig. 4. By the dictated Treaty of Versailles, East and West Prussia are divided by a strip of territory given to Poland. Danzig, the splendid capital of West Prussia, was constituted, together with 700 square miles of territory, as a "Free City" protected by the League of Nations. Poland has now developed a great port at Gdynia as a rival of Danzig, with a separate railway to the south, and both Danzig and Germany are protesting. This cutting in two of a great nation has no parallel elsewhere in the world.

forbidden to join themselves with Germany, the sacred principle of self-determination here going by the board.

The position of Belgium has been greatly changed by the War. The guarantee of neutrality, the violation of which in 1914 decided British intervention, has been determined by the Treaty of Versailles, and the nation is now in military alliance with France. Under the peace treaty, the small but busy districts of Malmedy and Eupen (after plebiscite) were ceded by Germany to Belgium. The formerly neutral district of Moresnet also became Belgian. The population of Belgium now exceeds 8 millions, and there is a Belgian overseas empire of importance. Luxemburg retains her independence. Holland has a population of nearly 8 millions ; although she lost many of her colonies to England in the old days, she still has very considerable oversea possessions.

5 : HUNGARY AND THE LITTLE ENTENTE

WITH the consideration of Hungary, Rumania and the populous treaty-made states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, we come to matters as serious as any we have examined.

Hungary in 1914, one of the parts of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary (the King of Hungary being also Emperor of Austria), had an area of 125,402 square miles and a population of about 21 millions. The dictated Treaty of Trianon of June, 1920, confirming frontiers which had been decided a year previously by the Supreme Council of the Allies without reference to Hungary, reduced the state to 36,000 square miles with a population of some 8 millions, by giving Transylvania to Rumania, Slovakia to form part of Czechoslovakia, and Croatia to Yugoslavia. Ten years later, on June 20th, 1930,

THE PARTITION OF HUNGARY

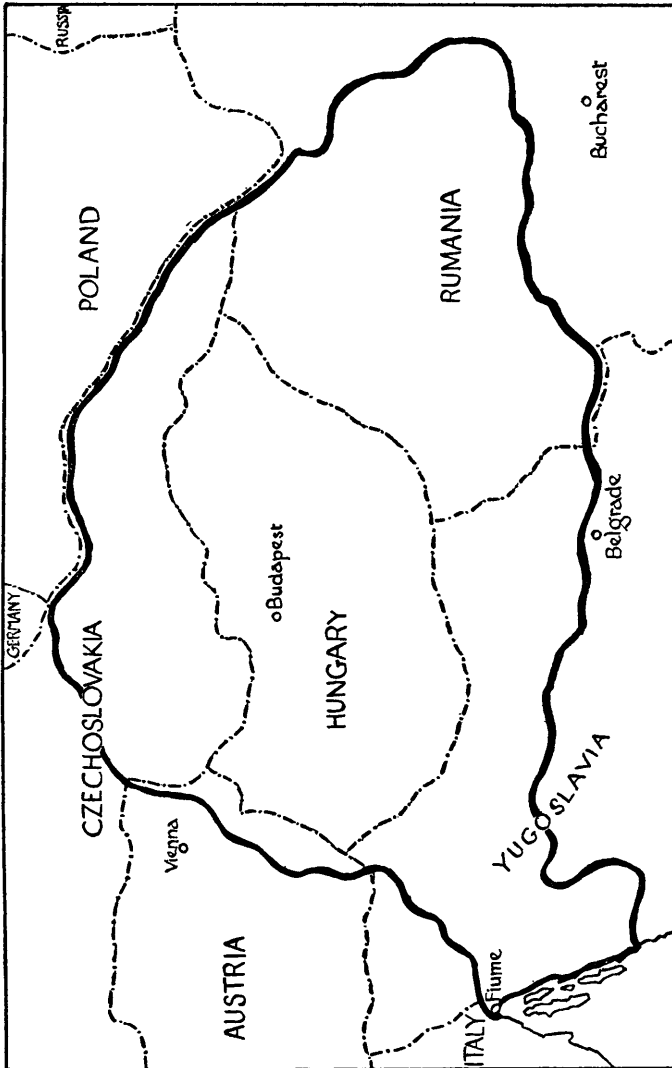


Fig. 5. The dotted lines give the political boundaries of the dictated Treaty of Trianon. The thick black line gives the boundaries of Hungary in 1914. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia are leagued by treaty, forming what is known as the "Little Entente," to resist jointly any attempt to alter the dictated boundaries. Hungary, after twelve years, still claims revision and is supported by Italy.

M. Bergeviezy, president of the Royal Hungarian Academy, denounced the treaty in the Hungarian Senate as "representing unbridled hatred and vengeance." We ought to understand why this strong language was used and greeted with cheers.

If it is impossible to acquit Hungary of all blame in the matter of "war guilt," she did nothing to deserve exemplary punishment. Count Tisza, the responsible Hungarian Minister, opposed war upon Serbia after Serajevo, and did his best to soften the terms of the fatal ultimatum. On the other hand, the murdered Archduke Francis Ferdinand cherished plans of federation which would have given autonomy to Bosnia, destined to be the scene of his assassination, and the Hungarians opposed a solution which would have checkmated the ambitions of Serbia. It must be admitted, when we consider the mutilation of this unhappy nation, which had existed as an entity for so many centuries, that rarely has a continental state possessed such remarkable natural frontiers as those formed for Hungary by the Carpathians, the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube. Naturally an economic unit, it had extensive and excellent railway systems centred on Budapest; the railway map of Hungary was like a spider's web. Ethnologically, the old Hungary was a mixture of many races—Magyars, Germans, Serbs, Slovaks, Ruthens, Rumanians, Poles and others. According to the census of 1910, the Magyars formed 54.5 per cent. of the population, and the Germans formed 10.4 per cent., so that Hungarians and Germans together accounted for two-thirds of the population. Of great importance in judgment is the fact that of 1,780 newspapers published in the old Hungary, as many as 1,660 were in the Hungarian and German languages; 1,494 of these being Hungarian. The Treaty of Trianon, in reducing Hungary to less than one-third of her pre-war dimensions, transferred some 500,000 Magyars to Yugoslavia, 1,700,000 to Rumania and nearly 1,100,000 to Czechoslovakia; with them were transferred most of the Germans.

It was in vain that at the Paris Peace Conference, to which

Hungary was called after her fate was decided, the Hungarian delegates protested against what they considered to be flagrant injustice ; the Conference of Ambassadors decided that any modification of the allotted frontiers would amount to a breach of the Peace Treaty. So the Treaty of Trianon was signed between the Allies and Hungary, on the one part by dictators of peace who admitted part, at least, of its imperfections, and on the other by the defeated, who " agreed " because they had no other choice. Thus was made not a peace but a cause of war. Thus was added yet another to " treaties " made without treaty, which have no moral binding force whatever upon those forced to sign them. The greater the pity, since the Hungarian issue has other sides to it.

Hungary has never disguised her ambition to recover her amputated provinces. The states, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who now rule her lost citizens, are as determined to retain their territorial gains. As we see by the statement on page 37, the respective populations of these four involved states are :

	<i>Estimated Population in 1930.</i>					
Hungary..	8,800,000
Czechoslovakia	14,800,000
Rumania..	18,500,000
Yugoslavia	13,600,000

The millions of Magyars placed under the rule of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia have suffered grievous wrongs, although, curiously, pacifist literature has been almost silent about them and although they are by treaty the nominal possessors of fundamental rights guaranteed by the League of Nations. In Rumania, the Magyars complain of educational and religious intolerance and of agrarian and economic measures amounting to the confiscation of property. In Czechoslovakia, the persecution of Hungarian culture has gone the length of destroying statues of Kossuth, Rakoczy and other Magyar heroes. The monuments commemorating the

Hungarian War of Independence of 1848-49 have been thus destroyed. The Magyar schools have been largely eliminated, and many Magyar clergymen expelled. The Magyar newspapers have been censored, prohibited or confiscated. Agrarian reform has been used as a handy weapon to confiscate Hungarian property, the guiding principle employed being to transfer the land from the unfortunate minority citizens, as enemies of the new republic, to the proprietorship of patriotic Czechs and Slovaks. The Magyars allege, and apparently with reason, that in redistributing the Hungarian land the Czechoslovakian authorities have almost completely ignored Magyar claimants. The Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment League furnishes details of a large number of cases in which the property of Hungarians has been distributed among Czechs, including prominent politicians. As for the position in Yugoslavia, the Hungarians term the Serbian tyranny "indescribable local terror" and the "tragedy of half a million Hungarians." Here confiscation has gone much further than in Czechoslovakia. At the elections the Magyars have been brutally maltreated, their houses decorated with the skull and cross-bones, and their leading members imprisoned. So an inferior civilisation has been deliberately given power over the transferred citizens of a superior civilisation.

Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia are now leagued against Hungary by treaties (1920-1922) for mutual defence and co-operation, and the league has been dubbed "The Little Entente." The effect is that the three nations bind themselves to aid each other in case of unprovoked attack by Hungary; each also agrees not to ally itself with any fourth power without consent of the other two.

Czechoslovakia is a state which arose through the War spontaneously, the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks, all of them Slavs, opposing Germany from the outset and drifting, in single spies and in battalions, into the armies of the Allies, for whom they fought gallantly. The new republic stretches

THE ADRIATIC QUESTION



Fig. 6. Yugoslavia was built of Serbia, Bosnia (capital Serajevo, where the Serbian assassins fired the shots which began the World War), Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Croatia, Slavonia, Montenegro, part of Bulgaria (threatening Sofia) and part of the Hungarian Banat. Yugoslavia thus includes territory promised to Italy by the Treaty of London. Historically, the Adriatic is to Italy "our sea." Yugoslavia is in alliance with France against Italy and builds warships in France. Albania is the protégé of Italy. In the island of Saseno, with Brindisi, Italy holds the Straits of Otranto. Yugoslavian extreme ambitions include the conquest of Venice, which it is proposed to call "Mleci."

across Central Europe, with Germany and Poland on the north and Austria and Hungary on the south. It covers the lands of the ancient Kingdom of Bohemia (which included Moravia), Slovakia, Carpathia, Ruthenia, and part of the rich mining district of Teschen. The independence of Czechoslovakia was proclaimed in October, 1918, and the peace propounded to Hungary recognised the accomplished fact. The misfortune that so many Hungarians were incorporated in Czechoslovakia could have been avoided by a suitable rectification of frontiers, for many of the Magyars of the new republic are clustered near the boundary. The population is very varied in character, the Slavs numbering some 9 millions. About one-third of the population is composed of Magyars and Germans, who most certainly will never fight against the brethren from whom they are separated. Czechoslovakia, as France's sentinel in Central Europe, has a strong strategic position and an army out of all proportion to her population, but her position is nevertheless very weak. And her own weakness causes her to view with anxiety any access of strength to Hungary or Austria.

The new Rumania, as we have seen, took Transylvania from Hungary, with parts of the Banat. She also took Bukovina from Austria and Bessarabia from Russia. These acquisitions, with south Dobruja taken from Bulgaria in the Balkan war of 1913, raised the area of the kingdom to 122,000 square miles. The population is very composite, the 18½ million people including some 5 million Germans, Russians, Magyars, Bulgars and others. Rumanian is a Latin tongue with many Slavonic elements, and Rumania likes to regard herself as a Latin people with proud descent from Roman legions. In Moldavia and Wallachia the Rumanians form nine-tenths of the population. In Transylvania, taken from Hungary, there is a majority of Rumanians, but a very large minority of Magyars. Rumania has thus to face great internal difficulties arising from the incorporation of so many different

peoples as a political unit, and her relations with Bulgaria and Hungary are that she rules much territory they are determined to recover.

The third member of the Little Entente is Yugoslavia, at first called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. With a population of roundly $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions, she is now the tenth state of Europe in point of numbers. Under a dictatorship, she is attempting to weld together not only the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes of her original official title, but Dalmatians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and Magyars. The treaty-made Yugoslavia consists of the old Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, part of Carniola and Styria, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, part of the Hungarian Banat, and the late kingdom of Montenegro. The Serbia of 1913 had 37,000 square miles; the New Serbia, as we may call it, for the Serbians control it, measures 97,000 square miles.

Yugoslavia is thus established on the Adriatic, facing that harbourless east coast of Italy which is so difficult to defend and at enmity with both Italy and Hungary. On the other hand, she is the *protégée* of France. The first shot of the World War was fired by old Serbia; Europe will be fortunate if another great conflagration is not started in the same region. Yugoslavia is in military alliance with France and builds submarines with which to war upon Italy, knowing that Italy is peculiarly vulnerable to submarine attack. The submarines are built in France, and French warships promote good feeling by ostentatiously escorting them to Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is now both of Central Europe and of the Balkans, or perhaps we should say a member of both the Old Balkans and the New, for much of Europe has been very effectively Balkanized. We may now turn to the rest of the Balkan States.

6: THE BALKANS

THE Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 should justly be regarded as part of the great conflict which ended in 1918; if we ignore the connection we are less likely to understand that another great war may arise in much the same way. The Balkan League of 1912, formed of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro in alliance against Turkey to liberate Macedonia and Thrace, was so far successful that Turkey lost nearly the whole of her European territory; but for the rival ambitions of the members of the League, which led to the second Balkan War of 1913, when Bulgaria was defeated by Greece and Serbia, and Turkey was enabled to regain Adrianople, the Turkish power in Europe might have been determined. As it was, the eve of the World War saw Turkey in Europe reduced to the corner of land lying east of the Maritza, and including Adrianople. Albania became an independent state, and was provided early in 1914 with a German princeling who quitted the country as soon as the World War began. The ambitions of Serbia precipitated the great conflict, and in effect, made the World War a continuation of the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. At Serajevo, the Bosnian capital, on June 28th, 1914, Serbian emissaries, with the connivance of members of the Serbian government,¹ assassinated the Austrian heir, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his bride, and Austria launched a stern ultimatum. The murder was a deliberate act of war, committed with a quite definite object. The Archduke was not a tyrant but a liberator. It was his desire, and if he had lived he would have achieved his purpose, to give autonomy to Bosnia.

On July 28th, a month after the assassination, Austria declared war on Serbia. As we have seen, the results of the Serajevo assassination were extraordinarily successful from

¹ Revealed in 1923 by Professor Stanoje Stanojevica, Professor of History at the University of Belgrade.

THE BULGARIAN QUESTION



Fig. 7 By the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) and the Conference of San Remo (1920) the frontiers of Bulgaria were dictated. The south Dobruja went to Rumania, Caribrod and Strumica on the west to Yugoslavia (although these places have large Bulgarian populations), while on the south Greece and Turkey shut Bulgaria from the Aegean Sea. Sofia, the capital (the ancient Serdica of the Romans), was robbed of its natural strategic value by being placed within range of Yugoslavian guns. Mussolini backs the Bulgarian claim to a revision of these intolerable conditions.

the point of view of Serbian ambitions, the Allies, possibly in pursuance of poetic justice, taking some pains to help the building of a powerful Yugoslavia. The net result has been to place under the rule of a Serbian minority exercising a dictatorship, a great majority of members of other races. Bosnia is now incorporated in Yugoslavia, the city of the assassination is Serbian territory, and a monument of Serbian gratitude has been fittingly erected to the assassin whose work brought misery to millions of homes in Europe.

The Balkan War of 1912 rescued Albania from the Turks, who had held it since 1478. The new state, given autonomy by the Great Powers in 1912, was taken under the protection of Italy in the World War in 1917, and thus remains. So the stage is set in the Adriatic, with France backing Yugoslavia against Italy, and Italy securing Albania against Yugoslavia. Here are deep-seated differences and bitter hatreds making for tragedy.

That Bulgaria in 1930 numbers less than 6 million people is a consequence of her attack upon her allies after the Balkan War of 1912 (when, after crushing defeat, she lost the territory of southern Dobruja to Rumania), and of her backing the wrong horse in the World War. The "Treaty" of Neuilly, 1919, confirmed the loss of the southern Dobruja and deprived Bulgaria of Caribrod and Strumica, which went to Yugoslavia to give her strategic command of the Bulgarian capital, and of the share of Macedonia which she had acquired by the Balkan wars, which went to Greece. Thus she lost direct access to the Ægean and her only sea border is on the Black Sea. This is not regarded by Bulgaria as the last move in the game, and Mussolini has expressed the opinion that her boundaries should be rectified.

The history of Turkey and Greece since 1918 has been rich in illustration of the part still played by military victory in human affairs, of the submission of diplomacy to force, and of the humiliation, shame and economic loss which may be suffered by a vanquished nation.

Turkey went under with the Central Empires, and her nominal government signed at Sèvres in August, 1920, a Treaty, made without treaty, which deprived her of all but a mere remnant of her territories in Europe and Asia, and placed her remaining ports, including Constantinople, as well as her finances, under international control. But the Turkish hands that signed this document under *force majeure* lacked national authority, which had been assumed by a great Turkish soldier, Mustafa Kemal, who inspired and led a national movement which made alliance with Soviet Russia and formed an effective government at Angora, the terminus of the Anatolian railway. In May, 1919, the Supreme Council of the Allies made military use of Greece to coerce the Turks, inviting her to land troops at Smyrna,¹ which was accordingly done under the guns of British, American and French warships. So began a campaign disastrous for Greece and ending in her complete defeat, Smyrna being taken by the Turks in September, 1922, and the Greeks driven back to their ships. In the meantime, the Allied Powers who had sent Greece to Smyrna had deserted their unhappy instrument. The unratified Treaty of Sèvres became waste paper, and a new treaty, the Treaty of Lausanne, was made in July, 1923, between the Angora Government and the Allies, the Sultanate being abolished. As a defeated unit of the World War, the late Ottoman government at Constantinople, like Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, had "agreed" to a dictated peace. The victorious Angora government negotiated with the Powers on level terms, and secured for Turkey much that had been resigned by the abortive Treaty of Sèvres.

In Europe, Turkey retained Constantinople, and Thrace to the line of the River Maritza, including Adrianople. In Asia, forfeiting the Arab provinces (which were "mandated" to Britain and France), she retained all Asia Minor north of Syria and Mosul, including Smyrna, which the Sèvres Treaty

¹ By the pact of St. Jean de Maurienne, of 1917, Smyrna and district had been definitely promised to Italy. See Appendix V.

had given to Greece. Whereas the Sèvres Treaty had forbidden Turkey to arm, and had proposed to internationalise Constantinople and the Dardanelles, Lausanne allowed her an army and a fleet, gave her large powers in the Dardanelles, and in effect afforded her a territorial guarantee in that region. Russia, a party to the Lausanne conference, accepted this part of the Treaty under protest, and Constantinople remains the world problem it has been ever since the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire. Russia continues to assert her interest by maintaining warships in the Black Sea.

The Greek *débâcle* led to a great exodus of Christians from Asia Minor to Greece. Smyrna was burned, all but the Turkish quarter, with enormous loss of life, when captured by the Turks, and has now only one-third of her former population. About one million refugee Greeks, after terrible sufferings, are now settled in Macedonia and are said to be prospering. A Greek Refugee Settlement Commission was set up by the League of Nations, and has done magnificent work in aiding one of the most remarkable wholesale migrations in history.¹ After these vicissitudes, the Greece of 1930 has nearly 6½ million people. So a district in Asia Minor, predominantly Greek since the dawn of history, has been purged of Greeks with the consent of European rulers, the people of Europe caring little for one of the strangest tragedies in the history of mankind. This too, after the Very Last War, after the establishment of a League of Nations, after Greece, herself a member of that League of Nations, had been used as a cats-paw by leading members of the League. The Romans who conquered but respected Greece would not have believed such a transaction possible.

For the rest, we may observe that Scandinavia and Jutland have now over 12½ million people, of whom Sweden has about one-half. Sweden, once a Great Power in Europe,

¹ About 170,000 families have been resettled in 2,000 new villages, and several hundred new urban quarters. We have been so lost in admiration of this rescue work that we have almost forgotten the tens of thousands of men, women and children who perished, and the essential horror and shame of the story.

neutral in the War,¹ did much to provision Germany in 1914-1916, and it is amusing now to recall that, at the very time when the British public looked upon Tzarist Russia as a powerful ally, those behind the scenes knew that she was fearing a declaration of war by Sweden. Denmark has regained northern Sleswick under the Versailles Treaty, and her small area has now some 3,600,000 people.

7: EUROPE A SEA OF TROUBLES

I HAVE by no means exhausted the causes of difference that exist in Europe in 1930, but this work seeks to concentrate vision on main factors. We see Europe disunited and armed against a sea of troubles. The Balkans, always a danger-zone, were never before so likely to precipitate conflict. Russia still has her eyes on Constantinople; Greece, after her bitter experience, cultivates the friendship of Italy and Turkey; Bulgaria looks to Italy and waits her hour; Rumania, like Yugoslavia, is compromised both in the Balkans and in Central Europe, and it is by no means certain that she will remain in the camp of France; Albania is precariously situated between Yugoslavia and the deep sea. Italy backs Bulgaria and Albania, while France arms and trains Yugoslavia.² The Little Entente, leagued with France, watches Hungary. Hungary's protests have not weakened in ten

¹ The writer's first written formulation (1915) of his "Rationing" proposals to make the blockade of Germany effective, had special reference to the fact that Sweden was importing enormous quantities of copper and selling them to Germany for war purposes. Copper is a very essential war material for making brass and for the rings of shells. Later, when the neutral supplies of copper were stopped by "rationing," the Germans had to use iron-ringed shells, which made bad shooting, and quickly spoiled the rifling of guns.

² On November 1, 1930, a memorial of Serbian gratitude to France was unveiled at Belgrade in the presence of the King, the French delegates responding by investing the Crown Prince with the Legion of Honour. The sculpture includes the significant representation of a file of French and Serbian soldiers shooting at a common foe.

years, and Mussolini espouses her claims to a rectified frontier. Italy, locked within her narrow borders, resents the treatment of the Treaty of London as a scrap of paper, denounces the outcome of Versailles, and like France vainly seeks security; her harbourless Adriatic shore faces the fine harbours of Dalmatia, where Venice ruled and where the Italian language has been spoken for centuries. France, her new western frontier (but not that on the east) guaranteed by the Locarno Treaty which pledges Britain to make war on behalf of the Treaty of Versailles, hoards £400,000,000 of gold against troubles to come, is leagued with Poland and the Little Entente, and possesses a naval superiority in the Mediterranean, with special reliance upon the submarine which is so peculiarly deadly to Britain and Italy; who shall deny that she is entitled to security? Russia, while actively developing her enormous natural wealth, trains her workers and peasants in arms, and pursues the proselytization of the world. Germany and Austria, torn and despoiled, are forbidden to unite, although fragmentary Austria is an impossible unit. The old Austria-Hungary was a congeries of many races, but her population was not more heterogeneous than that of many members of the crazy patchwork of states fabricated by the Peace. The discontented minorities of Central Europe, estimated at some thirty million people in all, complain of alienation and oppression. Britain and Britain alone among the Great Powers effectively disarms, while nearly every other state of Europe, save those in bondage, bristles with weapons of a new and improved deadliness.

This is to speak of purely European difficulties and dangers, but Europe is not an isolated continent; the destiny of her peoples is linked with that of others in worlds old and new, and her troubles are deepened and complicated by world issues which are becoming of profound importance and gravity. To the consideration of these we now pass.

CHAPTER III

THE POSSESSION AND USE OF WORLD AREA

I : THE GREAT DISCOVERERS AND EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

THE nations accustomed to go down to the sea in ships naturally furnished the great voyagers and discoverers. It was the sailors of the Mediterranean who led the van in ocean enterprise as it was the scholars and humanists of the Mediterranean who led the world out of the Dark Ages. The map of the world is scored with the names of great sailors belonging to nations whose citizens in our day, strangely enough, are *barred from access to the lands their famous ancestors discovered*. English and Dutch sailors, stimulated by the Italian, Spanish and Portuguese navigators, also played a great part. It naturally followed from the configuration of Europe that some nations, shut from the great waters, took no part in discovery, and it is not the fault of the Russians or Central Europeans that the map of the new world owes nothing to them. Nevertheless, it remains a remarkable fact that the white colonization of the world has been so largely accomplished by two peoples, the English and the Spanish. It is also remarkable, as I have pointed out before, that the Scandinavians, facing the Atlantic and themselves possessing a country of such poor natural resources, should not have made a considerable contribution to ocean navigation.

Let us remind ourselves of the names of those who made the world at large known to the West. It was in 1492 that

Christopher Columbus, Admiral of three small vessels and a hundred men, justified the faith that was in him, and discovered America. He was an Italian whose expedition was fitted out by Ferdinand and Isabella. Five years later, the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and discovered that there was a sea route to India. On this eventful voyage he sailed up the East African coast to Malindi and from thence, sailing east, sighted the coast of Malabar in May, 1498. It was in 1497 that another intrepid navigator, born Giovanni Caboto, an Italian, and called by the English John Cabot, persuaded Henry VII to give him a patent for the discovery, at his own charges, of unknown lands overseas, the king, as a good Tudor, to take a handsome share of the profits. Sailing from Bristol with his equally celebrated son, Sebastian, he discovered Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. Another Italian navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, gave his name to the continent of America through a geographer who supposed him to be its first discoverer, although the point as to when Vespucci sailed to America is almost as much in dispute as the career of Shakespeare, and for the same reasons. When I myself made a voyage of discovery to America, the uniformed official who verified my authenticity remarked, "Ah, an Italian name," when he saw my papers. "Yes," I replied, "like that of America," but I am quite sure that the point of the allusion escaped him.

It was a Portuguese, Ferdinand Magellan, who in 1520 first entered and named the Pacific and, on the same voyage, reached the Philippines and met his death, one ship only of the five with which he sailed reaching home again after making the first voyage round the world. Hernando de Soto, the fearless Spaniard, explored a good deal of America between 1519 and 1541, and died on the banks of the Mississippi in 1542, soon after crossing it. Another Spaniard, De Torres, discovered the strait bearing his name, which separates Australia from Papua, in 1606, and was the first navigator to see the coast of Australia. He was succeeded by Dutch sailors

and notably by Tasman, who discovered Tasmania and New Zealand in 1642; hence Australia was for long known as New Holland. So white men were led to the discovery of new worlds, and Spanish, Portuguese, English, Dutch and French sailors staked national claims to dominion, colonized, developed, enslaved, quarrelled, and had only such respect for their neighbours' landmarks as could be preserved by force of arms. It is a long and eventful history which cannot be told here, but we do well to remember that the present division of territory between various peoples by no means corresponds with the contributions of those peoples to the daring voyages into the unknown which revealed the world to white civilisation.

Nor, apart from the faith which inspired and the courage which sustained the old adventurers, does any particular credit attach to the nations which, after the voyages of Columbus, hastened to hoist their flags in far-off lands. Their colonizing and trading operations were marked by rapine, plunder and a new and dreadful form of slavery. When an economic theory of colonization was evolved, it was one which regarded a colony as a settlement or conquest existing as a source of tribute for the home country. The conceptions of colonial status and policy prevalent in Europe led to the rebellion and independence of the American colonies of Spain, and to the loss by England of her richest colonial possession. In international, even more than in civil affairs, the universal rule has been, let those keep who can. It was the exercise of sea-power which enabled Britain not only to take possession of territories and securely keep them, as in the cases of Australia and New Zealand, but to acquire by conquest the possessions of others and securely to keep them also, as with Cape Colony and the Gold Coast. Great as has been the transfer of colonies by conquest in the past, however, the wholesale annexation of the German colonies at the end of the World War by the Treaty of Versailles is without precedent.

AREAS AND POPULATIONS OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND OF THEIR OVERSEAS POSSESSIONS
AND DEPENDENCIES: ESTIMATES FOR 1930.

NATION.	Home Area.	Home Population.	Overseas Area.	OVERSEAS POPULATION.			TOTAL POPULATION OF EMPIRE.		
				White People.	Others.	Total.	White People.	Others.	Total.
	sq. miles.		sq. miles.						
Germany	182,213	64,500,000	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	64,500,000	Nil.	64,500,000
United Kingdom (with all Ireland) ..	121,311	48,750,000	13,588,832	21,370,000	404,880,000	426,250,000	70,120,000	404,880,000	475,000,000
Italy	118,100	41,800,000	524,230	60,000	2,440,000	2,500,000	41,860,000	2,440,000	44,300,000
France	212,700	41,100,000	4,866,000	1,400,000	61,600,000	63,000,000	42,500,000	61,600,000	104,100,000
Spain	190,000	23,000,000	126,367	13,000	987,000	1,000,000	23,013,000	987,000	24,000,000
Belgium	12,117	8,100,000	878,000	12,000	13,988,000	14,000,000	8,112,000	13,988,000	22,100,000
Holland	12,580	7,900,000	780,000	172,000	54,828,000	55,000,000	8,072,000	54,828,000	62,900,000
Portugal	34,254	6,000,000	950,174	30,000	8,970,000	9,000,000	6,030,000	8,970,000	15,000,000

2 : THE EXISTING MONOPOLIES OF COLONIZABLE AREAS

WE now come to considerations which affect the welfare and destiny of hundreds of millions of people, which are fraught with issues already pressing for attention, and which will soon lead to grave conflict if not determined in elementary justice.

The facts relating to the areas and population of the European colonizing nations and of their overseas possessions and dependencies are given in the statement on page 68. An endeavour has been made to bring these figures right up to date, and it has been necessary therefore to make estimates. The margin of possible error in the figures is not very great, however, and it will also be observed that the facts themselves exhibit such extraordinary inequalities and disparities as between nation and nation that errors of some magnitude would not invalidate the conclusions to be drawn from them. When one man is seven feet high and another only four feet, it does not amount to an inaccuracy of any moment if the tall man is said to be seven feet six inches and the short man three feet ten.

Indeed, as to the first line of the table, that relating to Germany, we have the greatest degree of accuracy possible, for the statement that the area of the overseas possessions of Germany is *nil*, and that their population is therefore also *nil*, is unfortunately quite precisely true. It is a matter of precision which becomes the more remarkable when we observe why Germany is placed at the head of this table. The eight countries with which it deals are arranged in order according to the size of their home populations, and Germany has by far the largest population of the eight. In 1930 she has, despite the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, Posen and part of West Prussia, of Upper Silesia, of the Saar basin and other territories, a population of 64½ millions living in an area much smaller than that of France. These many millions of

Germany have no national territory of any sort or kind outside the 182,000 square miles left them by the Peace Treaty ; there is no other spot in the world where a German is not a foreigner, subject to disabilities and disadvantages which the exacerbated nationalism of our time now imposes upon foreigners, for the contraction of civilisation and the general damnation of the world.

Even England, the ancient home of liberty, to which so many individuals of foreign races have in the past contributed new industries and enterprises, now shuts, nay slams, its doors against the "alien," treating him with a legislative cruelty and an administrative rudeness which have to be known in detail to be believed and which, when I was recently on the Continent, made me acquainted with several deplorable illustrations of official offensiveness. The Duke of Connaught recently paid signal honour to the late Mr. Bernhard Baron, a Jew who years ago entered as a poor foreigner a country which then took just pride in its liberality. Mr. Baron created a magnificent business which lives after him, every British employee of which mourns a man whose kindness, generosity and public benefactions knew no bounds. But if Mr. Baron had come to England in recent years he would have been very rudely handled at a British port in the strange and utterly unfounded conception that unemployment is necessarily increased by "alien immigration." I refer to this matter because the new nationalism, the new hatred of all that is "foreign," arising from the War, gives a new importance to the question of the status of a European migrant who ventures forth to live under a foreign flag.

The position of Germany was bad enough before the World War, for her colonies amounted merely to what remnant of territory a European continental power could zealously acquire after the sea-powers of Europe had previously monopolised nearly all lands worth annexation. In all the German colonies which have been taken over by

certain of the Allies, there was not one which could be termed a possible white man's land, at least in the present degree of advancement of science.

The second nation in the list in point of degree of home population is the United Kingdom ; here I have included all Ireland to simplify the considerations. The British Isles are seen to have a population in 1930 of about 49 millions, or about $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions less than that of Germany. This population, so much smaller than that of Germany, is the head and front of an Empire of about 13,600,000 square miles, which is far more than one-fourth of the world if we have regard to the natural wealth of the area. The population of this magnificent territory, which is examined in more detail elsewhere in these pages, is now roundly 475 millions, rather less than one-fourth of the world's population, which in 1930 is over 2,000 millions. It is not necessary to labour the contrast between the British Empire and Germany, the former world-wide, the latter confined to the heart of Europe with small access to the sea, but it is very pertinent to the case that it was through no fault of native enterprise or genius that Germans lacked opportunity either to discover the new world or to share in it.

We come to Italy, the third in this particular list in point of population and the fourth most populous state of Europe, to find a case of colonial frustration as striking as that of Germany. The 42 million Italians are confined in their home area to 118,000 square miles of territory, rich only in beauty and in priceless monuments of history and the arts, which have no relation whatever to the values in exchange created by mass production. It is true that the overseas area column shows Italy to possess some 524,000 square miles of territory, but the map reminds us that these are mostly measurements of desert. Italy, a Mediterranean land, lacked ocean ambitions, although she furnished great admirals to lead the seamen of other nations. Genoa and Pisa rose to maritime greatness, but within the classical seas. Venice as a great sea-

power played a leading part in saving Europe from Turkish dominion, but was content to espouse the Adriatic and to hold the East in fee. So it falls out that in 1930 a population still rapidly growing, which in the time of many of those living will exceed 60 millions, has no colonial outlet. The Italian, like the German, can only journey abroad on sufferance, and by his labour contribute to the wealth and prosperity of a foreign land.

France, the fourth nation in the list, with a population of roundly 41 millions, and an area nearly as great as that of Britain and Italy put together, has a great overseas area of 4,860,000 square miles. The overseas empire of France has a population of 63 millions, but of these less than a million and a half are Europeans. Indeed, it is not possible for France to furnish the material of emigration, for her own native population is declining, the total population of the country being roundly maintained by a considerable influx of Italians, Poles and others. The contrast with the case of Italy is very striking. The people of the small Italian area, rapidly increasing, have little or no opportunity of natural and proper expansion. The people of the great French area, who must die out, as we shall see later, with their present degree of fertility, own the second greatest overseas empire in the world.

Spain and Portugal, fifth and seventh in the list, have still something left of the magnificent empires which were founded after the voyage of the *Santa Maria*, when the Pope thought it well to divide the extra-European world between the nations of the Iberian peninsula. As to Spain, we may remind ourselves that although there are very few white men in the Spanish colonies to-day, there are over the seas from Spain, in 1930, mainly in the South American republics which still take pride in their origin, some 25 million white persons of Spanish descent, so that Spain, her remaining colonies and the Spanish republics have between them a white population approaching 50 millions. I confess that it ever gives me delight to point out that there are still in the world greatnesses which were built by

men without the aid of machinery, or of coal, or of mineral oil, or of the factory system, and that there is more cause for just pride in producing a Velasquez than a captain of robots.

Both Portugal and Holland, with small home populations, have still great possessions overseas by virtue of their pioneer work in ocean navigation, despite the fact that they lost so much to Britain by conquest. It will be seen that the total population of the empire of the Netherlands reaches 63 millions and that of Portugal 15 millions.

The case of Belgium is a peculiar one. A modern kingdom (although with a very ancient history) dating only from 1839, she has come into possession of nearly 900,000 square miles of African territory. The Congo State was a personal creation of Leopold II, who founded and financed the "International Association of the Congo" and succeeded not only in developing this great territory but in securing the recognition of his work by the Great Powers. After twenty-eight years of this personal and indeed autocratic administration, Leopold handed over his property to his nation, and the Congo Free State became Belgian property. So Belgium came to have a very considerable colonial area, which together with mandated (late German) territory gives her an overseas area of nearly 900,000 square miles and an aggregate imperial population of some 22 millions.

3 : THE WORLD NEEDS THE FULL USE OF ALL ITS POWERS

THE facts, the extraordinary facts, which we have just examined suggest the possibility, nay the probability, that the world is not put to its best use, and that the existing conditions are not such as make for the best and fullest development of territories which should all be called into scientific use if the citizens of the world are to enjoy it in all the amplitude of its possibilities and powers.

Let us ask ourselves whether it is just to the world at large that one national group, numbering 46 millions, should be charged with the supreme control, development and destiny of $13\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles of territory, or one-fourth of the world, while another national group, numbering $64\frac{1}{2}$ millions, should be compelled to restrict the exercise of its powers to a small territory in central Europe. Even if we include in the British national enumeration the whole of the white people of all races of the British Empire, we are confronted with the fact that the white citizens inhabiting one-fourth of the world exceed by no more than about 5 millions the Germans landlocked in Europe. We are well aware that the Germans are a scientific people, an organising people, a people of great and varied genius, who have made splendid use of their domestic resources; it is not fair to the world at large that German minds should not play their proper part in making the world better fit to live in. The two visits which I paid to Germany before the War gave me an admiration for German science and German culture which the events of the War have left unchanged.

And thus also with Italy, whose parlous case in respect of her colonial territory finds her toiling to make something of a desert. Who that has seen the developments of industry in Italy based upon original invention can help wondering what Italy would have accomplished in the world of work if the vivid Italian intelligence had had opportunity to be applied to the possession of such coal resources as exist in Britain or in only one of the many coal-bearing states of America? I think there can be no doubt that if coal had existed in Italy, mechanical industry would not be merely modern, and that long ago it would have worked through those stages of imperfection which still distress us.

Very little of the world has been yet submitted to scientific development. Very few areas of the world are yet liberally populated. Civilisation has as yet merely scratched the earth's surface. Those who talk of the "markets" of the world as

exhausted from the British or any other point of view are signally lacking in scientific imagination. The truth is that, for the most part, the world's powers are undeveloped, and that they need the application on a large scale of the genius of all races. Migration and colonization remain the subjects of haphazard treatment within national boundaries. Even if an empire is a world in itself there can be no defence of the neglect and under-development of its resources. As for the remarkable, the overwhelming fact that the great majority of the citizens of the world are denied the opportunity to migrate if they wish to do so, it is both a wrong to individuals and a wrong to civilisation.

The fact is that small groups of people about the world are monopolising large territories and withholding them from use. They are themselves using splendid resources without imagination, and largely without science. They refuse to avail themselves of the very brains that could help them. They are often contemptuous of the citizens of their own flag, unless born in their own areas. They are found applying opprobrious names to immigrants, and making things as difficult as possible for them. Such are the curious results of exaggerated conceptions of patriotism, which has been said to be the last refuge of a scoundrel, and is commonly the refuge of those who fear what they affect to despise.

Whatever the truth as to the degree of development of new countries now possessed and controlled by small and exclusive communities, we may be quite sure that the present position cannot be maintained. It is idle to suppose that leagues or pacts can be respected by nations who see in them instruments to give much of the world to some groups of people and little or nothing of the world to others. The possession and use of world area is a subject of primary importance which cannot be excluded from international discussion. The world of men needs the world of land, and in the long run nothing will be permitted to bar that need.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREATNESS OF NATIONS IN MODERN TIMES

I : THE FORTUNATE OWNERS OF THE WORLD'S POWER RESOURCES

IT is necessary to protest against the monetary evaluation of peoples. Modern invention, by giving a peculiar value to certain natural products which are very unevenly distributed in the world, has, by reason of that inequality, exalted some nations and put down others.

The Age of Coal may be said to have begun in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the modern wealth of Britain then took origin. Six generations since, the British Isles as a whole were as poor as coal-less Ireland is to-day. In 1730, Britain imported far more iron than she exported. In 1750 an Englishman first smelted iron with coal and in that same year James Watt made acquaintance with the crude "atmospheric" engine of Newcomen, which used steam merely to create a vacuum under a piston. George Stephenson, who understood that coal had given wealth to what had been a poor country, said "The Lord Chancellor now sits upon a bag of wool, but wool has long since ceased to be emblematical of the staple commodity of England. He ought to sit upon a bag of coals." It was the wealth derived from coal that enabled Pitt to subsidize the Continental armies that contended with Napoleon. Leipzig and Waterloo were won in the coal-mines of Great Britain.

Before the Coal Age, England was an importer of manufactured goods and an exporter of raw materials for more

advanced European nations to work upon.¹ Thus, because England had green pastures all the year round, she was a great producer of wool, the main source of that material in Europe. But she did not know how to work it to advantage until instructed by Continental craftsmen. In the days when Italy was the richest and most civilised land in Europe, the Italian wool guilds drew the raw material for their fine cloths from England, and in much later days, when England needed to construct a bridge or water-mill, she sent for Dutch or other Continental engineers. Coal changed all that ; among other things it made England the chief manufacturer and importer of wool and the chief exponent of engineering.

If in England coal had a peculiar value because of England's comparative backwardness in the arts of peace, it had also a determining influence elsewhere. The economic potency of coal, it is all-important to remember, is effective and can only be effective in the countries which possess it, because its bulk and weight make it difficult to transport with economy. So industries gravitated irresistibly to the coal-mines of the world. Germany came later into the field because as a "geographical expression" she was for long not in a condition for peaceful development. America came in later still, for in the nineteenth century, as now, there was no world organisation to develop new countries. At the close of the eighteenth century, by which time the British people

¹ This was realised by Jevons two generations ago, and lucidly expressed in his great work, *The Coal Question*, which although famous has been grievously misunderstood. In its relation to British prosperity, Jevons thus summed the effect of the exploitation of coal which began in the middle of the eighteenth century: "The history of British industry and trade may be divided into two periods, the first reaching backward from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the earliest times, and the latter reaching forward to the present and the future. These two periods are contrary in character. In the earlier period, Britain was a rude, half-cultivated country, abounding in corn, and wool, and meat, and timber, and exporting the rough but valuable materials of manufacture. Our people, though with no small share of poetic and philosophic genius, were unskilful and unhandy, better in the arts of war than those of peace; on the whole, learners rather than teachers.

"But, as the second period grew upon us, many things changed. Instead of learners, we became teachers; instead of exporters of raw materials, we became importers; instead of importers of manufactured articles, we became exporters. What we had exported we began by degrees to import; and what we had imported we began to export."

had got well under way with the coal-based inventions, the American population was no more than four millions, one-fifth of whom were negro slaves and Amerindians. But when these two nations, the two other great coal countries of the world with white populations, at last developed their coal, they quickly built up great and successful coal-based industries. The burning of coal to make energy—and dirt—is not a difficult operation, and the real cause for astonishment is that men who freely handled coal took so long to discover even its crudest properties.¹ The coal map of the world became the machine industry map of the world and also its wealth map. The magic of coal turned labour into gold at the price of the Industrial Revolution, whose worst effects upon humanity were felt first and most in England, producing a dreadful degree of physical deterioration which left its traces even in the recruiting records of the World War, 164 years after Abraham Derby the younger first smelted iron with coal.

The economist, with his eyes upon wealth interpreted as matter having value in exchange, may make a monetary evaluation of England after the Industrial Revolution and regard the result with pride. Cause for pride there may be in the changes so lucidly described by Jevons, but we will not forget that the greatest genius ever produced by England was born in days when steam was known only as a troublesome vapour and when, nevertheless, England knew spacious days.

Now let us turn to the statement entitled "Power and Population" on page 80, and observe how the gods have distributed coal among the nations. We see that in 1929 Europe was the world's chief coal-producing continent, her output being rather more than one-half of the world's entire production. This European one-half of the world's coal is produced by one-fourth of the world's people. This disproportion would not be so great if the fine coal of China,

¹ Coal seems to have been burned in England for many centuries, as in China, without awakening scientific curiosity.

where Marco Polo, the Venetian, found it in use in the thirteenth century, were better developed ; as it is, the people of Asia, who number more than one-half of the population of the world, produce 86 million tons of coal, of which the Japanese share is 32 millions. The American continent, through the great mineral wealth of the United States, produces 560 million tons. Africa and the South Seas contribute negligible figures.

The world's coal output is trifling in relation to population ; it amounts to about 12 hundredweights per head per annum. This is another way of saying that the power output per head of the world's population is as yet exceedingly small. Indeed, even in Europe, the coal output per head is a mere 1½ tons per annum, while in America as a whole it hardly exceeds 2 tons per head. Those who fancy that the world is approaching the limits of development and population should ponder these facts. It is impossible to doubt that discovery will place larger powers than these at the disposal of mankind. The whole world's expression of power is at present a bagatelle, and most of the world still lives in primary poverty.

History has been moulded by the fact that the coal of the world is mainly found in the Northern hemisphere, and that apart from Europe its chief stores are situate in North America, where colonization on a large scale by white men was easily practicable because of the sparse native population. Thus it came about that the greater part of the world's coal fell into the possession of white civilisations.

We may now with advantage turn from continents to countries. We see that the chief coal producer is the United States ; the American production in 1929 was greater than that of the United Kingdom, Germany and France put together. Nations are accustomed to boast of the special value of the human grit which they individually apply to the world's affairs ; the truth is that in modern work the chief grit that counts is coal-grit. If we set out the coal productions of the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany, and

POWER AND POPULATION.

1. COAL OUTPUT, 1929, including Lignite in terms of Coal (League of Nations figures).
2. PETROLEUM OUTPUT, 1929. (League of Nations figures).
3. ELECTRICITY OUTPUT, 1929. (B.E.A.M.A. figures mostly).
4. POPULATIONS, estimated for 1930.

	Coal Output. <i>Millions of Metric Tons, 2,204 lb.</i>	Petroleum Output. <i>Millions of Barrels.</i>	Electricity Output. <i>Millions of K.W.H.</i>	Population in millions to nearest million.
EUROPE :				
United Kingdom	261	—	16,900	49
Germany	202	1	30,660	65
France	54	1	15,000	41
Poland	46	5	2,500	31
Russia	40	95	6,500	125
Czechoslovakia ..	30	1	1,800	15
Spain	7	—	—	23
Italy	—	—	10,800	42
Other Countries ..	64	33	25,140	113
Total : Europe ..	704	136	109,300	504
ASIA :				
Japan	32	2	11,000	66
India	22	8	?	335
China	16	—	—	460
Other Countries ..	16	80	—	239
Total : Asia ..	86	90	11,000	1,100
AMERICA :				
United States ..	546	1,011	126,000	123
Canada	13	1	17,600	9
Other Countries ..	1	228	2,900	118
Total : America ..	560	1,240	146,500	250
AFRICA :				
Union of S. Africa	13	—	2,000	8
Other Countries ..	1	2	130	140
Total : Africa ..	14	2	2,130	148
SOUTH SEAS :				
Australia	13	—	2,850	6
New Zealand ..	2	—	550	1
Total : S. Seas ..	15	—	3,400	10
ALL THE WORLD..	1,379	1,468	272,330	2,012

compare them with that of the whole world, we get the following remarkable result :

THE MONOPOLY OF COAL : 1929.

					OUTPUT IN MILLIONS OF METRIC TONS.
United States	..	..	..	..	546
United Kingdom		..	..	..	261
Germany	..	..	..	..	202
					<hr/>
All the rest of the World		..	..		1,009
					370
					<hr/>
					1,379
					<hr/>

America, Britain and Germany produced between them in 1929 1,009 million tons of the world's entire production of 1,379 million tons, or over 73 per cent. But for the transfer of the rich German coal-mines of the Saar to the French government by the Treaty of Versailles, the disproportion would be even greater.

The world of machine industry is ruled by America, Britain and Germany because of their rich possession of coal. If by some magic power the coal of these three countries were removed to other areas, and the present exclusive immigration laws of the world remained in force so that their peoples could not follow the coal, the great American, British and German populations, which now pride themselves upon their superiority, would find themselves plunged into depths of misery such as had never been witnessed before in the history of mankind. Most of our boasted modern wealth is the fruit of a peculiarly dirty and dangerous industry, which cannot endure.

In contemplating this remarkable statement of (temporarily) compelling and determining facts, it is curious to observe that two populous European nations, Spain and Italy, which together have a population of 65 millions, between them produce in a year 7 million tons of coal, towards which the

contribution of Italy is a trifle of 300,000 tons! One is constrained to wonder what the people of the United States, so convinced of their innate superiority, would make of their country if they were reduced to a coal output per head of the population matching that of Italy; as the American population is 123 millions, or as nearly as possible three times that of Italy, such a production would give them 900,000 tons of coal per annum with which to display their talents; it is a chastening reflection.

The statement on page 80 also deals with petroleum, a natural distillation akin to coal and for many power purposes even more useful. We see that in 1929 the entire mineral oil output of the world was 1,468 million barrels, and that of these no less than 1,011 millions were produced in the United States. Thus a single country is favoured with nearly 70 per cent. of the entire world's petroleum output. In this respect the United Kingdom, like most of her neighbours, is badly found, the petroleum of Europe being mainly produced in Russia and Rumania. It is not a little remarkable in view of these facts that America should view with ill-concealed concern the endeavours of any oil-less nation which casts about to find a stray oil-field.

No more credit, save in a commercial sense, attaches to a nation for possessing oil than for possessing coal. Indeed, the world as a whole, which needs the conservation of all its property, has every reason to view with anxiety that culpable waste and feverish production which marks the getting of American oil and which is deplored by every thoughtful American. In 1930 the price of petrol, the spirit of petroleum, is actually lower than before the War; it is an uneconomic cheapness which is due to American disorganisation and wastefulness; it is a cheapness for which the world will have to pay very soon in an equally exaggerated dearness. The petrol supplies of the world are strictly limited; as the wells dry up and it becomes necessary to produce motor-spirit by processes of distillation, the dirt-cheap petrol of 1930 will

disappear for ever, like the British fourpenny-ha'penny wheaten loaf of the eighteen-nineties, which was also a product of the American waste which moved President Roosevelt to set up a Conservation Commission. America wastes, every year, more coal and oil than many nations have power to produce. The time will come when a world control of resources will not permit such waste to occur.

Some of the nations handicapped by the lack of native coal and oil have the good fortune to possess water-power in abundance, and have mitigated their unfortunate position as power producers by applying invention to waterfalls, mountain streams and real or artificial lakes. In this respect also the United States is one of the most favoured countries, so that what with hard and soft coals, petroleum, natural gas, and water-power, America ought to produce, and does produce, more machine-made goods than any other country in the world. Among other nations with great hydro-electric power plants are Italy, Russia, Switzerland, France and Sweden; in the British Empire, South Africa and New Zealand as well as Canada have developed water-powers of magnitude. Russia is constructing hydro-electric plants equal to any in the world; Lenin put a great national scheme afoot in 1920. It should not be imagined, however, that the water-power of Italy or Switzerland or Canada is capable of development to a degree which would make these countries power producers of the rank of the United States; indeed the fine water-powers of America herself are inferior to American coal in potential capacity. In the case of Italy, which has done so much pioneer work in hydro-electricity, the greatest possible hydro-electric development would give a power output equivalent to the consumption of sixty to seventy million tons of coal per annum. But that, it will be observed, is merely about one-ninth of the coal output of the United States. The getting of "white coal," as hydro-electric power has been called, is an extraordinarily interesting branch of engineering. The getting of coal, and still more the getting

of oil, is a comparatively simple job, and it is matter for astonishment that a small island like Great Britain, with the finest coal area in the world so near to the sea, with no part of its interior more than 100 miles from a good port, should not long ago have developed a nationally organised system of electric supply.

The electricity output figures on page 80 show that America leads easily with 126,000 million units and that Germany follows with 30,660 million units. Canada is third, Great Britain fourth and France fifth; Japan and Italy follow. These seven countries produce nearly all the world's present output—an output which by 1950 will be thought very small.

2 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S METALS

WHO possesses coal also possesses, in effect, the raw materials of industry, for it is very economical to bring materials to coal but rarely economical to bring coal to materials. Nevertheless, nations which possess great supplies of native raw materials are in a position of obvious economic advantage apart from the coal factor, and it is of interest and importance to examine the world's output of the chief metallic ores.

To begin with man's chief tool, the national distribution of iron-ore has been greatly changed by the World War. In 1928, the last year for which the figures are available, the whole world produced roundly 175 million metric tons of iron-ore. Of this, 63 millions, or nearly one-third, represented the output of the United States. Germany, losing Lorraine, lost second place in iron to France, producing 6½ million tons against the 49 million tons of France. Britain's output was 11½ million tons. These four countries, then, produced nearly all the world's output of iron-ore. Other

contributors were Russia with 5 million tons ; Spain with $5\frac{3}{4}$ million tons ; Sweden with $4\frac{3}{4}$ million tons ; the last two have no coal with which to smelt iron, and their ore goes for smelting mainly to Britain and Germany.

Of copper ore, the United States output accounted for 52 millions out of the 78 million metric tons produced by all the world.

Of lead ore, the United States contributed over $7\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of the world output of 10 million tons.

Of zinc and lead-zinc ores, the United States produced 20 millions out of 22 million world tons.

In one only of the chief commercial metals, tin, is the United States lacking, the world's main supplies being found in the British Empire, Malaysia producing in 1928 (in terms of the metal) 65,000 of a world output of 179,000 tons.

Of aluminium, the United States produced 80,000 of a world output of 224,000 tons.

If we take the Great Powers of the world and contrast their populations and areas with their coal, oil and ore outputs we get the figures given on page 86.

America, we see, not only has natural power advantages far superior to those of any other country ; she produces the greater part of the entire world's copper, lead, zinc and aluminium. But America's fuel resources are so predominant that if she entirely lacked metallic ores she would be a great industrial nation by virtue of her superiority in power production.

3 : WHAT THE WEALTHY NATIONS OWE THE WORLD

THE possessions of the fortunate nations throw upon them a great responsibility which, so far in the world's history, has been completely ignored. Those who sincerely strive for peace and who mean anything

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE STRIKING DISPARITY
OF THEIR OUTPUTS OF NATIVE FUEL AND ORES.

(The output figures are for 1928 or 1929.)

COUNTRY.	POPULATION 1930.	AREA.	COAL.	PETROLEUM.	IRON ORE.	COPPER ORE.	LEAD ORE.	ZINC AND LEAD- ZINC ORE.	TIN (Smelted)
	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Million Tons.</i>	<i>Million Barrels.</i>	<i>Thousand Tons.</i>	<i>Thousand Tons.</i>	<i>Thousand Tons.</i>	<i>Thousand Tons.</i>	<i>Thousand Tons.</i>
United States	123	3,027,000	546	1,011	63,200	52,000	7,600	20,000	—
United Kingdom	49	121,000	261	—	11,443	200	19	2	2
Germany	65	182,000	202	1	6,475	900	153	261	—
France	41	213,000	54	1	49,332	100	16	9	—
Italy	42	118,000	—	—	641	9	55	181	—
Russia-in-Europe	125	1,793,000	40	95	5,357	647	3	2	—
Japan	64	148,000	32	2	172	68	4	10	1
THE WORLD	2,012	52,885,000	1,379	1,468	175,000	78,000	10,000	22,000	179

at all by such utterances as "the brotherhood of mankind" must not continue to ignore them. The present attitude of wealthy or great nations towards the world is that, by virtue of innate superiority, they have the right to dictate war or peace, as may suit them, to other nations. Thus it is not uncommon in recent pseudo-pacifist utterances to find the astonishing proposal that the natural wealth of the United States and the British Empire should be combined to impose "peace" upon the rest of the world. Those who make this monstrous suggestion seem to be quite unaware of its true character—that it would mean the dictation of the *status quo* to nations poor either because of lack of natural resources or because the victims of past conquest, or for both reasons. Germany is to keep the peace within her contracted boundaries. Italy is to remain at peace in her small mountainous area. In the Far East, 66 million Japanese are to remain at peace, content with such handfuls of rice and fish as their small islands afford. No man of worth and spirit would capitulate upon such terms. His decision surely would be that there are some forms of peace that are worse than war.

In the past, great nations have looked upon poor ones or upon new lands as subjects of exploitation for their own purposes. In the beginning was conquest without pretence or excuse, although it is true that the priest of God advanced bearing the Cross before Pizarro. The doctrine of tribute passed into the mercantile theory, which held that the main object of trade was to secure gold, that a colony was obediently to be a market for the mother country and a supplier of raw materials. In our day the mercantile theory lingers unconsciously in the minds of many who talk of "markets." Their respect for a nation is governed by its value as a "market."

What of assistance has gone from strong nations to weak has taken the form of loans at a high rate of interest; the poorer or the newer a borrowing government the higher the rate of interest demanded. So the New World for long paid tribute

to the Old. In our day we see the United States, the residuary legatee of the World War, refusing to take imports in payment for a large proportion of her exports, and rapidly increasing her lien upon the world at large. The United States and the British Empire, although possessing between them, taking the quality of areas into account, more than one-half of the land resources of the entire world, alike refuse admittance to the territories they control save to very limited numbers of migrants. It is idle to talk of peace while such conceptions of brotherhood rule the very nations which in our time produce the greatest proportion of what I have termed conqueror-pacifists.

4 : WAGE RATES DO NOT DETERMINE " INFERIORITY "

IF we really " seek peace and ensue it," we must examine the world in which we live and the peoples thereof and entertain a profound sympathy for their struggles to subdue the forces of nature and to gain a livelihood. If any of them are succeeding in that endeavour, so much the better for them and for us ; if any of them are unfortunate, their ill-fortune is ours also. Envy of economic progress is as stupid as it is ill-natured. The wise shopkeeper seeks well-to-do customers. The wise citizen of the world rejoices in the prosperity of the world at large. Mutuality of interest is the true keynote of ordered international progress and amity. It is deplorable to find the very fortunate people of country A reflecting publicly upon country B because the wages of B are lower than those of A, and to see the people of country B in turn reproaching country C because its wages are even lower than those of country B. The pursuit of peace is difficult while writers and politicians who have never taken the trouble to understand the problem are guilty of such

ignorance. It is no more the fault of country B that its wealth is less than that of country A, than it is the fault of country C that its wealth is less than that of country B. So we may enter a strong protest against what I have termed international snobbery, which is less amusing because more harmful than that of the domestic snob who presumes upon his financial status and rates men at money's worth.

The modern reflections upon "inferior peoples" are intimately bound up with international snobbery. I will not repeat here all that I have said on other occasions¹ upon what I have termed the Nordiculous hypothesis, which claims world domination, as for God's chosen and superior people, for the Scandinavians, some parts of the English and German peoples, and, by derivation, a certain small section of the population of North America.² The history of civilisation is utterly at variance with the conception that the main virtues of mankind are confined within so strictly limited a caste. The chief culture of the world originated in the Mediterranean. It is true that modern "power" industry and the wealth built upon it did not originate there, but who can doubt that the extraordinarily clever engineers of the South would have discovered what to do with coal centuries ago if they had had the good fortune to possess it? Let us imagine the universal and god-like intellect of Leonardo da Vinci playing around the properties of coal. Sane judgment rejects as both untrue and provocative of war that false conception of "superiority" which is based upon the not very admirable results of crude coal-burning, and directs attention to the fact that many nations have contributed to the growth of civilisation and that all are entitled to fair opportunity in a world of ill-distributed resources.

The international comparisons of "wages" and "standards of life," so often used to engender ill-feeling, are not worth the paper on which they are tabulated. They amount

¹ As, for example, in *The Peril of the White*.

² The English stock of the United States forms only about one-fourth of the population; but see Chapter XI.

to the worst form of statistical illusion. In 1926 I had occasion to visit and to examine closely the chief industrial towns of three nations, the United States, England and Italy, so that I saw them in quick succession. The Americans despise English wages; the English despise Italian wages. But if a visitor from Mars had seen the American, English and Italian towns, factories and electrical works within a few months as I did, and compared their buildings, amenities, and the food, physique and demeanours of their peoples, I am quite sure he would have thought Italy to possess a better "standard of life" than either America or England. I wonder who would live in Bradford, Cardiff or Manchester, Detroit, Philadelphia or Chicago, who could live in Milan, Turin or Florence. The fact is that a large part of the money wages of Britain and America have to be spent to buy what the Italian fortunately does not need, or merely to buy the partial avoidance of cold and damp. Nearly all the English people, although possessing such fine coal-mines, warm their beds with their bodies through a long damp winter. The Italian's fare gives him that invaluable possession, a clean healthy mouth, which in Britain and America is dearly bought and often vainly sought at the dentist's. An English employer in Italy invited me to compare the food of his workpeople with that of their opposite numbers in England; I had to confess that a wholesome if frugal meal followed by good fruit was superior to the devitalized contents of tins, or "fish and chips." At Turin, in a factory canteen, I saw appetising meals unknown to the drawers of "high" wages in England, where chronic indigestion is as common as rheumatism and heart disease. It is really not surprising that of the 2,425,184 examinations of British army recruits made between November 1st, 1917, and October 31st, 1918, only 36 per cent. were of men enjoying "the full normal standard of health and strength."¹ And in the House of Commons on

¹ Report Cmd. 504, price 2s. 6d. net. The photographs it contains are horrible, but they should be examined by all those who glibly talk of comparative "standards of life."

July 30th, 1930, Mr. Tom Shaw, Secretary of State for War, pointed out that "no less than 61 per cent. of the men who offered themselves failed to reach the *reduced* standard of height, chest measurement, and dental requirements."

I have not been in Germany since before the War, but the glorious German cities are unforgettable and no one could deduce from a comparison of American, British and German urban civilizations that the German standard of life is lower than that of America or Britain. On the contrary, the German towns appear to have been built, ordered and governed by a cultured and educated people who understand that the purpose of science and invention is not to destroy life and beauty but to give aid to all the proper purposes of civilisation. When the United States or Great Britain can produce a Munich, I will honour at their face value any statistics of wealth or wage which seek to show that the American and British standards of life are intrinsically as high as those of Germany.

The misleading statistics here criticised are prepared by the International Labour Office attached to the League of Nations at Geneva, which is partly staffed by English officials. Do those officials, living at Geneva, where wages are "low," really believe that the standard of life at Geneva is lower than that of Manchester or Hull? Unless their observations can convince them in this belief, it may be respectfully suggested that they should cease to issue statistics which, in effect, invite the people of Manchester and Hull to look down upon the people of Geneva.

As for the British towns, my round of the British provinces in 1926 renewed my old acquaintance with centres of industry which before the War had so often given me the heartache; I found them to all appearances unimproved, just as dreary, unhealthy and colourless as of old, but the people were brighter and better dressed.¹ One wonders how anything

¹ How impossible it is to visit such towns as Sheffield, Oldham or Stockport without a double sense of shame; shame that such places exist and shame that, living in happier surroundings, one profits by work done in conditions one does not share.

worth having can come to fashioning in towns bereft of every trace of beauty. But I am glad to record that I found in provincial Britain in 1926 no such disgraceful slum as Lackawanna on the shores of Lake Erie, where unpaved streets ran with black mud and where lived the "high-standard-of-life" employees of one of the famous steel-works of America.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Manchester, in a paper read in August, 1930, denounced the filth and ugliness of the British industrial towns, with their "beauty-starved populace" living in desolate surroundings from which, when they go out into the countryside, "they issue form-blind and colour-blind and reckless of a beauty they have never learned to see." It seems that the Dean of Manchester has not sufficiently studied the statistical comparisons so diligently prepared to prove that the very people he pities have the highest standard of life in Europe.

CHAPTER V

POPULATION AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE

I : THE BREEDING OF GREAT PEOPLES

JUST as we witness great conquering nations, which have achieved wealth and power by arms, calling for peace interpreted as the retention of conquests by the conqueror, so we also see nations which have bred so abundantly that they have overrun their borders and founded daughter-nations, dwelling upon the crying need for birth-control and reflecting in terms of contempt, derision or even obloquy upon nations which are still multiplying. Let us see which of the white nations have chiefly contributed to the world's population. I have made a careful estimate of the chief European migrants, based upon the last census figures and other information. The remarkable results are :

EUROPEAN NATIONS WHICH HAVE CHIEFLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE WHITE STOCK OUTSIDE EUROPE : ESTIMATED FOR 1930

(Arranged in the order in which they have made that contribution.)

NATION.	POPULATION OF HOME COUNTRY.	DERIVED POPULATION IN PLACES OVERSEA.	TOTAL (IN ALL THE WORLD).
United Kingdom (including all Ireland)	48,800,000	71,200,000	120,000,000
Spain	23,000,000	29,000,000	52,000,000
Germany	64,500,000	18,000,000	82,500,000
Italy	41,800,000	12,000,000	53,800,000
Portugal	6,000,000	6,700,000	12,700,000
France	41,100,000	6,000,000	47,100,000
Holland	7,900,000	3,400,000	11,300,000
All the other European Nations	268,400,000	26,000,000	294,400,000
All Europe	501,500,000	172,300,000	673,800,000

The United Kingdom, including all Ireland, is easily first in the list, with a home population of 48·8 millions, while her migrants and their descendants number 71·2 millions. Of these 71·2 millions, 55 are in the United States and only 16·2 in other places, mainly, of course, the British Dominions.

Britain is followed in order in the list by Spain, Germany and Italy, but while Spain has the satisfaction of seeing her descendants the peoples of great and prosperous Spanish-speaking republics, Germany and Italy alike see their migrant stocks living under foreign flags. Both Germany and Italy have the material of daughter-nations over the seas; the total German stock is now 82½ millions; the total Italian stock is nearly 54 millions. It is of deep interest that the entire world's European stock has reached nearly 674 millions. Although there are thirty-six states in Europe, there are for practical purposes no more than five nations whose citizens possess the right to migrate from Europe without becoming "aliens."

In the light of these facts, we see that those who have multiplied greatly are hardly entitled to address admonitions upon the right to breed to those who have multiplied least. It is both amazing and amusing that Mr. H. G. Wells should roundly abuse Italy for possessing a birth-rate which was the English birth-rate of so recent a year as 1900!

A great deal of nonsense is talked about an "optimum population." The wide use of this newly-manufactured term is a striking instance of the functioning of terminology as a substitute for thought. The term "optimum population" is intended to describe a point of equilibrium in the population of a country at which its production balances its standard of living. But who is to say when a country has reached the limit of its capacity for production, and who can say when a standard of living is determined? At the World Population Conference of 1927, Dr. Robert Kuczynski, representing Germany, pointed out how impossible it is to foresee the trend of the standard of living: "Germany, with 45 million

inhabitants at the beginning of the 'eighties, had apparently passed the optimum point. She seemed absolutely overpopulated. The standard of living was constantly decreasing and she lost every year hundreds of thousands of emigrants. Thirty years later she counted 20 million inhabitants more. In spite of a yearly excess of births of 800,000, immigration exceeded emigration and the standard of living had enormously increased."

Let us go back to Malthus and remind ourselves of the date at which the famous British economist wrote his *Essay on Population*. It was in 1798 that, basing himself upon the unscientific proposition that "population increases in geometrical, food in arithmetical ratio," he propounded the theory that population was increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence. The basic proposition was false, for it is not true that man, whose food is organic, multiplies more rapidly than either vegetable or other animal organisms. And further, Malthus wrote when modern science was in its very infancy, before the locomotive, before the steamship, before Galvani had discovered "galvanism" or Volta the electric pile. The population of England and Wales, the recent growth of which had alarmed Malthus, had reached the terrifying level of 8½ millions, and the workmen of this panic-creating population were living at a standard of life far below that enjoyed by unemployed workmen in England in 1930, when the population of England and Wales is nearly 40 millions. No doubt if some worthy professor, fired with Malthusian zeal, had invented the term "optimum population" in 1798 it would have been gratefully accepted as representing the "House Full" conception of an England of eight millions. We may put this major illustration of the futility of economic pessimism beside that of Dr. Kuczynski relating to modern Germany.

Dr. Kuczynski might have gone further and reminded the Population Conference that the world furnishes an even more striking illustration of the relation of population to well-being.

When France and Germany went to war in 1870, France had a larger population than Germany, there being 38 Frenchmen to 37 Germans. When, in 1914, France and Germany were again at war, there were 39 Frenchmen to 67 Germans (that, of course, is why so many British soldiers died in France in 1914-1918). In the forty-four years that had elapsed, the country that rapidly increased its population also greatly increased its wealth and prosperity, while the country that remained stagnant in population made comparatively small economic progress.

When birth-control is not practised, the growth of wealth in a country, unless it proceeds to a point at which luxury and idleness reduce vitality, produces an increased population. That, of course, is illustrated in the case of England by the remarkable increase in population which took place after 1750—after the invention of a real steam-engine. In the first half of the eighteenth century, population was almost stationary although families were large; poverty and disease killed most of the children. In the second half of the century, increasing wealth kept the children alive, and the recorded increase gave us the *Essay on Population* of 1798, the author of which, we may be sure, could hardly have been brought to believe that what a workman of his day thought a good standard of life would be deemed unendurable poverty by a workman of 1930.

But deliberate birth-control has completely changed the nature of the case. In the days before scientific production and transport, the size of a population was determined by wealth production and the acceptance of a certain standard of living, that standard being at the highest what men could make of fertile areas by manual toil, exercised with varying intelligence and hand tools, and with vehicles and appliances moved by animals. Large families failed to produce great populations in cold and temperate climates (even in the warmth of India, we may observe in passing, the population of 1930 represents a density of only 185 per square mile, which is not

much greater than the density of the population of England at the time of Malthus). It was with men as with other mammals and with birds, a pair surviving to replace a pair.

In recent times, and increasingly, we have to reckon with the artificial restriction of population. Thus the world's population comes to be influenced by three separate and distinct factors apart from medicine and hygiene: the first, natural resources; the second, the reinforcement of labour by productive inventions¹; the third, the deliberate restriction of births for economic, social, or individual reasons. The spread of birth-control is so rapid that the breeding of some great peoples is ceasing to be effective and they are doomed to extinction unless a change occurs.

2 : THE ASTONISHING "SUCCESS" OF BIRTH-CONTROL

WE have noted in passing the success, if it is a success, of birth-control in France, which has succeeded in restricting the population of that country to roundly 40 millions for about half a century, so that even to-day, after regaining Alsace and Lorraine from Germany, France has a population of roundly 41 millions, or 193 persons to the square mile.

It is realised by few, however, that an even greater degree of success in birth control has been achieved in other European countries, although the results do not as yet appear so plainly in their aggregates of population.

Thus, to take the latest year (1928) for which figures are

¹ The productive inventions accentuate the scientific falsity of the fundamental proposition of Malthus. Not only does wheat multiply more rapidly than man, but the productive inventions enable man to give extraordinary mechanical aid to the magic of natural fertility, to say nothing of the scientific breeding of plants.

available for many countries, we get the following comparisons :

COUNTRY	DENSITY OF POPULATION per sq. mile (From Table on page 36) (1930)	BIRTH-RATE PER 1,000 OF POPULATION. (1928)
United Kingdom— (Great Britain and Northern Ireland) ..	487	17.2
Irish Free State	107	20.1
France	193	18.2
Germany	354	18.6
Italy	354	26.1
Spain	121	29.7
Russia (the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic only, figure of 1927) ..	?	44.4
Austria	208	17.5
Belgium	670	18.4
Norway	22	18.0
Sweden	35	16.1
Holland	627	23.3
Denmark	217	19.6
Poland	221	32.6
Switzerland	250	17.3

Not only the United Kingdom, but Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Austria, had in 1928 lower birth-rates than that of France, while the birth-rates of Germany and Belgium were only fractionally higher. All these countries are set upon the same road. It is of interest to observe that in the Irish Free State, where the wealth per head is less than in any other part of the British Isles, the birth-rate in 1928 was 20.1 as compared with 17.2, the average birth-rate of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The birth-rate in that year of England and Wales was only 16.5, and in 1929 it fell again to 16.3; the figure of 1930 will almost certainly show a further decline.

Birth-rates make very little impression upon the mind, and a clearer conception of what has happened in recent years in England and Wales is conveyed by the record of actual births. Here are figures which take us back no further than the beginning of the present century :

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BIRTHS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

YEAR.	POPULATION.	BIRTHS.	PER 1,000 OF POPULATION.	NATURAL INCREASE EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS.
1901	32,500,000	929,800	28.5	378,200
1914	37,000,000	879,100	23.8	362,400
1918	33,500,000	662,700	17.7	50,800
1921	37,900,000	848,800	22.4	390,200
1929	39,600,000	664,218	16.3	111,693

In this short space of time the number of births in England and Wales has fallen from 929,800, born to 32½ million people, to 664,218, born to 39½ million people. The excess of births over deaths has fallen from the substantial figure of 378,200 to the comparatively trifling figure of 111,693. It is true that the last figure was partly due to a rise in the death-rate caused by an epidemic of influenza, but even if that had not occurred the natural increase of England and Wales in 1929 would have been no more than about 160,000. Perhaps the most striking fact in the record is that in 1929 the birth-rate was much lower than in 1918, when so many millions of men were serving in the army.

Small as the British "natural increase" has become, it is illusory because it suggests what is not true, that the population is growing. *In fact, the population of England and Wales is already in decline, the births not being adequate to replace the existing population.* This will be understood when it is remembered that the population as a whole is still charged with ageing people who are the product of a much higher degree of fertility. The population as a whole is now growing up. Its average age is increasing through the failure to produce new heirs; therefore very soon the death-rate will rise. Before many years have passed it will reach 16, the level of the present birth-rate, and by that time the birth-rate will almost certainly have fallen greatly. Nothing is more likely than that it will soon fall to 12 per thousand, which is the rate which obtains in 1930 in some parts of London.

There is no difficulty in understanding the degree of fertility

which makes for a stagnant, an increasing or a declining population. The birds in my wood remain constant in number because a pair succeeds a pair. If in a nation a pair succeeds a pair the nation remains constant in population. If pairs produce three children to succeed them, and all these children live to become parents in their turn, a considerable increase of population will ensue. If, on the other hand, the children born average less than two to succeed each pair, the population must decline.

In England and Wales in 1930 a pair is not succeeding a pair. There is a great army of unmarried women, numbering five millions. Of the married, a considerable proportion have either no children or their children do not exceed two in number. To set against these there are not enough families with more than two children to atone for the unmarried, the childless married, and the married with children not exceeding two. Therefore, unless there is a very great change in the present conditions, the British population will soon begin to decline, will continue to decline, and will eventually die out. That is true also of Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Scandinavia and Switzerland. The fertility of all these countries is insufficient to replace their existing populations. Actual decline will presently appear with the ageing of the existing population; the process of decline will, of course, occupy a very long period, but decline is certain unless there is a great change in the general view taken by the societies of these nations.

Against the declining nations, we note the birth-rates of Italy, Spain, Russia and Poland as still high enough to give them further increase. We do not know whether these nations will also come to decline, but it is notable that the Italian birth-rate is now lower than that of the England of 1901. Mussolini continues to call for more children, declaring his unequivocal belief that only a great and powerful people can obtain fair play for its citizens.

I have given evidence with regard to the effects of birth-control in Europe that we may have all the relevant considera-

tions before us. At first sight it may seem that, if some of the Western nations are determined to reduce their populations seriously, the question of the pressure of population will solve itself. At present, however, virtual decline has been reached by only a few nations ; the greater part of Europe has still a degree of fertility high enough to give it substantial increase in the near future. It is also a very relevant consideration that the practice of birth-control has as yet affected the European races only and that if white civilisation is thought to be worth preserving it is abundantly necessary to give opportunity to those parts of Europe which are still making increase.

It is undoubtedly true that, looking at the matter in its widest world aspect, the white races as a whole are threatened not only with actual decline but with decline relatively to the other races of the world. If birth-control as now practised in England spreads to the whole of Europe, and to the whole of the states derived from Europe, white civilisation will perish. In view of this not unimportant consideration, one can only regard with astonishment the advice so freely given to the multiplying white nations to alter their ways and to bring themselves to a speedy Malthusian conclusion.

3 : THE RIGHT TO MULTIPLY AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE

THE peoples whose birth-rate is still sufficient not merely to maintain but to increase their populations have no need to make excuses for their fertility. The world is not used up. In 1800 the population of the world was probably about 700 millions ; to-day in 1930 it is roundly 2,000 millions ; the world's people have almost trebled in 130 years. Who can doubt that the Malthusian of 1800 would have denied the possibility of 2,000 millions

supporting life on the earth unless at a standard of misery ever sorer than he knew? The facts of the case suggest that the higher standard of living enjoyed by the world as a whole in 1930 as compared with 1800 could not have obtained but for the great increase of population which has liberated for the use of mankind a larger share of the world's wealth. There must obviously be a limit to the process of expansion, but there is no good reason to believe that it would be reached by a population twice or thrice the size of that which now inhabits the world.

England and Wales are represented to form an overcrowded area, but who that knows this area intimately can believe it to have reached the highest reasonable limit of population? British land is notoriously neglected. It has millions of acres altogether derelict and millions under-cultivated. The production of weeds on British soil must amount to a value of *minus* some millions per annum. We are weed millionaires. On the Continent of Europe a similar area of land, as fertile and as well-watered, would be made to produce at least 100 per cent. more food. Yet the density of England and Wales is 681 per square mile, so that Britain, admittedly under-cultivated, is yet one of the most "densely" populated spots in the world. The truth is that England and Wales are only crowded in the small spots we call towns, and that we have but to travel between any of these small spots to see the evidence of neglect or partial use. As for the towns, the pessimism which proclaims that Britain's export markets are failing, takes no account of the fact that the world as a whole has not yet touched the fringe of its resources, and that it was not until the dawn of the present century that man began to deal with material wealth on a scale worthy of the scientific advance. The Russian market will presently call for enormous imports. Asia, awakened, will demand more goods than Europe can supply.

The small area of Belgium has a population of very much the same density as that of England and Wales, with very inferior resources and opportunity; the same is true of

In all the world apart from Europe, the United States, India, China, Japan and Java, there are no more than 487 million people.

As for the tropics, at present sparsely inhabited and yielding so little, there is every reason to believe that they can be made to contribute substantially to the world's wealth. In all probability, unless man resigns his earth, as he is in effect recommended to do by so many of the Malthusian school of philosophy, continuous harvests will be reaped in its rich areas, a hint of the possibilities of which is given by the "over-production" of rubber. Despite an enormous and unforeseen increase in the consumption of this important material, production has so far outstripped consumption that it is at a much lower price than before the War. Rubber refuses to obey the unscientific Malthus by increasing less rapidly than man's call for it.

We have just reminded ourselves that the United States has a population of 123 millions. The territory of this great nation of transplanted Europeans, mixed through the crimes of the past with some 10 per cent. of negroes and mulattos, stretches from ocean to ocean with an area of 3,026,000 square miles. Favoured by nature with an abundance of fuel and ore, she has such a wide range of climate and such fertile plains that she is not only, as we saw in the last chapter, the greatest coal country, the greatest oil country, the greatest iron country, the greatest copper country and the greatest lead country, but also the greatest cotton country and the greatest wheat country. She lacks only such natural products as can be grown in the tropics alone. Therefore, while she can produce apricots and peaches as in Southern Europe and oranges as in North Africa, she has, it is true, to import coffee and tea and rubber. Thus advantaged, she has yet a density of population of no more than some 40 persons to the square mile. I do not know how anyone who possesses a good map of America, and still more anyone who has sat in an American railroad-car rolling between one American town and another,

can bring himself to believe that the United States is overpopulated ; yet American territory is populous as compared with many other areas of the world easily able to maintain great populations. We shall have occasion elsewhere to deal with the facts relating to Canada, Australia and other regions.

The populations and the needs of the people of Europe have to be related to those of the world at large if we are to form a true judgment of whether the European races have the right to live and to multiply. Those who are good Europeans, those who believe that it is well to carry the civilisation of Europe to the three corners of the world, will not doubt that mother earth has yet plenty of room for the white man. The world's land area amounts to about 56 million square miles. According to the estimates of Professor C. D. Fawcett, some 22 million square miles, or about 40 per cent., consists of hot or cold deserts, leaving a useful area of about 34 million square miles. Of these, about one-half, or say 17 million square miles, consists of cultivable land, so that about 30 per cent. of the world's land area is available for producing the ordinary crops of agriculture ; it would seem obvious that science will teach us to raise from these 17 million square miles sufficient food for an enormously larger population. Indeed, the gluts of 1930 amount to a remarkable commentary upon the doctrines of Malthus. That is to say nothing of the remaining 17 million square miles, consisting of poor grazing land, forest, marsh, waste and high mountain, much of which is already productive, and most of which will be dealt with economically by the larger powers with which man will come to arm himself.

The case of the European nations, however, is not limited by considerations relating to population. It may be that some European nations are destined to make great further increase while others come to stagnation and decline. However that may be, Europe as a whole or any part of it is entitled to continue to develop the under-developed areas of the world, and a share in that development ought not to be denied to

any European race which, through lack of natural resources, however arising, is frustrated in opportunity and so denied full citizenship of the world. This statement may be enlarged to include all settled, ancient and highly-developed communities ; it is as true of Japan as of Italy, of India as of Germany, of China as of England. It is so true that the time is coming when it will be impossible to resist the strength of the truth in all its implications.

4: INFERIOR PEOPLES AND INFERIOR MASSES

THE nations who are so often informed that as inferiors they should put a period to their breeding, may find some comfort in the reflection that the pseudo-scientists who insult them are no less unkind to the great majority of the peoples of their own countries. The social and intellectual snobbery which despises a nation because it happens not to possess coal or iron is even more contemptuous of the " masses " of the coal-burning countries. No social animadversion is more common than that the poor ought to be very much ashamed of themselves for reproducing their kind. It comes to this, therefore, that in the view of some of the economists, biologists and ethnologists who offer us information and counsel, the world consists of (1) many inferior nations who breed too much and (2) a few superior nations, the great masses of whose peoples also breed too much. From these premises it can be deduced without great mental effort that in all the world the only people who should be encouraged or allowed to multiply are the well-to-do persons who so thinly veneer the surface of a few superior nations.

Fortunately for mankind, neither history nor biology offers any support to those who confound modern opulence with worth either in nations or in individuals. The verdict of

history is that Europe, and therefore also the New World states which derive from Europe, are the heritage of Rome, instinct with Roman civilisation. The verdict of biology is that no evidence has been yet adduced to show that the possession of wealth is one with the possession of superior intellectual gifts, and that many of the finest and most useful minds of the present day have sprung from humble families. As one who has on many occasions acted as the chairman of committees and conferences representative of both employers and employees, I can testify, as others have done, that intellectual-cum-social snobbery is a delusion. I observe with interest that Professor Severino Aznar, the representative of Spain at the World Population Conference of 1927, who with sly humour reminded the Conference of the continued existence of the Iberian peninsula, pointed out that the four cleverest men that Spain had recently produced were born to very simple families.

The truth about the "inferior" masses is also the truth about the "inferior" nations. It is that each alike have been deprived of opportunity by circumstance. Just as the modern "wealthy" nation is found on enquiry to be a mass of poor people largely controlled by a relative handful of the well-to-do, so the world as a whole on examination is found to consist of many relatively poor peoples whose fate is largely controlled by a relatively few fortunate states. And just as within a nation social justice must be done before social peace can be attained, so in the world some better approach to equality of opportunity must be made if we wish for peace. The pursuit of peace at home is therefore in essence one with the pursuit of peace abroad, and it is permissible to hope that the time will come when intellectuals who despise the masses and express contempt for their reproduction will cease to urge those masses to war while assuring them that they are (for the time being and for the purposes of war) the noblest fellows in the world and a chosen people, whose plain duty it is to destroy their inferiors.

CHAPTER VI

JAPAN AND THE PACIFIC

I : JAPAN A GREAT POWER

WHEN, on February 8th, 1904, Admiral Togo surprised the Russian warships in Port Arthur, and in four days put the Russian fleet out of action, a war was begun which ended in much more than a brilliant victory for Japan. The defeat of Russia was a defeat of European prestige. The arms invented by Europe, the use of which had given Europeans world domination, had been turned with astonishing success upon the most populous of European nations. After the lapse of only twenty-five years, we have seen Japan, recognised as a Great Power, coming to Europe for discussions concerning all Europe, but from which the majority of Europeans were excluded and, as one of a select body of four or five, deciding behind the scenes the destiny of European nations.¹ We have also seen, under the Versailles Treaty, the territory of a great European power entrusted to Japan as a reward for little more than the exercise of benevolent neutrality in a conflict from which she derived large economic gains. More extraordinary still, Britain, lately the hardly-satisfied possessor of more than a two-power naval standard, has in 1930 agreed to adjustments which are to make the proportion of the Japanese navy to that of the British Empire as 7 is to 10. The ratio 7 : 10 makes Japan in the Pacific more than the naval equal of Britain in an ocean which contains Australia. Nor is the

¹ I refer to that august and mysterious body, the Conference of Ambassadors; but see page 38

MANCHURIA AND THE CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF CHINA, RUSSIA AND JAPAN

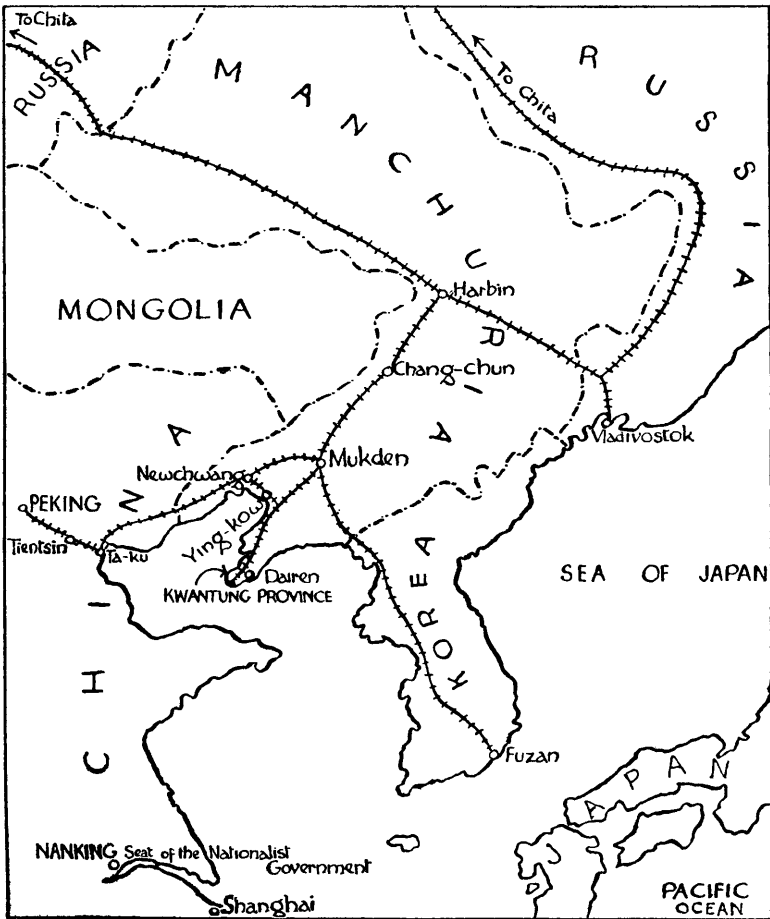


Fig. 8. Japan has annexed Korea and is firmly seated in Manchuria, where, after defeating Russia, she took over Kwantung Province (Port Arthur) and the South Manchurian Railway from Dairen (Dalny) to Chang-chun, with its connections to Korea. The railway from Chita in Siberia to Vladivostok was built by Tzarist Russia (as a part of the great Trans-Siberian railway) and is now in dispute between Russia and China. China maintains her sovereignty in Manchuria, which has always barred Russia's way to the open sea.

ratio fixed for all time ; as Baron Shidehara, the Japanese foreign minister, said significantly to the Imperial Diet on April 15th, 1930, the Treaty of London of 1930 gives perfect liberty for the presentation of amended claims at the next Naval Conference.

Japan proper consists of a chain of volcanic islands, the chief of which are mountainous ; there are few plains unbroken by hills. The total area of 148,000 square miles has in 1930 a population of roundly 66 millions, giving a density of 446 per square mile, a remarkable figure for such a territory. Not yet infected with shame in fertility, the Japanese have a birth-rate of 34 per 1,000, and are increasing at the rate of nearly 900,000 a year. While maintaining their fertility, they have reduced their death-rate. So we get the following facts :

INCREASE OF JAPAN PROPER.

	POPULATION.	INCREASE PER YEAR.	BIRTH-RATE.	DEATH-RATE.
1919	57,233,906	561,195	31.6	22.8
1921	58,697,136	778,465	35.1	22.7
1923	60,257,931	797,679	34.9	22.8
1925	62,044,649	962,695	34.9	20.3
1927	63,862,538	855,943	33.6	19.8

It seems that Japan is heading for a growth of a million a year. What is to be done with this increase ?

2 : JAPAN IN KOREA AND MANCHURIA

SEVENTY years ago, Russia went to Vladivostok in pursuance of her march to the eastern seas, a movement which affected both China and Japan, and proceeded to build the Trans-Siberian Railway. In 1894-1895 Japan defeated China in a war fought for the independence of

Korea, and demanded the cession of the South Manchurian littoral. Russia, France and Germany then combined to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory by forcing her to quit Manchuria. Japan, not yet a "Great Power," gave up Port Arthur under protest, and doubled her armaments. Russia then obtained from China a hundred years' lease of the Liao-tung peninsula from which the three Powers had forced Japan to retire, carried her great railway across Manchuria, and threatened first to absorb Manchuria and then, by annexing Korea, to gain her great ambition of reaching Pacific ice-free ports. Japan protested in vain; her overtures were treated with contempt, and Russia's despatch of ships and soldiers to the Far East was answered by Japan's declaration of war on February 6th, 1904; six days later the Japanese navy was in command of the sea.

Japan's victory over Russia brought her substantial gains; she regained the southern half of Saghalien, obtained a free hand in Korea, took over from Russia the lease of the Liao-tung peninsula, and was ceded the South Manchurian railway which had been built by Russia, but largely destroyed in the Russian retreat. But Manchuria, apart from the Liao-tung concession, was to remain exclusively under Chinese administration. The annexation of Korea by Japan followed in 1910.

In Manchuria Japan has since pursued a policy of peaceful penetration. The effective currency has become Japanese. Although the Japanese leased area in the Liao-tung peninsula, called by them Kwantung Province, measures only 1,400 square miles, it has already a population, mainly Chinese, of over 1,500,000. The port of Dairen (Dalny), terminus of the South Manchurian railway near Port Arthur, has been made free to all nations and prospers exceedingly.

Manchuria is a land of great possibilities. Its area of 360,000 square miles is as great as France and the United Kingdom put together. It has much fertile soil and splendid mineral wealth. The Manchurian dynasty of China maintained

this great territory as a sort of royal preserve, forbidding emigration from China to the area north of the Great Wall. Even to-day one-half of the land remains uncultivated. There is room in Manchuria for many more than the present population of some 27 millions.

Japan points out that she has not only encouraged Chinese immigration into Manchuria but that her organisation and development have made possible the recent large-scale movement of Chinese into the country. Manchuria means much to Japan, but perhaps not as a field of migration, for the long severe winter does not suit the Japanese. But the Manchurian coal and metals, the Manchurian food-supply, the Manchurian market for Japanese exports—these are all-important to Japan and she will not be lightly dispossessed of them.

I have briefly sketched the history of the Japanese in Manchuria because it is important to remember that Japan has twice resigned her conquest of this great territory. After defeating China, she retired from Manchuria, beaten in diplomacy by Li Hung Chang, only to find her place taken by Russia. After defeating Russia, she retired from all but the "leased" territory, in ignorance of a secret alliance between Russia and China. She does not forget this double deception.

The existing position is a dangerous one. China and Russia are now joint owners of the Chinese Eastern Railway, originally built by Russia with French capital; it is the continuation of the great Trans-Siberian Railway to Vladivostok, taking a short cut across Manchuria. From Harbin the Russians also built a line south to Dairen; this, rebuilt by Japan after the war with Russia, is now the South Manchurian Railway and on the Japanese "leased" territory. The Chinese railway from Peking joins the South Manchurian railway at Mukden. Rival ambitions here come to very close quarters. Russia still looks to the long-desired sea-outlet. China reasserts her dominion. Japan consolidates her commercial and industrial control, and waits. What she

waits for may be expressed in the words of Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, late of the South Manchurian Railway, in an address last year at Kyoto :

The Slav race will, as sure as I live, glide or strike out, this time with more force than ever, towards the Far East, and again try to swoop down through Manchuria out to the sea, when the race emerges out of the present conditions, reconstructed and reconstituted a better and a greater and more powerful nation than what it was under Tzardom. The reaching out for ice-free seas is one of the blind forces of the Slav race. Against this come-back or onslaught of the Slavs, are our Chinese friends prepared with a reasonable measure of assurance that China will successfully guard her northern fortress, and never again jeopardize Japan's existence or threaten her national security?

Again the conflict of rights—the right of a great people to reach the sea ; the right of a second great people to supplies of essential materials and territory ; the right of yet a third resting upon ancient dominion and present population.

The annexation of Korea (that bitter draught for the Koreans), the cession by Russia of the southern part of the Liao-tung peninsula, the acquisition of Formosa and Karafuto (south Saghalien) and of the German North Pacific islands through the Treaty of Versailles, gives the Japanese Empire a population in 1930 of approximately 92 millions, thus :

	MILLIONS.
Japan proper	66.0
Korea (Chosen)	19.5
Formosa (Taiwan)	4.6
Karafuto (S. Saghalien)	0.3
Kwantung Province (Manchuria)	1.6
	92.0
	92.0

So Japan ranks among the great empires in point of population :

	MILLIONS (1930).
The British Empire	475
The United States	135
Russia	161
France and her Empire	104
Japan and her Empire	92

As the population of the Japanese Empire is increasing at the rate of more than a million per annum, it will soon surpass that of the French Empire and rank in magnitude next to the United States.

3 : JAPAN AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC

THE problems of the Pacific have yet to be settled and Japan as a Great Power has made it impossible for the world to overlook her needs and her claims. Here again is food for reflection. Let us suppose that a datum line of peace had been drawn *before* the two wars, the first with China and the second with Russia, which told the world quite plainly that the Japanese were determined not to be deprived of opportunity in the lands of the Pacific. What would be the position of Japan to-day? Who would listen to her? Who would respect her just claims to the right to live at an increasing standard of life furnished by a proper access to the world's land and the world's materials?

Japan looks out upon the Pacific, where she has established the right to be respected, and seeks further outlets for her population than are afforded by Korea or Manchuria. Although her population is so great, the number of Japanese who have migrated is only 650,000. Some of them have gone to Polynesia, and already the Japanese form a considerable part of the population of American Hawaii. According to the American census of 1920, the Japanese formed 109,000 of a total Hawaiian population of 256,000.

With such crying need for land, we need not wonder if the eyes of Japan turn to the South Pacific, where Australia and New Zealand, with their vast territories, varied climates and abundant opportunities, are as yet the homes of an insignificant fraction of the human race.

JAPAN, SINGAPORE, AUSTRALIA

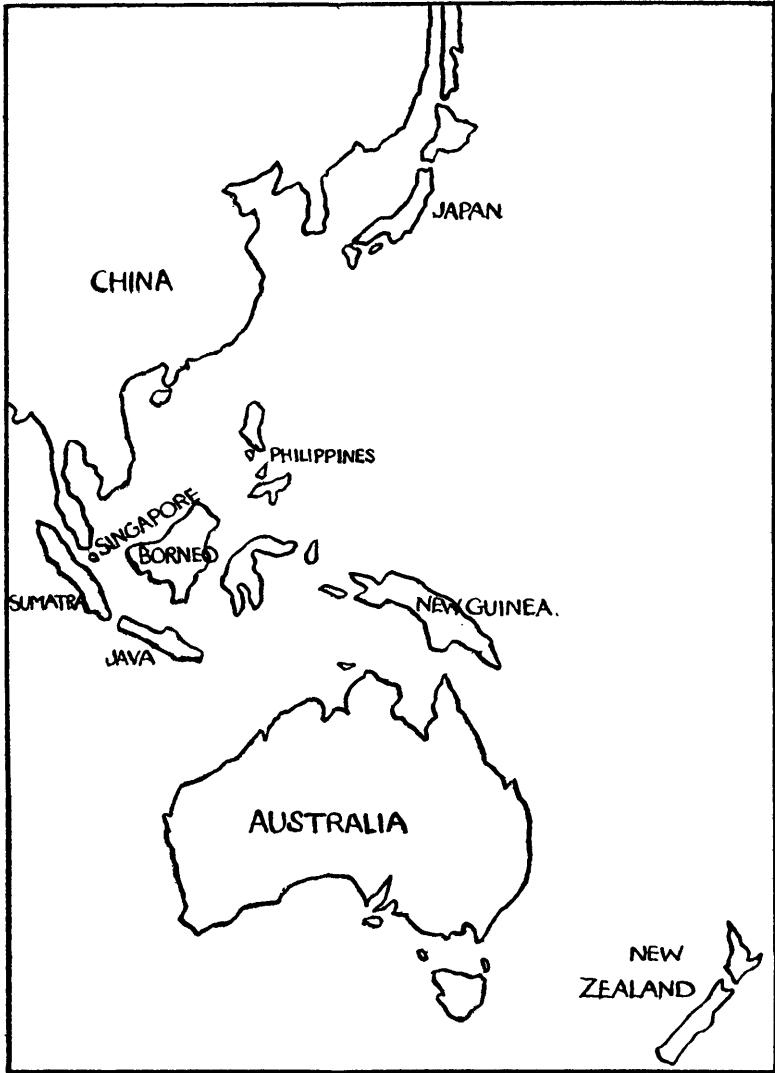


Fig. 9. The island of Singapore, at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, is an important British naval base, and the Imperial Conference of 1930 decided to continue work upon it. By the London naval pact of 1930, Japanese cruisers and submarines are to those of Britain as 7 : 10. By the Washington Treaty of 1921, Japan has 8 battleships to Britain's 15.

How are the parties to this serious issue treating it? No frank diplomatic exchanges take place, in this as in other cases, on the real issue. Germany never said, in plain terms, "*We are entitled to live and prosper ; give us land,*" but built a navy. Japan does not say "*We have not room to live ; we must have land,*" but builds a navy. Britain does not offer free discussion and settlement, but establishes a costly naval base at Singapore, which is the time-honoured method of saying : "*We know precisely what you mean to do ; you will observe that we mean to stop you.*" But, as is also not unusual in such issues, the defence, although patent, is half-hearted. Britain continues to spend money at Singapore, but does not maintain a navy big enough to enable Singapore to be the base of a fleet adequate to defend Australia. Britain is thus at once in arms and not in arms ; defending and not defending ; minatory and pacifist. And Japan, which in 1914 had a navy of 522,000 tons, has in 1930 a navy of 772,000 tons, and by the London pact of 1930 is to have a cruiser and a destroyer strength (all in the Pacific) to that of Britain (scattered about the world) as 7 : 10. If we consider these factors of action as a whole, and relate them to the real grave issue, present all the time but undiscussed, we may give some sort of answer to the question already asked, "How are the parties to this serious issue treating it?" The British answer is, in effect, by Drift.

CHAPTER VII

GERMANY WITHOUT A PLACE IN THE SUN

I : THE GREATNESS OF GERMANY

THE achievements of Germany in philosophy, in science, in letters, in music, are priceless treasures of civilisation. In modern industry, the Germans have shown that their gifts of organisation, allied with science and artistry, can redeem the age of machinery, and that the large-scale production of commodities, from raw coal to matchless musical instruments, can be accomplished without that accompaniment of physical deterioration which in England was for so long accepted as the inevitable price of progress.

Unfortunately, the true character of German production was sadly mistaken in England. The public impression created by a thousand mischievous agencies amounted to the very reverse of the truth. "Made in Germany" came to be a term of contempt, as describing rubbish goods made for cheap markets by people who vainly endeavoured to copy superior British manufactures. In the Christmas pantomimes of my youth, the dummy sword pointed at the breast of the principal boy would crumple up at the impact and loud cheers would greet the comment, "Ah, made in Germany!" So it came about that while British manufacturers were feeling the effects of German competition they failed to realise that that competition was a serious thing based, not upon the making of rubbish, but upon the production of extraordinarily good value for money whether the price paid was big or little.

Although I myself, as an assiduous collector of information and as one possessing a first-class German pianoforte and other practical evidences of the perfection of German workmanship, was under no illusion as to the quality of the German output, I confess that when I first went to see Germany for myself, twenty-three years ago, I was astonished to find how much real progress had been made and how admirably she was employing the new wealth she had won. It was the revelation of a degree of industrial and civic efficiency which remains unsurpassed in the world and full of instruction for those who have still the capacity to learn. I found the Germans making fine goods in beautiful healthy towns and taking care of the people that made them. To give a striking instance, I found the gas-workers of Nuremberg provided with better lavatory-basins than existed in the English House of Commons for the use of its members, of whom I was then one, and I found that there, as in the German coal-mines and elsewhere, the German worker was provided with such shower-baths, dressing-rooms, lockers, etc., as enabled him to go home from his work a clean and self-respecting citizen, taking no curse of grime with him. I found splendidly-equipped continuation schools, which led me to introduce the first Continuation Schools Bill in the House of Commons. I found glorious cities governed by local authorities who were free, for practical purposes, to do anything that seemed good to them for their townships, whether by way of organising a market, running trams or setting up gasworks, without that need to apply for leave to a central parliament and to waste time and money which was then and is still the clumsy English way. I found, too, that Germany knew how to add modern works to an old and beautiful town while preserving the amenities by insisting upon respect for the beautiful.

As for German industry, I wonder how anyone, after seeing Germany, can find much to admire in Pittsburg, Detroit or Chicago. Those who had knowledge of German

industrial accomplishment felt sure, even if they had never seen more than the outside of a German warship, that German sea armaments would prove in practice to be extraordinarily fine machines. That conviction made me watch with uncommon interest the growth of the German navy, and led me to take a prominent part in urging the necessity of British naval building to meet the German Fleet Law. The legend of "Made in Germany" survived in many minds, however, even up to the date of the battle of Jutland, when it was found that the war machines made in England were much more easily destroyed than those made in Germany. An object-lesson this as much in the affairs of industry as in those of admiralty, but I hardly think it has been taken to heart.

Above all, I was impressed in Germany with the appearance of the children. You could find poor children, but never untidy ones. Neat patches were to be seen on poor clothes, but never a rag. There were sometimes bare-legged children, but never dirty ones. It seemed to me that the future of Germany was assured in the nurture and education of her children, and I recall with pleasure that I said so at the time in a public speech at Frankfort.

Let us survey our unlovely towns and, gazing around us at Sheffield or Cardiff, Salford or Stockport, Hull or Bradford, Liverpool or Oldham, reflect that those who made them have power to rule and to people one-fourth of the world. Let us pass to Germany and, beholding the beauties and amenities of Munich or Frankfort, Leipzig or Dresden, Cologne or Nuremburg, Hamburg or Danzig, reflect that the people who made them have been outcast, and denied lot or part in the shaping of the wide world outside their narrow borders.

The relevance of these matters to the theme of this book is that, whatever the causes or issues of the World War, the Germans were and remain a pre-eminent people, a people who constitute one of the world's greatest assets, a people whose gifts are needed by the world in their fullest expression.

Germany was defeated after putting up a resistance which in view of the sea blockade, which cut off essential foods from her people and soldiery, and deprived her of material for munitions, was one of the most remarkable accomplishments in the history of warfare. War should end in honourable peace, and when peace is made with a great foe it should enable her to play the part in civilisation which is naturally hers.¹ If such a peace is not conceded to Germany, then surely no man of spirit can wonder if Germans submit to repression only so long as they lack power to resist it.

2 : THE GROWTH OF GERMANY CHECKED

WE have seen that the 39 million Germans who entered on the Franco-German war in 1870 had grown to some 67 millions by 1914. At the opening of the twentieth century Germany was adding some 800,000 a year to her population by natural increase. In 1901, the births were 2,032,000 and the deaths 1,174,000, an excess of births of 858,000. Despite the War and the heavy losses of men who died in battle (and of women and children who died most unnaturally at home) the Germany of 1930 has some 65 million people. Nevertheless, Germany has

¹ The present writer feels that he has the right to say this because he had the luck to do something of moment to defeat German purposes in the War ; in the matter of the sea blockade (which so largely determined the issue on land), as a member of the Admiralty Restriction of Enemy Supplies Committee, he devised the policy of rationing Germany's neutral neighbours to the volume of their pre-war imports, so that they could not supply Germany without injuring themselves ; this device, when *at length* adopted by the government as the cardinal principle of the blockade, was completely successful. On the other side of the account, as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping, he suggested the naval and shipping strategy known as the Atlantic Concentration, which by diverting mercantile vessels to the North Atlantic, across which the main supplies could be brought safely under convoy from America, ruined the German attempt to blockade the British Isles. Of the sea blockade of the Central Empires in 1914-1918 we might paraphrase Mahan on the defeat of Napoleon by blockade : " Those far-distant ships on which the eyes of the German army never rested, yet stood between it and the domination of Europe ".

largely lost her old fertility. Comparing 1901 and 1929 we get :

FALL IN GERMAN FERTILITY.

		BIRTHS.	DEATHS.	NATURAL INCREASE.
1901	..	2,032,000	1,174,000	858,000
1929	..	1,147,000	806,000	341,000

Depression, defeat, the loss of millions of men, social evolution, and the spread of birth-control—many factors have combined to bring about this remarkable change. As in the case of Britain, the natural increase of 1929 is an illusion ; the population of Germany is already in virtual decline (which will presently appear unless the birth-rate recovers) as the death-rate of an ageing population rises.

Nevertheless it is true that there are nearly as many Germans in Germany as there are White people, British and other, in the whole of the British Empire.

Germany's maintenance of so great a population has been made a difficult matter by the War and the Peace. She has lost not only industrial power in losing coal, iron, zinc and potash, and in the divorce of factories from their labour, fuel and materials, but a large part of her food supplies in losing fertile territory. She has to pay in 1930-31 under the "Young Plan" (settled in 1930) 1,707,900,000 gold marks (roundly £85,000,000) in reparations, and increasingly more, year by year, until 1965, when she is to pay roundly 2,428,800,000 gold marks (£141,000,000); thereafter the annuities are to decrease. These payments mean that Germany is forced to export a large part of her annual production of goods without receiving imports in exchange; this remains true whether or not foreign loans are raised to help her make the payment, for foreign loans must eventually be repaid in exports to meet interest and principal. Thus Germany is forced to compete in the world's markets with exports which represent deprivation to her people as a whole. The total annuities to be paid by Germany by 1988 (the last payment

thus falling 58 years hence) amounts to roundly 114,000,000,000 gold marks, or £5,700,000,000.

There is this difference between the figures of the Young Plan as agreed by Germany and the fantastic reparation claims of the Versailles Treaty. When Germany agreed at Paris to pay a yet unnamed sum, afterwards (in 1921) assessed by the Allied Powers at 225 milliard gold marks, or £11,600,000,000, she was signing under compulsion a dictated peace, but the Young Plan was agreed upon after negotiation. Like the invitation to Germany to join the League of Nations, from which she was excluded at Versailles, this marks a stage in realization of the fact that, sooner or later, one must have decent commerce with a defeated nation.

But the reduced "Young" figures represent a very serious burden for a despoiled nation, and it remains to be seen if they can and will be met. They at once help to reduce the German birth-rate and to make things hard for such Germans as are born. Also, most amusingly, they lead to loud complaints that Germany is increasing her exports—the exports she is forced to make. There is nothing in *Alice in Wonderland* quite as wonderful as that.

3 : A PLACE IN THE SUN

WHEN, by her scientific exploitation of resources inferior to those of Britain, Germany won wealth and increased her population, she felt the need of that expansion which Britain had already won by discovery and conquest, but she came late into the field of exploitation. The chief, almost the only unappropriated land, was in Africa, much of it, for Europeans, the most unhealthy in the

world. South of the lands the Romans ruled, barred by the desert, was the great belt of equatorial forest, and southward to the Cape rough grass-lands—steppes, to use the Russian term—the home of Negroes, so long the raw material of the slave trade, upon whose blood and anguish had been built the wealth of the Southern States of America, the West Indies and Liverpool. Coastal settlements had been made here and there by various nations and, in the temperate south, colonies had long been formed by British, Dutch and Portuguese, but a large part of the continent remained uncontrolled by Europeans. As recently as 1850 the map of Africa was almost a blank page.

In the eighteen-eighties a general scramble began for the body of Africa. Germany hoisted her flag in South-West and East Africa, and in Togoland and the Cameroons in the Gulf of Guinea. France, seeking recovery from defeat in expansion of territory, had occupied Algeria, Tunis and parts of West Africa. Leopold of Belgium was exploiting the Congo as a highly commercial venture. Italy had a small foothold in the East, and Britain was consolidating her position North and South. At the suggestion of Bismarck, a Berlin Conference of fifteen nations met in 1884-1885 to agree upon lines of partition. In effect, what was done was to recognise the results of the past scramble as accomplished facts, to agree that any future "occupation" of African territory should be notified by the Power making it to all the other Powers, and that future occupations to be valid must be effective. So the nations recognised that possession was law, and did not enquire too nicely into the processes by which native chiefs or kings had been induced to sign "treaties" bargaining away enormous tracts of territory, together with the bodies and souls of their inhabitants, in return for cheap gifts of spirit or cloth and the kind protection of the annexing Power. The titles of all, equally good or equally bad, were formally recognised. In the succeeding fifteen years the process continued and by 1900 the political

map of Africa was completed, decorated with many of the flags of Europe.

When the World War opened in 1914, Germany possessed the following colonies, chiefly in Africa : Togoland, Cameroons, German East Africa (now called Tanganyika), German South-West Africa, German New Guinea, German Samoan Islands, Nauru, and other German islands in the Pacific. None of these could be said to afford any adequate opportunity for the legitimate ambitions of a great European nation, but great economic progress had been made in them all, sufficient to show that, as we might imagine, the energies which had made so much of a united Germany could not fail of accomplishment in territories overseas. By the Treaty of Versailles, all these colonies, so admirably administered, were taken from Germany and distributed among the Allies under the mandate system, which in theory is the holding of a colonial territory in trust, on behalf of the League of Nations and in its name, by a Power accepting the trust under the Treaty. In practice, the British Empire, France, Belgium and Japan became the mandatory Powers, and the German colonies were thus apportioned : Cameroons and Togoland were divided between Great Britain and France, France taking the greater part in each case. German East Africa was divided between Britain and Belgium. South-West Africa was given to the Union of South Africa, German Samoa went to New Zealand, the German Pacific islands north of the equator to Japan, and the German Pacific islands south of the equator to Australia. Nauru was given to the British Empire, the administration being confided to Australia. The mandate for New Guinea was also given to Australia. Italy received nothing.

One point relating to the French mandates for those greater portions of German Cameroons and German Togoland committed to their care, deserves particular attention. It is that the mandatory instruments in these cases contain a clause permitting the use by France of troops raised locally in these

places in general warfare in places outside the mandated territories. This gives France the right to use native troops raised, e.g., in Togoland to fight in Europe or elsewhere against Germany or any other power. Such troops have been already employed in Morocco. This is unfortunately only one of many instances in which the League of Nations disappointed the hopes of its friends.

So was brought to an end the small adventures of Germany in colonization; those who criticise the Treaty of Versailles have of course to remember that if the World War had ended in a triumph for the Central Empires there would have been an even greater redistribution of colonial territory and of a quite different character. Whether that very relevant consideration should lend prejudice to our judgment of the present position of Germany in the world is another matter. If we are in pursuit of peace with justice, and there can be no other enduring sort of peace, we must have regard not to what Germany might have done as victor, or even to what was done by the Treaty of Versailles, but to the just ambitions and opportunities of a people who do not need the use of the world more than the world needs them.¹

If we consider that the white races constitute only one-third of the world's people, and if we desire white civilisation to remain an effective force in the world, we cannot give consent to the perpetuation of conditions which are palpably unfair to one of the chief leaders and exponents of white civilisation.

Let us suppose that the world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had possessed some effective league, federation, or international court of justice to which the claims of great peoples for the means to live could have been

¹ It must be said, however, that Germany hardly improves her position by posing as the special champion of minority rights in Europe. The historical record puts her out of court on that issue. Germans now complain of the treatment of the German minorities in Poland, Italy and elsewhere, but it was only yesterday that Germany had her foot on the neck of minority citizens within her borders. Poland, for example, does not forget that as recently as 1902 Polish children were beaten in the schools of Posen for refusing to say the Lord's Prayer in German. German Poland was ruthlessly Germanized. It would be well, therefore, for Germany to moderate her expressions upon minority grievances.

referred for elucidation and settlement. Let us suppose also that world civilisation had reached a unity of spirit and a real desire for peace (as distinguished from a conception of confirmation of possession, however obtained and however unjust) there might have been a re-arrangement of colonial opportunity, or erection of Condominium, which would have stayed the increase of armaments and prevented war. Now, after the War, we have made the distribution of opportunity even more unfair than it was in 1914 and having thus increased causes of difference and palpable wrongs we utter sentimentalities about peace. The view taken in these pages is that it is not an act of peace but of effective economic war to confine Germans within Germany and to allow them no proper opportunity in the world.¹

¹ This chapter was written before the triumph of the German Fascists at the general election of September 14th, 1930. The success of Hitler is less remarkable than the astonishment it has caused in the world at large. The amazement of political writers everywhere, and especially in Great Britain, shows how necessary it was to write down the truth about Germany, and I think that the above chapter, together with the comments on the German case in Chapter II, may well be left without alteration as a fitting commentary upon the German general election which took place after they were written. I will only add that those who are renewing their fears of German militarism, and who speak of the German Fascists as "threatening the peace of the world" should really make up their minds by what method other than war Germany can gain the means to live.

CHAPTER VIII

ITALY AND HER DENIAL OF OPPORTUNITY

I : THE ITALIAN CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILISATION

THE supreme fact of world history is that the city-state of Rome first united all Italy and then, by successive stages, unified and organised the government of the greater part of Europe, the North African littoral and Asia Minor. The Roman Empire included all that we now call England, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, part of Holland, part of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Rumania, the Balkan States, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria. To hold such an area or the greater part of it for centuries, without the aid of scientific means of communication, was a miraculous achievement. To make all the peoples of this great area proud to be "Romans," from the Briton we find buried with honour and a Roman title¹ to St. Paul, "a citizen of no mean city," goes to prove that Rome's conquest was the least part of her story. Inheriting and protecting the glory of Greece, and adding her own peculiar gifts, she spread the Mediterranean civilisation throughout the ancient world. Roman roads, Roman speech and writing, Roman cultivation, Roman building, Roman law, forms of administration and justice, the Roman structure of society, were established and remained. And even when at last, after centuries of empire, the Roman

¹ In his fascinating work *The Romans in Britain*, Professor Bertram Windle says: "There is a tablet in Chichester to one Tiberius Claudius Coquidubnos, obviously from his name a Romanized Kelt, who is described as Imperial Legate, an honorary title, as one might say to-day Extra Aide-de-Camp to the King."

power fell before the barbarian invasions, Rome fertilized a larger world in her decay. Too great to die, she lived on in the Græco-Roman Empire of the East, which had a real continuity with Rome and Roman law ; in the conception of the Holy Roman Empire ; in the Roman Catholic Church which was founded upon her ruins ; in the European States which adapted her laws and her language ; in the New Worlds of America, South Africa and Australasia, which have been settled by men derived from the civilisations which arose from her ashes ; in the general law and custom of the white man's world. On the scale of world history, Rome is overwhelmingly important.

The Roman conquest of Britain began in A.D. 43 and Roman government of Britain continued until A.D. 410. In these 367 years, a period as long as from the accession of Elizabeth to 1930, Rome gave England her civilisation, which survived here as elsewhere the irruption of barbarism and the eclipse of the Dark Ages. And although the Latin of the civilised Roman Briton and the Celtic speech of the mass of the population largely gave way before rude Teutonic dialects, Roman words were to be again introduced by the French and through their intrinsic value and native dignity to become, as they are to-day, the substance of literary English. Whether it be in naming a political party, a colony or an institution, we find it natural and proper to employ the splendid words of the Roman. We can think only in words, and fine words are necessary to precise thought and true judgment.¹

Roman civilisation was so far submerged by the barbarians that in the practical affairs of life even the wonderful Roman roads fell into decay, only surviving at all because of their magnificent construction, while learning was kept alive by the Roman Church. But the Teutonic tribes became civilised

¹ It is not generally realised that the Germanic dialects of the invaders of Roman Britain (which had been built upon a by no means negligible Celtic civilisation) contained many Latin words (e.g. *street, ship, wine, war, pound, book*) gained by contact with Romans. In modern literary English, of course, two words in three are of Latin derivation apart from the mere inflexions and auxiliaries.

and Christianised by the Latin or Latinized races whose territories they had invaded ; they came, they saw, and they were conquered ; Roman civilisation, custom and method survived ; the West gradually emerged from the shadow of the Dark Ages into what we term the Middle Ages which, for the purposes of broad statement, may be dated 1050-1500, bringing us to the epoch-making voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama.

The transition from mediævalism to modern times may be said to have begun with Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-43), the Italian poet and statesman, first of the humanists, first of the moderns, at once mystic and pagan, who wrote as a man for men. With him opened that glorious chapter in the history of mankind we call the Renaissance, which freed the souls of men, revived learning, and fertilised all the receptive minds of Europe. Italy, the mother of the West, was again to put all civilisation in her debt. The Italians led Europe out of intellectual pedantry and blighting orthodoxy. Their intense individualism, while it prevented political unity and finally produced political decay, ran riot in every department of art and learning, flaming in genius which enriched the world for all time. A succession of giant intellects appeared whose universal scope made them a select company of the immortals ; indeed what name, apart from that of Shakespeare, ranks with those of Dante, Michaelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael ?

So the Italians brought beauty and learning back to the world in such freedom and measure as it had never known before. All the West, save perhaps Scandinavia, caught the sacred fire. The sonnet came to England to be a trumpet for Milton, a crown for Shakespeare, and English literature flowered with Italian inspiration and the native genius which it brought to fruition. The gospel of humanity became universal ; the modern world was born.

This Italy of the Renaissance was, for its day and generation, a rich and prosperous land, whose guilds imported raw

materials for their fine productions, whose bankers were the first in the world, and whose people thought of the outer world as barbarians. It is hardly to be doubted that the Italians, given equality of opportunity, would be the equals of any other people in the production of modern wealth. In 1926 I examined some of their latest operations for myself; their works reveal the hand of the born engineer and also, I am glad to add, that of the artist.

As with Germany, so with Italy. Who shall deny, who has the right to deny, the use of the world to those who form a most integral part of it? Who shall refuse full opportunity in civilisation to those who created it?

2: THE GROWTH OF ITALY

WE have seen that the fertility of Britain and Germany, in common with that of France, Scandinavia and many other lands, has diminished so seriously that their decline has already virtually begun. Italy is still making virtual as well as apparent increase. If we contrast the vital figures of 1901 and 1929 we get:

ITALIAN EXCESS OF BIRTHS.

		"NATURAL INCREASE" —EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER		
		BIRTHS.	DEATHS.	DEATHS.
1901	.. ..	1,057,000	715,000	342,000
1929	.. ..	1,036,000	660,000	376,000
Increase or Decrease		<u>—21,000</u>	<u>—55,000</u>	<u>+34,000</u>

In twenty-eight years the Italian birth-rate has fallen from 32.5 to 25.0 per 1,000, as compared with a fall in England

and Wales from 28·5 to 16·3 per 1,000. The Italian rate has been much better maintained than the British, but it shows a progressive decline in recent years :

FALL IN THE ITALIAN BIRTH-RATE.

					BIRTH-RATE PER 1,000.	POPULATION.
1922	..	..	..	..	30.2	39,100,000
1923	..	..	..	..	29.4	39,400,000
1924	..	..	..	..	28.4	39,700,000
1925	..	..	..	..	27.8	40,100,000
1926	..	..	..	..	27.2	40,400,000
1927	..	..	..	..	26.9	40,800,000
1928	..	..	..	..	26.1	41,200,000
1929	..	..	..	..	25.0	41,500,000

The report in 1930 is that the birth-rate has recovered, but it is clear that there is the possibility that Italy also will presently join the ranks of the nations set upon eventual decline.

As in the case of Germany, the claim of Italy for a place in the sun does not rest solely upon the growth of population. If there were only 30 instead of 42 million people in Italy, their claim to reasonable opportunity in the world would still be valid.

3 : ITALY AND HER ECONOMIC NEEDS

ITALY, as we have seen, has to import all the fuel she uses and most of the materials needed in modern industry. She is even more dependent upon sea supplies than Great Britain, for she has no coal and little iron. Her industries, nevertheless, have made such progress that she not only produces some 11 million kilowatt-hours of electric power from her hydro-electric plant, but consumes about 14 million tons per annum of imported coal. The production

of electricity has more than doubled in the last seven years. Having no coal, she has invented a substitute, but the limits of development of water-power are narrow.

So Italy exists industrially on economic sufferance. She has to earn by exports every ton of fuel, almost every ton of ore, and every ton of most of the other important materials upon which she works.

The oversea possessions of Italy cannot support a large population :

ITALY AND HER COLONIES IN 1930.

				AREA. SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.
Italy	..	..	..	118,000	41,800,000
In Africa :					
Libia	..	..	..	540,000	850,000
Eritrea	..	..	..	43,000	430,000
Somaliland		..	..	180,000	1,050,000
In Asia :					
Aegean Islands and Tientsin				1,000	125,000
Total	..	..	..	<u>882,000</u>	<u>44,255,000</u>

The population of Italy's dependencies is over two millions, but few of these are Italians ; there are less than 100,000 in all the dependencies. Nor is there much room for white migrants in Libia or Somaliland ; it is hoped that some 250,000 Italians may make a home in them. So that Italy has no considerable colonial markets under her flag either to supply materials, to buy exports, or to furnish suitable land for migrants. For practical purposes, her position in these respects is as unfavourable as that of Germany.

Like Germany, too, Italy mourns the loss of millions of her people who have had no choice but to live under foreign flags. The number of Italian migrants, or descendants of Italian migrants, living in foreign countries in 1930 is about 12 millions ; of these the majority are in extra-European

lands, but there are nearly a million in France. Thus Italy has lost to foreign countries the material of daughter nations nearly as large as Canada and Australia put together.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the migration from Italy reached 250,000 a year and by 1910 it was 400,000. In 1913 the figure reached 559,000 or, allowing for a repatriation of 189,000, a net emigration of 370,000 people. Nor is this surprising when we remember that Great Britain, with her comparatively magnificent home resources, had in 1913 a net emigration of 303,000.

Since the War, migration generally has fallen off, save in despoiled Germany, where it shows a great increase. The Italian figure is now about 150,000 a year, or, allowing for repatriation, about 100,000. We understand, then, that Italy has contrived to support a great yearly addition to her population, despite the paucity of her resources. This has been accomplished by national economic organisation. Italy is in 1930 supporting nearly 5,000,000 more people than in 1922; she has raised her standard of living, greatly improved the homes of her people, and almost abolished unemployment. In the last official report to reach me from Rome, the aggregate of unemployed in June, 1930, was given as 320,000.¹ These figures cover all industries, including agriculture and non-manual workers.

It is often supposed that Italy is anxious to export a surplus population, but this is not so. The old order has changed. No inducements to emigration are permitted, and no Italian is allowed to go abroad unless he is actually fetched by a compatriot, who must not only be a near relative of the emigrant but able to find him employment. It is not difficult for us to understand this policy. Britain has for long endeavoured to prevent her emigrants from going to the United States and to divert them to the British Dominions. Italy, having no great colonies, and being determined not to

¹ Since these words were written the world economic crisis has swollen unemployment in Italy, as elsewhere. As these pages go to press at the end of 1930 the unemployed have increased to about 500,000.

allow her people to become subjects of exploitation or abuse, colonises her homeland and awaits her opportunity. What she asks for is not the right to emigrate but the right to colonize.

In Italy much has been accomplished recently in increasing productivity, as may be supposed from the facts just given. Land reclamation has added a great area to cultivation. Fine crops now grow on what was lately pestilential marsh. Land reclamation goes hand in hand with irrigation and with the production of electric power. The re-forestation of denuded areas is rapidly proceeding. The scientific improvement of cultivation has greatly raised the yield and quality of crops. In industry, the rapid growth of the electric power supply is an index to the expansion of almost every department of enterprise. The giant power-houses and transmission lines now form a network over large parts of Italy, so that it is possible to establish factories successfully in rural and semi-rural areas ; thus the magic of electricity distributes industry and prevents the undue congestion of population. Nearly 1,000 miles of the railways are electrified. Industrial capital has nearly doubled, as expressed in pre-war lire, since 1914.

The difficulties encountered by the Italian hydro-electric engineers made them pioneers in this field, and they have created a technique which has changed the face of Italy. They were the first to prove that it was possible to transmit great quantities of electricity over long distances. The height of the mountains and the broken and divergent geological conditions forced the Italians to employ very high falls of water and to construct gargantuan dams and artificial lakes. Some 1,500,000,000 cubic metres of water are stored in artificial lakes and reservoirs, which both feed power-houses and irrigate the fields. In Italy a copper cable becomes the scientific equivalent of a canal. The water of the mountains is used to create energy and restored to irrigate the plains, making it possible to reclaim enormous tracts of once valueless land.

It is often truly said in England that if the price of coal goes up English industry will suffer severely. A coal strike, i.e.,

the loss of coal, is pictured as a condition of "ruin." To realise fully the industrial position of Italy, therefore, we must think of her as suffering a perpetual coal-strike, since her coal measures are negligible. Her "ruin" is ordained by Nature. The efforts of Italy must be judged in relation to her opportunities.

It is necessary to deal broadly with these facts to assess with fairness the Italian claim to fruitful territory. She is not deferring enterprise or neglecting her ancient estate while demanding better opportunity. It is as an exponent of good husbandry that she points to her crying need for land, materials, fuel—for room to live. We may judge from what is being accomplished in Italy what her people could do in better conditions. This may be illustrated by the prompt employment of the new provinces won through the War. In the Trentino, where under Austrian rule the splendid power resources had been neglected for fear they should be of advantage to Italy, the waters of the Isarco, Adige, Avisco and Noce are being harnessed and will presently generate current to the tune of 800 million units per annum. This work will be linked up with the power system of the industrial north-west. One link, from Balzano to Saranno, transmitting power at 220 volts, has been completed. This particular work illustrates the husbandry of every particle of the poor supplies of native raw material, for the wires are of aluminium manufactured in Italy from Italian metal; their weight is only one-third that of copper wires while their resistance is twice as great. It is to such practical work as this that Italians point when they urge that they are proving in small opportunity what they could do with a fair share of the world's natural wealth.

Italy, a nation united no longer than Germany, is not only subjected to the same supreme frustration, but has at her very doors the lands of denial—lands, moreover, where the Roman spread his civilisation. In the eighteen-seventies she neglected opportunity to take charge of her nationals in Tunis, although they formed a great and influential colony, and saw them a

little later pass to France. At the Berlin Congress she asked for and received nothing. Her belated occupation of Tripoli was treated with general unfriendliness. At Paris in 1919 she obtained no mandate, and saw the Treaty of London called in question as a scrap of paper. The Italy of to-day feels that the Italy of yesterday failed to do justice to her people, and Fascism represents, among other things, the vigorous assertion of the claims of a great nation for room to live. Sooner or later the disinherited nations will assert themselves, and they obviously possess power of joint action for common ends.

4: ITALY A GUILD STATE

WHEN I was received by Signor Mussolini in August, 1926, I found him occupied not with matters of war but with the peaceful development of his country. It happened that the first copies of a chart, giving in diagrammatic form an explanation of the newly-planned organisation of all working Italy, had just come in from the printers, and he took me through its many features with enthusiasm. The Duce is not a lover of war but a leader of men and an organiser of national economy who knows that he can only succeed in conditions of peace. Nevertheless, he may prove to be a disturber of the peace because he will continue to press for the economic liberation of his people. He does not waste the years in fruitless discussion and while waiting his hour pushes on with every possible means of domestic economic development with a vigour which has produced remarkable results. The latest (August, 1930) irrigation scheme, one such factor out of many, covering some 200,000 acres, will add a sum in nine figures sterling to the national income. By such methods it is hoped to add, within a few years, 5 million acres to the

Italian productive area, thus, in effect, increasing Italian soil by one-eighth. But Mussolini knows that there is a limit to the productive development of a small country, two-thirds of which are mountainous or hilly, and his determination to secure enlarged opportunity does not falter. The case for Italian expansion is not to be dismissed as vainglorious imperialism. It is a very good case, and if the Duce exercises Italy in arms it is not for idle conquest but because he holds, rightly or wrongly, that whatever the merits of an international issue the nation which presents its case without the possession of power and prestige will not get a hearing. That has been demonstrated very often, even in the deliberations of the League of Nations, since 1918.

Fascism has a syndicalist basis, and is intimately concerned with the nature of work. It is a pity that this is not more widely understood, for it is common to see critical writings which represent that it is mainly concerned with military aggrandisement. Soon after the march on Rome in 1922, a programme was drawn up which formally recognised Labour as the foundation of human welfare, declared all workers to be the special interest of the movement, and upheld the State as the supreme synthesis of a working nation. This Nationalist-Syndicalist conception was embodied in the industrial legislation of 1926, when the Ministry of Corporations was established. This law erected statutory trade-unions for employers and employed, abolished lock-outs and strikes, and secured industrial peace by compulsory conciliation and arbitration with final appeal to a specific industrial court of justice.¹ The law really amounted to the organisation of all

¹ The law establishing the corporations is associated with a Labour Charter, the first two articles of which are as follows :

1. The Italian Nation is an organism having ends, a life and means superior in power and duration to the single individuals or groups of individuals that compose it. It is a moral, political and economic unity, which collectively realises itself in the fascist State.

2. Work in all its forms, whether intellectual, technical or manual, is a social duty. On this score, and only on this score, is it protected by the State.

I am indebted for this translation to *The Universal Aspects of Fascism* by J. S. Barnes, which should be consulted by all those who desire to understand what has become a subject of world importance.

Italian material activities into a national system of Guilds charged with the care of industry and the social welfare of the workers. Italian work, whether industrial or agricultural or in the liberal professions, is organised vertically into an ascending series of (1) syndicates, (2) national federations of specific trades, and (3) national confederations by fifteen great groups, respectively of employers, employed and free professional workers. Laterally, the federations are organised in corporations, each corporation's executive consisting of a board equally representative of employers and employed. So Italy has become a Guild State, with institutions which have far more than a purely material outlook. When wages are settled they become compulsory upon every employer in the trade, and the determined wages are payable to all employees whether they are members or non-members. A dispute does not stop work, which continues while the issue is being discussed and determined. An Italian employer cannot now post a notice locking out his men or lowering their wages; he has no power to do so. To me, Mussolini was insistent that the law was framed to give fair play to all parties, and this seems to me borne out by the labour decisions of which I have particulars.

This guild system is charged with much more than the furtherance of collective bargaining, the equitable settlement of the conditions of work and the avoidance of trade disputes. The syndicates are charged with the honour and progress of their trades and professions, and with the physical, moral and social welfare of their members. Accordingly they make provision for the setting up of technical schools, benevolent societies, insurance and endowment societies, and institutions promoting production, art and culture. The syndicates have to provide money for these purposes, and to contribute to welfare work, the national institution for the care of maternity and infancy, and the *balilla*, or boy scouts.

The far-reaching character of the new care for social life in Italy may be illustrated by the *Dopolavoro* (After Work)

movement. The National After Work Institute is concerned with the workers' hours of leisure and recreation and may be said to combine the functions of a social welfare centre, a workers' educational association, a technical institution, a book club, a league of all the arts, including music and drama, and a sporting association. The aim is to help the worker to make the most of his life; not merely to amuse him with machine-made appliances, although the cinema and radio-telegraphy are freely used, but to give him the means and opportunity to obtain culture and to amuse himself. The institution publishes an illustrated newspaper which has an enormous circulation and the movement has permeated every town and village with a success surpassing all expectations.

The parliamentary system is being linked with the corporations. The ultimate aim is to secure a legislature which shall consist not of party politicians but of men of real worth elected by the guilds and with knowledge and capacity to offer constructive criticism upon any national project. Those who wonder what will happen in Italy "after Mussolini" fail to take account of the fact that an admirable national organisation has been already built, and that while doubtless it will undergo reform and development in the light of experience, much has been already done which is great enough and strong enough to live.

I refer to these things here because so much is being done in England to create prejudice against the Italian government, a fact which is having unfortunate repercussions in Italy. Bad blood is being carelessly fomented, as in the case of Russia. It is unfortunate for the peoples of the world that while they all have so much to learn so little opportunity is given them to become acquainted with "foreign" ideas and achievements. So effective are political boundaries that they confine knowledge of good institutions, good customs and even of good foods. The knowledge that would cast out fear, suspicion and hatred is hard to come by.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS GREAT BUILDING

I: "PROLETARIANS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE"

THE reaction of the Russian Revolution upon European thought has closely resembled the effects of the French Revolution upon the minds of a former generation. Many people of liberal opinion have been shocked to unreason by the Bolshevist excesses, just as those of another day were unsettled by the Jacobins. Indeed, it is difficult to forget such butcheries as that of Tzar Nicholas and his family, beside which the execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette was a merciful dispensation. Knowing the effect upon my own mind, I understand the feelings and utterances of Burke. I have myself written of Russia in terms which lacked a sense of historical proportion.¹

It is due alike to the Russian people and to ourselves to clear our minds of cant, to endeavour to see the issues as Russia sees them, and not to withhold sympathy from millions because of unhappy things done by a few. The Revolution followed centuries of oppression in which excesses were common, not against a few, but against multitudes. If the Revolution had its Terror, it was learned in a brutal school. Not long before the War, a wage dispute at the gold-fields was summarily concluded by a slaughter of 162 workmen by Cossacks.

It was not until 1861 that the peasants and workers of Russia ceased to be slaves bought and sold with the land

¹ In *The Peril of the White* (1925) some of the passages on the Soviets now seem to the writer, after five years, out of harmony with the world-wide outlook and catholic sympathy which he thought to bring to that work.

upon which they toiled. Not until 1906 was that pale shadow of a parliament, the first Duma formed ; it assembled only to be mocked and dissolved within three months. Cruel repression succeeded it, and other Dumas, as powerless as the first, followed, the fourth bringing us to 1914. The conditions of labour in pre-war Russia were the worst in Europe. There was little protection for women and child workers against over-work or accidents, and factory sanitation was disgraceful. Barracks for factory-workers, in which families were herded like animals, were common. If we go to an impartial authority, Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Harvard, who has personal knowledge of both Tzarist and Soviet Russia,¹ we learn how useless it is to judge of the Russian conditions of to-day without contrasting them with those of 1914. She illustrates this by pointing out that if we think the Soviet workers' dwellings inadequate because only one room is provided for a family, we should remember that before the War a leading Moscow industrialist, regarded as a philanthropist, housed twelve families in a single room. She relates a case of epidemic illness among the women workers in a rubber factory in 1913 which was dealt with by locking-out the employees until they came to their senses, the police forbidding any assembly of either workers or physicians to discuss the unnecessary subject. Now, she says, such a case would have the prompt attention of the Institute of Occupational Diseases. If we wish to see the Soviets in true perspective we must focus them against the historic background of misery and tyranny from which they revolted.

A Soviet is a Council, or more specifically a Council of Workers. The constitution of the Soviet Empire is that it is a free federation—any constituent State may constitutionally withdraw from it—of Socialist Republics, which in turn are composed of autonomous states consisting of soviets elected by those who work. The soviet or workers' council of town or village is thus the ultimate unit of the State. The soviets

¹ See her Preface to *Labour Protection in Soviet Russia*, by Dr. George M. Price.

send delegates to provincial Congresses which elect Central Executive Committees. These provincial Congresses elect deputies to the central or imperial authority, the Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.), which elects its Central Executive Committee. This Central Executive has two Chambers (1) The Federal Council of 414 members proportioned to the population of the seven federated republics and (2) A Council of Nationalities specially charged with the cultural development of the autonomous republics and regions. The Central Executive has a Praesidium of 21 members, which exercises administration through an executive called the Council of People's Commissars, consisting of ministers for foreign affairs, war and marine, labour, etc.

The allied republics now forming this U.S.S.R. (which for convenience I will term the Soviet Union) are seven in number. By far the greatest of them is the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) which stretches from the Gulf of Finland to the Bering Sea, and contains about 110 of the 160 millions of the Union. The other federated republics lie south of the R.S.F.S.R. and are as follows : On the west, the Ukrainian and the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republics ; in Transcaucasia, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic ; in Asia, the Uzbek, Turkoman and Tadzhik Socialist Soviet Republics.

Much weight is attached to the principle of autonomy. The seven republics which have been named are federations which between them embrace thirty republics and areas with autonomous governments, twenty-three of these being within the ambit of the R.S.F.S.R. The number of administrative districts is much greater than this, amounting to over 200. There is wisdom in this application of autonomy, for the 160 millions of the Soviet Union embrace some 200 different nationalities, of which the chief are Russians (over 50 per cent.), Ukrainians (20 per cent.), and White Russians, while there are considerable numbers of Poles, Germans, Georgians,

Armenians, Tartars, Turks, Uzbeks and Jews. Self-government, although limited by an exceedingly powerful central authority, helps to attach groups large and small to the Soviet system. Thus, to take a case in point, the Germans of the Volga are constituted as the German Volga Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, and its citizens are encouraged to retain their German culture. It is in furtherance of the same conception that the Central Executive Committee embodies the Council of Nationalities, upon which some forty autonomous groups are represented.

The dominating force in the new Russian Empire—the term is just, for a very real *imperium* is exercised—is the Communist Party, the General Secretary of whose executive is in 1930 Yosiph Stalin, the virtual and effective head of the State. It is the Communist Party that shapes the policy reflected in the Soviets, in which is summed the “Dictatorship of the Proletariat.”

The membership of the Communist Party on July 1st, 1929, amounted to 1,554,012, or 184 Communists to each 10,000 of a total adult population (aged 16 to 59) of 84,590,000. This is a very small proportion, but of course, the subscribing membership of the political parties of nearly all countries is small.

The Communist Party is also linked with the Communist International (often called the Third International, or “Komintern”), Stalin being a member of the praesidium of its Executive as well as the General Secretary of the Communist Party. The Communist International is the Congress of Communists who aim at world revolution and the general establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹ Moreover, the constitution or fundamental law of the Soviet Union, as revised in 1923, has for its official motto “Proletarians of all Lands, Unite,” and the Executive of the Union

¹ It is distinct from the Red International of Labour Unions (also called the “Profintern”) which is an analogous international association not of political parties but of Red Trade Unions.

has specific power to conclude "treaties for the acceptance of any republics into the Union." The declaration with which the constitution opens thus concludes :

"Entry into the Union is open to all Socialist Soviet Republics, both now existing and which may arise in the future ; that the new united State is a worthy crown of the foundations laid in October, 1917, of the peaceful dwelling together and the brotherly collaboration of peoples ; that it serves as a trustworthy bulwark against world capitalism and a new decisive step along the path of the union of the workers of all countries in a World Socialist Soviet Republic."

The Soviet Union is thus openly and avowedly a proselytizing state. It invites the peoples of all the world to form themselves into Soviet Republics federated within its constitution.

The Budget of the Soviet Union for 1929-1930, according to the *Soviet Union Year Book*, is as follows, roundly converting the rouble at 2s. :

SOVIET UNION EXPENDITURE FOR THE FISCAL YEAR
1929-1930.

	MILLION £
National Administration	25
National Economy	395
Transport and Communications	298
Social Educational Expenditure	103
Army and Navy	111
National Debt	45
Subventions, Grants and other Payments to Local Authorities	143
Reserve Fund	3
Other Expenditure	39
	<hr/>
	1,162
	<hr/>

It will be seen that the expenditure on armaments is considerable, £111,000,000, but in 1913 the military expenses of Tzarist Russia amounted to £97,000,000, so that, taking account of the rise in prices, the Soviet Union is spending very much less this way than was done under the former *régime*. It is also pointed out that the social and educational expenditure is very nearly as great as the military expenditure,

while upon "national economy" (i.e. national capital, including electrification, trade and industrial development, housing, railway construction, forests, agriculture, etc., with a special payment to the Ukrainian Republic in connection with the failure of the harvest) expenditure is three and a half times as great as upon armaments.

2 : A GREAT MILITARY POWER

WHEN a proselytizing state is also a great military power, apprehensions are naturally aroused. It is very difficult to gather the strength of the Red Army. The official figure for 1924-1929, including the army, navy and air force, is given as 562,000 men, which compared with the 1,800,000 of the Tzarist army in April, 1914. It is apparent, however, from the increase of expenditure on armaments, which has risen from £69,000,000 to £111,000,000 in the last four years, that the militia must be expanding considerably. The official statement is that the workers and peasants undergo a few weeks' training a year and that "the aim is to reorganise the whole army into a voluntary militia." If this training is effective, we have the conversion of the enormous working force of the nation into a fighting force. Cordial relations between workers and the army are maintained by a system of linking or patronage by which trade unions, factories, political organisations and public bodies "adopt" regiments or companies of soldiers and aid them with material. According to the Riga correspondent of *The Times*, Voroshiloff, the President of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Soviet Union, who suppressed the Cronstadt revolt in 1921, dwelt, in his speech in July, 1930, upon the remarkable enthusiasm of the toiling masses for the great Red Army, and especially for the air

force, which had found concrete expression in the voluntary contribution of sixteen fighting aeroplanes. Like Mussolini, Voroshiloff does not seem to think it necessary to baptize armaments with the tears of hypocrisy while choosing those of the largest size. There seems no doubt that German instructors are training the Soviet forces. This is not more remarkable in nature than the training of Poland and Jugoslavia by France, but there is a great difference in point of degree.

The Soviet Union maintains the view that it has already suffered so much by warfare that it is its plain duty to secure its position by arms. To quote the first section of the constitution of the Union "the instability of the international situation and the danger of new attacks render inevitable the creation of a united front of Socialist Republics in the face of capitalist surroundings." Here again is the story of Security. If we have regard to the Soviet point of view, we must admit that the Red Army was constantly placed on the defensive after the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty with Germany in March, 1918.

The Soviet government was at war and encircled by enemies until the end of 1920. The Allied Powers were hostile and pursued a policy of half-hearted intervention which rallied the Russian people to the Soviets. On August 5th, 1918, the British took Archangel and the Japanese made a descent upon Vladivostok the next day. At the same time, Czechoslovakian prisoners of war took Kazan. They were ultimately defeated, but their advance sealed the fate of the Tzar, who was dispatched to prevent his rescue. In 1919 Kolchak, assisted and directed by the French, who hailed him as Supreme Ruler of Russia, was defeated, and later two other counter-revolutionaries, Denikin, who attempted to advance on Moscow, and Yudenich, who struck at Petrograd through Estonia, were also overthrown by the Red Army. The Slav border states, backed by the Allies, finally made peace. Poland, subsidized and armed by France, thought to conquer an empire in Soviet territory but failed, and after many

fluctuations of fortune made peace in October, 1920. This year marked the final effort of the counter-revolutionaries under Wrangel, who after a brief success was recognised by France, like Kolchak before him, as Governor of Russia, but the Red Army defeated him also. So intervention petered out, after having served to consolidate and strengthen the Soviet Union.

During the period of intervention, the Allied Powers blockaded the Soviets, the blockade beginning in October, 1919, and ending on January 1st, 1920. It was a step which completed the economic demoralisation of the country. At the Genoa Conference the Soviet representatives estimated the loss to Russian industry due to Allied intervention and the blockade at £460,000,000. Without accepting this figure at its face value, there can be no doubt that the damage inflicted upon the Russian economy was enormous and that it made the task of reconstruction extraordinarily difficult.¹

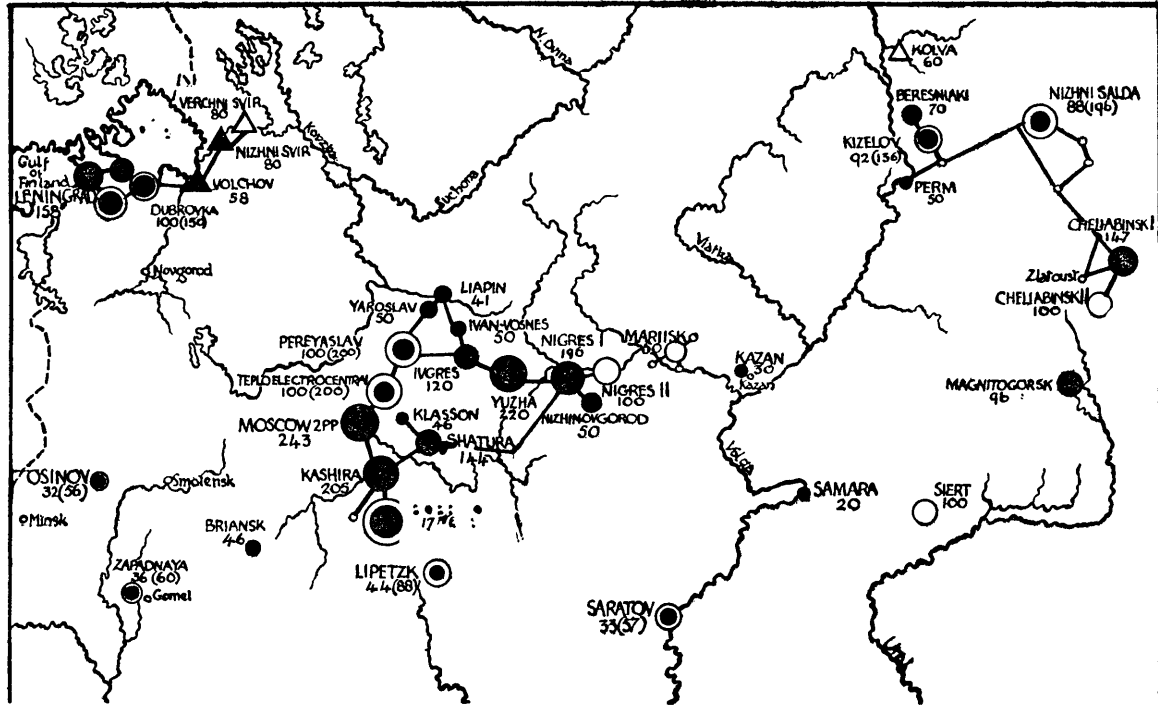
It is idle to ignore the fact that the Soviet Union was, in effect, outlawed by the Allied Powers, who did their best to bring about a counter-revolution, and failed because the Red Army was surprisingly successful. These things, however imperfectly apprehended by the peoples of the countries whose governments sought to overthrow the Soviets, are very well remembered in Russia. It may easily be, therefore, that the Red Army is quite popular with the local Soviets who are voluntarily aiding its equipment. If you prick the humble member of a Soviet, does he not bleed?

3 : THE RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

WHAT is of far more importance than the Red Army to the progress of Soviet philosophy is the degree of success which attends the economic policy of the Soviet Union. This wonderful country, with its

¹ The Allied Powers invited Germany to join them in blockading Soviet Russia !

RUSSIAN ELECTRICAL DEVELOPMENT



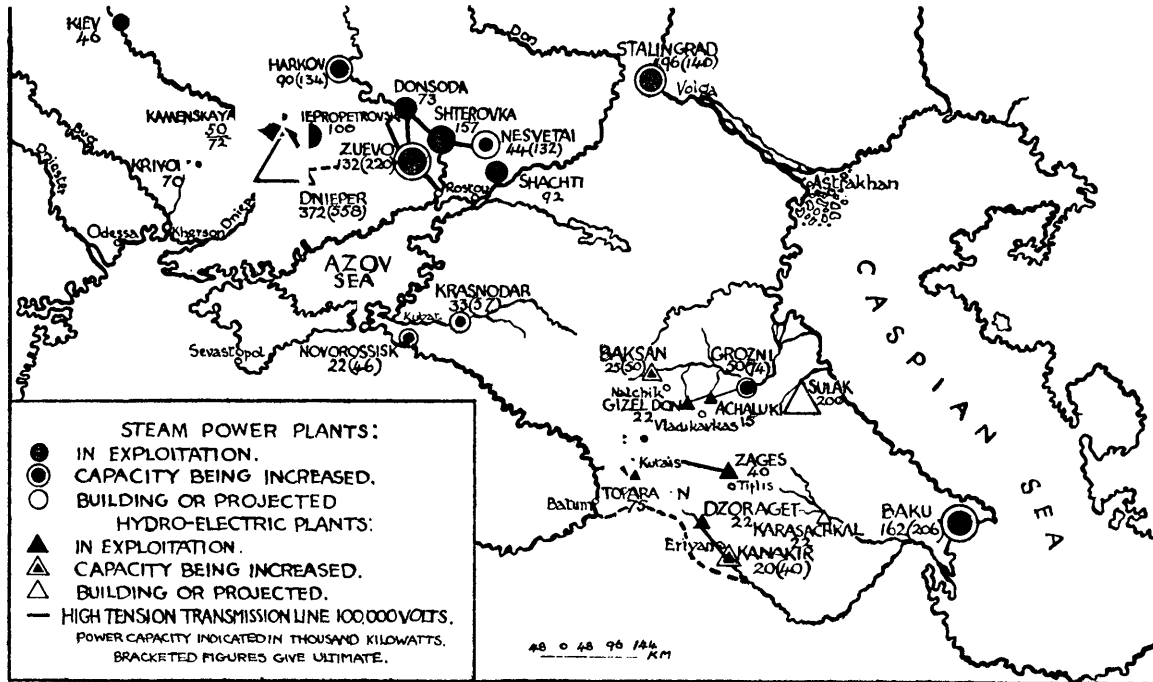


Fig. 10. Plan of the Soviet Union's electrical power plants in Europe, based upon an official Soviet map. In 1920, Lenin organised a Power Commission to electrify the entire Russian area, and much of the work is already done. The works include plants among the finest in the world; the fuels employed are many, including coal, lignite, peat (in which material much original work has been done), anthracite dust, and petroleum. The power plants are designed to be centres of great industrial areas. Similar developments are afoot in Soviet Asia.

enormous population, what is to be made of it materially? It is growing at a prodigious rate; unlike the Powers which intervened to suppress the Soviet Union, it has a high birth-rate and is increasing at the rate of over 2 per cent. per annum, i.e., it is at the present time adding over 3 millions a year to its population. The Union is, in effect, gaining each year a nation nearly the size of our stagnant Scotland.

When the World War broke out, that part of Russia which is now territory of the Soviet Union had a population of roundly 140 millions, so that in 16 years despite war, famine and blockade, 20 millions have been added. Between January, 1917, and August, 1920, Russia lost 7,400,000 people, and the causes to which this was due have been burned into Russian minds. It was not until the end of 1924 that the country regained the population it possessed in 1914, so that the increase of 20 millions since 1914 has been made in the last six years. By 1940 the Soviet Union will probably have a population of roundly 200 millions. It is difficult to make war upon such a people, but it is not difficult for such a people, with reasonably good training and proper equipment, to make very effective war. The soil and resources of over 8 million square miles of territory are quite capable of supporting twice 200 millions.

The Soviet government aims at complete economic organisation. This was the ideal of Lenin, who was so struck with the advocacy of national electric power for Britain in a book of mine,¹ that he decided upon plans for the general electrification of the Soviet Union at the end of 1920. The present schemes for the economic development of the Soviet territory go far beyond anything planned in 1920 and are drawn up to make a full and balanced development of industry and agriculture. The work is planned by a State Planning Commission (Gosplan). The actual administration of the Plan is carried out by other bodies, the Supreme

¹ *The Triumph of Nationalization*; Mr. H. G. Wells found Lenin studying it and declaring that he would apply its electrical ideas to Russia.

Economic Council, the People's Commissars for Trade and Agriculture, etc. It is claimed that the Gosplan, because it estimates consumption, is in a position to correlate and adjust production, and so can produce without waste. Competition is eliminated, and distribution also becomes economic. That is the theory. The first Five-Year Plan made by the Gosplan was formulated for the period 1928-9—1932-3.

To take the most important item, it is proposed to increase the capacity of the electric stations thrice; thirty-two giant power stations are under construction. The hydro-electric plant of the great river Dnieper is the second largest in existence; the world's greatest electric plant is planned for Siberia. The official charting of the chief of the enterprises of the Plan shows the entire eight million square miles of Russian territory in Europe and Asia dotted with industrial establishments of every sort, and now either under construction, at work or in plan. We have yet to see what degree of success will be achieved by 1932, but an enormous amount of work has been already accomplished. Russia enlists skilled foreign assistants, the demand for whom seems to be greater than the supply, and American engineers are busily erecting American plant. Some Continental engineers fight shy of the work because uncertain of fair treatment; the Soviet Union should take note of this attitude and remove its causes. There is no good reason why the strange flowers of modern industry should not be grown in Russia when she provides herself with the proper seed. Russian industrial real wages are said to be 38 per cent. higher in 1930 than in 1913, and the Gosplan hopes by 1933 that they will be twice as high as in 1913. The Five-Year Plan covers every department of activity; imports and exports, like production, are budgeted for in advance.

In 1930 there is complaint that Russia is "dumping" exports; the truth is that she must export even at the cost of deprivation to pay for the essential plant and machinery she

is importing; it is a large-scale illustration of the meaning of the term "abstinence" as applied by the classical economists to the operations of thrift. He who saved, the argument ran, deprived himself of present advantage to obtain future gain; the justification of interest lay in the proper reward of such praiseworthy abstinence. Yet when the Soviet authorities practise abstinence on the grand scale to secure the future comfort and welfare of the people they govern, they are reproached with depriving their people.

Opinions differ as to whether the Russian proletariat understands the purposes of this national thrift. According to some observers, there is widespread and growing discontent, the workers demanding why they should go without. Others say that the process is widely and generally understood; the workers fully realising that the factories are "our" factories, that part of the results of their present work is being exported to pay for necessary machinery. It is to be remembered that the government, by press, by placard and by cinema, continuously explains the operations which are being conducted and interprets all Russia to each part of it.¹

It must in justice be acknowledged that if the government of 160 millions of people succeeds in persuading them to such a policy of collective thrift, and if the imports gained in exchange for the thrifty exports are wisely bought and economically employed, it will be a great triumph for human intelligence in its application to work. Elementary education has existed in Great Britain for sixty years, but we cannot boast that economic knowledge or judgment is widespread; indeed the elementary fact that imports are paid for by exports is obviously not yet grasped by many of those who write for the press. It will be strange indeed, therefore, if elementary economic truths are successfully taught to a largely uneducated people speaking some two hundred different

¹ In the House of Commons tea-room in 1930 is shown an exhibition of the very artistic posters used by the Soviet government to lead the Russian masses. They appeal for efficiency, sobriety, cleanliness and education. Our own walls say "Drink More Beer!"

languages. If Russia succeeds in the collective saving of enough capital to change the Union into a great industrial community, with a strong and essential basis of industrial farming, we shall have good cause to think very seriously whether much more cannot be done with many other parts of the world's surface. In the meantime, while we do not know whether success or failure is to be the outcome, we must at least have respect for what is the greatest economic experiment the world has ever known.

The Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party met in June, 1930, when Stalin gave a lengthy account of the work of the Five-Year Plan which had been in operation since October, 1928.¹ Enthusiastic producers sent specimens of their output to the Congress in proud demonstration of accomplished facts. Stalin can hardly be blamed for retorting upon foreign criticisms of the Soviets by pointing to the worldwide depression which had visited capitalist economy; his account of the known facts was by no means exaggerated, and as we know, world depression grew very rapidly after the date of his address.

Stalin claimed that there had been a great and rapid growth in the product of the Soviet national economy. Whereas in 1926-7 the product of the whole of industry had been about 2 per cent. above the pre-war level, in 1927-8 it was 22 per cent., in 1928-9 42 per cent. and in 1929-30 was expected to be 80 per cent. above that level. Agriculture had made slower progress, but was expected in 1929-30 to be about 12 per cent. above the pre-war level. The national income, in 1926-7 23,000,000,000 roubles, was expected to reach 34,000,000,000 roubles in 1929-30. Industry had grown so rapidly that it was already beginning to exceed agriculture in importance.

So great had been the success achieved that he claimed that there was ground for hoping to execute the Five-Year

¹ For a verbatim account of this lengthy exposition see *Political Report to the Sixteenth Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party*, by J. Stalin.

Plan in four years. Nevertheless, he warned the Congress not to suppose that Soviet economy had yet reached the level of actual production in the great capitalist countries. The rate of development was one thing ; the level of development another. There must be a further acceleration of the rate of development, especially in metallurgy. He drove this home with the frank words " We are devilishly behind the foremost capitalist countries in the development of industry."

Turning to agriculture, there had been great success with the grain programme, the estimates of the Five-Year Plan having been surpassed in three years, but marketing was still at fault. The figures relating to stock breeding were most unsatisfactory. The statistics of 1930 showed that the horses were 88·6 per cent., the cattle 89 per cent., the sheep and goats 87 per cent. and the pigs only 60 per cent. of the figures of 1916. Industrial crops were satisfactory, cotton in 1930 being 217 per cent., and oil seeds 260 per cent. of the pre-war figures. He argued that improvement was incompatible with petty farming. It was necessary to continue to create great industrial farms armed with the best appliances. There was no other way out ; the " liquidation " of the kulaks, or well-to-do peasant farmers, was essential to the success of the new agriculture. What precisely was meant by liquidating a kulak, or what became of a kulak when liquidated, was not stated.

As to wages, Stalin claimed that there had been a considerable increase, the rates of 1930 being 67 per cent. above the pre-war level, including in this reckoning social insurance and the fund established for improving the living conditions of the workers. As a consequence, the death rate had fallen by one-third as compared with the pre-war figure. Much had been done for education and culture ; illiteracy had greatly decreased and the time was ripe for the introduction of compulsory elementary education.

We may supplement this survey of Stalin's from the writings of Mrs. Anna Louise Strong. It is clear from what

she tells us that the serious shortage of animals is due to difficulties with the peasants who objected to the coming of the collective farms. Cows, sheep, goats and pigs were slaughtered and eaten, Mrs. Strong says, with the feeling "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we must join the collective, where all men are equal." This disaster was stemmed, but months too late, by a decree that investment of property in collective farms should receive 5 per cent. of the harvest—considerably more than 5 per cent. on the property invested. It would seem that blunders in dealing with human nature may be dearly paid for. Nevertheless, it is certain that the age-old system of farming stood badly in need of reform, for it was much in the position of the wasteful and unproductive strip-farming of England before the Enclosure Acts. Given modern agriculture, worked in the conception of industrial farms allied with modern industry, and Russia may banish the spectre of famine.¹

The Soviet Union publishes in several languages a magazine entitled *U.S.S.R. in Construction*, which describes and illustrates the Russian Industrial Revolution. The magazine, itself produced in Russia, is a fine piece of printing; the works it illustrates—and the workers—amount to a revelation.² It is a mighty industrial nation which is being built, equipped with the latest scientific plant. The workers are

¹ Yet we see it joyfully recorded in the press that sections of the Russian peasants have revolted against agricultural reform; I wonder if those who rejoice in the prospect of failure understand that waste and famine must continue unless reform is achieved. It is good to find Mr. C. E. M. Joad, writing in the *Evening Standard* of his recent experiences in Russia (July 1930) "I had been visiting a gigantic farm at which young men from town were learning how to farm scientifically on a large scale. They were being taught by students from the university, who gave up their holidays to instructing the peasants on the collective farms in the use of tractors and the science of agriculture. To the question whether they liked spending their free time in this way, one said that he had never thought about it; they were helping on the Five-Year Plan, he said, and that was enough. The answer was admirable; it was superb and it seemed to be so universal that I never thought of questioning it."

² For example, moving conveyors of the American type (which move the work along before a line of workers) are employed. In 1926, in a tour of industrial England, I vainly endeavoured to find a moving conveyor in use. At a mass motor-car works, they were shoving the cars by hand along stationary rails.

said to have an excellent *moral*,¹ and they have good reason to be interested, for they are engaged upon some of the finest new works in the world.

According to a frank report by Orjonikidze, head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, whose especial job it is to make other departments efficient, the work as a whole suffers from waste, megalomania, bad organization and bureaucracy. Mrs. Anna Louise Strong, in commenting on these self-criticisms, says that "one of the hardest and most nerve-racking struggles in the world to-day is the attempt of the Soviet Union to build overnight a modern and efficient industrial system on a foundation of Oriental sloth and mediæval equipment."²

Of the remarkable success of one Russian industry the world at large has become well aware. The Soviet cinematograph films have achieved a great international reputation, but those who have seen them do not perhaps realise that they are the product of a State Department. The thing is done on the grand scale; the studios are among the finest in the world and employ 85,000 people. The Five-Year Plan covers this artistic development; by 1933 the number of cinemas in the R.S.F.S.R. is to be increased to 24,000 exclusive of some 19,000 school, club and Red Army installations. The other Republics are also to make big increases. The travelling cinemas follow industry into the Asiatic steppes, making the nomads of yesterday citizens of a larger world. The "legitimate" stage is also the subject of state care, and Shakespeare is played at Moscow! I cannot resist the temptation to point a moral here, if only in the briefest terms. The British cinema world is the plaything of America; the "cultural" effect of American films is that the American decorations and

¹ In the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1930, Mr. Peter Alexander, late a works manager in Russia, says: "The prospects of an economic success in the case of the Russian Soviet experiment are bright, but one is doubtful if that will mean the building up of a successful Russia. Whilst there is an excellent *moral* amongst the workers at present, one can scarcely go so far as to say that they give the impression of a body of men buoyed up with the vitalising joy of a great hope."

² *The New Leader*, September 5th, 1930.

perversions of the English language are spreading with distressing rapidity. The Soviets are at least guilty of no such inept folly as to allow a commercialized foreign industry to frustrate its conception of a national culture, and to be a prime agent in the manufacture of criminals.

The methods of the Supreme Economic Council embrace the granting of concessions both to Soviet subjects and to foreigners, and already many have been arranged with the object of attracting foreign capital and technical skill. Lack of capital is one of the main difficulties of the Soviet Union, and it will not be diminished by the distrust which the administration engenders in many minds.

The relation of these things to the all-important question of population will be apparent. Russia is one of the great countries which is becoming greater, but fortunately, unlike Italy and Japan, she has ample territory and more than ample opportunity. Indeed, in the development of Siberia there is room for other peoples also.

4: ELEVEN THOUSAND MILES OF TROUBLED BOUNDARY

IN 1930, thirteen years after the Tzar's abdication, it is manifestly difficult to form a clear judgment as to the developments of the very near future, but as to the long run there can be no possible doubt. Russia, so slow in development, for so long burdened and oppressed by a government too bad for any people to deserve, has awakened to a sense of economic power. Things can never be the same again in Russia, and our judgment of the Revolution must take account of the dominating fact that probably nothing short of a drastic surgical operation could have brought to an end conditions that had long been shameful and intolerable.

The men of the great dull plains are likely to gain immeasurably in mental outlook from the spread of modern industrialisation based in operation upon labour laws which would have been thought poisonous by the old *régime*. As in the case of India, a better balanced economy would enable Russia to avoid famine.

The world at large, for its own sake, to say nothing of elementary justice to the teeming millions of the Soviet Union, can help the Plan, but it cannot wholly hinder because the territory of the Union is so largely self-contained. Those governments are surely wise that are entering into liberal commercial agreements with the Union, for even if Russia is merely regarded as a "market," dealings with it may rise to very big figures and play an important part in the trade of the leading nations. Such dealings make for amity, understanding and peace, and here as elsewhere to realise the wealth of a rich under-developed land is to serve the world as a whole.

The historic claims of Russia to access to the sea have been for long a first-class political issue. They are also an economic issue and one that sooner or later must be settled upon lines that give fair play to Russian economy; it seems to me manifestly unjust that the Soviet Union, any more than the Tzarist Empire, should be barred from the best access to tide-water that geography allows. The Soviet political boundary on the west is purely artificial, and on the east there must also be a reasonable adjustment if Siberia, which is a world asset as well as Soviet territory, is ever to become fruitful. Here Condominium might reconcile the just ambitions of three great peoples and remove one very probable cause of storm in the Pacific. To this suggestion I shall return.

There remains the question of Soviet proselytizing, accompanied by what appears to be the building of a gigantic army fired by enthusiasm. On this head, it would seem that the Soviet executive has its hands sufficiently full if it is to

change a great and largely undeveloped territory of over 8 million square miles into prosperous lands bearing a contented peasantry and flourishing industries. Disaster might easily attend the pursuit of an ambition charged with further grave responsibilities. The stories of permeation and intrigue, true, false and exaggerated, may therefore fade as Russia finds in the great work to which she has put her hand more than enough to occupy her energies, and especially this may be the case if the world gives the Soviet Union sympathy as well as the formal recognition given in 1924. However this may be, there can be no reasonable doubt that the economic experience of Russia, for good or for ill, will be a potent influence in both Europe and Asia, and that the prosperity of Russia as an organised Socialist State—it is not in practice a Communist State—would have far more effect in making disciples than any possible aggression by the Red Army.

If we want to realise the menacing possibilities of quarrel with an organised Russia of 160 millions increasing at the rate of 3 millions per annum and wielding the powers of a rich territory, let us take the map and look along that great boundary line which runs across the world from the Baltic Sea, south through Europe to the Black Sea and the Caspian, and thence across Asia. This, the world's longest political boundary, measures about 11,000 miles. Following a most unnatural course, it borders the territories of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Rumania, with all of which states the Soviet has been at war since the end of the War that was to end war. In the north, Poland has millions of Russians within her territory. On the Rumanian boundary, Bessarabia still appears in the official Soviet map as claimed by the Union and not as thoughtfully arranged by the Allies. In the south, the map reminds us of the origin of the word "Jingo," coined in a music-hall song of 1878, when the "Great Macdermott" tickled the ears of the groundlings with the bellicose assertion that "Russia shall not have Con-

stantinople," and added at once to our grim determination and the beauties of our language by the immortal words :

"We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too."

The Great Macdermott was a true prophet, for the Turks still occupy the eastern capital of the Roman Empire ; the Russians, however, are still at variance with the Great Macdermott.

In Asia, the Turkoman, the Uzbek and the Tadjik Soviet Republics border Persia and the buffer state of Afghanistan which stands between Russia and India. The frontiers of Mongolia face the Kazan Soviet Republic (Kazanstan), the eastern areas of the great R.S.F.S.R. and the Mongol-Buryat Soviet Republic. In the Far East, the R.S.F.S.R. runs with that great bone of contention, Manchuria. We have thus traced 11,000 miles of present and potential trouble.

In the South, in the Near East and in the Far East alike, the Soviet boundary marches with problems the solutions of which call for much more than sentimental utterances. Russia, liberated from a dull, brutal and unimaginative despotism, has a just claim to what may be called world liberation, which it is quite possible to give her. It is for those who desire peace to consider the existing political boundaries of Russia and to ask themselves how a Russian would or should view the existing conditions. And here, as in so many other parts of the world, there is contention not so much between right and wrong as between various and conflicting rights. The disabilities suffered by Russia are grave. Walled in for thousands of miles by ice and mountain, her bondage is completed by the hand of man. That is a thing which cannot always be.

CHAPTER X
FRANCE AND HER EMPIRE

I : DECLINE OF THE FRENCH POPULATION

IT must be a matter of profound regret for all good Europeans, whether they live in Europe or are building white nations beyond the seas, that year by year the world contains a smaller proportion of Frenchmen. France has played a leading part in the affairs of Europe ever since Gaul became one of the proudest and richest of Roman provinces. Her military reputation has always been high, and she has been as great in peace as in war. Above all, civilisation is in debt to France for ideas, and if the French Revolution appalled even liberal opinion by its excesses, and temporarily checked reform in England, its effects did not pass until it had liberated the people of Europe from lingering despotisms and effete rulers. If the Holy Alliance that immediately followed the defeat of Napoleon began a period of reaction, its terms, however misconstrued in practice, paid respect to Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. After the French Revolution, things could never be the same again, either in the Old World or the New. The United States had won independence through French inspiration and aid, and in 1823 President Monroe answered the failing despots of Europe by enunciating the famous Doctrine that defended the newly-won liberties of Latin America.

The world of men grows apace, but France does not grow. The facts of the case may best be realised by contrasting the movement of the populations of France, Germany, Britain and Italy during the last two generations :

FRANCE, GERMANY, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ITALY :
POPULATIONS, 1861-1930.

(In millions, and based for the most part on Census figures).

		FRANCE.	GERMANY.	UNITED KINGDOM.	ITALY.
1861	.. ..	37.4	35.9	29.1	21.8
1871	.. ..	36.1	41.1	31.6	26.8
1881	.. ..	37.7	45.7	35.0	28.5
1891	.. ..	38.3	50.0	37.8	30.0
1901	39.0	60.0	41.5	32.5
1911	39.6	65.5	45.2	35.0
1921	39.2	61.0	47.1	38.8
1930	41.1	64.5	48.7	41.8
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Increase in 69 years (in millions)	3.7	28.6	19.6	20.0
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Increase per cent.	9.8	79.6	67.3	91.7
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France has increased her population by less than 10 per cent. in 69 years, while Germany has gained nearly 80 per cent., the British Isles over 67 per cent. and Italy nearly 92 per cent. In 1861 the largest nation of the four, in 1930 she is the smallest.

Even the figures just given do not fully reveal the stagnation of the French population, for probably at least 2 of the 41 millions of 1930 are accounted for by foreigners—Italians, Belgians, Poles and others, not all of whom have become naturalized. The actual Frenchmen of 1930 are therefore very slightly in excess of those of 1861. Apart from Ireland, there is no similar case in Europe.

In 1929, there were 728,540 births and 741,104 deaths in France, a natural decrease of 12,564. In the eight years, 1921-28 inclusive, the natural increase was only 562,000, proving that the recent increase in population is chiefly due to the influx of foreigners. The French national reconstruction since the War has called for a greater labour force than France herself could supply.

2: THE FRENCH EMPIRE OF FIVE MILLION SQUARE MILES

THESE are, of course, Frenchmen in the world other than those in France or in French possessions oversea. In North America there are 4,000,000 French-Canadians and there are some 2,000,000 French in the United States and possibly 100,000 elsewhere in the world, a total of 6,100,000.

In the French overseas empire the number of white people in 1930 is about 1,400,000, of whom perhaps 900,000 are French. We may attempt to estimate the French population of the world :

THE WORLD'S FRENCH POPULATION IN 1930.

	POPULATION.
In France (out of a total population of 41,100,000)	39,000,000
In the French Possessions	900,000
In Canada	4,000,000
In the United States	2,000,000
Elsewhere	100,000
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Total	46,000,000
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I confess that these figures surprise me ; it seems to me very difficult to explain why this great people should have chosen thus to limit its expansion while other nations were vigorously growing. To produce such a result, all classes of the population must have chosen to be infertile. And the French people are of many varied types ; why should all have pursued the same course ? Possibly the débâcle of 1870 played a great part by producing depression ; Germany after the World War has suddenly lost her old fertility.

We may now with advantage turn to the broad records of the French Empire :

THE FRENCH EMPIRE: AREA AND POPULATION,
1930.

(Including the Mandated Territories).

TERRITORY.	AREA	ESTIMATED POPULATION.		
		EUROPEAN (INCLUDING JEWS).	OTHERS.	TOTAL.
France	212,700	41,100,000	—	41,100,000
French Empire :				
Asia	317,200	46,000	24,454,000	24,500,000
Africa	4,500,600	1,313,000	36,537,000	37,850,000
America	33,200	21,000	539,000	560,000
South Seas	15,000	20,000	70,000	90,000
Total	5,078,700	42,500,000	61,600,000	104,100,000

In 1930, over 100 million people owe allegiance to France, in areas that aggregate over 5 million square miles. Yet, in all the French Empire, the French number less than 40 millions. In Tunis alone there are some 100,000 Italians and there are some 220,000 Jews in Algeria, Tunis and Morocco.

A century has elapsed since the French took Algiers and brought to an end a hideous record of piracy and slavery which Christendom had tolerated far too long, and eleven years later, in 1841, the conquest was brilliantly completed. The invasion and occupation of Tunisia followed in 1881, with the consent of Germany, and to the dismay and anger of Italy, for here, as elsewhere in the African littoral and the Levant, many Italians had settled, and France had most explicitly informed the Italian government that she had no designs upon the country. Unfriendly relations between the two nations date from this Tunisian conquest, and brought about the adhesion of Italy to the Triple Alliance. The Italians in Tunisia remain *irridenta* (unredeemed) to this day, although still forming the majority of the white population.

Morocco, the Roman Mauretania, is now for the most part

a French protectorate. That important strategic position, Tangier, is internationalized, a fact illustrating a principle of much importance, to which we shall return. The political division of Morocco gives France 200,000 square miles and 5,200,000 people; Spain 8,000 square miles and 750,000 people.

South of the French African territories where once the Roman ruled, France has established herself in West Africa and in Equatorial Africa, and the World War has added to her dominions the greater part of Togoland and Cameroons, some 324,000 square miles of territory and nearly 3 million people. Madagascar has been hers since the eighteen-nineties and there is a small French Colony on the Somali Coast. France has also important dependencies in Asia, her colonies in Indo-China having an aggregate population of over 22 millions, and she was made the mandatory for Syria and Lebanon.

The gallantry of the soldiers who added so many colonies to France has been followed by capable administration and scientific development. No qualified observer speaks in any but the highest terms of what the French have accomplished in their vast African empire, which ranges nearly 3,000 miles from Senegal east to the frontiers of the Sudan, and 2,000 miles from Tunis south to Dahomey. So much has been done in the conquest of the Sahara that we may entertain as by no means fantastic the conception of transmuting desert heat into power. In the ancient lands, great reforms have been accomplished; insanitary towns have been changed into healthy and attractive resorts.

The problem of population remains, and its political and economic importance far transcends such an issue as that of adjusting with Italy the frontiers of Libia and French Equatorial Africa. The only effective permanent occupation of territory is made by peopling it. Italy has a rapidly growing population and little land; France has a stagnant or declining population and enormous territories which she

administers admirably but cannot people. It is idle to ignore the grave implications of this situation.

3: AS FRANCE SEES IT

THE view-point of France must not be forgotten. She has suffered much and fears much. She sees herself a declining people forced to train native levies in Africa because her own man-power is failing and is likely to fail her still more. She remembers the débâcle of 1871, the indemnity she was forced to pay, the German occupation, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and the crowning humiliation of seeing a German Empire proclaimed in her very capital. She found powerful allies in another contest with Germany nearly half a century later, but knows it very unlikely that in a third struggle she could find any Great Power to assist her apart from the special provisions of the Locarno Treaty. She believes Italian ambitions to be irreconcilable with her own. She looks across the Rhine and wonders how long it will be before a liberated Germany seeks to change again the latest war-made map of Europe. She therefore allies herself with minor nations in Central Europe and the Balkans, seeks international guarantees of armed assistance against aggression, accumulates an enormous war reserve of gold, which in 1930 has reached £400,000,000,¹ and consolidates her defences, giving special attention to those newly-developed weapons, submarines and aircraft, and lavishing money upon the fortification of the frontiers. In brief, she seeks to secure herself in great possessions, the titles to some of which are recent and dubious. That is not an enviable position for a nation which has always played a leading part in Europe, and whose history is such a splendid chapter in the story of mankind.

¹ This gold hoarding, together with that of the United States, largely account for the monetary dislocations which have afflicted the world with distress and unemployment in 1930.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNITED STATES AND HER LIEN UPON EUROPE

I : FORTY TO THE SQUARE MILE

THE people of the United States have great possessions and they have used them on a great scale. If they are not wealthy in the sense in which we employ the word in our time, they ought to be. The American coal-measures are not only supremely rich but easily worked, so that much of American mining is surface or near-surface work, and to coal are added oil, natural gas and water-power in abundance. Moreover, as we have seen, there are handsome deposits of nearly all the important metallic ores. An industrial map of the United States is positively littered with the names of desirable commodities. Fertile plains and extensive forests were enormous sources of wealth before industry had developed, and remain so, despite the extravagant waste of their exploitation. A wide range of climate between the thirtieth and fiftieth parallels of north latitude enables America to raise crops of very varied character. Fronting the two great oceans, her geographical position, especially now that the Panama Canal has been acquired and finished, is a commanding one, as we can better realise by using a Mercator map in which the United States is nicely placed, as we never place it, in the centre of the picture. America is a world in herself, and her people could live a full life even if all the rest of the earth's surface sank into the ocean.

It is passing strange, therefore, that such a fortunate nation should, so soon in its existence, think it necessary to restrain its development by banning the immigration of all but a very limited number of people.

The United States is by definition not one state but many. The population in 1930 of 123 millions, we must remember, is the aggregate of an empire of forty-eight sovereign states. The 123 millions assume a very different aspect when we realise that the average population of these many states in 1930 is 2,562,000. Let us look at this in more detail. I have to go back to the census of 1920 for the populations of the separate states, for the full returns of 1930 are not yet available. Taking a few representative cases we find :

POPULATIONS OF 18 OF THE 48 STATES IN 1920.

	MILLIONS		MILLIONS
NEW ENGLAND STATES		EAST SOUTH CENTRAL STATES :	
Massachusetts	.. 3.8	Kentucky	.. .. 2.4
Maine .. ..	.. 0.8	Mississippi	.. .. 1.8
MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES :		WEST SOUTH CENTRAL STATES :	
New York	.. .. 10.4	Texas	.. .. 4.6
Pennsylvania	.. .. 8.7	Arkansas..	.. .. 1.7
EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES :		PACIFIC STATES :	
Ohio	.. .. 5.7	California	.. .. 3.4
Wisconsin..	.. .. 2.5	Washington	.. .. 1.3
WEST NORTH CENTRAL STATES :		MOUNTAIN STATES :	
Missouri	.. .. 3.4	Montana	.. .. 0.5
Kansas	.. .. 1.8	Nevada	.. .. 0.1
SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES :			
Virginia	.. .. 2.3		
Florida	.. .. 0.9		

We see that in analysis the United States are small in point of population, although great in area, the average state area being 63,000 square miles, which is more than the area of England and Wales. Texas is twice as big as England. The area of the United States as a whole is about three-fourths as

great as that of all Europe. To complete the tale of proportions, we find that in 1930 Europe has 130 persons to the square mile while the United States has 40.

Curiously, these facts have not occurred to the minds of American writers who reproach British colonies with the paucity of their populations. It must be freely admitted that America has had very much fuller development than Australia or South Africa, but we must have regard to the unparalleled resources of America and especially her power resources. The coal of America is the strongest magnet for population the world possesses, but America has fitted her magnet with what an electrician calls a "keeper"; the magnet has been rendered impotent.

National government has many virtues, but it has one obvious defect; it cannot perceive its operations from without; it cannot be the outsider who so often sees most of the game. To the outsider it certainly appears that the Negro problem inherited by the present generation of freedom-loving Americans has been given a new and terribly difficult phase by the restrictions placed upon European migrants. The call of the North for more labour than the North possessed brought swarms of Negroes from the South to the industrial towns, which now have huge Negro quarters.

That is a point which mainly concerns America. The world is more interested in the American narrow limitation of immigration, which allows only 150,000 persons a year to enter the country and divides that number by nationality in proportion to the contributions of the various nations to the composition of the American people as ascertained at the Census. The free migration of the past built up a great American nation, which now includes representatives of every European people and many others. In 1929 was published that very interesting document, the American official estimate of the various races in the United States at the census of 1920, when the total population was 105.7 millions. The main racial groups were thus estimated:

MAIN RACIAL GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1920.

RACE.	POPULATION.	PER CENT.
White	94,820,915	89.7
Negro	10,463,131	9.9
Indian	244,437	0.2
Chinese	61,639	0.1
Japanese	111,010	0.1
All Other	9,488	—
Total Population	<u>105,710,620</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The descendants of slavery numbered nearly 10½ millions ; the number in 1930 must approach 12 millions. As to the 94,820,915 whites, the chief items in the analysis are :

DERIVATION OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1920.

UNITED KINGDOM :	MILLIONS.
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	39.2
Irish Free State	10.7
	<u>49.9</u>
Germany	15.5
Poland	3.9
Italy	3.5
Sweden	2.0
France	1.8
Czechoslovakia	1.7
Norway	1.4
Austria	0.8
Belgium	0.8
Denmark	0.7
Yugoslavia	0.5
Hungary	0.5
All Other Countries	11.8
Total	<u>94.8</u>

As the term "Anglo-Saxon" is so often applied to the American people, we may observe that in 1920, the population being under 106 millions, only 39 millions were English, Welsh, Scottish or Northern Irish, of whom the English were perhaps 30 millions. The English stock, therefore,

forms only 28 per cent. of the American people. If we add Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish the "British" stock rises to about 37 per cent. Even if we include all the Irish as "British," the British stock rises to no more than 47 per cent.

These facts are supremely interesting. The great melting-pot has very varied contents, and there is good reason to hope that the talents of so many races may combine to make a really great civilisation. It is surprising to find what relatively large contributions are said to have been made by the small nations of Scandinavia. Norway, with a home population of only 2,800,000, is estimated to have contributed 1,400,000 to the American population; Sweden with hardly more than 6,000,000 people, is supposed to have contributed 2,000,000! The officials must, we suppose, credit these curious estimates. France, on the other hand, with its population of about 40 millions, has only 1,800,000 of her race in America, while Italy is said to have contributed no more than 3,500,000.

Under the Immigration Act of 1924 the above estimates, right or wrong, decide the quotas of immigrants allowed to each nation. Thus Sweden can send 3,314 migrants in a year, while New Zealand can send only 100. Ireland, having sent so many of her unfortunate people to America in the past, is consequently at liberty to send many more—as many as 17,853 in a year, whereas France, a much bigger country, can send only 3,086. This policy has some very strange results. Thus, a well-known English actor finds himself barred from the dollars of Hollywood because, having been born in New Zealand, he has to wait seventeen years to get a place in the quota.

In relation either to the population of Europe, 504 millions, or to the mighty resources of America, the 150,000 a year is an almost negligible quantity. The plain fact is that America now makes herself a close corporation and denies the use of the most fortunate land in the world to all but a relative handful of newcomers—1,500,000 in a decade. This does not

prevent an American writing that the British Empire is playing "dog in the manger,"¹ any more than severe American criticism of British policy in India is prevented by the outcast social condition of the American Negroes of the South, who still lack adequate food, clothes and shelter, and are still lynched for real and fancied crimes.

We may conveniently note here that the empire of the United States is in 1930 :

	AREA. SQ. MILES.	POPULATION. (<i>in part estimated</i>).
IN AMERICA :		
United States	3,026,789	123,000,000
Porto Rico	3,435	1,400,000
Virgin Islands	132	27,000
Panama Zone ² (containing the Canal) ..	527	24,000
Alaska	590,884	58,000
IN ASIA :		
Philippine Islands	115,026	12,000,000
Guam	210	14,000
IN THE SOUTH SEAS :		
Hawaii	6,449	280,000
Tutuila, etc... ..	77	8,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,743,529	136,811,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

In the Philippines, America possesses a fertile territory rich in iron ore. It was taken from the Spanish in 1898 after they had possessed it for 329 years. The Filipinos under Aguinaldo revolted against the Americans but were unsuccessful; a considerable measure of self-government has since been given, but trouble still threatens. These islands form a possible outlet for Japanese migrants.

¹ See Chapter XII.

² Purchased from the Republic of Panama. Colombia, which contained the Canal zone, refused American terms of purchase. A convenient revolution then occurred in that part of Colombia called the State of Panama, which under American protection became an independent republic. The new republic at once sold the Canal zone to America upon very much the terms which Colombia had refused! A very entertaining little chapter of history.

2: AMERICA ON THE VERGE OF DECLINE

SO rapidly is the American birth-rate falling that the American people are, like some European nations, threatened with decline. The figures for recent years are :

						PER 1,000 OF POPULATION.
1921	..	..	..	..	..	24.3
Average of 1921-5			..	..	..	22.6
1926	..	..	..	..	..	20.6
1927	..	..	..	..	..	20.6
1928	..	..	..	..	..	19.7

These figures cover 40 out of the 48 states, the remainder making no returns. The latest rate of which I have precise record, 19.7 for 1928, means that America is still actually increasing her population, but the margin is small. The figure is now close to the rate reached in the downward course (or upward, as so many think it) taken by England, France, Germany and Scandinavia. As I write, an American cable states that the 1929 returns show a further fall in fertility, 78,000 fewer children being born (in the States making returns) than in 1928.

A combination in the United States of the following factors (1) a scanty population of 40 persons to the square mile, (2) a ban on immigration, and (3) a rapidly falling fertility close to the point of actual decline, means that American natural wealth is being withheld from full fruition from the world point of view.

It is true that the civilization of the United States is not so unfortunate as it is depicted in the American films which we allow to corrupt British manners, but there can be little doubt that a number of anti-social causes combine to lower the American birth-rate; the decline of the American people may therefore be rapid.

3: WEALTH OUT OF THE WOE AND SWELTER OF EUROPE

BUT it is not only in the matter of her population that America has good cause to ponder her position. America took part in the World War, entering the conflict in April, 1917, when it was 2 years and 8 months old. Before coming in, she had, as a powerful neutral, the source of most important foods and war materials, made much war profit. War profit is, we know, quite legitimate, whether derived from the sufferings of our own or another nation, but the Americans, as has been often pointed out, are an idealistic people, and President Hoover, a man of just and generous spirit, reminded America that duties and responsibilities went with extravagant war gains. On February 1st, 1917, two months before America declared war, he uttered a prophecy which has been abundantly fulfilled :

America will be rich, prosperous and wealthy as the result of this war. We shall have made untold millions of this wealth out of the woe and swelter of Europe. The money which has come to us from these people is money in trust, and unless America recognises this trust she will pay dearly and bitterly for its possession.

Fabulous profits accrued to American contractors during and after those thirty-two months of warfare which preceded this utterance. Britain sold out her dollar securities to pay her American bills, and she borrowed from America to help her European Allies. The Allies also borrowed directly from America. In 1920 the borrowing account stood thus :

	MILLION £
Lent by Britain to France, Italy, Belgium, Russia, etc.	1,850
Lent by America to Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, etc.	1,984
Lent by America to Britain only	866

So that Britain lent far more to her Allies than she borrowed from America ; she would have had no cause to borrow from America if she had not so lent. This did not prevent Mr. Mellon, as Secretary of the United States Treasury, in stating

publicly (1926) that "England borrowed a large part of the War Debt for purely commercial as distinguished from War purposes." That was not a just statement, but it is true, and should be recorded here, that American financial aid was of very great importance to the Allies.

The War Debts are an evil which burden the life of Europe and form a constant source of ill-will making for war. They have been "funded" (as the formalization of a State debt is termed) and astounding agreements have been made pledging heavy payments by Europe to America for two generations. The discourteous wordy warfare at the Hague in 1929 was symptomatic of the disastrous effect of the agreement upon international relations; many of the articles and cartoons relating to that unfortunate affair breathed hate, contempt and resentment. The British public was led to believe that, to quote a phrase actually used, Britain had become the "milch cow of Europe." In each disputing country the popular national view was very much of the same order. Each looks upon the formalized debt as an unjust burden, and each has good reason to do so.

What were the facts about the international financing of the War on the side of the Allies? Britain and her Allies consisted of a number of large and small nations, some of them very rich and some of them very poor. All of them did their best to put into the field fighting men in proportion to their populations, but they did not all enter the War at the same time and their contributions in this respect were necessarily unequal.

How strangely assorted were these late Allies! America, with a sub-continent of unrivalled natural wealth and 107 millions of people; France, with limited resources and a stationary population of about 40 millions; Italy, without coal and iron, eating an impossible war-bread,¹ half-starved, and sometimes moving her troops with locomotives fired with

¹ The Marquis Imperiali brought a specimen to us at the Ministry of Shipping in 1917; it seemed too bad to be true.

olive trees ; Belgium, with a population smaller than that of Pennsylvania ; the British Empire, leading one-fourth of the world.

France, although with a smaller population than that of Britain (not to mention the British Empire) suffered nearly twice as many casualties as Britain, while the United States, coming in at the eleventh hour, escaped with few casualties. If we consider France, Britain, Italy and the United States, the killed (or died on service) numbered : France, 1,700,000 ; Britain and her Empire, 1,000,000 ; Italy, 800,000 ; the United States, 100,000. France suffered so heavily, of course, because Britain could send only a small expeditionary force at the outset of the War and our Ally had to carry on while we were making an army.

To turn from men to money, Britain, by far the richest of the European Allies, supplied war material and ships to her friends ; America, by far the richest of all the partners, sent war supplies when she could not send men. If we look at this thing in essence, we see that the rich Allies who "lent" war supplies to the poor Allies were helping themselves as much as those to whom they sent the goods. When Britain supplied coal, ships or munitions to France or Italy, she was helping herself as much as she helped France and Italy. Equally, when the United States made her "loans" to Britain, she was enabling men to fight who were fighting on her side and therefore for her.

If America had had an army in April, 1917, when she nominally came into the World War, a large part of the American munitions and stores which now figure as "debt" would have been fired off or consumed by American troops. Because America had no soldiers, European troops fired off or consumed American munitions or stores, suffering enormous casualties as they did so. Where, then, is the "debt" ? The answer is plain. America is deeply indebted to the European nations who had to consume American munitions because America herself could not do so.

When, therefore, the War ended, there was one and one only rational thing to do with the alleged war debts. It was not to bandy words about degrees of financial sacrifice, or to talk of capital and interest, but in the name of common sense to write off the state loan entries. I like to remember that this was the British view.

Failing in her purpose to secure the cancellation of the war debts, Britain, in the famous Balfour Note, propounded the policy that we would only demand in Europe such sums as were necessary to enable us to repay America, since America demanded payment.

Taking what has actually been arranged between the nations, Britain has agreed to pay to the United States, for two generations, about £38,000,000 a year. This sum Britain is to collect yearly for sixty years, as to £18,000,000 from Germany, and roundly as to £20,000,000 from France, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Portugal and Rumania. That is to say, Britain collects money in Europe and pays it over to America, the income almost exactly equalling the outgo.¹

Who among us, I wonder, can contemplate with satisfaction the agreements that have been entered into, which will not terminate until nearly the end of the twentieth century, which condemn this generation and the next and the one which succeeds it to pay tribute to the United States—not our own tribute, but tribute painfully collected by Britain in Europe from nations large and small?

In the following table, for which I am indebted to *The Economist*, the effects of the agreements for the years 1930, 1940, 1960, 1980 are shown roundly :

¹ This equilibrium will obtain in respect of future payments, but up to the end of 1930, Britain has paid to America far more than she has received from Europe. On December 17, 1930, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury stated officially that "The total sums paid to the United States Government on account of the British War Debt to date, including the payment which is being made to-day (December 17, 1930) exceed the total sums received in respect of Allied War Debts and reparation by the amount of £140,000,000. The accumulated deficiency is close on £200,000,000 if interest on past payments and receipts is taken into account."

CAN WAR BE AVERTED?

HOW BRITAIN COLLECTS FOR AMERICA

(in million £)

	1930	1940	1960	1980
Due from Germany to the British Empire	18.3	22.8	20.3	18.2
Deduct Share of Dominions ..	2.7	2.4	3.0	0.0
Net Receipts of Great Britain ..	15.6	20.4	17.3	18.2
Debt due to Britain from Allies ..	16.7	18.4	20.4	20.6
Total Receipts of Great Britain ..	32.3	38.8	37.7	38.8
British Payments to United States ..	32.8	38.0	37.1	38.3

Let it not be supposed that £32,000,000 is all that America obtains from Europe in 1930. This is merely what we collect for her. In addition, she collects capital instalments and interest directly, and the full account is roundly as follows for the present year :

AMERICA'S LIEN UPON EUROPE, 1930.

Collected in capital repayments, interest and Reparations by Britain and paid over by her to the United States in satisfaction of her own debt to America	32,800,000
Collected directly by America in Europe from other nations :	
(a) Interest and Capital Instalments on Loans ..	11,600,000
(b) Reparation money	3,300,000
	<u>£47,700,000</u>

In a few years time the yearly tribute of Europe will rise to over £52,000,000.

I add the aggregates of the payments to America, which are to end, under Providence, in 1988, fifty-eight years hence :

AMERICA'S DRAWINGS FROM EUROPE IN RESPECT OF DEBTS AND REPARATIONS.

(The annuities, of course, cover both interest and repayments of capital)

	£
America is to receive from Britain	2,221,000,000
America is to receive directly from other Nations for Capital and Interest	2,211,000,000
America is to receive from Germany for Reparation money	150,000,000
Very Grand Total	<u>£4,582,000,000</u>

The saying that there is nothing new under the sun is made a little ridiculous by these arrangements. Never before has the world's history known anything remotely resembling this deliberate impoverishment of a great part of an entire Continent. And for Britain the position is a continuous humiliation; she figures as a debt collector for America, drawing £32,000,000 to £38,000,000 a year from six nations and sending it across the Atlantic. The part played by Britain is surely the most ungrateful and uncomfortable in the history of finance.

Pitt fought Napoleon with the British Navy and by heavily subsidising the Continental enemies of the French; if the American conceptions of alliance had prevailed in 1815, we should have been still receiving tribute from the Continent in the eighteen-seventies.

In the Napoleonic wars Britain made straightforward subsidies to her Allies as payment for definite military undertakings, thus recognising the principle that those who fought for us and with us owed us nothing because we helped them to fight for us and with us. As is shown by Mr. A. W. Acworth in his *Financial Reconstruction in England, 1815-1822*, the greater part of the money Pitt sent to the Continent, amounting in all to £57,000,000, an enormous sum for those days, was paid in subsidies to Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Sardinia, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria and other countries, each of them being thus enabled to fight with British money. There were, however, three foreign loans, amounting to £6,800,000 of which £6,200,000 was lent to Austria; finally Austria repaid us £2,200,000 in full satisfaction. Portugal, who had been lent £600,000 in 1809, paid us £67,000 a year until 1815 and was then excused all further payment. Surely a very striking contrast with the outrageous international war finance of a century later, which witnesses the richest country in the world dunning Europe, and Britain dunning the Continent of Europe on behalf of America.

And let us recall the nature of the World War debts. They consisted of accounts for war goods sold to Allies at sky-rocketed war prices by the traders of Britain and America; of sales on terms which made huge war fortunes in the two richest countries in the world. There was public outcry for a special tax upon the unholy gains of the war profiteers. Nothing came of it, but let us not forget that war debts were largely war profits. Now they have to be repaid in commodities the prices of which have fallen so heavily that the figures of the war period are in effect heavily multiplied in loss for Europe the war debtor, and heavily multiplied in gain for America, the triumphant residuary legatee of the War.

4 : AMERICA'S ECONOMIC WAR

THE effect of the War upon America's fortunes has been magical. From being a debtor nation she has become a great creditor nation. From being a small shipping nation with a tonnage of two millions she has risen with ten million tons to second place among the maritime countries. From the position of third naval power she has risen nominally to parity with Britain but actually, in view of the strategic needs of the British Empire, to a position of naval supremacy.¹ From twelve dollars a week in 1914 the

¹ It should be observed that, whereas in England any discussion of the possibility of war with the United States is banned with "Hush! It is unthinkable," America, both in her parliament and out of it, freely discusses the issue. The Three-Power Pact is denounced by many Americans as conceding too much to Britain, while those who defend the Pact do so upon the argument that the apparent "parity" would in actual practice give an American superiority. Thus Senator Swanson, defending ratification in the Senate on July 8th, 1930, after declaring that the Treaty "makes the United States more secure than Great Britain or Japan," went on (report of the Washington correspondent of *The Times*): "Great Britain could not operate against us anywhere in the Eastern Pacific nor in the Western Atlantic, unless it be in the extreme southern part of the Western Atlantic. She has no base in either North or South America from which her fleet could operate, except at Esquimalt, Canada, where she has

average earnings of the factory worker of New York State have risen to thirty dollars a week. America's exports have increased enormously, and with over one-third of the world's gold in her treasury, she frustrates the very basis of credit. American hoarding of gold is a major factor in the credit crisis which in 1929-1930 has plunged the whole world into economic distress, and it is no comfort at all to the world to know that America shares in the trouble she has brought upon all nations.¹

What between her increased exports which earn increased imports, and her great lien upon Europe, America has now the power to make enormous imports of goods. Having this power she refuses to exercise it by enactment of an outrageous customs tariff aimed at all imports and especially at European trade. In effect, therefore, she demands gold or securities in payment for a large part of her visible exports (goods) and of her invisible exports (interest, capital instalments and reparations due to her). Thus her lien upon Europe increases, and many great European industrial undertakings have already fallen into her hands. It is a policy which strikes at the European economy. Eventually, of course, America must receive imports or go without payment for her visible and invisible exports, but in the meantime, in a world of trouble, her restrictive policy brings distress and unemployment to millions. To speak of things as they are, America

a dry dock capable of taking the largest ships, and which is a base from which her fleet might operate, but which now is in a care-and-maintenance status. In case of hostilities with Great Britain, if Canada did not declare her neutrality this base could easily be captured by the United States." In fine, Great Britain had no North or South American bases from which to operate her fleet. She might, with some cruisers based on Simonstown, interfere with American commerce off the southern part of Brazil and Argentina, but "such excursions would be sporadic and could easily be disposed of from our naval base at Panama." The United States by the present Treaty "obtains absolute naval supremacy in the entire Western Hemisphere," becomes "sufficiently strong to enforce the entire Monroe Doctrine," and her Navy "is made supreme in waters of the Eastern Pacific and Western Atlantic." With American bases at Panama, the "British Fleet operating in the Western Atlantic would be less than a ratio of three for Great Britain and five for the United States."

¹ In 1930 America has about £850,000,000 worth of gold, France has £400,000,000 worth, and as the entire world stock of gold is about £2,200,000,000, America and France between them hold much more than one-half of the world aggregate.

is making economic war upon Europe.¹ Economic war is a thing that kills, often more effectually than military operations.

I do not think that America can be acquitted of deliberate economic oppression, but I do not suggest that the acts which have plunged the world into distress have been directed to so mournful an end. The exaction of tribute is deliberate; the tariff war is deliberate; the consequence of these factors in denying a market for goods and in monopolizing gold is well known; the effect upon world credit of immobilizing so much gold cannot but be apparent to the American government. But the culminating blow to world credit and world purchasing-power in 1929 was an act of American domestic policy. Alarmed by a speculative mania which was employing credit feverishly on the stock markets, the American Federal Reserve Bank decided upon a drastic policy of deflation. By raising the Bank Rate, and by other devices to restrict credit, it created a financial panic which effectively broke far more than the speculators. The sudden catastrophic contraction of credit and purchasing-power sent prices tumbling not only on the stock markets but on the commodity markets, and it was impossible thus to affect America, the world's biggest economic unit, without hitting the world at large and causing universal depression. So great was the effect in America that in the first six months of 1930 the new building authorised in New York State was less than one-third the value of that authorised in the same period of 1929, so that the employment in the building trades was obviously reduced by over two-thirds! No one knows the aggregate volume of unemployment in America in 1930, but American estimates vary from three to five millions. Most

¹ An American writer, Mr. Ludwell Denny, in his *America Conquers Britain*, holds that a state of economic war between America and Britain exists to-day and says: "The conflict is the natural and inevitable result of economic conditions obtaining in the two countries and in the world." But America's economic war is deliberate and artificial; and Britain is so far guiltless of any single act of retaliation. Mr. Denny thinks that war between America and Britain must issue from the economic conflict. Dean Inge, taking a wider view, has pointed to the possibility of war between Europe and America.

obviously, America did not desire thus to be hoist with her own petard, but she will do well to reflect that her gold-hoarding since the War, the virtual encouragement of speculation, the mania, deflation and panic of 1929, and the world distress that has followed, are all part and parcel of an ill-conceived national economic policy which, by seeking to deny the world, has brought denial into the home market.¹

American post-war policy must be placed high among the factors that make for further war. As the most fortunate of nations, the United States should be a factor of peace; instead she has made herself an abiding cause of poverty and resentment in less fortunate nations. As for the £52,000,000 a year of war tribute, I reject as insane the conception that Europe's children's children will be found paying a heavy tax to the United States in 1984. This mad thing will not and must not be, and it may therefore be respectfully suggested to America that it is unwise to invite merited obloquy and to promote war by entertaining the assumption that the Europe of fifty years hence will still be paying her tribute.

I do not believe that the American people, the mass of hard-working citizens who in the United States as elsewhere erect governments whose ways they do not wholly under-

¹ On June 19, 1930, Mr. Owen D. Young (of the "Young Plan") speaking at San Francisco, had this to say: "When our political policy in international affairs becomes co-operative in spirit, which need not involve us in entanglements or alliances; when our economic policy looks to the economic development of the world as a whole and the improvement of living standards everywhere; when our tariffs and our treaties are made to evidence this spirit (because we are under suspicion now); then we may hope for effective plans for farm relief, for reduction of our surplus of raw materials and manufactured goods, for relief of unemployment, and for—what is most important of all—a better spirit of all nations towards us and towards each other. That means peace, and peace thrives in a world of contentment and mutual welfare. It cannot live in a world or in a nation where there are great inequalities and injustices caused by man-made barriers. We cannot have a world-wide economic program—if it is to be defeated by a narrow political policy. It does no good for businesses to send their representatives to foreign countries to sell American surplus goods if, politically, we ruthlessly offend the very customers they are trying to create: We may tax ourselves in huge amounts to buy a farm surplus, but we will have to move it out of America or that program will fail. After all, the consuming power of the world has to be raised but little to take care of the surpluses which cause so much disaster to ourselves. America, more than anyone in the world, needs an era of good feeling, not only in our own country but elsewhere. I beg the leaders both in politics and economics to cultivate it."

stand, have any desire to inflict hardship upon Europe.¹ They are themselves for the most part transplanted Europeans, men like as we are, with no double dose of original sin. They no doubt suffer from the afflictions that commonly attend the newly-rich, and they have the misfortune to be divorced from European culture and tradition. In the long run, however, as a combination of all races, they may found a splendid civilisation, flowering richly in varied genius. Their President in 1930 is a singularly high-minded man of wide world outlook, and I have quoted his utterance of 1917 not as a reproach but because I believe in its sincerity. It is good to know that many Americans are entirely opposed to the collection of war tribute in Europe and that some of them have expressed themselves more forcibly on the subject than I have done here.

5 : THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD

AND it is not in Europe alone that the United States is practising the facile art of making enemies. The world at large looks askance upon an imperialism based not upon superior culture or even conquest, but upon the sordid might of dollars derived from the crude exploitation of abundant natural resources. Latin America increasingly resents American surveillance. The Monroe Doctrine, which once stood for the defence of Latin-American liberties against the Powers that defeated Napoleon and re-erected

¹ Since these words were written, Mr. James Gerard, who was the American Ambassador in Germany in 1914, is reported by the Washington correspondent of *The Times* (November 10th, 1930) to have expressed to press interviewers the opinion that the Germans would be forced to denounce the Young Plan within eighteen months and that those investors who had purchased German Reparation Bonds would not see their money back. Questioned about the Allied debts, he replied that while he was not willing to say off-hand that cancellation would be desirable, the question ought to have the most careful consideration.

despotism, has come to represent an intolerable political and economic domination.¹ Great nations are building south of the Rio Grande. The population of Latin America as a whole is already as great as that of the United States, and is increasing at a much greater rate. Before very long Latin America will greatly exceed the United States in population, even if coal retains its economic sovereignty, which is unlikely. In 1930, the South American republics exhibit a political unrest which is due in part to the economic storm for which the United States is so largely responsible, and in part to a growing conviction that the dollar plays too large a part in their politics. Latin America is in arms against those who are thought to have unwisely mortgaged national assets to American financiers. The history of the American "purchase" of the Panama Canal zone (from an *ad hoc* republic formed by the American amputation of a limb of Colombia) is recalled as state after state finds itself in the grip of American interests.

The extraordinary contrast between British and American financial methods in South America should not escape observation. For long British capital flowed into Latin America, and it was not until after the War that America took a large part in South American finance. The liberality of British economic policy developed the South American republics without creating ill-will; the borrowers found Britain a magnificent free market for their corn and meat and wool. The Latin-American importation of British capital was unaccompanied by any attempt to obtain financial control or political domination. British investment thus came to be regarded as a fruitful instrument of good will. That the

¹ As enunciated in his message to Congress in 1823, President Monroe's Doctrine affirmed (1) that the American Continent was not henceforth to be considered a subject for European colonization and (2) that America would consider any extension of the European system to any portion of the Continent as dangerous to her peace and safety. Roosevelt and his successors have sought to extend this doctrine to prevent any European nation from "interference" in America, and to assert a United States *imperium* over Latin America on the plea that it consists of backward states which need to be supervised or policed. This reading is angrily repudiated by the Latin-American republics.

new large-scale American investment should lead to resentment and hatred is eloquent of the methods of American financial operators in Latin America.

The thoughtful American who views with anxiety the dislike of the "Yankee" in Europe is no less disturbed by Latin-American animosity for the "Yanqui." It is a strange contrast that obtains between, on the one hand, the American pacifism which calls a disarmament conference at Washington or inspires a pact of peace at Paris, and, on the other hand, the American imperialism which has successfully achieved naval supremacy, the financial control of the American continent, and the economic domination of Europe. The world does not and will not conceive a dollar imperialism as a condition of peace.

CHAPTER XII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ITS ENORMOUS RESPONSIBILITIES

I.—EMPIRE AND POPULATION

IN all the wide-flung dominions of the British Empire overseas, covering as they do one-fourth of the world's land area, there exist hardly more than 21 million white people. It is a fact of serious importance, and its significance increases when we remember that the fountain-head of British migrants is drying up.

Let us see how the white population of the Empire is distributed. The following account of the position in 1930 is necessarily based upon near estimates :

ESTIMATE OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE (EXCLUDING THE BRITISH ISLES), 1930.

Europe	600,000
Asia	550,000
Union of South Africa.. .. .	1,850,000
Rest of British Africa	200,000
Canada	9,800,000
Newfoundland	300,000
Rest of British America	100,000
Australia	6,450,000
New Zealand	1,520,000
Total	<u>21,370,000</u>

In 1921, when census figures were available for many regions, the corresponding aggregate was 18,400,000, so that in nine years the growth of the oversea Empire's white

population has been less than 3,000,000, or at the rate of 333,000 per annum. It is a condition next to stagnation. It must further be observed that the figures of more recent years show the least progress.

Over four centuries have elapsed since John Cabot, the Venetian, landed in Newfoundland. Over 250 years ago the French-Canadian colony had assumed some importance. When, therefore, we contemplate the astonishing fact that in 1930 the enormous Canadian area of nearly four million square miles has a white population of fewer than ten millions, we have to regard this small growth as the outcome of centuries of endeavour.

The second largest contributor to the Empire's white population is Australia, with a population of little more than six millions after the lapse of nearly a century and a half since the first white settlement. New Zealand counts hardly more than 300,000 families.

These three Dominions are white countries almost entirely; it is far otherwise with the Union of South Africa, which in 1930 has a white population of less than 1,850,000 as compared with a native population of six millions. If we take British South Africa as a whole, the white population is hardly larger than that of the Union, but the native population approaches nine millions. As things are going, by 1950 the white population of the Union of South Africa will be less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions while the native population will have increased to about 30 millions.

In the Britains beyond the seas, as in the British Isles, the birth-rate falls continuously and the natural increase of small populations is growing proportionately smaller; all of them, very clearly, are set on the road to decline.

Unless, therefore, there is substantial migration from the Mother Country, the small rate of increase we have noted as having taken place between 1921 and 1930 will decline in the future; in that case the overseas Britains will remain great in area but lamentably small in white populations. Thus, the

natural increase of Australia is about 75,000 a year, and this trifling number is only too likely to fall, for the Australian birth-rate is tending towards our own low level.

It is for consideration that, while the white population of the Empire is only twenty-one millions, no small part of that number consists of persons of other than British derivation. I am able to give from careful estimation the facts on this head for the census year 1921 :

WHITE POPULATIONS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
OUTSIDE EUROPE, 1921.

	POPULATION.			
British Stock (English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish)	12,501,400
Other Europeans	5,328,000
Total	<u>17,829,400</u>

The Empire's white population of other than British stock in 1921 was composed mainly of 3,735,200 French-Canadians and 919,500 South African Dutch. We may perhaps take it that in the British Empire outside Europe there are in 1930 about 14½ million whites of British stock.

Now let us compare the white and other populations of the Empire in 1930 :

	POPULATION.			
United Kingdom (with all Ireland)	48,750,000
White Population Overseas	<u>21,370,000</u>
Total White Population	70,120,000
Other Peoples	<u>404,880,000</u>
Total	<u>475,000,000</u>

In the population of the British Empire overseas there is only one white person in twenty, and there is only one British white person in thirty.

We may now with advantage again turn to our own case in the British Isles. For long Ireland has been a declining

nation, and her descent from the eight millions of 1841 to the roundly four millions of to-day means, as few people realise, that the Irish race, like the Jews, is for the greater part divorced from its fatherland. The Irish decline continues, and Scotland also has become a declining country. What increase remains is with England and Wales, where, as we saw in Chapter V, the small excess of births over deaths is quite illusory, a virtual decline in population having already set in.

It is frequently asserted that the English poor are still breeding rapidly, and that it is only the "cream" of the nation that is not reproducing itself. But this cannot be true. The wholesale fall in births which has occurred must be due to the general restriction of births by all classes. Those who care to make themselves acquainted with all classes of the community can ascertain for themselves that this is so; it is quite the usual thing now to find a young married labourer with one child and determined to have no more.¹

It is not my purpose to enter upon a discussion of the pros and cons of birth-control. I am concerned here with the fact that the British Empire contains a number of white people small and significant in relation to its area. This condition obviously menaces both the permanence of the Empire and the welfare of the unpeopled lands. In the past the migration of British people has been possible because of a large yearly natural increase of population in the British Isles. This natural increase is disappearing, and will presently be replaced by a yearly and increasing natural decrease. It follows that Britain is losing her power to people her Empire.

Does it serve any useful purpose to point out what is happening? I do not know. All history shows that nations and empires cannot be saved from themselves, and that at

¹ The report for 1929 of the London Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment estimates that in the London radius, 15 miles from Charing Cross, the number of children leaving elementary schools will fall by 31 per cent. between 1928 and 1932, which means that there will be 77,000 fewer juvenile recruits for industry in 1932 than in 1928. This is not a decline of the "superior" people who preach birth-control to the "ignorant masses".

periods when they might have prevented decline they ignored the existence of factors which seem very plain to us after the events. In England at this hour there is unfortunately a widespread opinion, utterly at variance with economic truth, that there is a definite amount of work going and that by restricting the number of hands to do it there will be more work to go round per hands remaining. This widespread and, as I think, idiotic notion, which even finds its way into the utterances of ordinarily thoughtful men, is undoubtedly giving a great impetus to the progress of birth-control. Birth-control is an excellent thing, but, as with most excellent things, its results are good or bad according to the degree of its application. Britain does not need large families; she does not even need universal families of moderate size. What she does need, unless she is to decline and to be no longer able or worthy to lead an empire, is the maintenance of small families averaging more than two children. And what is not yet realised is that we have already reached a point at which a family of more than two is becoming so exceptional that Britain is in decline.

In 1929, when the natural increase of the British population was 111,693, the emigrants from the United Kingdom numbered 143,686, of whom 106,900 went to places within the Empire. This number, insignificant as it is in relation to the needs of the Empire, reduced the home population, and as the majority of emigrants are under 30 years of age, raised the average age and therefore added to the burdens of the United Kingdom.

It is also of serious importance to the Empire that the British emigrant has deteriorated in the qualities required for success in new lands. The British rural population continues to decline and can furnish few migrants. The town-dwellers, whose comforts and luxuries have greatly increased during the last twenty years, are unfitted for life overseas; they cannot face the Canadian prairie or the warm back-blocks of Australia; they demand the life of the street,

the football ground, the cinema—the attractions of a machine-made civilisation. So it comes about that the British Dominions, by barring immigration from agricultural states, are shutting the door to the real agriculturist who could help them while offering a preference to British town-dwellers who do not care to accept it.

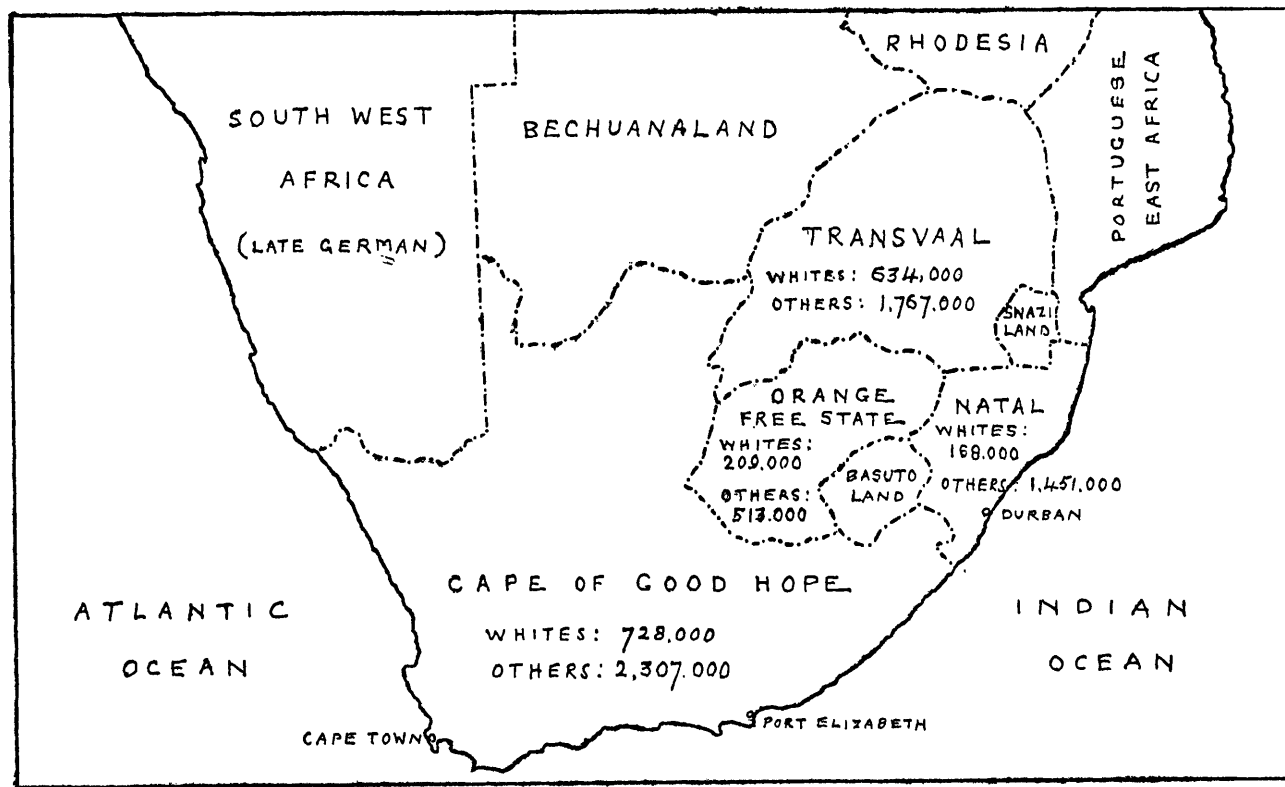
2 : THE UNPEOPLED SPACES : CANADA AND SOUTH AFRICA

LET us see the relation of the small British populations we have examined to the areas they occupy, confining ourselves to the regions that matter most, North America, South Africa and Australasia—territories capable of sustaining great white populations. The broad facts are :

AREAS AND WHITE POPULATIONS OF CERTAIN BRITISH DOMINIONS.

DOMINION.	AREA. SQ. MILES.	TOTAL WHITE POPULATION. EST. 1930.	BRITISH WHITE POPULATION. EST. 1930.
Canada	3,729,665	9,800,000	5,800,000
Union of South Africa . .	473,089	1,850,000	700,000
All British South Africa, including the Union	1,528,058	1,920,000	760,000
Australia	2,974,581	6,450,000	6,180,000
New Zealand	103,284	1,520,000	1,495,000

The British white citizens accounted for in this table are nearly all that the Empire possesses, the aggregate being about 14½ millions in 1930. Their numbers, actually small, appear insignificant when related to the enormous regions they control. True it is that the cold of Canada and the heat of Australia reduce very considerably the habitable areas of these territories, but, when every climatic allowance is made, the British contribution of less than 6 millions to the



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1928

Fig. 11 The Union has an area of 473,000 square miles, much more than the aggregate area of Britain, France and Italy, which countries have a total population of 131 millions. The entire Union area had in 1928 a population of 7,777,000; of these 1,739,000 were Europeans. The figures for each of the four provinces are given. Although charged with serious domestic difficulties, the Union holds the League of Nations mandate to control the great territory of South West Africa taken from Germany.

Dominion of Canada, like the almost similar number representing the British stock in Australia, leave the two great Dominions for the greater part unpeopled.

Canadian coal, although rich, is not won as easily as that of the United States, and the measures are not so favourably situated. And the difficulties of reclaiming the virgin prairie above the fiftieth parallel of north latitude must not be underrated. The majority of British migrants to North America chose rather to go to the more favoured south than to face the rigours of the north. The United States has received the majority of British settlers. Yet there are many peoples in Europe who would gladly help to develop the enormous Canadian territory if they were permitted to do so. The land exists and the would-be migrants exist, but that is the end of the story.

After 300 years of settlement (the French colony of the St. Lawrence had over 12,000 people as long ago as 1665) the 3,700,000 square miles of the Dominion of Canada contain only 2 million white families, of whom about 1,200,000 are of British stock. This is about one family to 2 square miles; one British family to $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. It is true that much of the Dominion lies above the sixtieth parallel, and that much that lies below it is useless for settlement, but even if we rule out one-half of the territory altogether, and suppose the remainder populated at 40 persons to the square mile, we should have a population of nearly 75 millions. Canadian authorities have made much greater estimates of population capacity. The fact is that Canada is still almost empty and that a tiny fraction of the world's white population controls an area of vast undeveloped possibilities. It is a tribute to so small a population that it has accomplished so much.

British emigration to Canada is assisted, and other European emigration restricted, by special regulations to the disadvantage of Central and South European countries. In 1928 there were 151,597 immigrants into Canada, of whom

51,552 were from Great Britain. These figures are insignificant in relation to the area of Canada. The British contribution is astonishingly small when we remember that it now costs a British migrant only £10 to cross the ocean.¹

It would be bad enough if it were alone a question of keeping Canada out of use ; unfortunately, deep resentment is being caused by the new regulations, which are regarded as an economic offensive.

Moreover, the Canadian birth-rate is falling. The average of the years 1921-1925 was 27·1 per 1,000, but in 1928 it had fallen to 24·5 per 1,000 ; this despite the fact that the birth-rate of the large French-Canadian population has been well maintained. It has regretfully to be added that public complaint has been made that the French-Canadians reproduce their kind, and that although Canada so badly needs people. Could race prejudice further go ?

As for South Africa, the white population is so small that, as things are going, it will soon be swamped by the increase of the native population. In the 473,000 square miles of the Union of South Africa, there are about 1,850,000² white people, or say 370,000 families, mostly Dutch. The non-Europeans already number over 6 millions. By 1941 the natives are likely to number some 12½ millions, while the whites will have increased but little, for immigration is almost negligible, and the birth-rate is falling. The natural increase of the whites is a bagatelle ; in 1929 there were 46,484 births and 16,795 deaths, an increase of 29,689, mainly of the Dutch. The birth-rate fell from 27·1 in 1921-1925 to 25·9 in 1929. The native birth-rate is over 50.

South Africa cannot be maintained a white country because

¹ Before the Canadian House of Commons Immigration Committee in April 1928, Mr. W. J. Black, the Director of Colonization of the Canadian National Railways, said ; " If there is to be a rapid settlement of the Canadian West the majority of settlers cannot be from Great Britain." He added that the Continental immigrant seemed a little more ready to work and to endure preliminary hardships than the settlers from Great Britain. " The truth is that the British race does not display the genius for pioneering that it did in the old days ".

² An over-estimate ; I find the number to be roundly 1,800,000, but it makes very little difference.

unskilled labour is by lordly custom done by the natives, and the labouring white immigrant is taboo. The issue was put very plainly by the director of the last census, Mr. C. W. Cousins, when he said, "So long as reliance is placed, as is done, almost entirely upon the Native and Coloured races for rough and unskilled labour, and while it is essential that this section of the population should take its share in the work of the country, the question of introducing a considerable stream of immigration from other countries is a matter of extreme difficulty."

Without a change of policy and social custom, white dominion in South Africa is doomed. The necessary changes must begin with the free employment of white labour, which would mean extensive immigration.

As things are, South Africa remains out of bounds for Europeans. Here are the "arrivals and departures" for 1923-1927, the last five years for which figures are available :

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA :
EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, 1923-1927.

				ARRIVALS.	DEPARTURES.
1923	..	..	..	23,951	22,731
1924	..	..	..	28,690	26,874
1925	..	..	..	27,641	26,072
1926	..	..	..	30,431	28,178
1927	..	..	..	30,438	29,739
				141,151	133,594
In five years	..	..	..	141,151	133,594

So this great and well-favoured land, so well fitted to be the home of a great European population, which is adding only 30,000 a year to its white people by natural increase, gains 1,500 a year by white immigration!¹ And, at the

¹ In his *Complex South Africa*, Professor William Miller Macmillan points out that many white South Africans are anything but prosperous and that their methods are wasteful, originating in a time when land seemed limitless. He adds, "Having just watched a real agriculturist from Southern Europe trenching and manuring his vegetable crops for the Rand market, I crossed the road to find a poor burgher, with four or five acres of similar soil, trying to make a living from a mealie patch, with a rickety wagon and perhaps four oxen, by the methods which might have sufficed on 3,000 morgen."

Census of 1926, it was shown that the number of white workers on the land, including farmers and working members of farmers' families, was only 176,758.

But this is to speak of the Union of South Africa alone. When we extend our survey to the whole of British South Africa, we find that apart from the Union, the whites number perhaps 70,000. In all British South Africa, there are less than 2 million Europeans.

3 : THE UNPEOPLED SPACES : AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

THE island-continent of Australia has in 1930 a population of about 6,500,000. The latest detailed figures available are for December, 1929, when the various Australian states had the following officially estimated populations :

AUSTRALIA'S AREA AND POPULATION.

(Exclusive of Full-blood Aborigines)

STATE.	DATE OF FORMATION.	AREA.	POPULATION APRIL, 1921.	POPULATION MARCH, 1929.	POPULATION OF CAPITAL CITIES.
New South Wales	1786	309,000	2,100,371	2,457,127	1,127,470
Victoria ..	1851	88,000	1,531,280	1,766,378	1,000,000
Queensland ..	1859	670,000	755,972	919,251	308,580
South Australia	1834	380,000	495,160	579,665	330,217
Western Australia	1829	976,000	332,732	408,486	196,251
Tasmania ..	1825	26,000	213,780	213,481	56,730
Northern Territory ..	1863	524,000	3,867	4,024	—
Federal Capital Territory ..	1911	1,000	2,572	8,358	—
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		2,974,000	5,435,734	6,356,770	3,019,248

Of 6,356,770 persons, the aggregate population of Australia in 1929, *over 3,000,000, or nearly one-half, lived in the six capital*

cities. The vast area outside the towns contained only some 600,000 families.

The Australian birth-rate is falling ; it was 23·6 in 1921-25 ; in 1928 it was 21·3. Net immigration is small, the excess of arrivals over departures being 48,924 in 1927, and 27,232 in 1928.¹

In the North Pacific is Japan, a small group of naturally poor islands with a population of 66 millions, while in the South Pacific is a great Continent with a population of 6½ millions who desire to maintain a "White Australia" but yet harden their hearts and will not let the white people come.

What is the inhabitable area of Australia, and what the number of people its resources could sustain? Estimates differ widely, from what seems an estimate *pour rire*, made by Mr. H. L. Wilkinson, of 23 millions (which is the size of the population of that small and arid tableland, Spain) to the 200 millions of my friend the late Admiral Sir Edmond Slade. The matter has been quite recently (1928) submitted to careful and detailed analysis by an impartial German authority, Professor Walter Geisler² who carefully examined the Australian area in a tour devoted to this special purpose ; his verdict is that Australia could support 150 to 200 millions. A map including Professor Geisler's calculation of possible densities per square mile is appended ; an expert reviewer in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*, himself a responsible authority, calls 100 millions a reasonable figure, and observes that the Geisler results are not to be dismissed as fantastic. "They represent what Australia might attain if the interior and northern tropical regions were developed on sound lines concurrently with the growth of the industrial and agricultural regions of the eastern, south-eastern and south-western coastlands." The faith of Professor Geisler makes one wonder whether Australia might not profit, as

¹ We may usefully contrast with these figures the fact that Palestine has received 100,000 Jewish immigrants since 1923, although her area is only 9,000 sq. miles.

² *Die Wirtschafts-und Lebensraume des Festlan des Australien*, by Walter Geisler.

AUSTRALIA'S ACTUAL POPULATION IN 1929 COMPARED WITH POPULATION CAPACITY

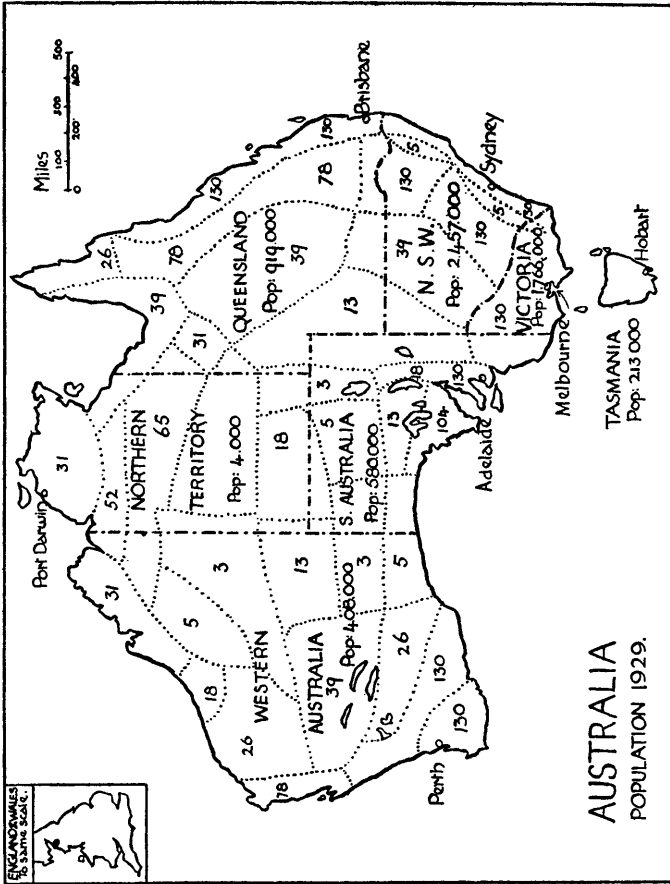


Fig. 12. The small figures within the dotted areas represent the estimates of possible population densities per square mile after Geisler, whose aggregate "capacity" estimate is 150 to 200 millions, as compared with the existing 6 millions. Some Australians hold that the aggregate capacity does not exceed 12 millions. A large part of the interior has a rainfall of less than 10 inches.

the United States has done, by drawing upon the brains of the many nations who built a "White Australia" by building a "White Civilisation."

But the present population of Australia is so meagre that it is hardly necessary to question whether Australia can sustain 100 or 200 millions. Within the area of a circle of 400 miles radius, the circumference of which passes through Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, there are, as Sir John McWhae has pointed out, 500,000 square miles of territory abounding in fertility and minerals. This area is as large as England, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia put together, but these countries have in 1930 an aggregate population of nearly 213 millions. At the last census (1921) all Australia had only 598,604 primary producers, an increase of 12,456 over the number revealed by the census of 1911; in 1930 this figure may possibly have risen to roundly 625,000.

The application of heavy protective duties to foster industries in a small market formed by about 1,200,000 families, scattered in half a dozen centres divided by enormous tracts of almost unused territory, is a futile process, which necessarily frustrates the work of the few primary producers and has been condemned by all reasonable protectionists. The Australian "economy" is an inverted pyramid, in which relatively large town populations are balanced insecurely upon a mere handful of land workers.

The case of New Zealand is fully as remarkable as that of Australia. The lovely islands of the Dominion have an area of about 103,000 square miles, or a little less than that of Italy. A good deal of the land is mountainous, with glaciers and snow-fields, but there is plenty of fertile soil, a fine climate and an adequate rainfall. Although the native animals are few, European domestic animals thrive apace and European pasture grasses are completely successful. Altogether, the conditions are favourable to the maintenance of a great white civilisation.

New Zealand is particularly fortunate in the matter of water-power, her hydro-electric resources being estimated at about 5 million horse-power. Indeed, New Zealand is better favoured in this respect than either Scandinavia or Italy. North and South Islands alike have great mountain backbones and plentiful streams whose energy can be readily translated into power. But, unfortunately, it is not possible to use the power economically in industry because of the meagre population. This fine territory in 1930 has only half as many people again as the city of Glasgow. If we put it in families, New Zealand has roundly 300,000 homes in all her magnificent territory, twice the size of England. Small groups of people are scattered about the two great islands, so that it is impossible to apply the abundant power supplies to manufacturing on an economic scale, just as it is obviously impossible for railways to "pay" where a few people are served by the enormous mileage of a big land. It is only the lack of people that makes it impossible to contrive a well-balanced economy.

But why should such resources run to waste? Too much of the area of our world is difficult to work and lacking in adequate resources, and it is not right that men should lack opportunity while it goes to waste in New Zealand. These islands are among the world's treasures in their beauty and their economic powers; the full and proper use of them matters to us all.

4: THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

BY far the greater part of the population of the British Empire, which we have estimated at 475 millions in 1930, is composed of the peoples of India, who numbered 294 millions in 1901 and who now number about

337 millions. There will be further growth, although it is impossible to hazard a forecast, for what between disease and famine the rate of increase has always been an extremely variable factor. There is, however, a very high birth-rate, and if the economic conditions of India were improved, as they ought to be, there would undoubtedly be a bound in the population.

It should be borne in mind, in considering the aggregate of the population, that a large minority consists of the subjects of the 650 Native States. Taking the facts of the last census (1921, when the total population was 319 millions) the British Indian provinces had 247 millions and the Native States 72 millions. Hyderabad has 3 million more people than Canada, Mysore is as big as Australia, and Gwalior has as many people as British South Africa and New Zealand put together.

We have already observed that the density of population of India is 185 per square mile, so that although more thickly populated than Europe taken as a whole, where the density is 130 per square mile, she is less crowded than France, whose density of 193 per square mile ranks low among the Western nations, Germany and Italy having 354 and England and Wales 681 per square mile. There is no reason to believe, therefore, especially in view of the fact that the seasons enable several harvests to be taken in the year, that India could not support a much larger population than she now possesses, just as she supports to-day a very much larger population than she had in 1901. But it is very difficult indeed to change the methods of cultivation of the Indian people, which vary considerably in different parts of the country and are traditional. The development of electric power in India has been as backward as in England, which is saying a good deal, and there is probably ample room for the development of the Indian economy through electricity, both in relation to machine industry, to agriculture, and to the village crafts that are allied with it. The artist-craftsmen

of India possess an extreme ingenuity and dexterity which might well be allied with the wide use of electrical power, which in India cannot even be said to be in its infancy.

With the Indian economy as it is, cursed by recurrent plague and famine, the growth of the population is slow. Even so, there is a considerable internal and external migration. Within India there has been a great movement to Assam and Burma. Externally, the Indian migrant has settled in considerable numbers in the British Empire and in foreign countries.

It has been asserted and denied that India could profit greatly by a considerable extension of manufacturing industry. India, like China and Russia, mainly dependent upon agriculture, suffers periodic famine just because her primitive economy does not give her, when monsoon and harvest fail, an economic call upon the harvests of the world. So she suffers from the elemental curse from which modern European civilisations have freed themselves. From this point of view, there is surely everything to be said for the extension of manufacturing in India, and if by the better use of land and irrigation the status of the ryot could be improved, the Indian home market of nearly 350 million people would present great possibilities to Indian (and foreign) industry.

There is no doubt whatever that Indian opinion is very strongly in favour of the further prosecution of manufacturing, and the present customs tariff, with its long free list and many lightly protective duties, may be regarded as tentative.

The elements of a well-balanced economy must exist in India, and no effort should be spared to develop them. The government of India cannot be acquitted of blame for neglect in this connection. The question to be answered is this : has the application of modern science and industrial method to Indian economy been commensurate with the needs of her enormous population and of her really splendid natural resources ? We may observe that Japan is not under white

control, and that the Japanese did not adopt Western methods until the Shoguns were deposed in 1868. The modernization of Japan did not begin until about 1871. Since Japan got into her stride in the use of Western methods her economic advance has been altogether superior to that of India. And it should not be forgotten, in making this very relevant comparison, that the Japanese fatherland is a range of small islands of very poor natural resources, which have a density of population of 446 per square mile as compared with India's 186. What India needs is a large-scale imaginative plan of economic development.

The census of 1921 revealed that there were 1,750,000 British Indians known to be living out of India at that date. Over a million of these were in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Malaya, and there were 125,000 in British Guiana and 265,000 in Mauritius.

It is of particular interest that in South Africa there were 6,500 Indians in the Cape Colony, 141,300 in Natal and 13,400 in the Transvaal. There were also many in British East Africa, including 22,800 in Kenya. Here we touch matters of profound importance to the Empire which receive little attention in England; indeed, their existence is unknown to all but a few. Empire without knowledge and without a sense of responsibility is in this as in other things a very grave danger.

Not that the Imperial government has any power to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Union of South Africa; it can at best make representations. The central government is, however, very responsible to the Indian people, who naturally blame it when their fellow countrymen suffer disabilities and racial insults within the Empire. The truth is that in South Africa the British Indian ranks hardly higher than the native. Yet it was the fault of Natal herself that two generations ago she began to import Indian labour for her own economic purposes. To-day these Indians and their descendants outnumber the whites of Natal, and they

find themselves subjected to very unjust and very humiliating laws. So South Africa has not only a native question but a British-Indian question.

In Kenya, also, the British Indians are a "problem." He who is in doubt what that means in British relations with India generally, may reflect upon what his own feelings would be if he and his kind were considered to be a "problem." In Kenya as in Natal the Indians were "introduced" to serve the purposes of the colony. The Uganda railway had to be made and it was handy to employ Indians upon the job. So, with other migrations, it came about that at the date of the last census the government of Kenya found itself dealing with a population of some 2½ millions, in which there were 23,000 British Indians and only 10,000 Europeans.

Unless there is better success in giving balance to the Indian economy, the external migration of the Indian population is likely to increase and with it the seriousness of such problems as have arisen already in various parts of the British Empire in their dealings with British Indian subjects. The population question, therefore, is no small part of the general problem which awaits solution in India.

5 : THE EAST AFRICAN ILLUSTRATION

THE serious case of British East Africa, especially in its relation to Tanganyika (late German East Africa) illustrates the monopolistic views of small groups of people in vast territories. Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika together measure some 728,000 square miles, and have 11 million people, among whom the whites are few. I give estimates for 1930 :

		AREA.	WHITE	OTHERS	TOTAL
		SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.	(NON-NATIVE PEOPLE)	POPULATION.
Kenya .. ..	..	245,000	12,000	40,000	2,900,000
Uganda .. ..	..	110,000	2,000	10,000	3,300,000
Tanganyika ..	..	373,000	6,000	22,000	4,800,000
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		728,000	20,000	72,000	11,000,000
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

The British Government proposes a form of governmental union, under a High Commissioner and council, akin to federation, to which the German government is already understood to take objection, as *ultra vires* under the mandate from the League of Nations. That is a serious political issue. As important is the view taken by the few white settlers. The Council is to be nominated by the High Commissioner, who is to choose members representative of "each racial or other section of the community." This, say the Whites, places us in minority representation on the Council, both in respect of the natives and the Indians. The last-named are termed "Indian agitators," although it is in the best interests of the Empire that it should find room in Africa for British Indian migrants.¹ So a tiny group of white people thinks to settle the destiny of an enormous area and breathes defiance against a government which proposes to regard the interest of the African natives as paramount—as a trust for which it is responsible to humanity. The Indians, who greatly outnumber the Whites, are theoretically "*British*," but that does not save them from ignominy; repercussions in India naturally follow.

The proposed union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika hardly seems defensible under the terms of the Mandate

¹ Indian feeling on the subject may be gauged by an appeal of the East African Indian National Congress from which the following passage was quoted by the Nairobi correspondent of *The Times* (July 27, 1930): "What these firebrands call Western Christian civilisation is neither Western, nor Christian, nor civilisation. It has its roots in the natural instinct of the cave man—namely, the urge to enslave and exploit the weak and helpless. The settlers' proposals would mean the permanent enslavement and exploitation of the African natives."

which gave German East Africa into British care, but whether that is the case or not, and presumably the point is one for the Permanent Court of International Justice, there is little to be said for a political arrangement which gives the impression that the British government has determined to make it as difficult as possible for German authority to be resumed. Those who have the cause of peace at heart must surely recognise that it would be a great thing done for the world if the excellent German government of what is now called Tanganyika Territory were restored.

It cannot be truly said that British government brought to the control of African territory the resources derived from education and scientific advancement which Germany so fruitfully employed in the territories taken from her. It has to be admitted that seven years elapsed after the Armistice before the British government made provision for the re-establishment of the Amani scientific institute, which had been the admiration of all who knew it. It is the fact that Africa has suffered even as Samoa has suffered from the expulsion of that German science which was combating disease. Even if these things were not so, it ought to be sufficiently obvious that our small British population, which has come to regard its own affairs at home so doubtfully, ought not, in 1918, to have taken up fresh great responsibilities even while it was finding it difficult or impossible to develop satisfactorily the enormous areas already in possession.

It would be an act making at once for peace and for the general prosperity of the world if Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika were constituted a dominion of which the Germans were invited to *share* the government. Both nations would gain in trade and wealth, the territory itself would be adequately developed, and a strong link of peace would be forged to furnish an example of common sense in world government which might well be imitated in many other regions. This is a suggestion which will make no appeal to the Conqueror-Pacifist.

6: THE CHARGE OF "DOG IN THE MANGER"

AN eminent American writer, Professor Warren S. Thompson, has laid the charge¹ against Great Britain and France that they are acting the part of "dog in the manger" by withholding from use great territories which are needed by the crowded peoples of the world. This critic points out that Great Britain possesses the greater part of the world's under-developed territories, and warns her that it must expect a growing fund of resentment, which can be ignored only at great peril to Britain herself and to the world at large. He ignores the fact that a charge of the same kind can be levelled at the United States which, as we have seen, contains in what is, taking everything into consideration, the richest area in the world, only 111 million white people and 12 million Negroes and mulattos.

When this is said, however, and it is very necessary to say it, it seems to me impossible to ignore this American charge. A mere *tu quoque* does not serve. The facts which have been given on this head must be the grave concern not only of the British Dominions to which they specifically relate, but of all peoples.

Let us review the case of Australia in the broadest possible way. Discovered by Tasman the Dutchman as long ago as 1642, Holland took but neglected possession. More than a century later, after Captain Cook's voyages, Britain hoisted her flag and made Australia a penal settlement.² The horrors of Botany Bay began in 1788, and for half a century Australia was mainly used for the internment of British political

¹ In his *Danger Spots in World Population*

² "But for the need to find a dumping-ground for offenders against the criminal law or for political prisoners, Australia and Tasmania would have become French possessions; no doubt New Zealand as well. France, with the gold and copper of Australia and the magnificent climate of New Zealand as baits for French emigrants, might have played a very different part in the world's history"—Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G.

prisoners and criminals of all types. Free settlement began in 1783, and at long last, in 1868, the British government was persuaded finally to close the last penal station. The gold rush of 1851 brought a crowd of immigrants, and in 1881, after 93 years of shameful exploitation by the home government and of the struggles of hardworking colonists, Australia counted, at her first census, $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions. That was 49 years ago, and the population in 1930 is hardly $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions, so that this great land in nearly half a century has added only about 85,000 people a year to her population. Yet coal was discovered as long ago as 1796, and in addition to coal the Continent possesses great ore deposits. The present tiny population lives in scattered communities, and as to one-half in the capital cities of six separate states, each of which is provided with a costly paraphernalia of government out of all proportion to the people governed. Six capital cities seeming too few, the edifice of urbanization has been crowned by the building of a Federal Capital, Canberra. Lack of organisation and co-ordination from the beginning has led to the building of railways of varying gauges. Finally, as we have seen, Australia had at the last census only 598,604 workers on the land, including miners. These things being so, how can Australia answer the charge of withholding what she does not fully use?

In this connection let me record that it was not until the World War began that it was realised (first of all by the Admiralty Blockade Committee, of which I was a member) that German enterprise was monopolising the zinc ores of Australia, which had been neglected by British enterprise.

It is impossible not to fear the issue. The Australian point of view is not difficult to understand, however mistaken it may be. The Australians are with reason proud of what so few people have accomplished and it is remarkable that so scanty a population has done so much; certainly the present writer is not likely to under-rate the accomplishment, for his own mother's family contributed leading statesmen to the

Commonwealth. The Australians believe that their labour and skill have afforded them a "high standard of living," and that to open their gates to Europe would be to drag them down to a European level which, never having seen Europe, they believe to be very low. They have no conception of the truth, that for Europe to be reduced to the Australian level of culture would be, to put it mildly, a retrograde movement. What matters in international as in smaller affairs is not what is true but what is believed to be true. Australia has certain definite convictions and it is so improbable that they can be altered that, while we can offer counsel, suggest policies, or express fears, those convictions are only too likely to issue in disaster.

We may judge of that by considering the case presented by Mr. H. L. Wilkinson¹ who has convinced himself that the Australian "high standard of living" cannot be maintained if Australia carries more than 23 million people—say 5 million families. The Australian area being 3 million square miles, this allows less than eight persons to the square mile. But even this modest 23 millions is not for the near future; Mr. Wilkinson would allow it, without qualms, by 1990! Yet Mr. Wilkinson perceives that Australia must regard herself as "part of the human family," and seems to think she should recognise the fact by helping to feed countries like Japan and Italy and by taking their manufactures in exchange on preferential terms. He does not realise that Australia's little band of half a million primary producers cannot produce the food that Australia ought to produce, or afford a big market to a group of manufacturing nations even on terms of absolute free trade. He is himself so uneasy, despite his own argument, that he is brought to admit that Australia cannot wholly be the judge in her own case. The criticisms of Australian exclusiveness are either justified or not; if they have substance then, he says, "the first concern of the Australian Government should be to try to satisfy those nations which feel

¹ In *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*.

aggrieved or, if this is impossible, then adequate preparation should be made for defence—politically and by force of arms. If, on the other hand, this critical attitude is not justified, and no alternatives exist, then it should bring before the League of Nations and the whole world all the relevant facts, and endeavour to secure the active co-operation of the nations in maintaining the White Australia policy (possibly under another name) as a European desire and not merely as an Australian one.”

As Mr. Wilkinson sets out to prove that no just grievance attaches to Australian exclusiveness, the Australian government is thrown back on “defence”; on which head we may consult the map and the facts as to the scrapping of one-half of the British navy. As to the League of Nations, Mr. Wilkinson has overlooked the fact that it is not a league of *white* nations. It is very difficult for Australians to face the fact that if the “white” policy fails they will have only themselves to blame.

The case of South Africa is in some respects even more unhappy, because there are so few parts of the warm African continent which are habitable by white men. The climate and natural resources of South Africa make it pre-eminently a white man’s country, and while it has a considerable black population there is in fact plenty of room for the white man while preserving the just rights of the natives, who are fine fellows. As a matter of world economy, and for the preservation and extension of white civilisation, it matters very much to the world that South Africa should be put to adequate use. As things are, a handful of British settlers, mainly townfolk who breed little, and a rather larger handful of Dutch settlers, mainly farmers who breed more, between them make laws for the African, dictate terms of humiliation to our British-Indian subjects, repose themselves in a deplorable custom of relegating labour to the natives, thus making conditions into which European white workmen cannot enter, and so, in effect, deny South Africa to the world. And they

do this although their own Census Commissioner points out to them in the plainest of plain English, and with facts themselves an unanswerable argument, that the result must either be the swamping of the white race or the formation of a state of mixed blood.

While such glaring cases as these exist, it seems to me impossible to refute the charge that the British Empire is playing "dog in the manger."

7 : A LARGELY WASTED EMPIRE

THE time has come when it is necessary to say that the British Empire is being largely wasted in all its parts. Great Britain herself, despite the expert advice given her for thirty years past, has not yet properly organised her unrivalled power resources, although the problem is of the simplest. India and the Crown Colonies are still undeveloped in the modern sense. The Dominions are singularly lacking in the application of large ideas. One-fourth of the world by mere measurement, very much more than that by qualitative analysis, is not contributing its proper quota to the world's wealth.¹

Several powers of the world have exhibited the order and degree of conception which the British Empire lacks. These include Germany, the United States, Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia. All are full of instruction for those who are neglecting their duty to magnificent territories.

¹ It has been often said that the British Empire was contrived without thought by men who builded greater than they knew. It is equally true that it has continued in being in the most casual fashion. Even as recently as 1895, when Joseph Chamberlain took office under Lord Salisbury and accepted the "Colonial Office," it was regarded as rather small beer for a first-class politician merely to be set to play with an Empire, and he became the subject of political jeers as having been slighted by his new associates with an appointment so much out of the lime-light!

The wonderful resistance of Germany in 1914-1918 (the Germany that was so lately under the heel of Napoleon and that signed the Peace of Tilsit) was possible because the German Empire had been organised not for war alone, but as a great economic unit. Lacking good access to the sea, she constructed a splendid system of waterways organically connected with a fine railway system. Science became the handmaid of German industry. Just before the War, at Cologne, I saw a glorious exhibition of artistic industry which would not have been possible in England. I recalled its beauties when I inspected the unfortunate British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, deservedly a financial disaster, which failed to achieve even tidiness, and was associated with an incredibly vulgar amusement park, where men and women bawled at you to try your luck and offered for sale the worst sort of rubbish. It was a true microcosm of a neglected empire, speaking at once of great natural wealth and failure in organisation. I had to confess to myself that Germany would have produced very different results with the same material.

The United States is another example of the order of large-scale development. It is not that America has exhibited the talent for national organisation which has been so marked in the case of Germany but, at the lowest, that America has succeeded in dealing with a large-scale territory in a properly large way. There have been grave extravagance and waste in exploitation, but the goods have been produced and brought to market, and where it was necessary to employ big machinery, appropriate big machinery has been devised and employed. I observe that an eminent American, Mr. James Gerard, the former American Ambassador to Germany, has expressed the opinion that a group of leading American business men who now rule the United States economically, "could in ten years transform Britain into an industrial Empire which no country on this earth could equal in wealth." Without examining this statement too closely, it must be

conceded that the British Empire, with its wonderful diversity of lands, climate and natural resources, has exhibited no capacity whatever for large-scale economic development.

In Britain it was for long thought well to have many railway companies to mismanage rail transport, with their connections in important towns so contrived that it was invariably necessary to enter a town at one side, cross it in a (dirty) cab, and pick up the connection at the other side, the railway servants being quite unable to help you. When at long last reform came, it was still thought necessary to have a number of groups to control the petty railways of one of the smallest lands in Europe. In Australia the same absurdity prevails, accentuated by varying gauges to make it as difficult as possible to transport goods. This sort of thing is typical.

Or take iron and steel. All the iron and steel undertakings of Great Britain put together would form a unit small by comparison with the single American unit of industry called The United States Steel Corporation; yet British iron and steel is controlled by a diversity of what are regarded as big but which are really small undertakings. It is because the British Empire has been controlled with petty economic ideas that in 1930 it remains in great part an undeveloped and wasted estate.

Or let us regard the Fascist *régime* in Italy. While so many of us are merely wondering how long a dictatorship can last, or are engaged in cheerfully hating Mussolini, changes are working which mean that things in Italy will never be the same again. As in Soviet Russia, the powers of the nation are being organised on the largest possible scale. The grand scale of Russia is not possible, for the Italian area is only one-eightieth part of eight-million square miles, but the order of conception is the same. The old economics of petty dealing is discarded; the nation surveys its resources and budgets for the future.

And why should the modern governors of great peoples be

content with petty dealing? The ancients could think in large, or there would have been no Roman Empire. Britain herself showed, if tardily, in the World War, a capacity for national organisation which was exercised in time to prevent irretrievable disaster, but with peace all organisation disappeared; indeed, it was deliberately broken up.¹

The British Empire is not facing its responsibilities. It is resigning the old sea defences and apparently taking some pride in the process. It is talking a good deal about petty taxes, but taxes at the most, whatever their virtues or defects, are minor things. What matters is that the Empire lacks people and adequate economic development. And that matters to the other three-quarters of the world as well as to the British one-fourth.

Imperial Conferences assemble and dissolve, but little or nothing issues from their deliberations. The record of their proceedings shows no realisation of the responsibility which attaches to the command of much more than one-fourth of the entire world's natural wealth. No Plan is mooted, whether for five or any other number of years, for the development of areas which are among the most splendid possessions of mankind.

There is plenty of room for difference of opinion upon the written constitution of the Soviet Union, the modification of that constitution in practice by its association with the Third International and the "dictatorship of the proletariat," or the methods by which the Soviet *imperium* is enforced, but surely there can be nothing but admiration for the attempt to regenerate Russia economically and to apply the best-known scientific methods to the development of one-sixth of the world's land. That truly imperial scheme the Five Year Plan seeks to base soundly, upon the co-ordinated development of electric power derived from coal, lignite, peat, oil and water-power, industries employing the best-known human inventions, and to associate scientific industry with a reformed

¹ It was for this reason that I resigned from the Coalition Government.

agriculture. To attempt so much a few years after the conclusion of an exhausting war followed by revolution, and in a land where industrial workers have to be trained for their jobs, is to make the most ambitious economic experiment ever attempted; the circumstances are such that it is impossible not to contemplate the possibility of failure. But whether success or failure proves to be the outcome, the boldness of conception of the scheme should surely have our serious attention. If the Plan fails it will have failed magnificently. Whether it succeeds or fails it should move us to action. Great Britain sorely needs a Five Year Plan, and even more the neglected resources of the British Empire call for organised development. Britain has thought well to yield the fee simple of enormous territories to small groups of people forming insignificant fractions of the world's population. That can only prove to be a wise policy if, when Imperial dominions are resigned to purely local control, steps are taken for the adequate economic exploitation of what, as the world grows in population, is increasingly a trust held on behalf of mankind. There is such a thing as unemployment of territory as well as of human beings.

In the War, when Britain needed more ships or more coal or more guns, we called to the national council the captains of industry and leaders of men responsible for the production of these things and readily obtained their concerted assistance in the organisation of output. In peace, we resign the welfare of the nation to blind chance and look on unmoved when in a single year hundreds of millions of capital are diverted from honest work by rascally company promoters. A quite recent "two years plan" of organised depredation wasted enough British capital to refurbish the entire British railway system, which is still, for the most part, incredibly given up to coal and dirt. An *imperium* which in remote Africa imposes hut taxes to compel men to work, at home thinks it wiser to pay two million people to be idle than to set much needed work afoot to employ them. These things belong to an economic order,

or lack of order, which is obsolete. It is necessary to perceive that the economic affairs of the British Empire demand order and plan, and that the futile periodical banquets and bouquets of the Imperial Conference do nothing to remove the reproach that the Empire is at once monopolised and neglected.

CHAPTER XIII

PEACE, WAR AND THE STATUS QUO

I : THE INTERNATIONAL "ERROR OF DISTRIBUTION"

A MASS of evidence has been submitted that the world's political and economic *status quo* is indefensible. If that evidence is accepted it remains to ask how the indefensible *status quo* can be altered. In the past, war has been almost the sole arbiter of problems of adjustment. The world as we know it is a war-made world. If the present political boundaries of the world are justifiable, war also must be justifiable as the maker of the justifiable boundaries. But, if the evidence of ill-distribution of territory and opportunity, and of the human welfare which goes with these things, is accepted, then we must either make up our minds to arrive at an equitable distribution of the natural wealth of the world or admit the justice and inevitability of further warfare.

The present writer has taken some part in discussions of the domestic distribution of wealth, and his work, *Riches and Poverty*, written in 1905, may claim to have given a great impetus to an analysis and close examination of the social effects of what I termed the "Error of Distribution." It has come to be generally admitted that there can be no possible justification, within the boundaries of a nation, for the joint existence of extreme wealth and grinding poverty. In that respect the *status quo* of 1905 was admitted to be indefensible. There followed the Dilke Income Tax Committee, which

recommended the graduation and differentiation of the income tax, the further graduation of the death duties, Old Age Pensions, and a long list of other social measures which have so changed our society that it is true in 1930, despite the existence of world-wide depression which necessarily hits Britain very hard, that families in our midst, although with a member unemployed, are actually living at a higher standard of life than a corresponding family enjoyed twenty-five years ago although in full work. And this desirable result has been effected despite the losses of a war in which Britain put everything to hazard by deliberately dislocating her trade, industry and shipping to meet the special needs that arose. Further, the advance of the masses of the people in comfort and security has been brought about without loss either to the nation as a whole or to those classes which at one time monopolised the greater part of what comfort was derived from the performance of work. Indeed, it is an economic truth that to equalise opportunity within a nation, and to strengthen its industrial and social fabric by improving the conditions of the mass of its people, is to raise the economic status and efficiency of the state as a whole. It is not too much to say that in domestic affairs we have in 25 years made class war impossible by removing discontent. Why not apply the same admirable principle to world affairs?

There is an international "Error of Distribution." We have seen to what an amazing degree of inequality territory, fuels and materials are divided among nations large and small. We have seen also that through the modern exacerbation of national feeling, and through new determinations to monopolise territory, these groups are locked within their boundaries so that no man, without great difficulty and sometimes the deepest humiliation, may pass from one group to another to seek a better living than his own land may afford. We have also found, and this is the most extraordinary factor of all in this international error of distribution, that many of

the richest territories in the world, counting their square miles by the hundred thousand or the million, are monopolised by groups of white people so small that their aggregates hardly count in a world enumeration, and are indeed much smaller than the marginal error which must attach to any computation of the world's people. Thus, if I say that the world's population in 1930 is about 2,000 millions I am accurate, and I should be just as accurate for practical purposes if the white populations of Canada, the entire Continent of Africa, the entire Continent of Australia and the great islands of New Zealand had been omitted from the estimate. Let us write this down more clearly :

Near Estimate of the Population
of the Entire World in 1930.

2,012 millions.

The same Estimate of the
Entire World's Population in
1930, omitting the White
Populations of all Africa, all
Australia, Canada and New
Zealand.

1,991 millions.

The aggregate white populations of all Africa, all Australia, Canada and New Zealand, amount to only 1 per cent. of the entire population of the world.

Every state or group is interested in a better distribution of the world's natural wealth and opportunity. It is not only the deprived groups who are interested in or who would gain by a better distribution. Just as within a nation the improvement in the condition of a deprived or frustrated class is a gain to the entire people, so with the world at large. The better development of an under-developed land, the populating of a territory rich in natural opportunity, the gain by a populous nation of access to more land, more power and more materials, are gains not merely to groups but to the world. Such imperfect and haphazard developments as have been already made prove the truth of this. If it were not true, it would have been better for the Western world that the

Santa Maria had never crossed the Atlantic and that Magellan had never rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Who doubts that Europe has gained greatly because millions of white men have adventured into new great territories and founded new states? It is true that the gains have been most unequally distributed, and that is an integral part of the story; but as to the general gain there can be no dispute. The world as a whole gains when any part of it gains, loses when any part of it suffers loss, and is deprived and frustrated through the neglect, the loss, the backwardness, or the lack of population of any territory. The world's wealth lamentably fails to grow with the growth of man's command of the scientific means of exploitation because the world is not being adequately brought into use.

The simple, or as some would say, the "theoretic" remedy, would be found in the abolition of nationality and in what one famous writer¹ considers the true ideal of Cosmopolitanism. A true science, however, does not hold that to be theoretic which fails to take account of things as they are, of people as they are, of nations as they are, and even of prejudices as they are. We have to make our advance from the imperfect by practical steps, true practice going with true theory. At the same time, we must not forget that practical steps may easily, in our time and with known means, include movements and adjustments of enormous size and importance, and that if we have not the vision to make these adjustments peaceably then we must expect large-scale conflagrations. There are some terrible possibilities before the world which are being blandly ignored in the formulation of treaties, pacts and agreements signed in the intervals between placing contracts for armaments and the giving up of fair lands to practice in the art of dropping bombs upon civilians.

¹ Mr. H. G. Wells admirably develops the case for cosmopolitanism in his address to the Reichstag at Berlin in 1929, published as *The Commonsense of World Peace*.

2 : THE EVILS OF WAR AND OF PEACE

IT has become the vogue of late to write of the evils of war, a subject which was barred from literature in the years immediately following the Peace, the commercial argument, I believe, being that everybody was sick of the name of war and that no one wanted to read anything about it. Now we are over-dosed with books which give the utterly false impression that men undergo a sea-change of character when they put on uniforms. Good it is, however, that the new generation should be reminded that war is very truly a horrible business, unredeemed in modern practice by very much of chivalrous opportunity, and that the wars of the future will be largely decided by attacks upon cities, upon homes, upon the old and the sick, upon women and children. London huddling into cellars upon occasional warning was not a very pretty thing in 1915-1918, but that, of course, was mere scarecrow work as compared with what the nations are now preparing for each other. Night after night the people of Europe are kept awake by the hum of the practising aeroplanes which deprive us of sleep in peace that they may know well how to bomb other peoples in war.

The next war is unlikely to be as gay a matter for Britain as the last, when, as an uninvaded country, her streets, her restaurants and her theatres were never before so joyous, and never before had so many evidences of the circulation of money—"easy come, easy go." When war comes again, the swift striking of the aircraft, whether or not accompanied by a sea-blockade which Britain will have less power to resist than on the last occasion, will make every night dark and every hour full of apprehension. "Hurrah for the Air!" really means "Hurrah for the Air War!"

It is not, therefore, because I am not well aware of the growing horrors of war that I am constrained to point out that the current expression of belief that wars are always futile has no foundation in fact. It is misleading to discuss the issues of peace and war upon such a false assumption. That war has on occasions been exceedingly effective in righting wrongs and in gaining or maintaining economic opportunity is demonstrable. Germany became united sixty years ago through her war with France, and after that cementation with blood and iron she rose from being a geographical expression to economic prosperity, gaining not only a larger but a much wealthier people, whose modern cities came to be the admiration of all who knew them. Japan, by her successful war with Russia, secured opportunity in Korea and Manchuria which otherwise would most certainly have been denied her. A Japanese could maintain the contention that through war with Russia Japan has achieved economic gain so far-reaching that it must have saved from death more Japanese lives than were lost in the war. And surely the most striking illustration of all is the building of the British Empire upon war, which has given unexampled opportunity to millions and which has enabled British trade to follow the flag to the three corners of the world. We must not allow our opinion of the war of 1914-1918 to deprive us of a sense of historic perspective, nor must we suppose that a sudden conversion to the principles of peace after the successful practice of the principles of war will be accepted as a logical sequence by all those who possess the faculty of reason. The pursuit of peace must take account of all and not part of the results of war.

Nor must we shut our eyes to the horrors of peace. In the period between Waterloo and the present day there have been many wars, but the terrible aggregate of their casualties is small relatively to the wanton waste of life in peaceful pursuits through the neglect of known precautions and the unnatural

deprivation of great peoples. That is not to justify war in principle, but it is to assert that there are some evils of peace which in default of a better remedy had better be adjusted by war than not at all, and that even if such attempts at adjustment are attended by failure, failure is not in itself a condemnation. Consider the case of Russia. Here was a country of splendid resources, yet the subject of recurrent famines that killed millions. The little industry that was practised was fed horribly with the unprotected lives of men, women and children. This system of brutal frustration was ended by revolution and terror, and by Red war upon the Whites and upon those who thought to set the Whites up again. The Russian Revolution was the direct result of famine, but there need not be famine in Russia, and I can find no reason for thinking that famine will not be defeated there by well-known means. The old conditions, the conditions of famine, will be defeated but they would not have been defeated without preliminary war.

And thus it is in degree more or less with many nations. To lock up Japan in her islands is to war upon Japan by economic means, and so to kill her children. To lock up Germany to Europe is to cause many poor German mothers to die in confinement. Yet those who lock the doors and forbid people to live save within narrow limits which they dictate, call Japan and Germany to the paths of peace, and ask them to join in barring the horrors of war.

Do not let us bemuse ourselves, therefore, with the conception that denunciations of war *per se* will bring war to an end. As long as we make or leave the conditions of life intolerable for national groups, we must expect those national groups to be discontented because they suffer, and to measure for themselves whether it is better to suffer a sea of troubles or to take arms against them.

3 : PRESTIGE AND POWER ARE REALITIES

NOR do we bring peace nearer if we pretend either to others or to ourselves that prestige and power are empty words. Always they have been realities, and realities they will remain. They are so real at this hour that it is not well, even before the Council of the League of Nations, to be the representative of a small people having no effective power of resistance. The small nation so venturing finds that meted out to her which no great nation would tolerate for a moment. It is still true that the citizen of a small state is in an unfortunate position in the world, limited in opportunity at home and denied opportunity abroad. This was recently brought home to me in making the acquaintance of a clever citizen of a small nation who, finding his country more than equipped in his own particular department, found it difficult to win any reasonable opportunity in a world where nearly every door is shut to the foreigner and where in particular the British Dominions, which so badly need talent, are inaccessible. It is many a long year since St. Paul protected himself with the magic *Civis Romanus sum* :

And the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the Castle and bade that he should be examined by scourging. . . . And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned? When the centurion heard that, he went and told the captain saying, Take heed what thou doest, for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born. (*The Acts of the Apostles*, Chapter XX.)

So the "citizen of no mean city" obtained justice, and so to-day. In this present year, a young foreigner who had married an Englishwoman had occasion to go to the Home Office, for he audaciously desired, having but just arrived in

free England, to stay in it for a little while. The lady in the case informed me that her husband, like the other "aliens" present, was treated with extreme contumely, but that the tone changed when she declared that she was an Englishwoman, a citizen of no mean city. Strange that in days when peace is advertised for sale as never before, England, the home of liberty, should be found behaving to strangers as she never did in days when she believed, wholeheartedly, in keeping her powder dry.

It avails little, therefore, to expect nations who desire to protect their citizens at home and abroad, to lay down their arms while conditions of injustice remain in which the possession of power and prestige can alone mitigate their worst effects.

4 : NEW GENERATIONS AND INHERITED WRONGS

MAN forgets, even as green earth forgets. The eager young generations press upon the old, refuse to learn from the past, and insist upon building for themselves, a painful experience which fades into death almost as soon as it is acquired. There is both good and evil in this brevity of life and experience, but surely more of evil than of good. The good lies in the freshness of outlook which is brought to bear by each generation upon the problems of life ; the evil lies in the loss by each generation of so much of the experience of its forebears.

Already, although it seems only yesterday that the late War ended, the children of the War period have become adults without any useful practical knowledge of its happenings. The lessons of war mean little or nothing to a child who was twelve years of age when the War began, and who in 1930 is twenty-eight. The problems of the world are ever

being encountered by a new generation which is not only without practical knowledge of warfare, but which is the inheritor of the results of injustice either suffered or worked by a former generation. This is part of the difficulty in making world adjustments. Even if "war guilt" could be brought home to any nation in respect of the events which led up to August, 1914, the principal actors are already passing from the scene; statesmen, generals, many are dead, all will soon be dead. The affairs of the world are passing into the hands of those who were children in 1914, and who had no share in the guilt, if guilt there were.

Thus it is with all the grave problems we have reviewed in these pages; they have to be faced and solved in peace or in war by fresh young generations. These must not be too harshly blamed if they fail to comprehend the events, the opinions, the causes, the acts of war which have brought them to the position in which they find themselves. They will be found children of the rich or poor, children of this nation or that, children who can with difficulty be brought to understand that they may have possessions which cannot be justified, sovereignties which they have no right to hold, opportunities which amount to the denial of others. The new generations are presented with issues involving points of national honour and prestige which make strong appeal to them, and the issues have to be fought out, in effect, between individuals neither of whom is wrong because neither of them is to blame for its inheritance from the past. The greater the need, then, to bring all the issues frankly and clearly into public discussion, that men may not be surprised when that which has long been an existent injustice is given voice through the exacerbation of need.

The world's affairs, too, grow ever more complicated and it becomes ever more difficult to grasp them. Man's power of control, unfortunately, does not grow with the expansion of affairs. The men of to-day, indeed, can hardly be said to exhibit the powers of *imperium* exercised by the Romans,

who, without the aid of a science which was yet undreamed of, contrived to order the affairs of the great world they themselves created. What are really the petty economic concerns of small nations are not yet grasped with any particular show of economic insight. In this, too, is cause for apprehension.

And then there is the great flow of "news," mainly of small, negligible and exceptional things, which is now printed as never before in millions of copies, serving as a flood to wash serious thought from the minds of the new generation. The newspaper is not a picture of life but of the exceptional things of life, not of important things but of sensational things, not of the good of nations but of their follies, not of a real world but of its veneers, while the references to foreign countries are often such as to bring them into hatred and contempt.

5 : THE WAR ALLIANCES OF THE NEAR FUTURE

WE have seen that many countries are in a position which we ourselves would not tolerate longer than we were compelled to do so. We have seen also that some of them are great nations numerically and that they are still adding to their numbers. It is a very striking fact that among the nations there are not a few with similar claims. Three of them which count as Great Powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—each stands in need of territory, and each, upon any just review of her place in civilisation and of the world's lands, must be acknowledged to have a palpable case. And then there is the New Russia, born of revolution, and almost immediately plunged into war with ten nations.

There are great possibilities—nay, probabilities—of war alliances for common ends. The Russia and Germany of

to-morrow would make a powerful combination if they joined the forces of some 250 million people. Italy, urgent for a revision of the Peace, may be found in the same camp. An alliance between East and West, founded upon a claim for the right to live in comfort, might ally, as has been suggested by an American observer, Italy and Japan. France, already in alliance with the Little Entente and with Poland, and wielding a great African army, may find herself again opposed by a Germany robbed of her colonies and partnered by the Italy who was anticipated in Tunis very much as Japan was anticipated in Manchuria. Poland regards her very dubious roadway through Germany, and leans on the France who arms her. Rumania, a Latin nation, may or may not remain in the camp of the Little Entente. Bulgaria's claims are backed by Italy. Hungary makes no secret of her determination to achieve the whole or part of her ancient frontiers.

The Peace Treaties of Versailles, St. Germaine-en-Laye, Neuilly and Trianon, in their disregard of elementary justice, in their divisions and subdivisions of territories, in their alienation of millions from their pre-war citizenships, have, in effect, arrayed the nations for war. The consequent partnerships are not unnatural. France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia on the one hand, standing for the *status quo*, are opposed by Italy, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia, Greece, Turkey and Albania. Britain is bound by the Locarno Treaty to go to war as soon as the "Versailles" western frontiers are violated, as assuredly they would be violated as soon as a war began in which Germany participated. The Peace wantonly laid political mines all over Europe, with time-fuses none the less certain to be fired because not set for any particular day or year.

To turn to extra-European affairs, the destiny of China is in the balance, and Communist permeation, with or without the aid of Red arms, may make her, with all Mongolia, a republic in alliance with, or even federated with, the Soviet

Union.¹ Europe as a whole has a common grievance against the United States and may yet make common cause over the War tribute. South America may be found in league against the Monroe doctrine; a movement for the union of all Latin-America is already afoot.

It does not serve to denounce such alliances as futile or likely to lead to further transitional arrangements which in their turn may not be sustained. It is the proper nature of man to rebel against intolerable situations. If no sufficient means are discovered of satisfying just aspirations, rebellion will come, and even if it fails of its object, that failure will not prevent war coming yet again. Let us be candid in this discussion; we know quite well that we have no respect whatever for those who do not rebel against injustice.

6: FEDERATION FRUSTRATED IN THE STATUS QUO

AMONG the solvents of international and racial difficulty, Federation takes a high place. Again and again in the world's affairs it has proved efficacious in the settlement of racial troubles of exceptional difficulty and of long standing. What seemed an insoluble problem in Canada, where the French had been settled since 1604 and the English since the eighteenth century, was solved after many struggles and difficulties by the federal principle of the British North America Act of 1867. Quebec became a contented province, and was destined to furnish the British Empire with one of its most high-minded and far-seeing statesmen in Sir Wilfred Laurier, who, we may recall, was the original inventor of Imperial Preference.² The union of South Africa,

¹China, now overflowing into Manchuria and Mongolia, will sooner or later adopt modern methods and achieve a new greatness.

²For which, by the way, he received the medal of the Cobden Club, the "preferential" duty being regarded as a step towards Free Trade.

even more recent, has brought peace to a land where the struggles of British and Dutch had been marked by two wars, one of them of great length and bitterness.¹ The world affords many other most striking illustrations of the working of the federal principle—in Germany, in the United States, and as we have specially noticed, in Soviet Russia, where it has been applied with what seems to be conspicuous success.

To federation undoubtedly we may look forward as the final solution of many international problems, but for the present it is stayed and obstructed by the existence of the very problems which are discussed in these pages.

The federation of the States of Europe would be a most desirable consummation, setting free the economy of what is still the earth's most desirable continent, now inhabited by 500 million people who, divided among thirty-six sovereign states, are engaged in frustrating each other's productions and commerce, using for the purpose different currencies and measures, establishing customs tariffs that mock the engineers who taught men how to transport goods, and even interposing barriers between what were quite recently centres of production and the sources of supply of their materials. Europe, become the United States of Europe, would probably increase her wealth by one-fourth in a single decade. A federated Europe, however, is impossible while the limitations of the Treaty of Versailles deprive her of the first of the indispensable preliminaries—political boundaries based upon reason and justice.

Two of the European nations, Great Britain and France, possess great extra-European empires which they are not populating, while two other nations, Holland and Portugal, have also colonial possessions quite out of proportion to their populations and needs. If the federation of Europe could be accompanied by some just arrangement with regard to those large parts of the world which are at present monopolised but not fully used by these four nations, the

¹ South Africa is really a case not of federation but of a condominium of peoples.

Western world would be appreciably nearer to the second Golden Age.

7: THE MIGRATION QUESTION HEADING FOR WAR

CONSIDERED apart from questions of present ownership, there is no difficulty whatever in propounding the solution of a problem the essence of which is that there are many millions of people in the world who require land and much splendid empty land in the world that requires development by many millions of people. There is the need and there is the supply. There are the would-be migrants and there are the opportunities for settlers. There are the willing workers and there is the unused soil. The engineers have invented steamships and motorships, and the economy of the world cries aloud for that greater increment of wealth which would accrue from the better distribution of the population.

This beautiful and obvious simplicity is changed into insuperable difficulty by one thing and one thing alone, Nationality.

The British Dominions, confessedly empty, do not welcome European migrants who are not British. The view of Canada is very clearly expressed by Dr. Stephen Leacock, Professor of Economics and Political Science at McGill University, Montreal, who puts the thing into pleasing terms in a recent work.¹ He admits that Canada could support 250 million people, an estimate which, he thinks, errs on the safe side, as it leaves out of account vast areas of about a million and a half square miles which obviously could support many more people. He then admits that, seen in this light, Canada with 10 million inhabitants "appears almost empty country." It is impossible not to agree with this verdict. A sub-continent

¹ *Economic Prosperity in the British Empire.*

lies idle in the Dominion of Canada, an area which if it had been developed as it ought to have been developed, to hold at the present time 30 millions of people or more, and adding yearly a considerable contingent to its numbers, would be a world asset of the first importance. Argentina, with less than one-third the area, has a bigger population and, as it is necessary to say in view of a recent amusing incident in the City of London, a larger *white* population, although she has not the mighty power resources of Canada—those power resources which constitute the greatest magnet for population known to mankind. Canada in 1930 ought to have, but has not, an enormously larger population than Argentina.

Now let us see what more Dr. Leacock has to say. He believes, as I believe, that Canada by collective effort could be made a great nation, and his view is that steps should be taken to transplant two million British unemployed to the Dominion. Difficult, because English townfolk are not the kind of migrant needed on virgin soil, but suppose it done : what sort of contribution is that towards the 250 millions he hopes for ? Great Britain (see Chapter V) is virtually declining in population, and unless British factories close there will soon be a great shortage of youths for British work. Already the schools of great British towns are emptying as the children fail. Apparently unaware of this, Dr. Leacock says of the foreign migrant : “ I am not saying that we should absolutely debar the European foreigner, as we should and do shut out the Oriental. But we should in no way facilitate his coming. Not for him the free ocean transit, nor the free coffee of the immigrant shed, nor the free land, nor the found job, nor the guaranteed anything. He is lucky if he is let in ‘ on his own.’ ”

So far has our civilisation progressed that a university professor of an “ empty country ” (his own term) tells the European migrant that if he wishes to work in Canada he must think himself lucky to be let in at all.¹

¹ Dr. Leacock, however, sees clearly how unfortunate it is that little groups of people monopolize big rich territories and hold them out of use. He calls them “ *mimic owners*,” but their powers are not mimed ; they are real.

Let us turn from Canada to Australia. In Canada, certainly, there have not been uttered the coarse insults to foreigners that have become commonplace in Australia. The Australian calls the British immigrant a "Pommy," a term the origin of which is uncertain, but which I was once informed originated in the conception that the face of the English immigrant is ruddy like a pomegranate. However this may be, the nickname is thrown at the English intruders to make them feel as uncomfortable as possible. As for the foreign immigrant, his position is hopeless. The Italians, for example, are told that they are "black" or "olive," and that Australia, as a white man's land, is no place for them. This from the citizens of Sydney and Brisbane to the makers of Rome and Florence is a joke of the first water, but it is not uttered as a joke, and it has caused in Italy, as can be imagined, the deepest resentment. English readers are not told of these things, which are causing grave trouble.

So, we see, the simple and necessary transfer of hard-working people from crowded countries to large empty spaces is barred. A small group of people (*the British people of Canada and Australia put together number about 2½ million families*) deny the use of 7 million square miles of the world to Europeans and add insult to injury. The same area in Russia contains 160 millions, growing at the rate of over three millions a year.

Such are the difficulties of the position. Is there any way out?

Foreign critics are arising who propose a very simple political solution. Professor Warren S. Thompson directs attention to the fact that Australia, although so favourably situated, has not increased its population like the United States, and points out that this is due to two causes, first, the practice of birth-control and second, the restrictions upon immigration. He suggests that Australia should alter her policy, both in regard to Europeans and the Japanese. He thinks that Australia must find settlers for her temperate

lands, and he does not believe that in the long run she can hold her tropical territory in the face of the needs of Japan and China. For my part, I think that in view of the limited amount of territory in the world that can be maintained as white man's land, Australia owes it to white civilisation to change her policy.¹

The British Empire in respect of the Dominions is a free Federation of Commonwealths, and Britain has neither desire nor power to impose a policy upon her confederates. The decision for good or ill, therefore, must lie with Australia herself. Not that she has the power to make the final determination, for in the long run nothing can save Australia from invasion but the admission of population. When I say, therefore, that the decision must rest with Australia, I mean that she has the power to determine whether or not to remain white; if she decides against it by depending upon her own insignificant excess of births over deaths, and by carefully selecting a few British immigrants out of a supply which must obviously decline, Australia will make little or no increase, and gain even less in the next decade than she has in the last. By the lapse of another decade, the pressure of the Japanese population will be much intensified. By 1940 the Japanese islands will have some 75 millions, while Australia, assuming pursuance of her present policy and no intervention, may possibly have 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions. As for New Zealand, the pursuance of present policy would give her by 1940 perhaps some 2 million people!

The growth of the white populations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa has been slow even upon the assumption that the settlement of new lands must necessarily proceed upon the old lines of individual adventure, the migrant taking his chance in single combat with the wilderness. There is no reason, however, why migration should not be organised on a large scale. The extraordinary success of the

¹ For a discussion of these matters in relation to the maintenance of White civilisation, see the author's *The Peril of the White*.

League of Nations in transplanting *en bloc* the big Greek population exiled through the Smyrna débâcle, which has resulted in the successful settlement in Greece of over 1,000,000 fugitives who are now reported to be prospering, is evidence of what can be done in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, accentuated by panic and complete destitution. It does not need organisation, however, to send many Continental Europeans to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Hard-working people, accustomed to labour on the land and inured to hardship, ask for nothing more than the right to make a home and to work. That this should be denied them in our day is a reproach to those who make the denial.

The problem of migration is not, of course, confined to the British Dominions. The United States, very thinly populated when its marvellous resources are taken into account, is apparently nearing decline. The American schools, as in England, are beginning to thin. Yet America narrowly limits immigration. Latin America is pursuing a more enlightened policy, and if coal, as is quite likely, comes to be dethroned by science, the world will see South America become infinitely more powerful than the North. Argentina, with a population of nearly 12 millions, has the highest birth-rate amongst white nations and a considerable immigration.

Within Asia there is room for considerable adjustment, and we owe it to India not only to promote her economic development to better advantage, but to give full and proper protection to her migrants to Africa and other places.

Everything done to facilitate such transfers of population is something accomplished for the economic settlement of mankind and for concord among the nations. Unfortunately, as I have shown, the fair and reasonable demands of millions are being opposed with blind prejudice. Thus migration, which might so easily add to the wealth not of the migrants alone but of the entire world, has already become a cause of the

deepest resentment, both in Europe and Asia. What ought to be a matter of simple economic development is leading straight to war.

8: A SUGGESTION FOR CONDOMINION

THERE are problems of territorial difficulty which could be solved by the application of the principle of Condominion. Let me illustrate this by two cases.

In the Far East there is the case of Manchuria, which is Chinese territory crossed by a Russian railway, the southern tip of which has been "leased" by China to Japan. Three foreign powers are vitally interested in this important territory. Japan will not, without a struggle, yield her leased territory or see Manchuria pass under Soviet domination. Russia has always wanted to control Manchuria, for very obvious reasons which are not bad reasons. China can hardly be expected, while she remains a sovereign state, to yield Manchuria to either Russia or Japan. Here is a conflict of rights and of natural and proper ambitions which may easily issue in war—which has twice already issued in war. The old Tzarist Empire cheated Japan in diplomacy and was about to cheat her again when Japan declared war in 1904. Japan would not allow herself to be deceived a third time. In these remarkable circumstances, is there a way out? The way I suggest is Condominion. Why not a triumvirate government of Manchuria by Japan, Russia and China, with freedom of trade and immigration for all nations? It would be an experiment of profound interest not only in international relations but in economic development. Manchuria, so long neglected, might then continue on an even more rapid scale the advance which she has undoubtedly made through the energy of Japan.

My next illustration is drawn from Europe and the North African littoral.

France, in annexing Tunis, became the possessor of a valuable colony whose white population consisted chiefly of Italians. Despite the discouragement of the French authorities, and their endeavours to make the Tunisian Italians become Frenchmen, Italian subjects remain the white majority in Tunisia. Conversations proceed from year to year, a problem which never ought to have arisen remains unsettled, and we see France arming Yugoslavia to make sure that Italy shall have her hands full in the Adriatic. France sees herself as a brilliant conqueror, who gave the blood of her soldiers and her organising ability to make modern Tunisia; Italy sees her nationals under a foreign flag, and knows that but for that flag she could send part of her surplus population to join their fellows. It is a pretty conflict of contending ambitions. Why not a Condominion? Why not a Franco-Italian Tunisia, neighbouring peoples thus joining in its development? And for that matter, why not a Franco-Italian Condominion of Tunisia and Libia? Given such a happy and peaceful solution, the world might see it extended to the entire North African coast, from the western Egyptian boundary to Morocco, with France, Italy and Spain in joint command.

Such a development might lead to a great federation of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, with a zollverein and an extension of Condominion to the whole of the colonial possessions of these nations. Step by practical step the thing could be done. It breathes common sense, and accomplished it would for ever banish war between peoples who have each a glorious history.

The reference to African territory in this connection recalls lost opportunities. It is a misfortune for the world that when Bismarck in the eighteen-eighties called the nations together at Berlin to consider the scramble for African territory and to justify each other's annexations, some fruitful mind did not then suggest what might have proved to be a

FRANCE, ITALY AND NORTH AFRICA

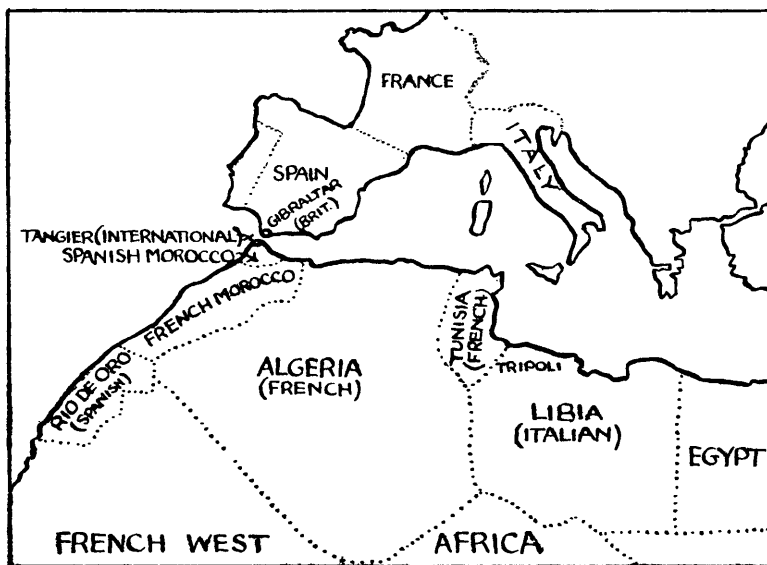


Fig. 13. Tunisia has long been a bone of contention between France and Italy. This diagrammatic map illustrates the suggestion made in these pages for a Franco-Italian Condominium of their North African possessions. A further "rationalisation" of territory might bring France, Italy and Spain together as joint rulers of the entire North African littoral west of Egypt.

method of control and development which would have made the Dark Continent useful to civilisation while protecting its native peoples and helping to give us a World Pax. A Condominium of Africa, administered for the world by a capable administration giving equal opportunity to the capital and enterprise of all peoples, would have combined the practical with the ideal. It is only dull people who think that the ideal is beyond the reach of men and that to be "practical" is to aim at and contrive a gigantic mess and muddle. It is not too late now to suggest that it would be a great achievement for peace, for true economy, for the peoples of Europe, of Africa and of Asia (for all of them are already part of the African scene) to form a great African combination. In our vision of future possibilities we may well include an African Condominium covering the larger part or even the whole of the entire continent.

9: THE LEAGUE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE STATUS QUO

THE League of Nations as at present constituted fails, and must continue to fail, because it is virtually a League for the Defence of the *Status Quo*. It is unreal not merely because it does not count in its membership some of the leading nations of the world (including the two most populous white nations) but because its discussions postulate the *status quo* as fixed and unalterable. As a consequence its debates are too often unreal, the main causes of international difference being avoided.

Thus at the Eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations (1930) the question of the European Minorities was raised. The subject is one of admittedly vital importance, concerning as it does the welfare, the aspirations and the nationality of some thirty million Europeans, a number of people, that is,

much greater than the entire population of Spain and of the same order of magnitude as the population of either England or France. These Minorities, treated as pawns by the treaties drawn up by the Allied and Associated Powers at the Paris Peace Conference and dictated to Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary, were divorced from their fatherlands, and often in addition from association with their own kindred and from their accustomed work, without power to utter a single word of protest. These thirty million wrongs, it is fair to say, weighed heavily upon the consciences of those who framed the treaties which created them, and it was sought to mitigate them by provisions for the protection of the wronged.

So the Allied and Associated Powers included some special provisions in the four dictated Peace Treaties, as also in the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey, and in addition concluded Minorities Treaties with Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Greece, designed to preserve the cultural, religious and economic welfare of the unfortunate people whose nationality had been changed over their heads. As we have had occasion to notice in these pages, the Minorities have suffered severely despite these precautions, and the treatment of the translated citizens of Europe has been in many cases marked by abuse, tyranny and even plunder. We may note with interest that the framers of the Peace Treaties were careful to impose no obligations upon themselves. France, Britain, Italy and Japan are under no treaty obligations in respect of the Minority populations consigned to them by the Peace.

The Eleventh Assembly of the League considered the Minorities question and it was debated by the Sixth Commission for several days. The function of the League as a defender of the *status quo* was never more clearly revealed. Not a single delegate dared to raise the question of the new treaty-made political boundaries which caused the Minorities question to issue. No one was bold enough to face the real

question. And upon the Commission's report, M. Briand, for France, remembering the many Germans of Alsace-Lorraine, laid it down in the strongest language at his command that it was *ultra vires* for the League to discuss the Minorities question at all, save in so far as it was included within the ambit of the Minorities Treaties!¹

So the League of Nations was reduced to futility on one of the most important subjects it ought to discuss with complete freedom. The report of the Commission mocked the sufferings of the Minorities by stating that all the delegates regarded respect for culture, religion and language as "sacred." The language of humbug could hardly further go.

Thus also with the League's discussions of the prevention of war. Always the prevention of war is identified with the maintenance of the *status quo*. The League knows nothing of the justice or injustice of old or new political boundaries or divisions of territory. It is cognizant only of the war-made map of the world as it is. As a League for the Defence of the *Status Quo* it functions to admiration. It tackles war in the spirit that war might possibly disturb the sacred *status quo*. In none of its deliberations does it firmly approach the question of International Justice. Its debates are mainly concerned with means to prevent any attempt to alter manifest injustices. Thus the League largely suits the policies and purposes of the conqueror-pacifist.

We may illustrate the mournful facts of the case by the partition of Upper Silesia. The most valuable part of this territory, including the magnificent industrial plants which had been created by the Germans, was cut off from Germany by the League of Nations itself and given to Poland. It was

¹ M. Briand said: "If the minority problem were to be raised as a whole not as a mere hypothesis but as a definite thesis, I am bound to say that if I were representing my Government in a Commission in which such a question were raised, I should immediately move the previous question, for I consider that neither the League of Nations nor any of its organs has the right to deal with any such topic. . . I very much hope that I shall never see the problem raised again in a general sense. If it should be—and I ask that this declaration be recorded in the minutes—I should quite flatly move the previous question in the name of France."

an act of brigandage involving the transfer of splendidly equipped coal-mines, furnaces and other works. Germany was plundered as neatly and as effectively as the gunmen of New York or Chicago relieve private citizens of their jewels. The League for the Defence of the *Status Quo* sees to it that Germany remains robbed and that Poland retains the proceeds of the robbery. Its theory is that it is concerned to see that this great wrong is never righted by any act of war. If the Germans attempted to regain their territory by force of arms the League might order war upon Germany. Yet the League will not discuss the rights or wrongs of the matter, and provides, therefore, no peaceful means of raising the issue. If ever a just *casus belli* existed in the history of the world, it exists for Germany in Upper Silesia. So this grave danger spot remains on the map, an issue between one nation, Poland, armed to the teeth and backed by France, and a second nation, Germany, disarmed and defenceless.

The League is so much concerned with the defence of the *status quo* that it neglects the first specific duty placed upon it by its Covenant. That duty was expressed in the fourth of the famous Fourteen Points of President Woodrow Wilson in the few words: "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." In the Covenant of the League of Nations this Point was expanded into Article VIII (the first article defining the League's duties and functions), the chief parts of which are:

The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The victorious Allies, in dictating these words to the vanquished, adopted them and pledged themselves to the reduction of armaments. After twelve years, one nation and one only, Great Britain, has made effective reduction. For the rest, the land and air armaments of Europe are greater than ever before, even while the conquered nations, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, are forbidden to arm. It is difficult to imagine a greater violation of the letter and spirit of the Covenant. It is proof that the League is dominated by those who oppose revision of the dictated treaties and who feel that the *status quo* can only be maintained by arms.¹ The pseudo-peace that exists in Europe is a peace of injustice upheld by force. It is most obviously a peace that cannot be maintained, for there are armed nations who may make common cause with the unarmed, and history shows that the perpetual oppression of peoples is an idle dream. As for the League's policy of "sanctions" —of threats of public war upon aggressors—it amounts in analysis to the refusal of redress to deprived and frustrated nations; it is not a policy of pursuing peace with justice but a policy of continuing the conditions of a dictated peace.

We must not follow the ardent conqueror-pacifists of Geneva and confound war upon war with war upon injustice. War upon war is futile because it ignores the fact that there are just occasions for war, failing the means of achieving justice in peace. War upon injustice, on the other hand, makes war unnecessary because it removes occasions for war. There must be revision of the Peace Treaties and much more than that if the peace of the world is to be assured,²

¹ A World Disarmament Conference is to meet in 1931, but the Draft Convention prepared by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission is merely an elaborate sham. Here, as elsewhere, the *non fiat* of France rules the League.

² In his speech at Rome on October 27th, 1930, Mussolini had this to say on the question of maintaining the *status quo*: "Treaty revision is not a predominantly Italian interest, but an interest for Europe and the world. There is nothing absurd and impossible in such a conception. The only absurdity is the pretence that treaties are unchangeable. Who is it that is violating the Covenant of the League? It is those who created and are trying to maintain in perpetuity two classes of States—one armed to the teeth, the other disarmed. What juridical and moral parity can exist between an armed and an unarmed man?"

and those who busy themselves with treaties and pacts, ostensibly in defence of peace but virtually in defence of the *status quo*, are, in effect, preparing and maintaining the theatre of war.¹

¹ As these pages are actually in the press, the news is published (Jan. 24, 1931) that the Council of the League of Nations had condemned, in severe terms, the gross ill-treatment of the Germans of Upper Silesia at the elections of 1930, and called upon Poland to cease her tyrannical practices. It is good to put this on record, but let it be observed that the League's action leaves intact the grave injustice committed by the League itself in making a partition of Upper Silesia in 1921. The League itself created the theatre of the tyranny it condemns.

CHAPTER XIV

PEACE THROUGH CONTENTMENT

I : FOURTEEN POINTS OF PEACE

THIS book has for aim the attainment of Peace through Contentment, in the belief that no other form of peace can endure. I have sought to expose the dangers of the world situation to make clear what measures are necessary to strike at the very roots of the trouble. The soothing words of peaceful formulas cannot help us; the causes of difference are too deep-seated to be curable by diplomatic ointments. If, then, we are tempted to evade proposals for world settlement on the ground that they are drastic, we must constantly bear in mind that war is the most drastic step of all, and that nothing can prevent further war but remedies commensurate with the sufferings and deprivations for which they are designed.

It is with these convictions that I now proceed to draw up a programme of peace, arranged under fourteen heads. They amount to a new set of "Fourteen Points," one of them identical with one of President Woodrow Wilson's famous fourteen.¹ Taken as a whole, my programme differs widely from that of President Wilson, because he was dealing with the case of settling a specific war, although, it is true, he used that specific case to some extent for the enunciation of general principles. My hand is freer, although I have to provide for the clearance of false matter which encumbers the field of

¹ For President Wilson's Fourteen Points see Appendix IV.

international discussion and frustrates the labours of the existing League of Nations :

FOURTEEN POINTS OF PEACE

- I. *World League of Nations* : A World League of Nations, or World Parliament, with a new and reformed Covenant, dissociated from (1) the Peace Treaties and (2) the doctrine of "Sanctions."
- II. *Universal Compulsory Arbitration* : The Covenant to embody compulsory arbitration covering all international questions and binding upon all nations ; accepting without qualification or reserve the outlawry of war. That outlawry to extend to the League itself, which is not to war upon any of its members, or upon non-member nations, either by arms or by economic pressure. The League to be an arbitral body in international political disputes, leaving international legal disputes to a World Court of Justice.
- III. *World Court of Justice* : Permanent Court of International Justice, associated with the World League of Nations, to decide "legal" or "justiciable" disputes.
- IV. *Equality of Economic Opportunity* : Acceptance of the general principle that, as far as the dispensations of nature allow, all peoples shall have equal economic opportunity.
- V. *War Debts and Reparations* : Cancellation of all War Debts, and consequent reduction of War Reparations.
- VI. *German Colonies* : Restoration of the German Colonies.
- VII. *Rectification of Frontiers* : Just rectification of the world's political boundaries, with particular regard to those arranged under the Treaty of Versailles and the other associated Peace Treaties.

- VIII. *General Disarmament* : Reduction of all armaments to "police strength," with total prohibition of submarines, fighting air-craft, and asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases.
- IX. *Freedom of the Seas* : Absolute freedom of mercantile navigation outside territorial waters.
- X. *Internationalization of Strategic Points* : Internationalization of Strategic Naval Positions : e.g., Panama Canal Zone, Suez Canal Zone, Straits of Gibraltar, Dardanelles.
- XI. *Promotion of Migration* : Permanent Migration Commission to be established by the World League to promote and organize the economic distribution of populations.
- XII. *Condominion* : The principle of Condominion to be recognised and employed at discretion by the World League in the case of disputed territories or of lands in which two or more nations have joint interest.
- XIII. *Colonization and Better Use of Sparsely Populated Lands* : Settlement of claims for a share of the world's colonizable lands, with due regard to their full economic employment.
- XIV. *Freedom of Commerce* : No discrimination in commerce or shipping ; no monopolisation of raw products ; this not to disallow national import duties for revenue purposes or for the local protection of essential industries.

The first three points are directed to the retention as instruments of a World Pax of all that is good in the League of Nations,¹ the Permanent Court of International Justice which has been set up under Article 14 of the League

¹ For a Summary of the Covenant of the League of Nations see Appendix I.

Covenant, and the International Treaty for the Renunciation of War of 1928 (the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Peace),¹ while completely dissociating the League from

- (1) the Peace Treaties,
- (2) the doctrine of "Sanctions" as expressed in either (a) punishment by arms or (b) punishment by economic blockade.

The embodiment in the League Covenant of the Kellogg-Briand Pact would rid that document of the right of its members, implied in some of its articles, to go to war. The essential terms of the Pact are as follows :

ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples 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.

ARTICLE II.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Also to embody in the Covenant what I have proposed in my Point II, above, would entail the addition of words stating clearly that the members accept compulsory and universal arbitration. This would make the Kellogg-Briand Pact a reality, adding to renunciation of war the requirement that disputes shall go to settlement, and be settled by arbitration.

The second article of the Kellogg-Briand Pact speaks of "disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin." It is well to remember, what is not stated in either the Pact or the Covenant of the League of Nations, that international disputes fall into two distinct classes. There are

¹ It should be clearly borne in mind that the United States, although party to the Kellogg-Briand Pact and its originator, is not a member of the League of Nations, and that the Pact is deposited at Washington and not with the League.

the "legal" or "justiciable" disputes which arise out of existing treaties or conventions, or are concerned with questions of international law. Such disputes, in which the parties seek their legal rights, are properly matters for the Permanent Court of International Justice already established under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the continuance of which is postulated in Point III.

Much greater difficulty attaches to arbitration upon international disputes of a political character, in which the entire future of a nation may be involved. The Council of the League of Nations (see Appendix I) is not an arbitral body under the existing Covenant, nor is any specific form of arbitration set up or suggested by the Covenant. The Council is to consider any dispute submitted to it, and disputing members agree to make such submission if they do not refer their quarrel to arbitration. The Council is to "endeavour" to settle any dispute submitted, and if it fails is to make a public report upon the case and its merits, with an account of its recommendations. This may be described as a process of conciliation, with an appeal by public report to world opinion if conciliation fails. In a dispute of importance, threatening grave rupture, such a report would focus world attention upon the issue.

With the acceptance of Point II and universal arbitration, it becomes necessary to consider whether it is well to provide for a court of arbitration to deal with political disputes as the Permanent Court of International Justice deals with legal disputes. Political differences, such as a claim for the rectification of a political boundary, are those most likely to lead to war and may at any time assume a very grave aspect. The view here taken is that the best solution is to constitute the World League itself the arbitral body.

Assuming the World League to be constituted as a Parliament of Nations with two Chambers, an Assembly or Congress and a Council or Senate, the Council could be given arbitral functions; its decisions, embodied in formal reports upon the

issue and its merits, to be subject to ratification by the Assembly or general body of members, which might well have power to refer back the report for reconsideration or amendment. The force of decisions so made by a Council of World Senators, ratified by a World Parliament, would be overwhelming, and would need no "sanctions" to lend it authority.¹

The League of Nations was established by Covenant attached to the Treaty of Versailles and the other Peace Treaties.² The League is an integral part of the Peace which, without treaty with defeated enemies, was arranged by the Supreme Council formed of representatives of Britain, France, Italy and America, but which the American nation repudiated. America is not a member of the League of Nations because her elected representatives would not take the risk of ratifying a Peace which proposed to make the League an instrument of war to protect territorial integrities of dubious character. That goes to the root of the matter. The League of Nations, as still associated with the Peace, is and must be a failure because by derivation it is part and parcel of the *status quo*, because it was framed by the very nations which forced the Peace upon Germany. It was not a "treaty" that was made; a Peace was dictated to an enemy that had laid down its arms before all the world upon the public guarantee of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, which the Treaty of Versailles flouted in important particulars. It is this essential

¹ The details of reformed constitution are for discussion, but it is suggested here that it would be well for the World Senate to be representative of every Sovereign state having a population of not less than say 15 millions. It might also be advisable to allow the grouping of small states for representation in the Senate, so that any group of small nations with an aggregate population of not less than 15 millions could send a joint representative; this would promote federation.

² The membership of the League of Nations includes many nations, but there are important and significant non-members, the chief being the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Russia and Turkey, countries representing nearly one-sixth of the world's population; less than two-thirds of the world's white people are included in the League. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed by Germany, America, Belgium, France, Britain for herself and her Empire, the British Dominions, the Irish Free State, India, Italy, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and was afterwards acceded to by many other states making 58 in all, including Russia and Turkey.

fact that so largely stultifies the League, which has not improved its position by doing less than justice within the ambit of the Peace itself.

President Wilson's fourteenth point provided that "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike," and the actual Covenant of the League of Nations (which has been accepted by some 50 nations) pretty well accords with this formula, which speaks of affording guarantees of territorial integrity. But in the case of a number of nations, this "territorial integrity" is that of states defined in vindictiveness by the Peace Treaties. Thus, the League of Nations, embodying the fourteenth point, came to be, and remains, an institution to stereotype "territorial integrities," old and new, just and unjust.

We need not doubt that America would become a member of the League if the Kellogg-Briand Pact were embodied in its Covenant and if further the League were dissociated from the Treaty of Versailles.

Nor need we doubt that both Russia and Turkey, who have acceded to the Pact, would also become members of a reformed League, and it is of the first importance that they should do so. Argentina and Brazil have withdrawn from the League as a protest against its "European" character; they may be expected to join in a World League.

I next come to the question of "Sanctions," using the term in its sense as describing provisions to enforce obedience by the enactment of penalties.

The League Covenant itself contemplates not only war between its members, or between its members and other nations, but also the making of war by the League itself in two forms (1) the employment by the League of a selection of its own members to punish recalcitrant members, and (2) the employment on its behalf as against recalcitrant members of economic pressure or blockade.

The right of war between members of the League is disposed of (at least nominally) by such of them as have signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. There remains the very difficult question of war by the League itself. Not that such an eventuality is probable under the League Covenant, for its decisions to be effective have to be unanimous, and it is really impossible to imagine the members of the Council of the League unanimously deciding to request any member or members of the League to undertake a war on League account. Nevertheless, in Article XVI of the Covenant is plainly written the contemplation of Co-operative Punitive War. The Article runs that a nation which goes to war in violation of the Covenant is considered to be at war with all the other members, and that the Council is to recommend what force the members of the League should separately contribute to the defence of the League Covenant. As to economic penalty, the Covenant provides that all the members must break off intercourse with the offender and co-operate in economic measures against it. Such a Co-operative Economic War might easily be more deadly than an armed attack, and it is to be noted that the Covenant makes blockade automatically obligatory upon the members, without recommendation or resolution made, as soon as the offender resorts to arms. This would be a matter of deep concern to the thoughtful mind if we did not perceive that the humour of the thing lies in the fact that the United States, now the paramount naval power, is not a member of the League and does not love blockades.

In what is known as the Locarno Treaty of 1925, the full and expressive title of which is "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy," the doctrine of Sanctions was taken very much further.¹ The five nations mutually undertook to guarantee the inviolability of the territorial *status quo* as between Germany and Belgium, and as between Germany and

¹ For a summary of the Locarno Treaty, see Appendix III.

France. Further, Germany and Belgium, and Germany and France, undertook not to make war upon each other, and to submit to judicial decision any matters in conflict between them. As a party to this Treaty, Britain engaged herself to go to war to defend the Treaty of Versailles if it were violated in respect of the frontiers arranged by that Treaty between Germany, Belgium and France.¹ In the words of Lord Cushenden, speaking for the British Government, Britain undertook "enormous liabilities to secure peace in a very important part of Europe." I cannot help wondering if it is imagined that one British voter in ten thousand is effectively seized of the fact that such "enormous liabilities" have been undertaken. This obligation to make war in defence of certain clauses of a dictated Peace is not the work of the League of Nations, but it is certainly an embodiment of the spirit of both the Peace and the Sanctions of the League Covenant.²

So we have a League of Nations which formally, if in futile terms, adopts both the principle of war and the principle of blockade, and a Locarno Treaty which, going a step further, specifically and very practically places upon the shoulders of Britain an obligation to go to war in defence of certain parts of the Treaty of Versailles. Never before in her history was Britain more definitely pledged to make war in certain clearly defined contingencies—contingencies which might easily drag all Europe into conflict.³

The proposal here made is that the doctrine of Sanctions shall be repudiated in the League Covenant as wrong in principle and obnoxious in practice. It is foreign to the

¹ So also did Italy. The position of Britain and Italy in the bargain differs essentially from that of the other three parties to it—France, Germany and Belgium—because Britain and Italy are not directly interested in the maintenance of the new Franco-Belgian-German frontiers, the subject of the treaty.

² On this head I observed a very pertinent remark by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Signor Dino Grandi, in the Italian Senate on June 3rd, 1930. He asked "Are we not in danger of transforming the League of Nations into an instrument of war instead of an instrument of universal peace?"

³ The League of Nations is in terms attached to, or by, the Locarno Treaty, which uses the League by throwing upon it the onus of determining the *casus belli*. In effect, the League is to say, "We determine that the Locarno Pact is broken; the guarantors are to fulfil their guarantee."

Kellogg-Briand Pact, and yet if the terms of the Pact become incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations it associates the Pact with the approval of penalties by collective war and penalties by collective blockade. (It cannot do more than "associate," for the Kellogg Pact has, of course, no organic connection with the League.) If war is morally wrong, it is not for the League to employ it. Moreover, the first attempt by the Council to select certain nations to be its secular arm would founder the League. It is true that the words used in the Covenant are that "It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to *recommend* to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force¹ the members of the League shall separately contribute to the armed force to be used," and that no member is under any obligation to accept the recommendation if it were made. The spirit of the thing is all wrong, however, and the doctrine of Sanctions should be definitely determined. Permanent peace is not furthered by agreements to give aid in war or to punish by war those who make wars. *It can only come through general agreement upon fair terms of national existence.*

The formal dissociation of the League from the Peace Treaties and from Sanctions is accompanied by Points V, VI, and VII, which provide for the cancellation of War Debts, the reduction of War Reparations, the restoration of the German colonies, and the rectification of certain European political boundaries drawn by the Peace Treaties, such as the impossible Polish corridor. The cancellation of War Debts would enable the nations to deal more lightly with Germany and her late allies, while it would remove from the finances of Europe a burden which weighs heavily upon its economy and which is a constant source of resentment not only in Europe but as between Europe and the United States. America can

¹ Everyone who has studied the conditions of air-warfare realises that it necessarily involves warfare upon civilians. So we have the staggering consideration that the Covenant of a League of Peace contemplates the *recommendation* of war upon civilians in the name of Peace!

hardly know how deep a dislike she is engendering, or how dearly she is buying her annual tribute.

Point IV is the affirmation of the principle of equality of economic opportunity, regard for which would do much to establish that international content without which treaties and pacts are of little avail. As it stands in numerical order it may seem no more than a pious opinion, but it is presented early in the list because of its extreme importance, and it expresses a governing principle upon which the last four points are founded.

Point VIII goes very much further than President Wilson's Point IV, which ran "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety," a formula which has been interpreted as an expression of that blessed word, Security. For this is substituted the reduction of armaments to such a minimum as is necessary for the mere policing of territories.

Point IX is President Wilson's Point II, which was in similar terms. It enunciates the doctrine of "Freedom of the Seas." In this connection it may be pointed out that the British navy has been already by agreement reduced to a nominal parity with that of America which in effect gives the United States naval supremacy, that in relation to France in near waters we are inferior in the very important item of submarines, and that in the Far East, where Japan will have by agreement a navy in proportion to the British navy as seven is to ten, it is clear that, in view of her general naval commitments, Britain could not meet Japan on level terms. Apart from these very important considerations, both Points VIII and IX should be related to the fact that the fourteen points taken as a whole deal effectively with international difficulties.

Point X deals with those strategic positions which are now commanded by individual nations, who thus hold the gates of the seas. Their internationalization would not only give general security but in some cases remove causes of national humiliation and resentment.

This brings us to the last four of the points, which are practical expansions of Point IV, enunciating the principle of equal economic opportunity. These four points are not all-inclusive, but they cover the occasions of war likely to arise out of unequal opportunities.

Point XI deals with Migration, which has already become a subject of serious difference between certain nations. The subject has been dealt with at length in these pages, from several different view-points. We have seen that governments controlling some of the emptiest rich lands in the world are deliberately restricting their employment, thus, in effect, reducing the area of the world by keeping it out of use. It must be apparent that great and fertile territories cannot for ever be monopolised by small groups who refuse to add substantially to their numbers. The sooner, therefore, that this all-important subject, which has so great a bearing upon world development as well as world peace, is brought into open discussion, the better for the amicable relations we all desire. More than migration is involved here, and Point XI is organically related to the next two heads.

Point XII deals with the principle of Condominion, to which I have attached so much importance. I believe this to be a saving clause, the reasonable application of which would clear up some of the most serious danger spots in civilisation. For my part, I think it would be of the greatest advantage to the world to apply it to the greater part of Africa, to Malaya, and possibly also to the Baltic States. Federation might in some cases be combined with it, for there is nothing antagonistic in the two principles. The application of Condominion may settle some matters arising under the next head—colonization.

Point XIII is for general application to sparsely populated and undeveloped territories. Here the world value and present use or disuse of great colonizable lands comes up for discussion and settlement. The satisfaction of the reasonable claims of great nations is necessary not only for the preserva-

tion of peace but for the proper economic development of the world. The cases of Germany, Italy and Japan are of exceptional importance, but there are others only different in degree; the case of Germany is not settled by the restoration of the colonies taken from her; she has larger claims as a great civilising and organising power.

The last and fourteenth point deals with Commerce. It would be both impossible and unfair to expect the members of the World League to adopt absolute free trade. In the first place, revenue from import duties is an indispensable part of the finance of many great countries in course of development, and in some measure of all countries. In the second place, countries which possess infant and growing industries, specially sheltered and fostered by a protective tariff, ought not to be expected to reverse their policy. There should, however, be no discrimination in commerce or shipping as between one nation and another, and equally there should be no discrimination with regard to the distribution of food or raw materials; it is a real loss to civilisation if a nation which is a native source of any raw product either holds it up against the world or discriminates in supply.

2.—TO PREVENT WAR IS TO ORGANISE THE WORLD

HERE, then, is a programme of peace which goes to the very roots of the troubles of the nations, not shirking any important issue because of its inherent difficulty.

And it is the servant of peace in two quite different senses.

It is a programme of peace because it is in direct Prevention of War, and occasions for war exist in such number and in such importance in every part of the world that we have good need to determine those occasions. It is to be feared that an island people now, as in the early months of 1914, hardly

realises the issues which are at stake or the imminent perils of the situation. Looking back in my records, I find that at the end of 1913 and opening of 1914 I was spending much time in combating the widespread belief that we could not afford a "big" navy.¹ It was a matter of some difficulty to persuade a majority to defend Britain against a German Fleet Law, thrice amended and increased, which provided for the building of sixty-one of those giant battleships which at the time were popularly called *Dreadnoughts*. Very few people realised that the Law existed, and probably not one in a million thoroughly realised that the guns of these *Dreadnoughts* might be fired seriously in his own time. I found myself demonstrating in leading newspapers that the alleged crippling cost of our Navy, which was often said to be "bleeding us white," was actually very much less than the well-to-do classes were spending upon pleasure motor-cars; the motor-car had then not yet become a democratic vehicle. Seven months after that public argument² the World War had begun, and a little later the Battle of Jutland showed that a few ships less would have meant the invasion and conquest of the British Isles.

In 1930 I witness the same oblivion to the possible imminence of war. No such ignorance of the peril exists on the Continent of Europe, where war in the near future is generally believed to be more than likely. If, therefore, we really wish to avoid war, we must set ourselves very seriously indeed to the pursuit of peace by measures commensurate with the danger, having regard to the palpable occasions for war which obtain.

There is, of course, an alternative, and that is to go back

¹ The British Navy never was at any time "big" The astonishing thing about British naval supremacy was that it was secured at such small cost and with such a small amount of war material. Germany, realizing this, nearly succeeded, by a small relative exertion, in taking the lead.

² Thus, on January 3rd, 1914, almost precisely seven months before the War began, the author wrote in *The Daily Chronicle*: "The rich people of this country spend (Lord Montagu's very conservative estimate) £45,000,000 on the mere maintenance of motor-cars; I put the figure higher myself. The maintenance of the navy in 1913-1914 cost only £31,000,000." It was a campaign of common sense at once serious and amusing, and the author recalls with some pleasure that the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) thanked him warmly for it.

to the pre-war position and to prepare armaments suitable for use against the dangers which we do not care to prevent and properly related to the lengthy sea-connections of the empire. In practice we are pursuing a very different course. The Impregnable British Navy has disappeared. It has been reduced to dimensions which would make our position very precarious indeed in the event of naval dispositions which might easily arise. As for the air terror, we have not, of course, adequate means of defence. I do not profess to understand the meaning of these arrangements. If peace has been secured, we ought not to be spending so much upon armaments; if peace has not been secured, then I wonder why it is thought well to abandon security? The reason grasps without difficulty the construction of a roof by a man who desires to shelter his family, or the entire abandonment of roofing by a man who believes that his family should live without shelter. What the mind boggles at is the case of the man who believes in keeping the rain out but constructs a roof full of holes.

We cannot have it all ways at once. Current opinion in Great Britain may be not unfairly summarised in the following few words: "We will not multiply, for already there are too many of us, and children are as expensive as they are redundant; we will not arm, for we cannot afford it and moreover it is wrong to arm; we desire peace, for war is abominable." To which the replies may be made: "If you will not multiply, you must make room for those who do so; if you will not arm, you must not expect to keep that which you took by arms; if as a declining people without defence you demand peace in possession, you must not expect the world to take your view."¹

¹ This is already being said. Thus, in *Danger Spots in World Population*, Professor Warren S. Thompson says: "Great Britain holds a large part of the lands most needed by the crowded peoples and must be ready to defend them against all comers if it is unwilling to consider their voluntary alienation. There is no use blinking the fact that the British lion's roar is not so terrifying as it was a generation ago." This is common American form. It is all very well to invite the lion to pare his claws and then, when he has obligingly reduced his armaments, to taunt him with losing his ancient glory.

I come to the second sense in which the points I have advanced form a programme of peace. It is that they contain the germs of concerted agreement for world economic development. If the peril of war did not threaten the world, it would still be necessary to take adequate measures to secure a better world economy. Peace is not an end in itself; it may easily be associated with abject misery. The present position is intolerable in its purely economic aspect, for the world is being wasted while hundreds of millions suffer serious deprivation which is a reproach to our employment of known scientific means of producing abundance. If the economic points of the programme are examined it will be seen that they aim at the promotion of the happiness and welfare of the world, which are now everywhere frustrated. It is a programme which conceives peace not merely as the absence or avoidance of war but as a condition of economic equity. It is not, of course, contended that all the necessary economic steps are included in the points advanced, but here is a sound beginning because it provides for a better employment of the world's resources. It is because these points make for contentment and happiness that they are in prevention of war, since they would remove grave injustices suffered by many peoples and liberate the powers of all men. In sum, to pursue Contentment is to ensue Peace. The nations can and must make such accommodations with each other as will enable them to maintain in concert that constant and unremitting warfare with the forces of nature we call Civilisation.

These pages will have failed lamentably in their purpose if they have not placed the grave issue of economic war in its proper perspective. Who denies the means of life to men makes war upon them. In the World War Germany was beaten because the sea blockade starved her civilian population and her soldiery while depriving her factories of materials and her armies of essential munitions. So England could be beaten to her knees (and was in grave danger of that fate in 1917) by an enemy commanding the sea.

And, in what is so often and so blindly termed Peace merely because it is the avoidance of military operations, nations large and small are in effect the victims of a continuous blockade enforced by political measures. For these reasons I have dwelt upon the means of life even more than upon the means of death, and have represented a True Peace to be a condition of contentment incompatible with economic injustice.

3.—CAN WAR BE AVERTED?

WISH that I could make an end upon a note of complete hopefulness. I have formulated a programme which, I believe, would give the world peace by removing just discontents. It seemed to me due to the subject to endeavour to be useful. I cannot hide from myself, however, that it is exceedingly unlikely that reason will prevail in international affairs in time to prevent further wars of disastrous magnitude. I know quite well the objections that can be raised to each of the suggestions I have set down. I am under no illusion as to pride of possession and tenacity of prejudice. I know that the powerful know the value of power. I do not underestimate the force, in international affairs, of scorn and hatred. I do not forget that I am writing, not of peoples educated in the knowledge and esteem of each other's virtues, but of two thousand million very human beings betrayed to unreason and unhappiness by circumstance, custom and the imperfection of their institutions.

I often think that war will never cease until children are nurtured in the knowledge and admiration of the world and of its varied peoples, and taught that love for their own kind is no more than part of a love for humankind; something nearer and dearer but not different save in degree. The

means of international education increase, but we do not employ them. The cinematograph could be used to bring all the world's people, and especially all the world's children, into touch with each other ; it is now resigned to a commercial exploitation that too often falsifies and distorts national characteristics and has even led to international protests. What ought to be a superb instrument of international amity thus becomes a degrading and dangerous influence. The training of children in world affairs should include visits to foreign countries ; international and periodical exchanges of pupils might easily be arranged between educational authorities. Such social contacts would establish enduring friendships and prevent prejudice. By these and other means the spread of knowledge would cast out fear, suspicion and scorn. Something must be done to reduce the exaggerated nationalism which has been so zealously propagated of late years. We have reached such a pitch of patriotism that the humblest objects are commended to us as obviously superior because national. We must be patriotic, it appears, not only in loving one's country, but in acclaiming even its potatoes and barn-door fowls (although originally of foreign origin) as infinitely superior to all others. Children are absurdly brought up to believe that birds do not sing abroad as they sing at home,¹ and that everything foreign is either inferior or objectionable. It is all very stupid, for if we desire our children to excel we should obviously counsel them to observe

¹ Which thing is by way of being a parable. The author happens to be an ardent aviculturist who has studied the lives and habits of hundreds of species of birds, the denizens of every Continent. He has been amused to observe the advice so freely given by certain writers never to associate " British " with " foreign " birds, as though birds cherished " national," " patriotic " or " Nordic " antagonisms, while again and again he has seen readers assured that British birds have a natural superiority to all others in song. The truth is that the so-called " British " birds, whether they sing ill or well, are also " foreign." Our resident birds are not British but European, e.g., the goldfinch, thrush and robin range over most of Europe ; the goldfinch is particularly fine in parts of Asia. As for the migrants (such as the nightingale, blackcap and willow-wren), they are British only as visitors, and equally as visitors they belong to nearly all Europe, while their life history covers a much greater range. In a world in which it is not unnecessary to make these protests on behalf of the sanity of birds, what hope is there of suddenly extinguishing suspicion and hatred among peoples ?

how much there is for admiration in the world at large and how greatly native gifts may gain by comparison with and emulation of the varied gifts of others.

But things are what they are, and the consequences will be what they will be. Yet is one entitled to urge what is believed to be true, even if in the end one is left fearing the issue.

Envoi : The End is Peace

THE end is peace, but peace is yet no ending
When peace is but to see injustice reign,
While war still ends in peace that
cries for mending,
And men are scourged in peace and know its bane.

The end is peace, but peace is not denial,
Nor may peace live with desolated men.
Still men denied will put their case to trial,
And death in peace shall make war come again.

The end is peace? Then let us will the ending,
Not prate of peace while millions seek the sun.
Peace may be made, but peace that's for defending
Must rest on justice willed and justice done.

L. C. M.

December, 1930

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APPENDIX I

A SUMMARY OF THE ESSENTIAL PARTS OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Covenant of the League of Nations formed the first part of the Treaty of Versailles and of each of the four Peace Treaties which were dictated by the victorious Allies to the defeated nations after the World War.

Origin : The conception of the League originated with President Woodrow Wilson ; it was embodied in the Fourteenth of his famous Fourteen Points and he sacrificed some of his convictions in relation to the other thirteen to secure the acceptance of the Covenant.

Membership (Article 1) : The original members were the signatories of the Covenant ; it being provided that any other fully self-governing State or Dominion might join if two-thirds of the Assembly agreed.

(Note : The membership now includes nations whose aggregate populations form about five-sixths of the world's people. The exceptions are, however, very important, as they include the United States, Russia, Turkey, Brazil and Argentina, which means that nations representing more than one-third of the world's white people are not members. The United States is not a member because she refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Germany, at first excluded, was afterwards invited to join and became a member).

Constitution (Article 2) : The League works through (1) the Assembly, (2) the Council, and (3) the Permanent Secretariat.

The Assembly (Article 3) : This consists of representatives of all the League States and meets at stated intervals or as need arises ; it may deal " with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." Each member has one vote, but may have three representatives.

The Council (Article 4) : This consists of (1) Five permanent members and (2) Nine members elected by the Assembly, three retiring annually.

(Note : So much was the Covenant part of the dictated Peace that it was at first thought to confine the League members to the victorious Allies and to make Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and America the Council or Executive Committee. Fortunately, President Wilson was able to destroy this curious conception of a league of nations. His defeat at home taking America out of the League, the permanent members of the Council at first consisted of Britain, France, Italy and Japan ; Germany has since become the fifth member. The nine Council members elected by the Assembly are (in 1930) representative of Canada, Cuba, Finland, Yugoslavia, Persia, Peru, Poland, Spain and Venezuela).

Unanimity of Decisions (Article 5) : Decisions by either the Assembly or the Council are not valid unless unanimous.

Secretariat (Article 6). Established at the seat of the League (Geneva) the permanent Secretariat consists of a Secretary-General appointed by the Council with the approval of the Assembly, and of a Staff appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

(Note : It is complained (1930) that the Secretariat too largely consists of persons drawn from two nations—England and France).

Armaments (Articles 8 and 9) : The League recognising that “ the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety,” the Council is to make plans accordingly, taking account of the special circumstances of each State. These plans, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the Council’s consent; the plans to be reconsidered every ten years. The League is to prevent private trade in arms. The members are to exchange information as to their armaments. A Permanent Commission is to advise the Council on these matters.

Territorial Integrity (Article 10) : The members undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of such external aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means of fulfilling this obligation.

Concern with War (Article 11): Any war or threat of war is declared "a matter of concern to the whole League and the League shall take any action . . . to safeguard the peace of nations." Any member has a "friendly right" to call attention to any danger to peaceful relations,

Submission of Disputes to (a) Arbitration, (b) Judicial Settlement or (c) The Council. (Article 12): Members agree to submit any dispute likely to lead to rupture to arbitration, or to judicial settlement, or to the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators, or the judicial decision, or the decision or report by the Council. Arbitrators or judicial authority must make award within a reasonable time, and the Council must report within six months.

Settlement of Disputes (Article 13): The members agree that when any dispute arises between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement and which cannot be settled by diplomacy, they will submit the matter to arbitration or judicial settlement. Disputes concerning treaties, questions of international law, or questions of the breach of international obligation, are declared to be among those generally suitable for such arbitration or judicial settlement. Such disputes are therefore to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or other tribunal agreed by the parties. Members are to accept any decision made and are not to go to war against any member accepting such decision. If the decision is not carried out, the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken.

(Note: Article 13 thus amplifies Article 12 and links it with Article 14 providing for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. While Article 12 refers to "any" dispute, Articles 13 and 14 refer by illustration to "legal" or "justiciable" disputes. But all these articles are drawn in ambiguous terms.

World Court (Article 14): A Permanent Court of International Justice shall be established which shall be "competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it." It may also advise the Council or Assembly on matters referred to it by them.

(Note: This Permanent Court of International Justice has been established and its articles agreed. Article 36 of the statute includes the famous "Optional Clause" by which members may by declara-

tion recognise as compulsory the Court's jurisdiction in all cases concerning (a) the interpretation of a Treaty, (b) any question of International Law, (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation. Many nations, including Great Britain, have ratified this declaration, but in nearly every case with reservations of substance).

The Council and International Political Disputes (Article 15) : Disputes not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement under Article 13 must be submitted to the Council, who will endeavour to make a settlement. If a settlement is not reached the Council is to publish a report on the merits of the case, with its recommendations. If the Council is unanimously agreed (save as to the disputing parties) the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the report. If the Council fails to reach a unanimous report, the members reserve the right to take such action as they think wise to maintain justice. The Council is not to interfere in any domestic question in any country. The Council may in any case refer a dispute to the Assembly.

(Note : Thus the Council (or Assembly) is not a court of arbitration which makes awards, but a court of conciliation which endeavours to settle disputes and makes *recommendations*. In sum, Articles 12, 13, 14 and 15 provide for three methods of dealing with disputes, but no clear distinction is made between (1) legal or justiciable disputes and (2) political disputes. The former, e.g., disputes arising out of the interpretation of an existing treaty, are matters (Method 1) for the Permanent Court of International Justice under Article 14. The latter, e.g., such a dispute as a resisted demand for the rectification of a political boundary, are matters (Method 2) for "arbitration" (no court of arbitration being provided) or (Method 3) for submission to the Council under Article 15.)

Sanctions (Article 16) : If any member resorts to war in disregard of Article 12, 13 or 15, it shall be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members, who undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention

of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not. It is the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League.

The members agree that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article.

Also they will afford passage through their territory to armed forces which are acting on behalf of the League.

Any member violating the Covenant may be expelled from membership by vote of the Council.

(Note: This extraordinary Article is discussed in Chapter XIV.)

Non-Member Disputes (Article 17): If a dispute arises between a member and a non-member the non-member shall be invited to join the League, and the Council shall then recommend action under Articles 12 to 15. If the non-member refuses to join the League, the sanctions of Article 16 shall be used against him.

(Note: By this Article the Covenant assumes power to make war upon any non-member, e.g., the United States or Russia!)

No Secret Treaties (Article 18): Every Treaty entered into by a member shall be registered with the Secretariat and published; otherwise it shall not be binding.

Treaty Revision and Dangerous International Conditions (Article 19): The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

(Note: The wide terms of this important article appear to cover any or every Treaty, including the Peace Treaties which established the League, and any or every condition of international difference making for war. This interpretation, however, is hotly contested by those who resist modification of the Peace.)

Mandated Territories (Article 22): Territories taken from the enemy in the late war whose peoples are "not yet able to stand by them-

selves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" shall be entrusted to "various nations" who are willing to accept the trust and this tutelage shall be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

A Permanent Commission shall be set up to receive annual reports from the mandatory powers.

(Note: Under this article the German colonies and certain Turkish territories were distributed among the victorious Allies as described in Chapter VII. While the Article states that the territories shall be mandated, it makes no provision whatever for withdrawing or changing a mandate, nor does it provide any means whatever of insuring that the mandates shall be observed. In the case of the late Turkish territories, however, the article does recognise in terms that they may at some time be "able to stand alone." The Mandates Commission has been very gentle in its criticisms of derelictions of duty.)

Labour and Social Conditions (Article 23): Members agree to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour, just treatment of native peoples, the suppression of the white slave and opium traffics, the general supervision of the trade in arms, freedom of communication and transit, effective prevention of disease.

(Note: In the collection, arrangement and distribution of information under these heads the League has done splendid work.)

Amendments (Article 26): Amendments of the Covenant to take effect when ratified by the Council and by a majority of the Assembly. Any member dissenting from an amendment and signifying his dissent ceases to be a member.

(Note: Thus the Covenant provides constitutionally for its own amendment, and certain amendments have been already made.)

APPENDIX II

INTERNATIONAL TREATY FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY.

THIS Treaty, signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, generally known as the "Kellogg-Briand Pact," consists of the following two declarations:

Article I: The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples 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.

Article II: The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

This Treaty has no connection whatever, save in subject-matter, with the League of Nations. The Treaty was originally made between the British Empire, Germany, the United States, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and has been since acceded to by 49 other nations. As the acceding nations include the United States and Russia, the Pact has been agreed by the greater part of the world's population.

APPENDIX III

TREATY OF MUTUAL GUARANTEE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM, BELGIUM, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ITALY.

(*Locarno Treaty*)

THIS Treaty was signed at Locarno on October 16, 1925, its object being, in effect, to pacify Europe by giving security on the new Franco-Belgian-German frontier. The essential Articles are :

Article I : The High Contracting Parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following article, the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of Articles 42 and 43 of the said Treaty concerning the demilitarised zone.

Article II : Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

Article III : In view of the undertakings entered into in Article 2 of the present treaty, Germany and Belgium and Germany and France undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy.

Article IV : If one of the High Contracting Parties alleges that a violation of Article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles has been or is being committed, it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations.

As soon as the Council of the League of Nations is satisfied that such violation or breach has been committed, it will notify its finding without delay to the Powers signatory of the present Treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the Power against whom the act complained of is directed.

(Note: This extraordinary article thus attaches the League Council as a machine, and casts upon it the onus of declaring a *casus belli*! When the Council gives the order, covenanted war is to begin!)

This, the main Locarno treaty, is associated with treaties of arbitration between (1) Germany and Poland and (2) Germany and Czechoslovakia, repudiating war as a means of settling disputes between them. These arbitration treaties in their turn are associated with Treaties of Guarantee between (1) France and Poland and (2) France and Czechoslovakia, by which France and Poland (or France and Czechoslovakia) engage to aid each other against unprovoked attack by Germany.

* * *

Note: The Locarno treaties arose from the occupation of the Ruhr Valley by French and Belgian troops as a "sanction."

In April, 1921, the Reparations Commission assessed the German reparations liability at 132 milliard gold marks, or £6,600,000,000 sterling. (The aggregate claims of the Allies had been put at an even more ridiculous figure—£11,600,000,000.) Certain methods of payment were determined and dictated, and it was laid down that, if Germany defaulted, sanctions were to be imposed, including the occupation of the Ruhr Valley and the seizure of customs revenue.

Every competent authority held that the payments demanded from Germany were fantastic and that financial breakdown must follow. The important towns of Düsseldorf, Ruhrort and Duisburg, on the outskirts of the Ruhr, had been occupied by the French early in March, 1921, to enforce impossible demands. In December, 1922, the Reparations Commission formally declared Germany to be in default, the British representative not concurring, and in January, 1923, French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr Valley, including Essen, Dortmund and Elberfeld, the richest industrial area of Continental Europe. It was as though, in England, a foreign invader held Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Black

Country. The British Government publicly denounced the occupation, and Germany declared it to amount to war upon a defenceless country. The League of Nations (of course) did not interfere, although it had found time (October, 1921) to dismember Upper Silesia and to make it more impossible for Germany to pay reparations by handing the richest part of that territory to Poland.

The people of the Ruhr put up a dogged resistance, backed by the German government, for nearly ten months. Bitter feeling was accentuated by the French employment of coloured troops. Hundreds of Germans were killed, thousands imprisoned, and over 100,000 deported. Attacks upon the French and Belgians were naturally frequent. All Germany was plunged in a depth of misery recalling the darkest days of the War.

It was to end this terror, and in fear of worse disaster, that Stresemann, as German Chancellor and afterwards as German Foreign Minister, moved his country to end the Ruhr conflict. His pleas for an international conference succeeded, and in January, 1924, a committee of experts, representing Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and the United States, met in Paris. It was called the "Dawes Committee" after its American chairman, General C. G. Dawes. This Committee produced (April, 1924) the "Dawes Plan" which in effect scaled down the fantastic 132 milliards, recognised that only a Germany in real possession of the territory left to it at Versailles could hope to meet her debts, and in effect condemned the military "sanction" as worse than useless. At the London Conference of August, 1924, what remained of Germany's economic unity was restored to her, and a year later (July-August, 1925) the Ruhr occupation ended, after having worked untold injury to Europe.

It was while French troops still held German soil that Stresemann conceived the Locarno policy. In February, 1925, he proposed to the Allied Powers a pact embodying a guarantee by Germany of the inviolability of the Western frontiers dictated by the Treaty of Versailles, Germany to become a member of the League of Nations. Stresemann had great difficulty in persuading a majority of his own people to accept this remarkable overture, but he succeeded, assisted by a British offer to guarantee Germany from Western attack, and the Locarno Treaty was signed in December, 1925.

Stresemann himself has told us why he fathered the Locarno policy. He hoped that by accepting the treaty-made Western frontier Germany would be able, as a member of the League of Nations, to gain peacefully a revision of the hated new Eastern

frontiers, and the restoration of her lost colonies. He put great faith in the influence of the new pact to bring about fulfilment of the engagement for general disarmament embodied both in the Wilson Fourteen Points and the Covenant of the League of Nations. The "Spirit of Locarno" was thus to work wonders for peace and for Germany.

Stresemann is dead. Poland is fortifying her position and strengthening her hold on the "Corridor" and the Baltic shore, while Germany has to use force to restrain her people from action against continued Polish tyranny in Upper Silesia. The late German colonies are being incorporated in the great Empires to which they were "mandated." As for disarmament, in 1930 it is further off than in 1925; each of the countries concerned in the group of Locarno treaties (except Britain and, of course, Germany) has saluted "security" by increasing its armaments.

It should be added that, only five years after the formulation of the Dawes Plan of 1924, it was admitted that even that drastic reduction of the Reparation Commission's demands of 1921 needed further emendation. In 1929, under the chairmanship of Mr. Owen D. Young, its American member (who had also been a member of the Dawes Committee) the "Young Plan" scaled down the Allied demands to less than one-third of their original dimensions. Thus it is admitted that the Ruhr occupation was a wanton cruelty exercised to enforce demands which could not be in reason sustained.

APPENDIX IV

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

THE following is an adequate summary of the Fourteen Points which President Woodrow Wilson made in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918. The Allies publicly offered Germany a peace on the basis of these Fourteen Points, excluding, on behalf of Britain, the Second Point, which relates to the Freedom of the Seas. They also, in making this offer, expanded the Eighth Point as to the restoration of invaded territories by stating that they understood that Germany would make compensation "for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." Upon this, Germany laid down her arms.

Only the longer points are summarised; the shorter ones are stated in full within quotation marks. The descriptive headings are supplied by the present author:

1. *An Open Peace*: "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."
2. *Freedom of the Seas*: "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."
3. *Freedom of Trade*: "The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."
4. *Reduction of Armaments*: "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

5. *Colonies*: "A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined."

6. *Russia*: Russian territory to be evacuated; Russia to enjoy the 'best and freest co-operation' and 'sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill."

7. *Belgium*. Belgium to be evacuated and restored.

8. *France and Alsace-Lorraine*: All French territory to be freed and Alsace-Lorraine restored.

9. *Italy*: "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality."

10. *Austria-Hungary*: The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. *The Balkans*: "Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into."

12. *Turkey*: The Turkish parts of the Ottoman Empire to be assured secure sovereignty, but other nationalities under Turkish rule to have autonomy. The Dardanelles to be freed under international guarantee.

13. *Poland*: "An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

14. *The League of Nations*: “A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.”

It is only necessary to compare these Fourteen Points with the Treaty of Versailles, or even to do no more than compare the letter and spirit of Point Number 1 with the Peace dictated to Germany, to understand why the nation to which the Points were originally declared refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles or to become a member of the League of Nations.

APPENDIX V

TREATY OF LONDON AND PACT OF ST. JEAN DE MAURIENNE

THE Treaty of London, on the strength of which Italy entered the War, was signed on April 26th, 1915, the parties being Britain, Italy, France and Russia. It was agreed that, in the event of an allied victory, Italy should have the Trentino, the Alto Adige, Trieste, Istria, Gorizia-Gradisca, the islands of Cherso and Lussin, Dalmatia to Cape Planka (near Spalato), Valona, the Dodecanese, and a share of Asia Minor; Albania to be under Italian protection.

President Woodrow Wilson refused to recognise this agreement because he had no knowledge of it; he had no knowledge of it because the United States did not enter the War until nearly two years after the signing of the Treaty of London.

By the Pact of St. Jean de Maurienne, made in April, 1917, between Britain, Italy and France, the Asia Minor point of the Treaty of London was clearly defined. It was agreed that Italy was to have the Smyrna area.

APPENDIX VI

RECENT GERMAN UTTERANCES ON GERMAN COLONIZATION

THE following are recent German authoritative utterances upon Germany's need of colonies, her actual work as a colonizing power, and her claim to the restoration of her lost oversea territories.

The late Dr. Stresemann, in the "Berliner Kolonialwoche" (1925):

"For our people, crowded as they are in a limited area and deprived of the possibility of procuring the raw materials necessary for their sustenance and their industry, the colonial problem is a matter of the greatest significance. The firm and persistent will of our united people to participate in colonial activity cannot be permanently thwarted."

Dr. Curtius, Minister for Foreign Affairs, from a speech in the Reichstag (June 26th, 1930):

"For a long time the German Government have held the fundamental view that Germany, by reason of her colonial achievements, has a good right to claim reparticipation in colonial activity. She can do so with all the better grace because she has been deprived of her colonies on a dishonouring plea—a plea in which scarcely anybody, even outside Germany, really believes. Consequently, it is only in continuance of our established policy that we maintain our claim to colonial activity. Obviously, however, nothing definite can be said at present as to when and in what form this claim is to be put forward."

Dr. Heinrich Schnee, late Governor of German East Africa (now Tanganyika), in "German Colonization Past and Future" (1926):

"The claim that Germany shall be reinstated in the ranks of colonizing Powers, with a status equal to that which she won for herself by untold exertions and sacrifices during a struggle lasting

over thirty years, is not merely one that concerns the German people. It concerns all humanity and civilization at large. For the issue involved is plainly this—whether a whole continent and an entire race are to suffer from the fact that the German colonies have been handed over to nations already satiated with such possessions and who, burdened with immense and formidable colonial problems, have neither the inclination nor the necessary forces to devote themselves to the great constructive tasks which modern colonization implies. Shall the unhappy native people of our Protectorates continue to be exposed to decimation by plagues and diseases with which the British, French and Belgians have shown inability to cope adequately alone?

“Samoa, the ‘pearl of the South Seas,’ must be included in order to tell of the tragic fate that has overtaken its inhabitants, one of the most amiable populations on earth. This tragedy is a direct result of the incapable Mandate administration of New Zealand. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* of September 22nd, 1920, drew attention to the signs of retrogression and decay which had already overspread the colony since the Government of New Zealand took over the administration: though taxation had become intolerable, everything was falling into ruin; large plantations had been allowed to become desert, and the pineapple industry had been destroyed; while the treatment of the expelled Germans was described as barbarous.”

F. Baltrusch, Member of the Reichs Economic Council, Manager of the Central Association of the Christian Trade Unions of Germany, in “Europäische Gespräche” (1927):

“Germany needs colonies. We must endeavour to render more independent and secure the supplies of raw material required by our highly industrialized country. Moreover, we need for our industry new markets in colonial countries capable of development. We wish to draft as large a proportion as possible of our emigrating surplus population into territories of our own in order that they may adhere to our own culture and leave the profits of their labour within our own economic system. We have no reason, voluntarily and independently of any demand, to recognize for all time the *status quo* now existing in the distribution among so-called victor states of the vast unpeopled or thinly peopled and undeveloped areas of the earth. Countries like France and England have so overloaded themselves with colonies, protectorates and mandated territories that they cannot even properly manage these enormous areas still less assimilate them.”

Herr Neuhaus, German Minister of Economy (Member of the Reichstag, National People's Party), in the "Berliner Kolonialwoche" (1925):

"Within the reduced area of the mother country several millions more than before the war now have to find employment and support. We cannot bear the taxation and the privation unless permitted to cherish the definite hope that we shall be accorded the old conditions of evolution and have our colonies restored to us."

Herr Kutz, ex-Minister (German Democratic Party), in a book entitled "Deutschland in den Kolonien":

"Among the most shameful things done to us by the Act of Versailles is the taking from us of our colonies and the reasons given for doing so. The argument is most cynically couched in the reply of the enemy Powers to the observations of the German Delegation on the Conditions of Peace; that reply contained the following preposterous sentence: 'Germany's dereliction in the sphere of colonial civilisation has been revealed too completely to admit of the Allied and Associated Powers consenting to make a second experiment and of their assuming the responsibility of again abandoning thirteen or fourteen millions of natives to a fate from which the war has delivered them.'

"It goes without saying that no stone must be left unturned to refute this libel. In general the falseness of the assertion concerning Germany's colonial guilt may be regarded as now admitted. The numerous pre-war acknowledgments of Germany's successful colonial activities issued from the ranks of our late enemies cannot be argued out of existence.

"We must never forget that the fifth of President Wilson's notorious 14 Points postulated 'a free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.' To compel Germany, in the face of this, to renounce all colonial activity constitutes a brutal violation of this country's right."

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, in a pamphlet, enforces his argument with the following foreign testimonials to German colonial methods:

British Vice-Consul Douglas Young: "Reports" for the year 1907, 1908:

"The Government of German East Africa has espoused the cause of the native, and while prepared to render every possible assistance to the planter in facilitating the recruiting, transport and

supply of labour, is determined not to countenance compulsion in any shape or form.”

Theodore Roosevelt : “ *African Game Trials*,” “ *Scribner’s Magazine*,” October, 1909 :

“ But I was not as well prepared for the corresponding and equally interesting types among the Germans, the planters, the civil officials, the officers, who had commanded, or were about to command, white or native troops ; men of evident power and energy, seeing whom made it easy to understand why German East Africa has thriven apace. They are first-class men, these English and Germans ; both are doing in East Africa a work of worth to the whole world ; there is ample room for both.

Louis Hamilton : “ *United Empire*,” 1911 :

“ What is evident is that in education of the better class of Colonists Germany is ahead of all countries, as she always is in matters educational. . . . As far as Colonial education of the better-class emigrant goes—i.e., the official, the military man, and the scientist—Germany has a complete apparatus. She has the education and not the Colonies ; we have the Colonies and not the education. . . .

“ The policy now obtaining in the German Colonies, to treat the natives with kindness and consideration, has done much to add to security of life and general contentment.”

Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G. : “ *A History of the Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races*,” 1913 :

“ As in commerce so in Government, they (the Germans) observe, learn and master the best principles.”

R. S. and M. E. Meikle : “ *After Big Game*,” London :

“ Her (Germany’s) administration was efficient ; the zeal for health and sanitation admirable ; her pursuit of scientific research energetic. Germans build well, make good roads, maintain law and order and are energetic to recognise and to utilise all the possibilities of the country.”

From an article on the East African Colonies. (“ *The Times*,” May 24th, 1916) :

“ Organized science, too, has been amply provided for the planter in German East Africa. It would be difficult to exaggerate

the beauties and charm of Amani—the Kew Gardens of that colony. Here every form of rubber tree and vine, every kind of fibre plant, all sorts of tropical fruits, cereals, forest trees, and useful crops were being grown experimentally, scientifically, and with a strict view to commercial advantage.”

From an address of the white settlers in Samoa to the New Zealand Minister dated July 5th, 1921 :

“ We need hardly advise you that the inhabitants, both Europeans and Natives are now more than ever disgusted with the state of affairs in Samoa, and we therefore beg and beseech you to use your best efforts to prevent the steady drift of the country towards bankruptcy.”

Major A. G. Church (a member of the East Africa Parliamentary Commission) (“ The Times,” May 4th, 1925) :

“ Provision has been made in this year’s local Estimates for the re-establishment of the Geological Survey and the Amani Research Institute. It reflects little credit either upon the local administration or upon the Home authorities that the work in these two directions, so ably carried on by the Germans, was not pushed forward with energy and enthusiasm immediately we became responsible for the country. Major Ormsby-Gore and I, when we visited Amani, felt thoroughly chagrined that this magnificent institute, with its residences, its laboratories, its library of scientific books and memoirs, its plantations and nurseries, had been practically abandoned.”

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