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# SINCE 1914

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With a Foreword by

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To  
STEPHEN WENDER

## FOREWORD

To present in an orderly and intelligible manner the momentous events in the history of the world for the past twenty years is no easy task. These years have been marked by more far-reaching economic, social, and political changes than occurred in the three preceding centuries. The average person is bewildered by the swiftly moving tide of events, by the strange doctrines that have been proclaimed in various places and by the challenge that has been made to many cherished traditions.

It is the aim of this book to present the significant events of these troublous years so that the reader may obtain as clear an understanding as possible of the world in which he lives.

NELSON P. MEAD

## P R E F A C E

Twenty years have elapsed since Princip fired the first shots of the World War on June 28 at Sarajevo which killed Archduke Francis Ferdinand and enveloped mankind in history's most devastating war. These two decades constitute the painful period of gestation of the New Era. The first decade was characterized by unabating hatred between the Central and Entente powers,—an odium provoked by the War. Beginning with the year 1924 the pains were for a time eased. Conciliation was the palliative. The Allied troops withdrew from the Ruhr; the Dawes and Young Plans were adopted; Germany entered the League of Nations; the Kellogg Pact was designed; the Allies evacuated the Rhineland; world economics improved; and the Spirit of Locarno made for greater assurance of peace in Western Europe.

Since the year 1930 mankind has been experiencing the pains of labor attending the birth of the New Era. The Stock Market Crash of late 1929 had its repercussions throughout the world. Banks closed; unemployment increased; Japan seized Manchuria; Hitler made himself ruthless dictator of Germany; the Disarmament Conference failed; dictatorships controlled one-half of Europe; and Communism threatened. The new Era is not yet born.

*outcome change.*  
This book purports to survey the history of mankind since the year 1914. The emphasis is laid not on the World War but on the history of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the United States since the War, ending with a chapter on post-War culture. It is far too soon to describe the New Era. Hence the reader must content himself with a narrative of post-War world events and an interplay of the world economic depression, National Socialism, Communism, and Paternal Nationalism. He then may speculate for himself in prophecies as to the nature of the future New Era. The selected bibliography should be of great assistance in this regard.

Many thanks are due to Professor Nelson P. Mead of The College of the City of New York, a specialist in contemporary world affairs, for having read the manuscript and for having written the Foreword. The author is also very grateful to Dr. Herbert Wender of Ohio State University for his expert advice in the preparation of the manuscript. His help proved most invaluable.

J. H. L.

November, 1934.

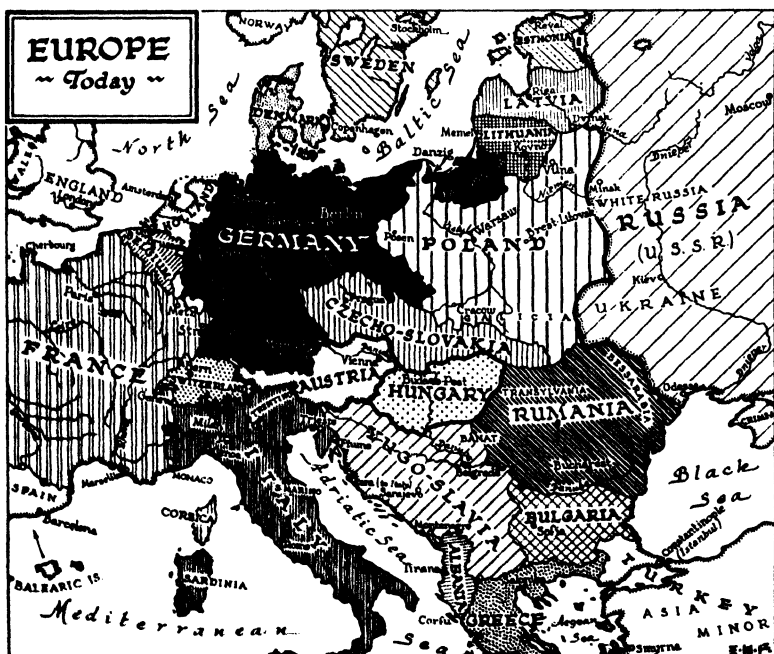
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SINCE 1914



## CHAPTER I

### THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

The World War was the greatest catastrophe that ever befell human civilization. But its aftermath heralded a new era in politics, sociology, economics and culture. Unfortunately, the world is now suffering from the labor that attends the birth of this new epoch. It is certain that much of the old civilization which antedates the World War is doomed to perdition. The roots of our present world upheaval lie in the evils of this old civilization.

#### The Fundamental Causes

The fundamental causes for the outbreak of the World War were the excesses of nationalism, militarism, and economic imperialism. The conflicting systems of military alliances, the anarchy of international negotiations and the frequent occurrence of international crises helped to make a world war imminent.

##### Nationalism

Nationalism is an emotional state of mind of a people in which they manifest the desire to maintain and foster their own government, ideals, aspirations, and frequently a common religion, race and language. It originated in the 14th and 15th centuries, and has been greatly nurtured by the French Revolutionary doctrine of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." It received its greatest setback at the hands of the diplomats of the Congress of Vienna (1815), who disregarded nationalism at will in several instances. They repartitioned Poland, disunited Italy under the divided control of Austria, the Pope, and the king of Naples, annexed Belgium to Holland, allowed the domination of Turkey in the Balkan peninsula, annexed Norway to Sweden, and created a German Confederation, controlled by Austria, ruling over a multi-national population of Germans, Poles, Italians, Czechs, Slovaks, Southslavs, Magyars, and Jews. These submerged nationalities won their independence in several instances by insurrection, such as the Revolutions of 1820, 1830, and 1848, and by diplomatic negotiations, such as the secession of Norway from Sweden in 1905.

In 1914 there were still many national sore spots that were aching to be healed. These unsatisfied national ambitions constituted a constant menace to the peace of the world.

(a) **BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.** These provinces had been administered by Austria-Hungary since the Treaty of Berlin (1878) which terminated the Russo-Turkish War, and were annexed in 1908 very much to the chagrin of the inhabitants, who preferred being ruled by their linguistic and racial kinsmen, the Serbians, rather than by the Austrians.

(b) **ITALIA IRREDENTA.** By 1914 the kingdom of Italy still lacked Trentino and the area around Trieste. These territories remained under Austrian rule, though they were populated by many Italian nationals.

(c) **ALSACE AND LORRAINE.** At the close of the Franco-Prussian War (1871), the German Empire took Alsace and most of Lorraine from France. The latter has been contending that the majority of these people are French nationals. Germany has been replying that Louis XIV and Louis XV originally took them from the Holy Roman Empire, and that the majority of the people are racially and linguistically German. Both countries also desire Alsace and Lorraine because of industrial considerations, i.e., their coal and iron deposits.

(d) **AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.** The Dual Monarchy was an artificial state governed by a minority of Austrians and Hungarians, and consisted of such submerged nationalities, as Poles, Slovaks, Slovenes, Czechs, Serbians, Croats, Italians, Ruthenes, and Rumanians, who longed for independent home lands.

(e) **THE BALKAN QUESTION.** The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) deprived the *Sick Man of the East* of all of his empire in Europe except Adrianople and Eastern Thrace. The disposition of the former Turkish territory was unsatisfactory to Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. The situation in the *Cockpit of Europe* was further complicated by a legacy of mutual hatred and distrust among the Balkan states. Greece wanted southern Albania, Thrace, Constantinople, the Aegean Islands, and parts of Asia Minor. Rumania wanted the 2,000,000 Rumanians living in Transylvania, Bukowina, and part of Bessarabia. Serbia's ambition to build a Greater Serbia was frustrated by Austria and Italy. The Pan-Slav movement was checked by the Austro-German *Drang nach Osten*. Russia's aspiration to acquire Constantinople entangled her in a diplomatic snarl with the Austro-German Bagdad Railway project. Russia reappeared upon the scene as the champion of the Slavs against Austrian aggrandizement. England became anxious over Germany's proposed Bagdad Railway extension to the Persian Gulf and her diplomatic friendship with the Sultan. England feared Germany's encroachment on India and the Suez Canal,—a move which she frustrated by helping to establish German-hating Balkan states after the Balkan Wars and by concluding a treaty with the Sultan of Koweit, which denied Germany a terminus on the Persian Gulf for her railway. However,



two weeks before the outbreak of the World War the English and German differences were amicably settled when England allowed the completion of the railway after Germany had agreed to an international board of directors and refrained from aggression on English soil.

### Militarism

On the eve of the World War, Europe was an armed camp in which nations rivalled one another in armaments. Chauvinism or jingoism displayed itself in varying degrees in every country. Each nation had its war cult. All of this was engendered by the hatred, suspicion, and distrust they had for one another. Conscription, or military service in time of peace, was in vogue in all European countries but England. Military aeronautics, submarines, howitzers, chemicals, and germs became the new instruments of human destruction. In 1913 the Reichstag passed a new army bill increasing the size of Germany's standing army. France retaliated by increasing the term of service of her conscripted young men from two years to three. Russia increased her recruits by 135,000 annually. In 1906 England launched the first dreadnought, and then began the race with Germany to remain mistress of the seas. Germany already had a formidable military organization. Militarism and navalism loomed as the largest items in the budgets of the countries of the world. In the 40 years from 1872 to 1912, military and naval expenditures increased 335% in Germany; 214% in Russia; 185% in Italy; 180% in England; 155% in Austria-Hungary; and 133% in France.

### Economic Rivalries and Imperialism

The Industrial Revolution intensified the desire of already fervid nationalists to acquire more lands. This imperial and economic rivalry among the nations took the form of a struggle for markets, e.g., England and Germany in Argentina; a rivalry for raw materials, e.g., Russia and England for oil in Persia; a search for additional food supplies, e.g., Japan's encroachment on Manchuria for the soy bean fields; migrations of excess populations, e.g., England's policy of encouraging young English people to settle in Australia and Canada; and a search for safe investment fields for surplus capital, e.g., European spheres of influence in China. These economic rivalries and imperialistic projects led in recent decades to the partition of Africa and the further incursion of Europe into the Far East and the Near East, besides furthering international tariff wars and hatreds. By 1914 the habitable portions of the globe were parcelled out among the great nations of the world. The spoils were unequal. Many imperialistic hopes were unfulfilled. Russia wanted Constantinople, the Straits, and the Balkan peninsula

so that she might not be closed up in the Black Sea. Austria-Hungary sought some seaports on the Aegean Sea, since she feared losing her Adriatic seaports to Italy. Germany was eager to acquire Asia Minor for its natural wealth and as an outlet to the Far East. Italy desired northern Africa, Asia Minor, and the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea in particular.

#### The System of Alliances

Europe was divided into two great coalitions, i.e., the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. It was thought that these heavily armed organizations of countries would effect a balance of power, but in reality they threatened the peace of the world.

(a) **TRIPLE ALLIANCE.** The Triple Alliance consisted of Germany, Austria, Italy, Serbia, and Rumania. Bismarck conceived it to maintain the *status quo* of 1870 and to protect Germany against the French spirit of *revanche* for her losses suffered in the Franco-Prussian War (1871). The steps in the formation of the Triple Alliance were the union of Germany and Austria-Hungary forming the Dual Alliance (1879); Italy joined the Dual Alliance and formed the Triple Alliance (1882); then Serbia and Rumania became affiliates (1883). The objects of the Triple Alliance were to maintain the social and political systems in the member nations; to remain benevolently neutral if one of the three powers were attacked by a single enemy; to fight in defense if one of them were attacked by two or more nations; to secure Italy's aid if Germany were attacked by France, in exchange for which Germany and Austria agreed to support Italy if she were attacked by France in the former's attempts at aggrandizement in Tunis; and to accept the principle of "reciprocal compensations" for Austria and Italy in the Balkan peninsula. Germany's motives in entering the coalition were primarily the fear of French *revanche* and the desire to further the Austro-German *Drang nach Osten*; Austria-Hungary joined the alliance because of the fear of Russian interference in her Balkan policy to secure seaports on the Aegean Sea, the desire to subjugate the Southslavs, particularly Serbia, and to develop the Bagdad Railway; Italy became a party because she sought assistance in the conquest of Tunis and Tripoli and help in resisting the influence of the Pope.

The Three Emperors' League of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia of 1872 was abrogated in 1887 because Russia's interests conflicted with those of Austria-Hungary in the Balkan peninsula. But Bismarck's fear of France was so great that he deceived Austria-Hungary by concluding the Re-Insurance Treaty (1887) with Russia, in which he recognized the superiority of the Russian to the Austrian claims in the Balkan peninsula.

Italy, because of her conflicts with Austria, was the weak link in the Triple Alliance. Austria still held *Italia Irredenta*; Italy and Austria were old enemies; and Italy was determined to transform the Adriatic Sea into an Italian lake, a plan which Austria feared. Italy and France in 1902 promised to remain neutral, if either party were on the defensive or offensive. Yet, the Triple Alliance was renewed as late as February, 1913, to last until July, 1920.

(b) TRIPLE ENTENTE. The Triple Entente was a coalition of France, Russia, and England. The steps in the formation of this coalition were the Franco-Russian Entente (1891), the Franco-Russian Alliance (1894), which was a defensive alliance against the Central Powers for the duration of the Triple Alliance, the *Entente Cordiale* (1904) between France and England, and the Anglo-Russian *Entente* (1907). The French motives for forming this coalition were the fear of German ascendancy in wealth, population, and military organization, and her national isolation in the face of the formidable Triple Alliance. Russia's motives were: William II's refusal to renew the Re-Insurance Treaty when it expired in 1890 because of the Austro-Russian conflict of interests in the Balkans; and her need of French capital for the building of the Trans-Siberian and other railways, and for developing her military enterprises. England abandoned her isolation and joined the Triple Entente because Germany embarked on an aggressive *Weltpolitik* and challenged England's naval supremacy; England's rivalry with France over the Sudan and other colonial possessions was terminated by the *Entente Cordiale* (1904); and England's rivalry with Russia in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and the Straits was ended by the Treaty of 1907 and the Anglo-Russian *Entente* (1907). England entered into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. *ultimately enveloped Russia*

In this fashion, the Triple Entente checkmated the Triple Alliance and the balance of power was thus precariously maintained. Germany began to realize that her diplomatic machinations were being defeated and to complain of the *Einkreisungspolitik* (encirclement policy) of her enemies. *complication*

#### International Anarchy

It is customary for statesmen to conduct diplomatic negotiations in secret. Such negotiations have the advantage of permitting proper rational deliberation of international affairs without the statesmen's being exposed to the comments of a frequently irrational, emotional and passionate public opinion and press. Yet, secret diplomacy has the disadvantage of subjecting a people to defensive and offensive alliances, treaties of peace and tariff arrangements, which they may be called upon to defend with their lives, though they had no voice in the actual deliberations. And this was true even of democratic governments. Frequently, diplomats are incapable and, more often, they have aristocratic or wealthy associations.

whose interests may therefore not be altogether in harmony with those of their nationals. (Secret diplomacy may lend itself to theft, forgery, lying and corruption.) Conditions have come to such a pass that diplomats are not expected to be truthful. The press and other media of propaganda play their rôles of intrigue, deception and corruption, sometimes innocently. The citation of several of these episodes will bring to mind the significance of secret diplomacy and evil propaganda: the Hearst newspapers and the Spanish-American War; the Ems dispatch and the Franco-Prussian War; Bismarck's duplicity in negotiating the Re-Insurance Treaty (1887) with Russia recognizing the predominance of her interests in the Balkan peninsula while he was at the time duty bound to protect the interests of Austria in the Balkan peninsula.

X The absence of machinery to control international relations added to the international anarchy. Nations are so jealous of their sovereignty that they are not as yet altogether willing to submit to the greater good of all mankind, though theoretically they do lip service to the pious aspirations of internationalism. The cause for internationalism has been furthered by international learned societies, exchange professors and students, travel, religious organizations, and telegraph and postal systems. The Hague Court (1907), to which nations were allowed to go for the settlement of their disputes, added to the development of international good will. Nevertheless, up to the advent of the World War we must declare that international relations were anarchic. The nations of the world failed to establish an effective system of international government to promote peace, avert war, and guarantee national safety.

### The Crises

A number of crises had occurred that might have kindled the World War, but the diplomats succeeded in tiding over these earlier critical junctures by satisfactory bargains. Not that the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria was more grave, but in this instance diplomacy failed and the World War broke out.

(a) MOROCCAN CRISES OF 1905 AND 1906. The strength of the *Entente Cordiale*, the fear of the *rapprochement* between France and England, and the rivalry between Germany and France in Morocco caused the German Foreign Minister Baron von Holstein to advise William II to visit Tangier in 1905. The Kaiser recognized the sovereignty of Morocco, opposed the French *Tunification* of it, and suggested an international conference to settle the Moroccan question. The French Foreign Minister Delcassé resented this challenge. Since Russia was too exhausted at the close of the Russo-Japanese War to aid France, Delcassé yielded and then resigned.

In 1906 the Moroccan question was reopened and another conference was held at Algeiras. It decided that Morocco's independence be recognized, France police Morocco and advise it financially, and an open door trade policy be adopted for it. Germany became particularly suspicious at this conference of the Triple Entente and Italy, thus adding to the general distrust and ill feeling among the nations.

(b) **BALKAN CRISIS OF 1908.** Bosnia and Herzegovina were policed by Austria-Hungary in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin (1878), but in 1908 the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Alois von Aehrenthal determined to annex these provinces. The Russian Foreign Minister Alexander Izvolski agreed to this, provided Austria consented to open the Straits to Russian battleships. Austria quietly proceeded without Izvolski's having secured the consent of the other European nations. England was unwilling to grant the privilege to Russian battleships. Then Austria refused to mediate the problem of the annexation of the provinces, and Russia and France were unable to contest her at the time. Serbia was helpless to assist her kinsmen in Bosnia and Herzegovina and yielded, since she received no support from Russia, because of the mediation of Germany. This event was a decided Austro-German diplomatic victory. King Peter of Serbia, who succeeded Alexander in 1903, caused the new foreign policy of Serbia to favor Russia. After this crisis of 1908, Serbian agitation against Austria and Germany, encouraged by Izvolski of Russia, became more bitter.

(c) **MOROCCAN CRISIS OF 1911.** France was determined to annex Morocco. On the pretext of helping the Sultan maintain order, French troops took possession of Fez in 1911. Ostensibly to protect German property, Germany sent the gunboat *Panther* to the port of Agadir. But English and French battleships interceded to prevent German occupation. Ill feeling ran high. The Triple Entente firmly supported France, and Germany feared to meet the challenge. At a conference in 1912 Germany recognized French hegemony in Morocco, which was then converted into a protectorate. Germany received 100,000 square miles of jungle land in French Congo as compensation.

(d) **TURCO-ITALIAN WAR (1911).** While Turkey was pre-occupied with the Young Turkish Revolution, Italy took Tripoli from Turkey and established a protectorate over it. This event caused considerable diplomatic discussion, as Turkey was a friend of Germany. Like the other crises, this one was tided over diplomatically, but it was evident that Italy's fidelity to the Triple Alliance was more questionable, since the Triple Entente sanctioned the Italian victory.

(e) **BALKAN WARS (1912-1913).** The Tripolitan War and the Young Turkish Revolution offered the opportune time for the Balkan states to expel Turkey completely from Europe. Eleutherios Venizelos organized the Balkan League of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, and successfully launched the First Balkan War. The Second Balkan War was occasioned by the Balkan states quarreling amongst themselves over the spoils. The Balkan Wars resulted in an Austro-German defeat since Turkey, their ally, lost her European possessions except Adrianople and Eastern Thrace, and Serbia, her enemy, though she did not retain the seaports on the Adriatic because of Austrian intervention, grew in size, population, and developed greater hostility towards Austria.

### **The Immediate Causes of the World War**

The immediate causes of the World War were the enmity between Austria and Serbia; the Serbian desire to create a Greater Serbia of all the Southslavs including the Bosnians and Herzegovinians; Austria's interference in Serbia's plans to have seaports on the Adriatic Sea by helping to create Albania at the close of the Balkan Wars; and the decisive event, when on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir-presumptive to the throne of Austria and Hungary, and his wife, Sophie, were assassinated in the Bosnian city of Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip,—a Southslav, an Austrian subject and a Serbian national.

#### **Events Leading to the Declaration of War**

The diplomats of the various European capitals were impotent in this emergency. Events moved rapidly to the declaration of war.

(a) On July 23, 1914, Serbia received a 48 hour ultimatum from Austria. Foreign Minister Berchtold and Chief of Staff Hotzendorf of Austria favored a "local war" to punish Serbia drastically, if Germany would hold off Russia. At first the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the Hungarian Minister-President Count Tisza were opposed to even a "local war." Vile Serbian utterances and the "blank check" support of Germany on July 5 converted them. The ultimatum stated that Serbia had violated the agreement of March 31, 1909, to live on good neighborly terms with Austria-Hungary, and insisted that Serbia suppress all anti-Austrian propaganda, arrest and try certain officials for alleged complicity in the assassination, dissolve the "Union of Death" society, allow Austro-Hungarian officials to assist Serbian officials in trying the Sarajevo suspects, and permit Austro-Hungarian officials to assist in the suppression of the anti-Austrian propaganda in Serbia.

(b) On July 24, 1914, the Russian Foreign Minister Sazanov informed the Serbian ambassador to St. Petersburg that Russia would oppose Austrian aggrandizement in Serbia.

(c) On July 25, 1914, Serbia replied conciliatorily that she was willing to refer the dispute for arbitration to the Hague Court or to a conference of the powers, but that she would not tolerate the violation of her sovereign rights by allowing foreign officials to function on Serbian soil.

(d) On July 28, 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. William II and Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg thought the reply reasonable and suggested arbitration, but Berchtold was stubborn. German statesmen had received a copy of the ultimatum before it was issued, but too late to moderate it. Serbia mobilized.

(e) From July 20 to 23, 1914, President Poincaré of France visited Russia and assured her of military assistance.

(f) On July 30, 1914, Russia ordered a general mobilization.

(g) The same day, Germany ordered Russia to cease mobilizing within twelve hours under threat of war.

(h) On August 1, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia. She did strive to prevent war by appeasing England and by advising Austria to negotiate, though she realized that delay enabled Russia to mobilize.

(i) On August 3, 1914, Germany declared war on France, because the latter would not guarantee to remain neutral by pledging several forts.

(j) On August 4, 1914, Germany invaded Belgium when the latter replied to Germany that she would not permit her neutral rights, guaranteed in 1839, to be violated by the invasion of German troops.

(k) On August 4, 1914, England declared war on Germany. Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey tried by negotiations to avert war; but when Germany invaded Belgium, he abandoned such hopes, believing England's safety to be in jeopardy. Englishmen were not ready to fight a war in behalf of the Serbians, although diplomatically England had obligations by the Triple Entente and by a treaty to protect the French western and northern coastlines against German attacks. It may be that Grey's Germanophobia had much to do with precipitating England into the War.

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Annual Register.

Current History, a very significant monthly publication.

Foreign Affairs, a quarterly magazine.

Information Service of the Foreign Policy Association.

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World Peace Foundation Pamphlets.

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## CHAPTER II

### THE WORLD WAR

The World War was the greatest war in history from the standpoint of the number of nations and people involved, the nature of the armaments, the extent of destruction, and its effects on civilization. The belligerents on the side of the Triple Entente, known as the Allies, were twenty-three in number: Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium, the British Empire, Montenegro, Japan, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, the United States, Cuba, Panama, Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Brazil, Greece, Siam, Liberia, and China. The belligerents on the side of the Triple Alliance, known as the Central Powers, were four in number: Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The neutrals were Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and all the Latin American nations not already mentioned.

#### The Advantages of the Central Powers

While Russia had the largest standing army, Germany had the best organized and equipped army.

England's naval tonnage exceeded that of Germany, but the German naval equipment and organization were equal to that of the English.

#### THE MOBILIZED FORCES OF THE LEADING COMBATANTS

Central Powers		Allies	
Germany	11,000,000	Russia	12,000,000
Austria-Hungary	7,800,000	British Empire	8,000,000
Turkey	2,850,000	France	8,400,000
		Italy	5,000,000
		United States	5,000,000

#### THE NAVAL STRENGTH OF THE IMPORTANT COMBATANTS

	Dread-noughts	Pre-Dread-noughts	Battle Cruisers	Armored Cruisers	Cruisers
Great Britain	20	40	9	34	74
Germany	13	20	4	9	41
United States	8	22	0	11	14
France	4	18	0	20	9
Japan	2	13	2	13	13
Russia	0	7	0	6	9
Italy	3	8	0	9	6
Austria-Hungary	3	6	0	2	5

The Germans had the very best military equipment, such as the howitzer, machine gun, submarine, and poison gas.

The Central Powers formed one geographic block from Germany to Turkey, whereas the Allies were scattered. \*

### **The Advantages of the Allies**

The man power, active and reserve, was greater among the Allies.

The economic and industrial resources were greater among the Allies than among the Central Powers.

The accumulated gold reserves and borrowing ability were greater among the Allies.

The British navy, which proved to be so essential in effecting the German blockade, procuring supplies and escorting transports, was larger than that of any other single country.

The Allies were superior dispensers of propaganda. Their aim was to create a sympathetic morale among the civilians in the home countries and among the citizens in neutral countries; and to foment discord behind the trenches in the enemy countries.

Hence in a prolonged war the possibilities of success for the Allies appeared greater.

### **The Precipitation of the War**

The Allies and the Central Powers competed with each other in offering attractive terms to the nations of the world for their support. The so-called Secret Treaties are the reckless promises made by the Allies to their affiliates.

#### **Turkey**

Turkey joined the Triple Alliance on August 2, 1914, which guaranteed the territorial integrity of, and military assistance to, its constituents. The Central Powers, including Turkey, were interested in nullifying Russia's aspirations in the Straits, in terminating British control in Egypt and Cyprus, and in crushing Pan-Slavism.

#### **Japan**

Japan declared war on Germany on August 23, 1914, because of the Anglo-Japanese treaty (1902), the desire to acquire Kiao-chau and other German interests in China, and to requite Germany for her hostilities to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War (1895).

#### **Portugal**

Portugal resolved to assist England, November 23, 1914, in accordance with an old treaty of 1661.

#### **Italy**

Italy deserted the Triple Alliance and joined the Allied Powers May 23, 1915. She was induced to do so by the offers of Trentino, Trieste, South Tyrol, Gorizia, Gradisca, and Istria in the northeastern portion of the Italian peninsula, northern Dalmatia, a protectorate over Albania, the ownership of the Greek Dodecanese Islands occupied by the Italians since 1912, a sphere of influence in Asiatic

Turkey, the extension of her colonial possessions in Africa, a war loan and a share of the war indemnity, and a promise that the Pope would not be permitted to oppose the political designs of Italy.

#### **Bulgaria**

Bulgaria signed an alliance with Austria, September 6, 1915, and declared war on Serbia, October 14, 1915, with a view toward acquiring Serbian and Greek Macedonia, and wreaking vengeance on Serbia because of the latter's leadership against her in the Balkan Wars. The affiliation of Bulgaria with their coalition was a strategic victory for the Central Powers, since it gave them unimpeded control from Berlin to Constantinople and to Bagdad.

#### **Rumania**

Rumania declared war on Austria, August 27, 1916, after she was promised, by a secret treaty with England, Russia, France, and Italy, Transylvania from Hungary, Bukowina from Austria, and Banat of Temesvar from Hungary.

#### **Greece**

Greece at first remained neutral because of the pro-Germanism of King Constantine and her fear of Bulgaria. However, Venizelos and his supporters favored the Allied cause. He was defeated several times as prime minister over this question. The French General Sarraill captured Salonica in 1915, and organized a base there, because the Allies wanted to aid Serbia from the south, and desired a naval base on the Mediterranean Sea. Constantine protested against the violation of Greek neutrality but in vain. Instead, the Allies recognized the government that Venizelos set up in Salonica. Constantine was forced to abdicate his throne in favor of his second son, Alexander. Then the Venizelos government declared war on Germany, December 28, 1916, with the promise of certain Balkan lands, though they had already been promised to Italy as a reward. The Allied violation of Greek neutrality was no more honorable than the German violation of Belgian neutrality.

#### **The United States**

At first, the United States was technically neutral. However, the people were divided in their sympathies because of the vast cosmopolitan elements, the business dealings with the Allies and Central Powers, and the activities of Allied and German propagandists. Great Britain seriously violated United States neutrality by (1) extending her contraband list to include practically everything from guns to toothpaste, contrary to the Declaration of London (1909); (2) blockading Germany, not by patrolling German ports with sufficient ships but by stationing them in the English Channel and at the entrance to the North Sea thus blockading, as well, the neutral countries of Holland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark in order

to intercept the "continuous voyage" of merchandise ultimately going to the Central Powers; (3) searching neutral ships for contraband not on the high seas but in English ports after much delay; (4) flying the United States flag as a *ruse de guerre*; (5) publishing the Black List of proscribed American firms with whom Britishers were not to trade because of their pro-German affiliations; and (5) persisting in her illegal practices, while answering our notes of protest.

Nevertheless, the United States declared war on Germany, April 6, 1917, because of (1) the German violation of Belgian neutrality, (2) the German ruthless submarine warfare resulting in the destruction of American lives and property, (3) the anti-German activities of the Allied agents, the National Security League, General Leonard Wood, Theodore Roosevelt and others, (4) the German fraud, violence and conspiracy in blowing up munition factories and transport ships and in fomenting strikes in steel mills and factories, instigated by the Austrian Ambassador, Dr. Constantine Dumba, and the German military attachés, Captains von Papen and Boy-Ed, (5) the consequent danger of financial loss to American bankers for France and England, should the Central Powers win the war, (6) the Sussex pledge and its violations, (7) the Zimmermann note to the German Minister to Mexico advising that Mexico be offered, after actual war existed between Germany and the United States, the land she lost to the United States in the Mexican War, if she would become a German ally in a joint war against the United States, and (8) the militaristic and truculent spirit of the German government, especially after the abdication of autocrat Nicholas II of Russia in March, 1917.

The submarine was one of Germany's most destructive instruments and her greatest hope of defeating the Allies, but that this weapon might be effective it was necessary to violate international law. According to international usage, enemy merchant ships are not to be sunk until provision for the safety of neutrals and non-contraband neutral merchandise is made. Neutral merchant ships may be searched, but noncontraband and neutrals must be allowed to continue to an enemy destination in the absence of an "effective" blockade. If the cargo is consigned to a neutral destination, both the cargo, no matter what its nature, and neutrals must be permitted to be transported. But submarines cannot very well comply with these old international legal regulations because of their construction and operation. Many ships were thus sunk, but it was the sinking of the *Lusitania* that caused the greatest consternation. The German government contended that the *Lusitania* was in reality a battleship since it carried Canadian soldiers, transported munitions, was a British reserve cruiser, and had concealed guns. The English declared these charges to be invalid and immaterial.

## The Campaign of 1914-1915

### War on the Western Front

The German plan of campaign, as conceived by General Alfred von Schlieffen, provided for a swift attack on Paris, capitalizing Germany's superiority in speed of mobilization, and a simultaneous parry with the inefficient Russians on the Eastern Front until Paris capitulated. Then the German forces could be concentrated on the Eastern Front until the Russians were crushed.

(a) **THE MARCH ON PARIS.** General Helmuth von Moltke, in charge of the German forces, ordered General von Kluck to invade Luxemburg and Belgium. The latter general succeeded in coming within fifteen miles of Paris in early September of 1914. To intercept the German drive, Marshall Joffre, the French Commander-in-Chief, attacked the German right flank, and General Foch attacked the center at the crucial *First Battle of the Marne* (September 5-12, 1914), where the Germans were defeated. They then retreated to the Aisne River. Their victory foiled the Schlieffen plan of campaign.

(b) **THE FIRST BATTLE OF YPRES** (October, 1914). This was a contest for the possession of the English Channel towns. The victorious Allies controlled Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, and thus retained communication between England and France for the duration of the War.

(c) **THE SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES** (April 22, 1915). This battle, in which poison gas was used for the first time, inflicted defeat on the British. It was the last significant encounter on the Western front in 1915.

### War on the Eastern Front

(a) **THE RUSSIAN DEFEATS.** In the meantime, the Russians under Rennenkampf in East Prussia and under Brussilov in Galicia were successful. Then, Paul von Hindenburg and his Chief of Staff, General Erich Ludendorff, routed the Russians at Tannenberg (August 26-31, 1914), at the Masurian Lakes (September 5-15, 1914), and at Augustovo (February, 1915). The Russians lost over 1,500,000 men and many guns.

In the spring of 1915, Hindenburg advanced on Petrograd and captured Courland, Lithuania and the intervening territory as far as Riga.

(b) **RUSSIA EXHAUSTED.** The Russians recouped some of their losses in Galicia and took Przemyśl (March 22, 1915). The German General von Mackensen turned the tide of victory and expelled the Russians from Galicia and Russian Poland by September, 1915. Russia was now exhausted.

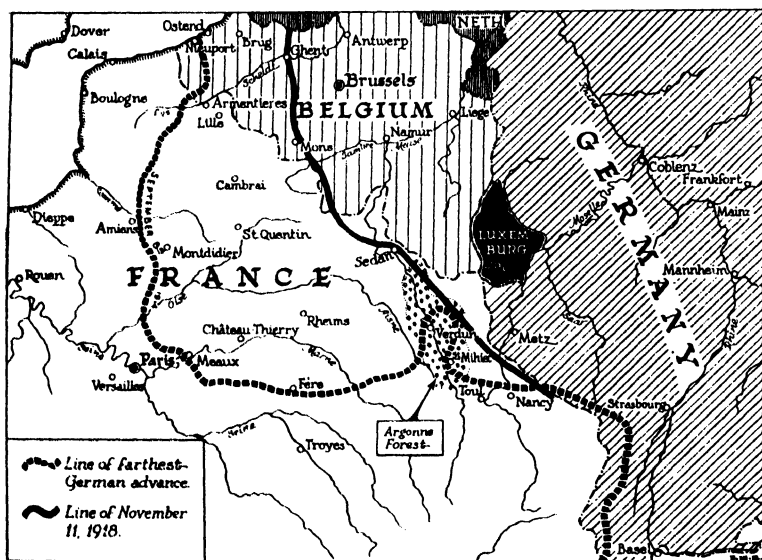
(c) **BULGARIA AND THE CENTRAL POWERS.** Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in October, 1915, assisted Mackensen in conquering Serbia, and early next year vanquished Montenegro.

### The Dardanelles Campaign

(a) **ALLIED DEFEAT AT THE DARDANELLES.** In this campaign the objective was to capture the Straits so as to open communications between the Entente Powers and Russia, who was "bottled up" in the Black Sea, to isolate Turkey, to encourage some of the neutral Balkan states to join the Allies, and to organize a united attack on Austria-Hungary. The Franco-British fleet was defeated at the Dardanelles in February, 1915. The land attack through the Gallipoli peninsula under Sir Ian Hamilton, with his French, English and Australian troops failed to take the Turkish fortresses. The entire campaign was abandoned by the end of 1915.

### The Campaign of 1916

On the eve of the year 1916, the Central Powers held Belgium, the industrial section of France, Poland, part of Lithuania, the Baltic states, Serbia and Montenegro. Furthermore, they had exhausted Russia. The only encouragement that the Allies had was the fact that the Italians joined their cause in May, 1915.



### The WESTERN FRONT

#### The Western Front

(a) **THE BATTLE OF VERDUN (February-July, 1916).** This was the second failure of the Germans to conquer France. The Germans wanted victory at Verdun because they wanted to heighten Hohenzollern prestige since the Crown Prince Frederick William was in

command, to destroy the last formidable fortress in France, to bolster up German morale, and to acquire the iron mines of Lorraine. On the other hand, the French were determined to hold Verdun because its loss would open Paris to invasion, destroy French morale, and forfeit the iron mines of Lorraine to Germany. Hundreds of thousands were lost on each side.

(b) **THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME** (June-November, 1916). It was launched by General Douglas Haig of the British against the Germans under Hindenburg, who was now their Commander-in-Chief. It terminated in a Pyrrhic victory for the Allies. The British and French directed it in order to relieve the pressure at Verdun and to inflict a thorough defeat on the Central Powers by simultaneous attacks of the Italians, Russians and British, with their augmented armies and their new armored tanks. The Battle of the Somme won for the Allies more than 100 square miles of territory. But they did not capture the towns of Bapaume and Peronne. However, the Germans relieved the pressure at Verdun and hence were prevented from sending troops to stop the onrush of the Russians. There were over 1,250,000 casualties, over one-half of which were on the side of the Allies.

#### **The Austro-Italian Front**

(a) **THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE ISONZO** (June, 1915). The Italians attacked the Austrians to conquer the Trentino at the First Battle of the Isonzo (June and July, 1915), but gained little. They tried again in October and November, 1915, but in vain. Early in 1916, under Archduke Charles, the Austrians attacked the Italians successfully on the Austro-Italian front, but were distracted by the Russian attack in Galicia. The Italians then drove the Austrians back into the Austrian Trentino, causing Austria to lose Venetia.

#### **The Eastern Front**

(a) **THE FEEBLE RECOVERY OF RUSSIA**. Russia had recuperated and was now asked to attack on the Eastern Front (June 5, 1916) to relieve the pressure at Verdun and to cause Austria to desist from attacking the Italians in Venetia. The Russians were very successful, reconquering Galicia and Bukowina. These successes were checked when the Austrian forces were turned over to the command of Generals von Falkenhayn and von Mackensen.

(b) **RUMANIA JOINS THE ALLIES**. Rumania joined the cause of the Allies in August, 1916. Within four months, Mackensen and Falkenhayn conquered practically all of Rumania, and later dictated to her the humiliating Treaty of Bucharest, giving the Central Powers a large wheat crop and a large oil supply.

## The Campaign of 1917

On the eve of the year 1917, the Central Powers still had the advantage. Most of Belgium, northern France, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and Poland were in German control. Russia was defeated and in retreat, while Italy was held at bay. The hope of the Allies lay in the fact that the United States espoused the Allied cause in April, 1917.

### The Western Front

(a) GERMAN RETREAT. The Germans retreated voluntarily to the "Hindenburg Line" (Siegfried Line) in order to strengthen their position.

(b) SOME ALLIED VICTORIES. The Allies were on the offensive during the year at Arras and at Laon, but won insignificant victories there. Joffre was replaced by General Robert Neville, and later by General Henri Pétain.

(c) THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES. From July to October, 1917, the Third Battle of Ypres was fought by the British with little success.

### The Eastern Front

(a) RUSSIA RETIRES FROM THE WAR. Desertions, poor discipline, peasant uprisings, defeats, lack of munitions, hunger, corruption, and bad organization brought about the collapse of Russia. Tsar Nicholas II abdicated in March, 1917. Prince Lvov assumed the leadership and continued the War. His successor, Alexander Kerensky, did likewise. However, they failed to build up a fighting morale. Brussilov was replaced by General Kornilov, who launched one last offensive, but, due to the defections in Russia, it failed in July, 1917. The Germans captured Riga and overran Esthonia in September, 1917. The Austrians recaptured Galicia and Bukowina in August, 1917.

Late in 1917, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, overthrew the Kerensky government. They suggested to the Allies a general armistice and a peace, based on the principles of "no annexations and no indemnities" and "self-determination" for all subject peoples. The Allies ignored the proposal. The Bolsheviks then suggested an armistice to the Central Powers, which terminated in the dictated *Brest-Litovsk Treaty* of March 3, 1918. The Russians agreed not to spread Bolshevism in the lands occupied by the Central Powers, to evacuate the Armenian provinces in the Caucasus, to withdraw from Esthonia, Livonia, Finland, Courland, the Aaland Islands, Poland, and Lithuania, to recognize the Ukrainian People's Republic, and to acknowledge in advance any treaty made by this new republic with the Central Powers. By additional treaties in





### ✦ The EASTERN FRONT ✦

August, 1918, Russia was to pay \$1,500,000,000 to Germany and grant Germany a most-favored-nation commercial treaty. Besides, she was forbidden to restrict or tax the export of timber to Germany.

(b) THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST (May, 1918). Then, the Central Powers dictated the Treaty of Bucharest to Rumania. It provided that Rumania surrender Dobrudja and the Carpathian foot-

hills, grant oil concessions and a most-favored-nation commercial treaty to the Central Powers, and declare religious toleration and freedom, although she was allowed to acquire Bessarabia from Russia.

#### **The Austro-Italian Front**

(a) **AUSTRO-GERMAN VICTORY AT CAPORETTO** (October 24, 1917). With the defeat of Serbia, Rumania and Russia, the Austro-German forces concentrated on the Italian Front at Caporetto and conquered Italian territory up to the Piave River. Italy barely escaped complete defeat. The British and French reenforcements saved her.

#### **The Near Eastern Front**

(a) **ALLIED VICTORIES IN ASIA MINOR.** The defeats of the Allies in the Dardanelles, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia were avenged by the victories of General Maude, who took Bagdad, and by the successes of General Allenby, who took Jerusalem. Then followed the conquests of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and the Hejaz.

#### **The Far Eastern Front**

(a) **JAPAN'S ROLE.** Japan captured German Kiao-chau in China in 1914 after a siege by land and sea. She also protected British merchant-men in the Pacific Ocean against German naval vessels. In the same year, with the assistance of Australia and New Zealand, Japan captured the many small German islands in the Pacific Ocean.

#### **The African Campaign**

(a) **GERMAN LOSS OF TOGOLAND AND CAMEROON.** Togoland in 1914 and Cameroon in 1916 were captured from the Germans by the French and British colonial troops.

(b) **GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA CONQUERED.** German Southwest Africa was captured in 1915 by General Smuts of the Union of South Africa.

(c) **LOSS OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA.** German East Africa was most difficult to conquer. The German commander, Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, held at bay the combined forces of the natives and the soldiers from Belgian Congo, British East Africa, Rhodesia, India, Portuguese East Africa, and South Africa until November 14, 1918, when his troops capitulated.

### **The Naval Campaign**

#### **Allied Naval Success**

The German admiralty realized the superiority of the British navy and, therefore, ordered its navy stationed and protected in the Kiel harbor. The British fleet, aided by the British blockade, swept the German merchant and naval fleet from the high seas.

### **German Naval Success**

(a) GERMAN RAIDERS. Some successful German raiders that inflicted heavy losses on Allied commerce were the *Emden*, *Karlsruhe* and the *Moewe*.

(b) GERMAN SUBMARINE SUCCESS. The German submarine warfare destroyed over 5,000 Allied and neutral ships, a number which was augmented by several hundred ships destroyed by mines and surface ships.

### **The Naval Battle of Jutland (May 31-June 1, 1916)**

It was the only significant naval battle of the war. Admiral Reinhard von Scheer and Vice-Admiral Franz von Hipper, heads of the German fleet, opposed Admiral John Jellicoe and Vice-Admiral David Beatty of the British fleet off Jutland. The German fleet escaped to its base and lost fewer ships, but Great Britain remained mistress of the seas and continued to bottle up the German navy at Kiel.

## **War by Air, Poison Gas, and Propaganda**

### **Aeronautics**

The Germans were the first to use airships (Zeppelins) especially in raiding English towns, factories, forts and communications. The explosive bullet, however, curtailed the effectiveness of this invention. The airplane replaced it. Anti-aircraft guns and camouflage did not succeed in eliminating the airplane from warfare. The famous air aces were Baron Manfred von Richthofen, René Fonck, Eddie Rickenbacker and others. All belligerents found the airplane an effective weapon.

### **Poison Gas**

The Germans were the first to employ poison gas warfare, which was responsible for many of the casualties. Chlorine gas was used first, but it was soon replaced by the more universal mustard gas. All the belligerents used it.

### **Propaganda**

Vile and atrocious propaganda was an effective weapon in the hands of all belligerents. In Germany it was the Pressekonferenz; in England, the Crewe House; in the United States, the Committee on Public Information; in France, la Maison de la Presse and le Comité Catholique, all of whom prepared and fabricated the appropriate news.

## **Overtures for Peace**

### **Early Peace Overtures**

Overtures for peace were made throughout the War. Some of these offers were sincere; some were designed to cause dissension in

the ranks of the opponents; some were too vague in their terms; and some were too severe. The first offer of peace came from the Central Powers on December 12, 1916. This was followed by President Wilson's proposal on December 18, 1916; a labor movement's proposal in June, 1917; Pope Benedict XV's proposal on August 1, 1917; the Bolshevik proposal in November, 1917; Emperor Charles of Austria's proposal in May, 1917; and Lloyd George's proposal on January 5, 1918.

#### **President Wilson's Fourteen Points**

The most influential and best known statement of the Allied War aims are known as Wilson's Fourteen Points, announced January 8, 1918. The Allied powers reluctantly accepted them at the time. They provided for:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Abolition of secret diplomacy. Freedom of the seas, except where and when international usage restricts such practice. Removal as far as possible of tariff barriers.        | (10). Autonomy for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.  |
| Reduction of armaments consistent with public safety. Impartial adjustment of colonial disputes among the Powers consistent with the interests of the populations concerned. | (11). Evacuation and restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania; seaports for Serbia; amicable readjustment of the national ambitions of the Balkan nations, and an international guarantee of the integrity of these states. |
| Evacuation of Russian territory so that the submerged nationalities and Russia might practice self-determination.  | (12). Self-determination for the non-Turkish possessions of the Sultan, and the internationalization of the Dardanelles.  |
| (7). Evacuation and restoration of Belgium.  | (13). Reconstruction of the state of Poland with access to the sea.   |
| (8). Evacuation and restoration of France, and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.  | (14). Creation of "a general association of nations . . . under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."           |
| (9). Readjustment of the boundaries of Italy along national lines.   |   |

### **The Campaign of 1918**

The situation on the eve of the campaign of 1918 was most favorable for the Central Powers. Russia, Italy, Serbia and Rumania had been decisively defeated. The submarine warfare was most destructive. England needed food. The Germans were well entrenched on the Hindenburg Line. The German officers commanded a united Central Europe from Berlin to Constantinople. America was not ready to send many soldiers to Europe. Defeatism spread in England and France, but it was soon suppressed by the ministries of Lloyd George and Clemenceau, who advocated war to a victorious end.

#### **The Western Front**

(a) **THE MARCH OFFENSIVE** (March 21, 1918). This was designed by Hindenburg and Ludendorff to win the War by a series of overwhelming attacks along the Arras to La Fère line, before the

Americans arrived in large numbers. The British and the French retreated, relinquishing 1500 square miles and losing 300,000 men. In this battle, the "Big Bertha" threw projectiles 75 miles into Paris. Prospects of defeat awakened the Allies to the need of a unified army control and they appointed General Ferdinand Foch Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies. Many more French, English and American troops were sent to the Western Front. The American Commander-in-Chief, John J. Pershing, took control of the Picardy sector.

(b) **THE SECOND GERMAN ATTACK** (April 9, 1918). It was directed against the British between La Bassée and Armentières. Sir Douglas Haig lost Armentières and the English were driven back 15 miles, but did not lose the Channel ports.

(c) **THE THIRD GERMAN ATTACK** (May 27, 1918). This attack was launched against the French between Soissons and Rheims. Soissons, the Marne, and Château-Thierry were captured.

(d) **THE LAST GERMAN DRIVE** (July, 1918). The final German effort to take Rheims, only 40 miles from Paris, failed. The American soldiers were largely responsible for this German defeat.

#### **The Allied Counter Attack on the Western Front**

The combatants were in a deadlock until the arrival of the American soldiers and supplies turned the tide of battle.

(a) **THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE** (July 18-August 3, 1918). Here the Germans were defeated at the Somme by the British; from Amiens to Rheims, by the French; at Saint-Mihiel, Meuse, and Argonne, by the Americans.

(b) **DECLINE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE CENTRAL POWERS.** Beginning September, 1918, the Germans and their statesmen began to despair because (1) the Hindenburg Line was breaking; (2) a declining German morale was evident; (3) supplies were vanishing; (4) Prince Maximilian of Baden, appointed Chancellor on October 2, 1918, began negotiations for peace on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points; (5) the Italians had recovered and were defeating the Austrians, capturing Trieste and driving the Austrians from Italy; (6) Bulgaria surrendered on September 30, 1918, helpless in the face of defeat by the Serbians, Greeks and French; (7) Turkey signed the armistice of Mudros on October 31, 1918, when Bulgaria surrendered and General Allenby had conquered Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria; (8) Austria surrendered on November 3, 1918, to General Diaz of Italy, when the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Slovaks, and the Poles declared their independence; and (9) St. Quentin, Cambrai, Lille and Laon fell into the hands of the Allies, and the Germans were driven out of France and a part of Belgium.

#### **Germany Sues for Peace**

The delay in responding to Prince Maximilian's request for peace was due to quarrels among the Allies over the booty. Finally,

on November 8, 1918, the terms of the armistice were handed to the Germans to be accepted within three days. They provided that (1) the treaty of peace to follow was to be based on an amended form of Wilson's Fourteen Points, (2) the Allies were to have absolute freedom in defining the freedom of the seas, (3) reparations were to include losses to civilians, (4) the submerged nationalities of the former Austria-Hungary were to be granted independence rather than autonomy, (5) Germany had to evacuate France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg, and, within one month, the Western Rhine, (6) the Allied troops were to control the German-abandoned land in Germany up to 30 kilometers east of the Rhine, (7) the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest were to be abrogated, (8) a number of warships, submarines, guns, locomotives, and railway cars were to be surrendered, (9) all Allied prisoners were to be freed, and (10) the blockade against Germany was to continue.

#### **Armistice Was Signed on November 11, 1918**

On November 11, 1918, in a railway car in the Compiègne Forest two German delegates signed the armistice. The reasons for Germany's yielding at this moment to the humiliating terms were the mutiny in the navy, the revolt of Bavaria, the flight of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince to Holland, the resignation of Chancellor Prince Max, and the establishment of a republic. Friedrich Ebert became first president on November 9, 1918.

### **The Casualties and Costs**

The World War was the most destructive war fought in human history. It lasted from July 28, 1914, to November 11, 1918.

#### **Casualties**

Of the 65,000,000 men directly involved in the War, 9,000,000 died in action or of wounds, 22,000,000 were wounded permanently or temporarily, and 5,000,000 are "missing." Two-thirds of the wounded were Allied soldiers. About 9,000,000 civilians died of starvation, epidemics and massacres. All the wars of the 19th century caused less than one-half the deaths that resulted from the World War. It has been estimated that the World War cost 30,000,000 lives.

#### **Costs**

The Allies expended \$126,000,000,000 and the Central Powers \$60,000,000,000 to prosecute the War. In 1918 all the belligerents spent as much as \$10,000,000 per hour. The total economic loss must take into consideration property damages, losses at sea, production losses, and relief and pensions. If one does, this estimate would be doubled. The cost of two hours fighting to the United States in 1918 would defray the entire budget of the League of Nations for one year.

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One-half of the World War expenditures of the United States would cover the purchase of one automobile and one tractor for every one of 6,500,000 farmers with \$600,000,000 left over for good roads. Dr. N. M. Butler's estimate of the total War costs of all the belligerents is the stupendous sum of \$400,000,000,000 in property. He adds that this amount of money would build a \$2,500 house with \$1,000 furniture on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre for every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia. There would still be enough to provide each country with a \$5,000,000 library and a \$10,000,000 university, endow salaries for 125,000 teachers and 125,000 nurses, and then buy up France and Belgium.

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## CHAPTER III

# THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

### Preliminaries

The first plenary peace session, consisting of representatives from thirty-two countries, convened in Paris on January 18, 1919, to dictate a peace ostensibly in accordance with the amended Wilson's Fourteen Points. Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria were not represented at the Conference.

#### Organization

The organization of the plenary session was too unwieldy, and hence for a time, the Supreme War Council, or Council of Ten, consisting of the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of France, England, Italy and Japan, and the President and Secretary of State of the United States, solved the problems of world reconstruction. Even this organization proved too large for deliberation, and in March, 1919, Japan was omitted because of her lack of interest in European affairs. Thereafter the Council of Four controlled the solution of the world's complex problems. In April, 1919, the Italian delegation became offended over Wilson's disposition of the Fiume question and indignantly left the Conference. Accordingly, the major problems of the Conference were resolved by the "Big Three," subject theoretically to the ratification of the plenary sessions, of which there were only six. Fifty-eight commissions did the routine work, the more important of which were the Commission on the League of Nations, the Commission on Reparations for Damages, and the Commission on Territorial Problems. The deliberations of the "Big Three" were secret and few or no minutes were kept. Only the plenary sessions were public. In practice the opinions of the "Big Three" governed the solution of all major problems.

#### The "Big Three"

The "Big Three," consisted of Georges Clemenceau, the best diplomat of the three, a keen student of world affairs, and always adamant on making France safe against German attacks; David Lloyd George, shrewd diplomat, a pleasant and winning personality, with a determination to bring back the spoils of war for England that he promised in the Liberal Party election campaign, which resulted in his political victory on December 14, 1918; and Woodrow Wilson,



idealist, poor diplomat, patron of the idea of a League of Nations, but lacking the support of the majority of his people as evidenced by the victory of his political opponents, the Republicans, in both houses of Congress.

## **The Problems and Crises at the Peace Conference**

### **Secret Treaties vs. Wilson's Fourteen Points**

Many emergencies arose at the Conference, which had to be settled before peace could be reestablished. The conflict between the Secret Treaties among the Allied Powers and Wilson's Fourteen Points resolved itself in Wilson's yielding in all instances, except in the Saar Basin dispute and in the Fiume dispute.

### **Wilson's League of Nations**

The launching of the covenant of the League of Nations was a trying problem. Wilson successfully insisted that it be part of the treaty of peace, that the words "that treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine" be included in the document, and that the words "the principle of the equality of Nations and the just treatment of their nationals" be excluded because the clause might lead to unrestricted Oriental immigration.

### **Security of France**

How to maintain the security of France was a vexing problem. Foch wanted the Rhine to be the western boundary of Germany and the abandoned German territory west of the Rhine to be constructed into a neutral, autonomous, buffer state under French control. The secret Franco-Russian treaty (1917) approved of such a plan. Wilson and Lloyd George disapproved of this "new Alsace-Lorraine." Clemenceau accepted the compromise that the left bank of the Rhine be occupied by Allied troops for a number of years; that Cologne be occupied for 5 years, Coblenz, 10 years and Mainz, 15 years; a zone of 31 miles on the right bank be "demilitarized" by the Germans; and that Franco-English and Franco-American treaties be concluded protecting France against German attacks.

### **The Saar Basin**

The Saar Basin was demanded by Clemenceau for France because it was valuable for its coal and also steel, glass and pottery; it would be a compensation for the German destruction of French coal mines; and it formed an economic unit with the adjacent Lorraine iron mines. But the Saar Basin had been part of Prussia and Bavaria since 1814, and it was inhabited by Germans. Finally, it was agreed that France be given the ownership of the coal mines, and the Saar Basin be included in the French customs boundary and French school and currency systems, but that the coal mined be credited to the Ger-

man reparations account. A commission of the League was to govern it. After 15 years a plebiscite of those who lived in the area in 1919 was to determine whether the Saar basin was to belong to Germany or France, or was to remain under the auspices of the League. Should Germany acquire it, she would have the right to repurchase the mines at a price to be determined.

### **Reparations**

Reparations troubled the Council of Four. British and French delegates insisted that war costs be added to the computed damages. Wilson won the point that, except for Belgium, war costs should not be included in the reparations. However, pensions were considered as damages rather than as war costs. The "Big Four," in addition, could not agree as to the amount of the damages and the method of payment. Ultimately, they concluded that Germany pay \$5,000,000,000 by May, 1921, and a special Reparations Commission be appointed to solve these problems. Estimates at the time were about \$15,000,000,000 total damages.

### **The Polish Question**

The Polish question hinged on the problem of giving the Polish state a seaport. Finally, a Polish Corridor through West Prussia, terminating in the city of Danzig with its large German population, and severing East Prussia from the mainland of Germany, was created to give new Poland a seaport. This solution was approved by the "Big Four" because Polish commercialism was given preference over German self-determination, and a strengthened Poland, with France to the southwest, would sandwich in Germany. Danzig was made a free city, administered by a commission appointed by the League, although economically it remained a part of Poland.

### **Fiume**

The problem of Fiume engaged more time than any other single issue. Orlando, the Italian delegate, insisted upon acquiring from Austria-Hungary the seaport of Fiume for Italy because of the commercial advantages and the fear of the growth of a Jugoslavian seapower on the Adriatic, and because the Italians fought a longer war than was anticipated. The Jugoslavs argued that Dalmatia, in which Fiume is located, has a larger Slavic than Italian population, that Fiume has a population which is about one-half Serbian, that the new Jugoslavian state needed a good seaport and that the Peace Conference had been very liberal with Italy in granting her South Tyrol, with a large Austrian population, Gorizia, Gradisca and Istria, with a large Jugoslavian population, and the Dodecanese Islands, with a very large Greek population. Wilson, as arbiter,

compromised the demands but Orlando rejected the "Wilson Line." And when Wilson appealed to the Italian people Orlando became offended and left the Conference. The problem was not solved by the Conference at Paris, but by a special agreement between the two countries. In September, 1919, the patriot-poet Gabriele D'Annunzio captured and held Fiume for a time. Eventually Italy received Fiume by the Treaty of Rome, January 27, 1924, but Yugoslavia received Port Baros and a lease of Fiume harbor for fifty years.

#### **The German Colonies and the Turkish Possessions**

The German colonies and the former Turkish possessions were taken by the Allies, but how to distribute them among the victors was no easy problem. General Smuts of South Africa suggested the mandate system, which provided that the possessions of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey be assigned to the League, which in turn was to delegate its governing authority to a mandatory power under League restrictions. Wilson applied this idea only to the German possessions, except Kiao-chau, and to the Turkish possessions. Japan was given Kiao-chau because both it and the Shantung peninsula had been promised to her as a price for her military and naval assistance in the War and she threatened to leave the Conference if she were not so rewarded. The Nipponese did promise, however, to restore this territory to China, but to retain Germany's former economic rights. The Chinese delegates refused to accept these humiliating terms and, on this account, did not sign the Versailles Peace Treaty. Japan complied with her promise in 1922.

### **The Signing of the Treaty of Versailles**

#### **Germany Reluctantly Accepts a Vindictive Treaty**

On May 7, 1919, Clemenceau presented the lengthy peace treaty of 230 large printed pages to Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German representative, in the Trianon Palace, Versailles, in the presence of all the delegates. Germany was given three weeks to consider it. On May 29, 1919, Germany sent 443 pages of reply. The Versailles delegates accepted only one of Germany's objections, i.e., that the fate of Upper Silesia be determined by plebiscite and that it should not be annexed to Poland. Germany was given seven days in which to accept this slightly modified treaty under threat of an invasion. The Scheidemann ministry of Germany resigned on June 20, 1919, rather than accept such a vindictive treaty. Gustav Bauer became the Chancellor of a new ministry, which reluctantly accepted the terms. The Germans protested that the treaty, besides being vengeful, was not based on Wilson's Fourteen Points as had been promised. On June 23, 1919, Germany accepted the treaty unconditionally. On the fifth anniversary of the assassination of the

Archduke Francis Ferdinand, June 28, 1919, Foreign Minister Hermann Müller and Colonial Minister Johannes Bell signed the treaty at Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors. Ratifications between the Allies and Germany were exchanged in Paris on January 20, 1920.

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## CHAPTER IV

### THE TREATIES OF THE WORLD WAR

To settle the various problems that had arisen out of the War, more than a dozen treaties were made by the Allies with the Central Powers and with one another at the conclusion of the World War.

#### **The Treaty of Versailles with Germany**

This treaty, signed June 28, 1919, has about 230 pages and is the longest document of its kind. An analysis of its more important divisions follows:

##### **Part I. The League of Nations**

It will be discussed in Chapter V.

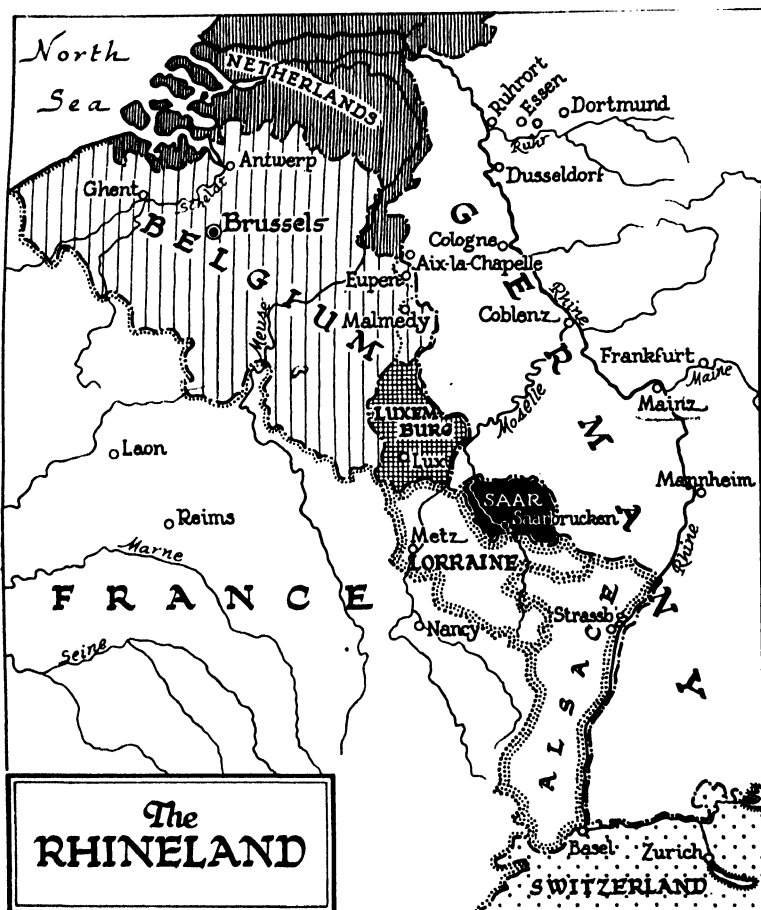
##### **Part II and IV. Territorial Changes**

Germany lost: (1) Alsace-Lorraine to France, (2) Eupen, Malmedy and Moresnet to Belgium by plebiscite, (3) northern Schleswig to Denmark by plebiscite, (4) Upper Silesia to Czechoslovakia and to Poland by plebiscite, (5) Posen and Western Prussia to Poland, (6) Danzig, which was organized as a free city under the League of Nations, (7) Memel to the Allies, a city which was later transferred to Lithuania in 1923, (8) Kiao-chau to Japan, (9) other German colonies apportioned among Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Union of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan as mandates of the League of Nations, and (10) her special economic interests and privileges in China, Siam, Liberia, Morocco, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary. German citizens were to be compensated by Germany for their confiscated property rights in the Allied countries.

##### **Part III. Miscellaneous Economic and Territorial Changes**

In addition, Germany agreed to (1) abrogate the neutrality treaty of Belgium and Luxemburg, (2) sever Luxemburg from the German Customs Union, (3) demilitarize the left bank of the Rhine and fifty kilometers of the right bank of the Rhine, (4) cede the coal mines of the Saar Basin as reparations and as compensation for the destroyed French mines, (5) permit the Saar Basin to be governed by a commission under the League until 1935, when a

plebiscite would determine its future status, (6) destroy the fortifications at Heligoland and Dune, and (7) ratify the treaties made by the Allies with the Russian succession states and with Austria.



#### Part V. Military, Naval, and Aviation Changes

Germany was required to (1) abolish the German General Staff, (2) reduce her army to 100,000 to be used for police purposes, (3) have only voluntary military service for 12 years for soldiers and 25 years for officers so as to prevent rotation of service, (4) not unduly increase the police force, (5) forbid the manufacture of armaments, munitions and war materials, (6) reduce her navy to include only 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 6 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats,

and no submarines, a provision to which she adhered by sinking her excess naval ships, (7) reduce her naval personnel to 15,000 under conditions similar to those in the army, and (8) allow Kaiser William II and others to be tried by Allied tribunals as criminals against international peace. However, Holland would not permit the Kaiser to be extradited, and hence he was never tried. Some of the lesser German militarists were tried for a series of alleged war crimes, for which they received light sentences.

#### **Part VIII. Reparations**

Germany and the other Central Powers were found guilty of having caused the War and were, therefore, required to pay reparations for the losses and damages suffered by the Allied governments and citizens, including soldiers' pensions and, in the case of Belgium, war costs as well. The total indemnification was finally computed by a Reparation Commission on May 1, 1921.

In addition, the Allies demanded that Germany (1) pay \$5,000,000,000 in advance, (2) surrender all merchant ships of 1,600 or more tons gross, (3) surrender domestic animals, reconstruction materials, coal, benzol, coal tar, dye-stuffs, chemicals, etc., (4) permit the internationalization of the Elbe, Oder, Niemen, Danube and the Rhine rivers so as to provide waterways for the landlocked states of Central Europe, (5) allow the Kiel Canal to be free to merchant and war vessels of all countries at peace with Germany, and (6) permit a free zone in Hamburg and Stettin for Czechoslovakia for 99 years.

#### **Part XIV. Guarantees of the Execution of the Treaty**

The German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, was to be occupied by the Allied troops for a period of 15 years so that they might see to it that Germany did abide by her promises. The bridgehead at Cologne was to be relinquished after 5 years, that at Coblenz after 10 years, and that at Mainz after 15 years. Should Germany manifest bad faith, then the Allied powers might resort to a more extensive occupation of German territory. However, the occupation troops quit the area in 1930.

### **Effects of the Treaty on Germany**

#### **Germany's Losses**

The effects of the treaty on Germany were far-reaching. Germany lost (1) one-eighth of her area, (2) about 6,000,000 people, (3) all her colonies, (4) practically all her foreign investments which amounted to about 10% of her wealth, (5) Alsace-Lorraine with its iron, petroleum and potash, (6) the Saar Basin with its coal, (7) her tariff union with Luxemburg, which possessed iron deposits, (8) Upper Silesia with its great industries, coal, zinc, and

lead, (9) 65% of her iron ore, 45% of her coal, 72% of her zinc ore, 57% of her lead ore, 15% of her agricultural products, 10% of her manufacturing plants and 25% of her rubber supply, (10) her merchant marine, except for 400,000 tons, (11) her concessions and special rights in China, Morocco, Liberia, and Egypt, (12) her commercial treaties, (13) her army, except 100,000 troops, and (14) practically all of her navy. In addition, a reparations bill was to be submitted to her.

### **The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria**

Wilson and Lloyd George left Paris in June, 1919. A special Council of Five, known as the Supreme Council, consisting of Clemenceau and one representative each from the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy, continued the peace making with the Central Powers. It operated until January 21, 1920. Then Clemenceau resigned and the Council of Ambassadors to Paris, consisting of the ambassadors from the United States, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, and a representative from France, completed the work. The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria was signed September 10, 1919.

#### **Its Chief Provisions**

This treaty was modelled on the Treaty of Versailles and many of its clauses were copied. It provided that (1) the Republic of Austria be obliged to accept partial guilt for the War, (2) a union of Austria and Germany, though they are racially, linguistically and culturally alike, be forbidden, (3) the Austrian army be reduced to 30,000, (4) her navy be decreased to 3 police boats on the Danube, (5) reparations be paid, (6) she safeguard the rights of her racial, religious, and linguistic minorities, (7) the right to cross Yugoslavia to reach the Adriatic Sea be given to her, and (8) she cede (a) South Tyrol, the Trentino, Trieste, Istria, and the islands off Dalmatia to Italy, (b) Bukowina to Rumania, (c) Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Dalmatian coast to Yugoslavia, (d) Bohemia, Moravia, part of Lower Austria, and Austrian Silesia to Czechoslovakia, (e) Austrian Galicia to Poland, and (f) Teschen to Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The disposition of the former Austro-Hungarian possessions was difficult, because of ethnic, economic, geographic, historic, strategic, and nationalistic demands. Commissions of the various Allied powers drafted the new boundaries, but very frequently the experts did not agree. Furthermore, Italy insisted on the promises made to her in the Secret Treaties.

Austria sank to a small, landlocked, impoverished country of 6,000,000 from an empire of about 30,000,000 inhabitants.



### **The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria**

Bulgaria's position was unique. She pleaded for mercy since her former King Ferdinand had espoused the cause of the Central Powers, whereas the new régime did not, but in vain. She signed the treaty on November 27, 1919.

#### **Its Chief Provisions**

The treaty provided that (1) western Bulgaria be ceded to Yugoslavia for strategic reasons, though it had a large Bulgarian majority, (2) western Thrace and the Aegean coast be ceded to Greece, but with the promise that Bulgaria be allowed economic access to the Aegean Sea, (3) her army be reduced to 33,000 men, (4) her navy be abolished except for 4 torpedo boats and 6 motor boats, and (5) Bulgaria pay reparations, which were finally fixed at \$450,000,000 payable in 37 years from January 1, 1921. This treaty made Bulgaria the weakest of the Balkan states in area, resources, population, and military power, except Albania.

### **The Treaty of Trianon**

The signing of the treaty with Hungary in the Grand Trianon Palace at Versailles was delayed until June 4, 1920, because of the civil war between the Hapsburg Monarchists, the Republicans, the Socialists and the Communists for control of Hungary. The Karolyi government, which had been recently established, was overthrown by the Communist leader, Bela Kun, who, in turn, fled as the Rumanian troops approached. The Supreme Council finally negotiated with Count Apponyi who represented the Hungarian moderates.

#### **Provisions**

The treaty provided that (1) Transylvania and two-thirds of the Banat of Temesvar go to Rumania, (2) Croatia, Slavonia, and the western third of Temesvar be ceded to Yugoslavia, (3) Slovakia be relinquished to Czechoslovakia, (4) Burgenland be surrendered to Austria, (5) the fate of Fiume be determined by agreement between Yugoslavia and Italy, and (6) the Hapsburgs might not return under any circumstance.

#### **Its Effects**

Hungary was thus reduced by the principle of vengeance from a member of the Dual Monarchy of over 125,000 square miles and a population of over 20,000,000 to a small landlocked kingdom of only 35,000 square miles and about 8,000,000 inhabitants. Hungary lost about 3,000,000 kinsmen.

Count Apponyi refused to sign this humiliating treaty, but a reorganized Hungarian ministry complied.

### **The Treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne with Turkey**

The original objectives that the Allies had concerning Turkey were to release non-Turks from the tyrannical rule of the Sultan, and to partition Turkish territory amongst themselves in accordance with the Secret Treaties. They modified their plans, however, because the Russian Bolsheviks no longer had imperialistic designs on the Straits, Wilson insisted on self-determination, and the imperialistically covetous Italians and the Greeks conflicted over the former Turkish lands. This ill-feeling resulted in a combined European invasion of these areas.

#### **Provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres**

This treaty was signed under duress by the Turkish officials on August 10, 1920. England, France, Greece, Italy, and Armenia divided up Turkey, leaving her a corner of Europe and a little Asiatic kingdom in Anatolia around Angora, which was also divided up into spheres of influence between France and Italy.

**TURKISH NATIONALIST OPPOSITION.** The Allies did not reckon with Mustapha Kemal and his Turkish Nationalists, who were determined to oppose the ratification of this humiliating treaty. A war raged between these Nationalists and the British in the Ismid peninsula, the French in Cilicia, and particularly, the Greeks in Smyrna. On November 21, 1922, Sultan Mohammed VI was deposed and a republic was set up. Though the Allies were successful, the desire to gain the most advantages caused them to quarrel among themselves. Italy wanted economic concessions from Turkey, England sought control over the Straits, and France suspected Greece of being the tool of England. This situation enabled the Turkish Nationalists to turn the tide of victory in their favor.

#### **Provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne**

Hence, at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, a new treaty was negotiated, not dictated, by the Allies but with the Turkish Nationalists. It and its supplementary conventions provided that (1) Mesopotamia and Palestine, which later became English mandates, be independent of Turkey, (2) Syria, which later became a French mandate, be independent of Turkey, (3) Turkey free Arabia, which broke up into free states, (4) Turkey be deprived of all her possessions in Europe except East Thrace, (5) the Dodecanese islands and the islands of Rhodes and Castellorizo be ceded to Italy, (6) all other Turkish Aegean islands be ceded to Greece, (7) Turkey renounce all her rights over Libya, Egypt, and the Sudan, (8) Turkey recognize England's claim to Cyprus, (9) Turkish minorities be protected, (10) the capitulations be abolished, (11) Turkey pay no reparations, (12) Turkey be not obliged to reduce her army and navy, (13) the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus be open to the transit of all ships, and the Straits Commission of the

League be in control of them, (14) the shores of the Straits be demilitarized but that they, including Constantinople, retain Turkish sovereignty, and (15) the Greek nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion in Turkish territory be compulsorily exchanged for the Turkish nationals of the Moslem faith in Greek territory, with few exceptions.

ITS UNIQUE VIRTUE. Turkey was the least maltreated of all the Central Powers. She retained her ethnic frontiers, her freedom from international servitude and her national independence.

## **The Minorities Treaties**

### **General Characteristics**

The statesmen, who drafted the peace treaties, well realized that the frontiers of the new map of Europe did not and could not altogether coincide with what national aspirations had indicated. To protect the rights of the minorities, therefore, the "Big Four" decided to incorporate minimum guarantees for racial, linguistic, religious, and national minorities in the laws of the new and defeated European states. Appropriate provisions were included in the peace treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Special treaties concerning the protection of minorities were concluded with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. The supervision over the minority guarantees was left to the League of Nations, and only by the consent of a majority of the League Council could these guarantees be modified. Reluctantly, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Albania entered into engagements with the League, agreeing to make similar arrangements for their minorities. Several nations concluded a number of bi-national treaties to protect one another's minorities: the German-Polish treaty (1922) concerning Upper Silesia; the Austro-Czechoslovakian treaty (1922); the Polo-Balkan treaty (1922); the Finno-Russian treaty (1920); the Turko-French treaty (1920); and the Anglo-Iraq treaty (1922). These articles usually guarantee life, liberty, and the exercise of freedom of religion for all the minority people, and political rights, if they are citizens.

### **2. Futile Objections to the Minority Guarantees**

Some nations contended in vain that these treaties were a violation of their sovereignty, that these privileges would only encourage separatism, and that these provisions were impositions which the greater nations would not tolerate if they were imposed upon them. In September, 1934, Poland announced to the world the repudiation of her minorities treaty for these very reasons. The fear that other

features of the Peace Treaties might also be modified, which might redound to her disadvantage, caused her to withdraw this proposal.

### **The Results of the World War**

Now that the World War is over and the victors have collected their booty, we notice that the following significant changes have been wrought in the world scene:

1. Four great monarchies were destroyed, viz., the Russian, the Turkish, the Austro-Hungarian and the German.

2. Political democracy for a time swept over Europe. Whereas in 1914 there were only the republics of France, Switzerland, Portugal, San Marino and Andorra in Europe, the War brought in its wake twelve new republics, such as Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and others. What is equally as important is the fact that in the limited monarchies, Socialist and Labor ministries got control of the governments.

3. Dictatorships soon replaced political democracy. Republics and limited monarchies failed to cope successfully with their post-War problems. Soon such dictators, as Benito Mussolini, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, Adolph Hitler and others, took over the reigns of their respective governments and ruled with absolute authority. Efficiency rather than political democracy became the new shibboleth.

4. Two new politico-economic types of government appeared, i.e., Bolshevism and Fascism. The former originated in Russia, where it has enjoyed singular success, and the latter originated in Italy, many features of whose government have been imitated by the many dictators of Europe.

5. Exaggerated nationalism, which the War fanned to red heat in the old and new-born states of the world, produced new tariff wars, new imperialistic rivalries, new jealousies, new armament races, and new political intrigues. Military and naval rivalries have not been abolished. New military alliances have been established and the armies and army budgets of the world are larger to-day than they ever were. Imperialistic rivalries are as rife to-day as they were before the War. The nations of the world are once again on the verge of war. Will mankind ever learn its lesson?

6. The spirits of nationalism, racial freedom, and self-determination had their repercussions in the colonies of the Allied powers, as in India, Egypt, the Philippines, Korea and East Africa, where much was done to suppress these movements. What a mockery of the war motives of the Allied powers, who gave so lavishly of their lives and wealth, that mankind might enjoy political democracy, social equality, and nationalism!

7. The Treaties of Peace satisfied some of the aspirations of the submerged nationalities, but created many more nationalist sore spots in Europe, e.g., Bessarabia, Transylvania, Upper Silesia, Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, and Vilna.

8. The creation of the League of Nations and the World Court for the preservation of peace are the great hopes of intelligent people the world over.

9. A new wave of political, economic, and social legislation manifested itself in many countries of the world in such movements as woman suffrage, initiative, referendum, recall, minimum wage laws, industrial representation, and the like. Labor became more influential and played a more important political and economic rôle in Western and Eastern Europe.

10. The world underwent an educational and religious revival chiefly as a penitent reaction against the carnage and excesses that attended the World War. Some blamed the materialism of mankind for the War. Others believed that, since religion could not avert the War, religion was, as a consequence, a failure. These people became cynics and atheists. Some saw in education, with an emphasis on international relations in the curriculum, a means of preventing a recurrence of a world war.

11. Universal peace has been furthered by the use of the plebiscite, the gratification of many national ambitions, the guarantee of minority rights, the several successes of the League of Nations, the fostering of the movement for disarmament, and attempts at solving world problems by international coöperation.

12. Nations in the Western hemisphere loom larger as economic and political factors in world affairs than ever before. Latin America with its markets, raw materials and its political influence in the League of Nations is a very important stake in world affairs today. The United States, no longer a debtor nation, has become the greatest creditor nation in the world, thus disturbing the international balance of trade and economics.

13. The economics of the individual countries and of the world became so dislocated that bankruptcies, crises, and a world depression followed.

14. The Treaties of Peace terminating the "war to end wars" have sown the seeds of future wars. These treaties were conceived in hatred, vengeance, hypocrisy and force, beclouded by the idealism of Wilson's Fourteen Points. They cannot last.

The rest of the book is a treatment of the aftermath of the World War. In the following pages will be presented a survey of these results of the War, as they appear in the various countries.

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## CHAPTER V

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The constitution of the League of Nations is the Covenant which comprises the first twenty-six articles of the various peace treaties drawn at the Paris Conference at the close of the World War.

#### **The Organization of the League of Nations**

##### **Its Purposes**

Its purposes are to promote international peace and security, persuade nations to accept obligations and not resort to war, engage in open and honest diplomacy, respect international law and all treaty obligations, and respect and honor the Covenant of the League of Nations.

##### **Its Structure**

The structure of the League consists of an Assembly, a Council, and a Permanent Secretariat.

(a) **ASSEMBLY.** Each member state is entitled to three delegates, but only one vote. There are at present 59 member states. The states not belonging to the League are the United States, Egypt, Nejd, Costa Rica, and Brazil. New members are admitted by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. A member may resign after two years notice, provided it has properly fulfilled its obligations. Brazil and Costa Rica have done so. Japan in 1932 and Germany in 1933 resigned precipitously. Sessions are held annually at Geneva, on the second Monday in September. Its officials are a president, six vice-presidents, six standing committees and many auxiliary committees, that deal with constitutional questions, technical organization, armaments, budget and administration, social problems, and political questions.

The Assembly's functions are to (1) confer, advise and deliberate but not to legislate, (2) make the budget for the League, (3) select non-permanent members of the Council, (4) admit states into League membership, (5) help elect the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and (6) advise the reconsideration of treaties which may have become inapplicable.

(b) **COUNCIL.** It is composed of one delegate from each of fifteen states entitled to representation. There are, at present, five

permanent members—France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Japan—and ten non-permanent members. The League has not (1935) accepted the resignations of Japan and Germany. The non-permanent positions have three year terms of office, and three members retire each year. Its meetings are held in Geneva three times per year—in January, May and September. The presidency rotates in successive sessions among the delegates in the alphabetical order of the names of the member states in French. Except in matters of procedure, decisions of the Council are made by unanimous vote. When a non-member of the Council is concerned in a problem, that state is entitled to a temporary seat in the Council.

Its functions are to (1) formulate plans for the reduction of armaments, (2) advise on the means of protecting member states in time of foreign aggression, (3) mediate in case of international disputes, (4) receive reports from mandatory powers, and (5) recommend to the member states what each is to do to protect the covenants of the League.

(c) **PERMANENT SECRETARIAT.** It comprises a secretary-general and a large staff. The former receives his post from the Council with the approval of a majority of the Assembly. The secretary-general, in turn, selects his staff of about 500 men and women with the consent of the Council.

The Secretariat's functions are to (1) collect data and, to do so, it is divided into eleven sections dealing with the problems of politics, information, law, economics and finance, transit, administrative commissions and minorities questions, mandates, disarmament, health, social problems, and international associations; (2) register treaties, of which there are over 2,000; and (3) serve as secretaries to the Council and to the Assembly.

(d) **SUPPLEMENTARY ORGANIZATIONS.** Some of these are: (1) technical organizations, e.g., the Economic and Financial Organization, the Organization on Communications and Transit, and the Health Organization; and (2) advisory committees, e.g., the Committee on Mandates, Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and the International Hydrographic Bureau at Monaco.

### **The International Labor Organization**

The International Labor Organization is an integral part of the League, but it is autonomous. It owes its existence to Article XXIII of the Covenant, which stipulates that the interests of labor are to be protected. Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles narrates the objectives of the international labor movement, which have been realized in many of the civilized countries of the world. They include: the right to organize, an eight hour day, the abolition of child labor, and the like.



### **Organization**

Its organization, similar to that of the League, consists of a General Conference, a Governing Body, and an International Labor Office. Workers and employers are represented.

### **Functions**

It makes recommendations for the improvement of labor conditions, which the member nations are obliged to submit for consideration to their respective national legislatures. Over 50 such recommendations have been made, dealing with woman and child labor, night work, unemployment, public labor exchanges and the like, with little effect in the industrial countries of the West, but with some success in India, Persia, Japan and China.

## **The Permanent Court of International Justice, or the World Court**

### **Organization**

The Permanent Court of International Justice, or the World Court, is provided for by Article XIV of the League Covenant, but was created by a separate protocol. It is thus possible to be a member of the World Court and not of the League. Its organization provides at present for a court of 15 judges for a term of 9 years, elected by absolute majorities of the Council and the Assembly, to sit in session all year at The Hague.

### **Authority**

The jurisdiction of the court is (1) voluntary, when the two or more countries voluntarily submit their quarrel for adjudication; (2) compulsory, only in those instances in which the nations have signed the *Protocol of the Court* giving the Court absolute jurisdiction in all legal disputes dealing with international relations; or (3) advisory, when the Council or the Assembly requests legal advice.

### **Its History**

Thus far only 39 nations, including England, Germany and Italy, have signed the *Protocol* giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction over them. Statesmen are in doubt as to whether advisory opinions are valid, whether the Council has to vote unanimously to ask for an advisory opinion, and whether it is wise to request such an opinion, since it may be colored by international politics rather than by justice. About 20 or more decisions and an equal number of advisory opinions have been handed down by the Permanent Court of International Justice.

### **The Hague Court and the World Court**

The Hague Court must not be confused with the World Court. The Hague Court is a court of arbitration. Its arbitrators are selected by the disputing nations from a list of 132 distinguished jurists. The World Court, on the other hand, is a court of law and not of arbitration, and renders decisions based on international law.

### **The League and the Preservation of Peace**

The articles of the League Covenant that treat with the problem of the preservation of peace are:

#### **Article X**

It states that the member states agree "to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League."

#### **Article XI**

Herein, member nations concede it "to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

#### **Article XIII**

It stipulates that member nations agree to submit to arbitration or judicial settlement any dispute suitable for such treatment and to carry out in good faith any decision which may be rendered.

#### **Article XV**

It provides that the member nations agree to submit to the Council any dispute likely to lead to war which is not submitted to an arbitral or judicial tribunal. Decisions to be binding must be decided by a unanimous vote of the Council, interested parties excluded.

#### **Article XII**

It states that in no case will the parties resort to war until three months after the award.

#### **Article XV**

It recites that the Council may submit the dispute to the Assembly for decision. To be conclusive, the decision must be supported by a unanimous vote of the delegates of all those nations that have seats in the Council and a majority vote of the remaining members of the League. The League, however, shall have no jurisdiction in disputes within a nation.

### **Article XVI**

Should a nation go to war without first resorting to arbitration or the World Court, all the other members, upon the authority of this article, agree "immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations." Should the economic boycott fail, the Council may recommend to the member nations what armaments they are to contribute to punish the recalcitrant nation. Such decisions of the Council require a unanimous vote, excluding interested parties.

Article XVI has never been employed, though occasions have arisen when it might have been used effectively.

### **Political Disputes**

More than thirty political disputes which grew out of the War were adjusted by the League Council, and less frequently by the Assembly, the Council of Ambassadors, or the Permanent Court of International Justice. Thus, the efficacy of the League of Nations and its agencies has been established. Not always have these adjustments been satisfactory and permanent, however.

#### **The Aaland Islands Dispute**

These islands are located at the mouth of the Gulf of Bothnia between Sweden and Finland. The islands belonged to Finland, but the inhabitants desired to be annexed to Sweden. Under Article XI of the Covenant, Great Britain brought the controversy to the attention of the League Council in July, 1920. Finland contended that the controversy was a domestic matter and that Sweden recognized the independence of Finland, including the Aaland Islands. Sweden countered that the islanders expressed Swedish nationalism and therefore she proposed a plebiscite. Upon the advice of a legal committee and an investigating committee, the League Council decided on June 24, 1931, that Finland was to retain the sovereignty over the islands, to the inhabitants of which she had to grant autonomy, however. Besides, the islands were to be neutralized and unfortified.

#### **Vilna Controversy**

The dispute between Lithuania and Poland over Vilna was not as successfully settled by the League. Vilna originally was the capital of Lithuania. In the 14th century Lithuania and Poland were united by the marriage of their respective rulers and Vilna rapidly became Polonized. By the partitions of Poland in the 18th century, Vilna passed under Russian rule and remained so until the World War. After the War, Lithuania and Poland set up their independent governments at Vilna and Warsaw, respectively. The boundary between Lithuania and Poland was to be fixed by the

League. Because of the turbulent conditions brought about by the war with the Bolsheviks, the Allied Supreme Council laid down the temporary Curzon Line, which awarded Vilna to Lithuania. Later the controvverting nations at the Treaty of Moscow on July 12, 1920, agreed that Vilna should belong to Lithuania. But the Bolsheviks overran this territory and captured Vilna. The Lithuanians and the Poles united to drive out the invaders only to have Vilna fall into possession of Poland, who now refused to relinquish it to the Lithuanians. The League Council succeeded in getting the countries to arbitrate the controversy, with the result that Vilna was awarded to Lithuania. But the Polish General Zeligowski defied this agreement and took possession of Vilna on October 10, 1920. The League Council, in despair, at first recommended a plebiscite, and then direct negotiations between the countries, but in vain. On February 3, 1923, the League Council assigned to Poland all the land occupied by General Zeligowski including Vilna, and on February 15, 1923, the Council of Ambassadors ratified this decision. Lithuania has been protesting against this disposition of the quarrel ever since, and has made futile efforts to reopen the question.

#### **The Memel Dispute**

The seaport of Memel up to the close of the World War belonged to Germany, but was, then, surrendered by her to the Allies. An Allied high commissioner supported by French troops governed it temporarily. Opinion was divided as to the disposition of the city. Some wanted to surrender it to Lithuania, others to Poland, and still others wished to make it a free city like Danzig. Fearful that she might lose Memel, Lithuania took possession of it. The League Council enlisted the services of Norman H. Davis and a commission to solve the problem. On March 15, 1924 the League Council and Lithuania accepted its report. It provided that Lithuania have full sovereignty over Memel, that Memel have considerable autonomy, and that an International Harbor Board, composed of a Lithuanian, a Pole and a citizen of Memel, administer the port. German Nazi agitation in 1934 in Memel caused Lithuania to employ oppressive measures. These tactics outraged the Germanized majority of the inhabitants and the German government. By November, 1934, Lithuania had not eased in the severity of her rule.

#### **The Upper Silesian Dispute**

The Peace Treaty provided that a plebiscite was to be conducted by an Inter-Allied commission to settle the controversy between Germany and Poland over Upper Silesia. The vote disclosed 754 German and 699 Polish communes. Germany contended that Upper Silesia was economically indivisible, while Poland wanted those communes that had Polish majorities. But neither the Inter-Allied Commission, consisting of French, British and Italian members, nor the Supreme Council could agree upon a solution. The

League Council took the matter in hand and partitioned Upper Silesia, giving the larger part of the population and territory to Germany, but ceding the greater portion of the economic resources, consisting of coal, zinc and lead mines, zinc and lead foundries, and steel mills to Poland. It also recommended an Upper Silesian Mixed Commission, consisting of two Germans, two Poles and a resident of another country, to supervise the entire area as an economic and social unit for fifteen years. On October 20, 1921, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers adopted these recommendations.

### **The Albanian Dispute**

The strategic position of Albania on the Adriatic Sea made Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy solicitous of it. The Council of Ambassadors was ordered to delimit the boundaries of Albania. Yugoslavia had taken Albania and was in possession of it at the time. When the League Council threatened Yugoslavia with an economic blockade, she immediately effected a conciliation with the Council of Ambassadors. The old boundaries of Albania at the close of the Balkan Wars were practically restored (November 9, 1921), except that the boundary between Albania and Yugoslavia was demilitarized.

### **The Mosul Boundary Dispute**

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) stipulated that Turkey and Great Britain were to decide upon the boundary separating Turkey from Iraq (Mesopotamia), which was a British mandate. Should they fail to agree on a boundary, the League Council was to determine it. The bone of contention between the two countries was the vilayet of Mosul, rich in petroleum. The matter, therefore, had to be submitted to the League Council for adjudication. The "Brussels Line" was the temporary line agreed upon in October, 1924, until a permanent frontier could be established. It left Mosul under British control. In the meantime, the League Council secured an advisory opinion from the World Court, which declared that the decision of the League Council would be binding on both parties in the controversy, provided its decision be unanimous, exclusive of interested countries. The findings of the League's commission ultimately were that the majority of the people south of the "Brussels Line," namely the vilayet of Mosul, favored Turkey but that their economic interests would be enhanced by a union with Iraq governed as a British mandate for a period of 25 years, provided due consideration were shown to the Kurds in the disputed area. The Turks wanted the vilayet of Mosul because it had not been conquered by the British during the War, and was inhabited by Turkish sympathizers. The British contended that it was a necessary source of Iraq's grain supply and served as a natural

boundary. All these arguments were overshadowed by the fact that Mosul is rich in petroleum. The commission's recommendations were accepted by the League Council on March 11, 1926. However, in June, 1926, by an Anglo-Turkish treaty, a small section of the vilayet of Mosul was returned to Turkey, and some royalties were granted her on the Mosul oil.

#### **The Graeco-Italian Dispute**

The Delimitation Commission, consisting of four Italians and one Albanian, created by the Council of Ambassadors to locate the boundary between Albania and Greece, was killed on Greek soil in 1923. Italy at once presented an ultimatum to Greece demanding 50,000,000 lire as indemnity and an inquiry with the assistance of an Italian military attaché. Greece declined, since such procedure would violate her sovereign rights. When Italy occupied the Greek island of Corfu at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea, Greece appealed to the League for justice. Mussolini, at first, contended that the League had no jurisdiction in the matter, but then argued juristically that it was a matter for the Delimitation Commission and the Council of Ambassadors to settle. The Council decided that: a Greek commission, supervised by an Inter-Allied one, should conduct an inquiry; the Greek judicial proceedings be supervised by representatives of the League; and the 50,000,000 lire be deposited in a Swiss Bank, out of which indemnity to Italy was to be paid, if the findings of the Greek commission were satisfactory to the Council of Ambassadors. The investigating commission reported that the guilty people could not be found, whereupon the Council of Ambassadors ordered Greece to pay Italy 50,000,000 lire and apologize to her. Corfu, however, was evacuated by Italy on September 27, 1923.

#### **The Graeco-Bulgarian Dispute**

On October 19, 1925, Greek sentinels along the Graeco-Bulgarian border were shot. This provoked a Greek invasion of Bulgaria, and Bulgaria appealed to the Secretary-General of the League for justice. The League Council ordered them to cease warfare immediately and to withdraw troops from one another's territory,—an order with which they complied. A commission then concluded that there were no premeditated plans of attack on either side, that the invasion by the Greeks of Bulgarian soil was unjustified, and that Greece must pay an indemnity of \$220,000 to Bulgaria by March 1, 1926.

#### **The Chaco Dispute**

Bolivia and Paraguay are still (1935) quarreling over the possession of the Chaco district. Bolivia claims it by virtue of old Spanish land grants and a treaty with Paraguay. Furthermore, she feels she must have access to the sea or else stifle economically. Paraguay, too, claims it by virtue of an old Spanish land grant.

The mediation in December, 1928, by the existing Pan-American Conference on Arbitration and Conciliation was rejected by Bolivia. The League Council reminded both countries of their obligations under the Covenant of the League, whereupon they yielded to the invitation of the Pan-American Conference to arbitrate. The good offices of both organizations have been in vain, since the two countries are continuing their bloody warfare in spite of them in direct violation of their obligations under the Covenant of the League. The efforts made by the Commission of Neutrals and the ABCP group of Latin American states have also been in vain. On March 6, 1934, both Bolivia and Paraguay rejected the plan of peace recommended by the League of Nations Commission on the Chaco. It proposed to allow the Permanent Court of International Justice to decide the question. On May 12, 1934, the League's Chaco Commission, under Alvarez del Vayo, startled world public opinion by a frank disclosure that the munitions manufacturers of the United States and European countries, in their lust for profits, were responsible for prolonging the Chaco War. It urged a complete embargo on arms shipments to the belligerents. Captain Anthony Eden of England prevailed upon the League Council to accept this advice. About 34 of the countries, including the United States, accepted the principle of the embargo. It boded well for peace in the Chaco.

### **The Letician Dispute**

Leticia is located at the intersection of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Brazil. The only method of egress for its inhabitants is by a 2,000 mile journey down the long navigable Amazon River. Colombia and Peru waged a bloody war over the possession of this none too valuable tract of land. But unlike the Chaco disputants, the two controverting Latin American countries ultimately decided to settle the dispute by arbitration. On June 23, 1933, a League Commission, pending its recommended settlement of the dispute, was entrusted for one year with the task of governing and policing the area. The commission consisted of a Cuban, a Brazilian, a Spaniard and Colonel Arthur Brown of the United States, who was chairman. A resumption of the war between Peru and Colombia seemed imminent as the life of the Commission was about to expire without its having found a satisfactory solution of the problem. However, two days before its expiration, another useless war in South America was averted, when a treaty between Peru and Colombia was concluded providing for an expression of regret by Peru for her seizure of Leticia on September 1, 1932, the demilitarization of Leticia, the governing of it by Colombia, the free navigation of the Amazon River, and the solution of future controversies by a commission and The Hague Tribunal on appeal.

The settlement of the Letician controversy is significant because in the case of both the League Commission, which assumed direct control of a territory, and the League, which was the arbitrator in an international dispute in the Western Hemisphere rather than the United States, it was the first instance of such action.

### **The Manchurian Dispute**

Because of repeated attacks by Chinese on the South Manchurian Railway, the Japanese on September 18, 1931, seized Mukden, the capital of Manchuria and extended their control over all of Manchuria and later of Jehol. Japan contended that the lawlessness and banditry in China were in contravention of the *Twenty-One Demands* submitted to her in 1915. This necessitated her intervention to maintain peace and order, and to destroy the boycott which the Chinese had organized. She protested that she was not declaring war on China or conquering her territory, and hence was not violating the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg Peace Pact, or the Nine-Power Treaty. China was no match either as a military or naval power for Japan. She, therefore, resorted to guerrilla warfare and the economic boycott. Japan took no heed at first of the League Council's request to arbitrate and soon the alleged independent state of Manchukuo was established with Pu Yi, the former ruler of China, as emperor.

In December, 1931, the Lytton Commission of Inquiry, consisting of the Earl of Lytton and one representative each from France, Italy, Germany and the United States, was appointed to investigate the controversy between China and Japan with a view toward reconciliation. The Lytton Report, which was submitted on October 2, 1932, recommended direct negotiations between China and Japan under international auspices, international coöperation in the internal reorganization of China, and the restoration of Manchukuo to Chinese sovereignty as an autonomous state with adequate protection of Japanese interests. It also declared that Japan had exceeded her privileges of self-defense in China, and had created Manchukuo to further her imperialistic ambitions in China and not necessarily to grant nationalism to the inhabitants of the state.

The Assembly accepted the Lytton Report, but China and Japan were displeased with it; China, because it did not provide for the immediate Japanese evacuation of Chinese territory; and Japan, because she considered Manchukuo a *fait accompli*. The great powers of the world appeared reluctant to press Japan further. Since the collapse of the League, which proved utterly impotent in this emergency, was feared, the Lytton Report was submitted to a Committee of Nineteen for further study and investigation. In the meantime, Japan demonstrated her determination by quitting the League.



### Financial Assistance

The success of the League in coping with the difficult political disputes of Europe and Asia has not been marked. One feels that it has not shown more success in handling economic crises.

#### Austrian Economic Distress

The landlocked Austrian republic came into being, financially exhausted, and depleted of much of her former population, land, resources and wealth. The Allied powers, recognizing her plight, came to her assistance by giving her food and supplies on credit, relief loans of \$48,000,000 made by Great Britain, France, and Italy in 1919, loans of \$24,000,000 made by the United States between 1919 and 1921, relief credits of \$100,000,000 granted by Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland during the years 1919 to 1921, and charity amounting to \$50,000,000. These credits did not solve Austria's economic problem, but merely alleviated the misery. She was on the brink of revolution in 1922, but this was avoided when France, Great Britain, Italy and Czechoslovakia extended additional financial assistance to her.

But Austria was still in distress for her krone was only worth one fifteen-thousandth of its par value; a social upheaval was still imminent; and taxation was overwhelming. The Austrian Chancellor Seipel was even willing to arrange a customs union with Italy, Germany or Czechoslovakia, were it not for the fear of serious diplomatic complications. The League Council took the matter in hand and on October 4, 1922, its Austrian Committee had its proposals adopted: (1) Austria's political and economic integrity was to be guaranteed, provided she did not compromise it by economic or political alliances, (2) Austrian taxes were to be increased and expenditures minimized, (3) Great Britain, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia were to guarantee a loan up to \$135,000,000, of which one-fifth was to cover the advance made during 1922, (4) a bank of issue was to be established to control Austrian loans and issuance of paper money, and (5) a commissioner-general, Dr. Alfred Zimmerman, with the Committee of Control of the guaranteeing governments were to supervise the plan and report to the League Council. On June 9, 1926, the League ceased to supervise the finances of Austria because of the apparent economic rehabilitation of the country. However, the economic recovery was only temporary. Other factors led to the political and economic collapse of Austria, which terminated in the dictatorships of Chancellors Engelburt Dollfuss and Kurt Schuschnigg.

#### Hungarian Economic Distress

Though the economic distress was not as great as in Austria, Hungary solicited League intervention to prevent economic collapse. The League Council appointed a Hungarian Committee, composed

of members from Great Britain, France, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, to solve the problem. Its recommendations, adopted on May 1, 1924, advised that Jeremiah Smith, Jr., of Boston, be appointed commissioner-general with responsibility to the League; an independent bank enjoying a monopoly of note issue be established; a reconstruction loan of 250,000,000 gold crowns, secured by specific Hungarian revenues, be floated in the United States, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and the crown be stabilized and the budget balanced. Since the plan was unusually successful, on June 10, 1926, the League abolished the office of the commissioner-general and ceased to supervise Hungary. As in Austria, the economic recovery of Hungary was short-lived.

#### **Greek Economic Distress**

After the Graeco-Turkish War in 1922, Greece found it impossible to absorb nearly 1,500,000 refugees without additional finances. With the aid of a League commission, a foreign loan of \$50,000,000 was successfully floated in 1924 to finance the refugees on land provided by the Greek government. By 1928 thousands of families were rehabilitated, and agriculture and industry in Greece prospered. In 1928, another loan under the auspices of the League was floated, a new bank of issue was established, and the national budget was balanced.

#### **Bulgarian, Esthonian and Danzig Financial Distress**

Between 1926 and 1928, 30,000 Bulgarian refugees were aided in the buying of lands, homes, agricultural implements and domestic animals by Bulgarian government loans, granted by the Allies under the auspices of the League. Financial assistance was furnished both to the Esthonian government so that it might be put on the gold basis, and to the Free City of Danzig to develop its harbor facilities.

### **The Administrative Work of the League**

In addition to its authority in settling political disputes, and assisting countries in economic distress, administrative and supervisory powers, such as have to do with (1) the Saar Basin, (2) the Free City of Danzig, (3) the mandatory system, and (4) the protection of minorities, are vested in the League.

#### **The Saar Basin**

In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, a Governing Commission of the Saar Basin, consisting of five members,—one citizen of France, one inhabitant of the Saar territory, and three citizens of foreign countries other than France or Germany—was appointed by the League Council. In addition, an Advisory Council was elected by the inhabitants of the Saar Basin. M. Rault was made president

of the Governing Commission, which soon became a tool of the French foreign policy. The Saar Basin press was muzzled; complaints of the Advisory Council were inadequately presented to the League Council; French currency was established; the Saar Basin was included in the French customs union; German children were persuaded to attend French schools; French mines were insufficiently taxed; and Saar miners went on strike for better conditions of labor.

Finally, in July, 1923, Great Britain requested the League to investigate. The League Council aired the abuses and recommended the withdrawal of the French troops. In 1926 the resignation of Rault and the appointment of a German to the League Council made for a more honorable treatment of the Saar Basin inhabitants. The ultimate solution of the problem of government in the Saar Basin remains to be determined by a plebiscite in 1935. In 1929 France was willing to waive the plebiscite and to allow Germany to annex the Saar Basin on new terms, but nothing came of it. With the advent of Hitlerism in Germany, every effort was made by Germany to acquire it even before the date of the plebiscite. The League council set January 13, 1935, as the date when it was to take place.

#### **Danzig and the Polish Corridor**

The Peace Conference had decreed that the German city of Danzig should be established as a free city under the auspices of the League. The inhabitants drafted the constitution of the Free City of Danzig on November 15, 1920, which the League ratified in May, 1922. Poland controls its diplomatic and its industrial life, but the inhabitants have a degree of autonomy. They have their own bicameral legislature, but the executive is a high commissioner appointed by the League. Though he serves as chief justice also, appeals may be made from his decisions to the League Council and even to the World Court. The port of Danzig is controlled by a commission, consisting of an equal number of Poles and Danzigers and a neutral chairman. Poland is assured of the free use of the port and of free trade between Poland and the Free City of Danzig.

The relations between Danzig and Poland are not harmonious because of the incompatibility of the Germans and the Poles, and of their economic and political differences. The Free City's export and import trade has greatly increased in recent years and the League's loan of \$7,500,000 has improved its accommodations for shipping. The strong movement under way among German Danzigers to have the Free City annexed to the Reich is applauded by the Hitlerites and other German nationalists, but is opposed by Poland and her financial and diplomatic champion, France. Another matter that occasioned considerable grievance was Poland's construction of another seaport, Gdynia, near Danzig, so that it might deflect shipping from the port of Danzig to itself and thus enable Polish commerce to avoid League supervision. In September, 1933, negotiations

were concluded between the Free City and Warsaw, providing that Poland direct 45% of her entire annual imports and exports through the port of Danzig and 55% through the port of Gdynia. A mixed Polish and Danzig committee supervises the execution of this agreement. Thus ended the long controversy between Danzig and Gdynia in the League Council.

The Polish Corridor is the neck of land about 250 miles long and about 80 miles wide which connects Poland with Danzig, but incidentally severs East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Without it Poland is landlocked and doomed to economic deterioration. In April, 1921, free transportation of German goods across the Corridor was arranged for between Poland and Germany. The oppression of the German minority in the Corridor in the process of Polonization is the cause of the serious controversy between Germany and Poland to-day. At Locarno, in 1925, Germany refused to accept her present Polish borders. Since then, Nazi Germany has become even less conciliatory concerning her eastern borders. However, the Hitlerites have accepted the *status quo* for a period of ten years in a treaty with Poland (January, 1934), in consideration of an assurance that Poland will not attack Germany in the event the latter is engaged in war.

## Mandates

### Definition

The Peace Conference created the mandates to provide a system of enlightened government for the surrendered possessions of Germany and Turkey. The mandatory countries were those states selected by the League to administer these mandates in the interests of the inhabitants.

### League Supervision

Annually the mandatory power reports to the League regarding its mandates. The Permanent Mandates Commission, consisting of eleven independent experts, the majority of whom are citizens of non-mandatory countries, presents its advisory findings to the League Council. Each year both the Council and the Assembly openly discuss the welfare of the mandates, thus demonstrating a more responsible spirit in world politics.

(a) SYRIA. In 1926 the Permanent Mandates Commission rebuked France for her maladministration of Syria, whereupon France rapidly liberalized the treatment of the Syrians. She has since made overtures to grant Syria independence.

(b) PALESTINE. In 1930 the Mandates Commission, at the request of Great Britain, investigating the quarrel over the *Wailing Wall* between the Jews and the Mohammedans, found that the British government had failed, because it had not clarified the regulations concerning the Wall.

(c) IRAQ. After England relinquished her mandatory authority over Iraq, she requested that Iraq be allowed to enter the League. This application was granted in October, 1932. The beneficence of England is questioned in this matter because Iraq has since become a protectorate of England. This enables England to exploit the oil wells of Iraq without any interference of the League. In September 1933 some of the Iraqi massacred hundreds of Christian Assyrians, an act which caused statesmen to believe that the declaration of the independence of Iraq might have been premature.

### The Classification of the Mandates

The mandates are divided into three categories, A, B and C, in accordance with their location, economic status, and cultural development.

(a) CLASS A MANDATES. These are lands which have reached such a high stage of development that they may be recognized as independent nations, but need administrative advice until they can exist unaided. The former Turkish lands are in this category.

CLASS A MANDATES	
Mandate	Mandatory Power
Syria	France
Lebanon	France
Palestine	Great Britain
Transjordan	Great Britain
Iraq (Independent in 1932)	Great Britain

(b) CLASS B MANDATES. These, which are less advanced, are cared for by the mandatory powers with a greater amount of supervision and with definite guarantees to the League for the welfare of the inhabitants. They were formerly owned by Germany.

CLASS B MANDATES	
Mandate	Mandatory Power
Kamerun (one-sixth)	Great Britain
East Africa (Tanganyika)	Great Britain
Togoland (one-third)	Great Britain
Kamerun (five-sixths)	France
Togoland (two-thirds)	France
Ruanda-Urundi	Belgium

(c) CLASS C MANDATES. The Class C Mandates include Southwest Africa and the Pacific Islands, both of which belonged to Germany. Because of their sparseness of population, their small size, and their remoteness from centers of civilization, they have been assigned to neighboring mandatory powers and are governed as integral portions of their own empires, subject to certain safeguards for the natives.

CLASS C MANDATES	
Mandate	Mandatory Power
Southwest Africa	Union of South Africa
Western Samoa	New Zealand
Nauru	Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand
Former German Pacific Islands south of the Equator	Australia
Former German Pacific Islands north of the Equator	Japan

## **Minorities**

### **Difficulties with Minority Guarantees**

About 30,000,000 people are scattered throughout eastern and western Europe as national minorities because of the inability or unwillingness of the statesmen at the Peace Conference to make national and state boundaries coincide. Most of these people live under the League's guardianship, which was assured them by the special minority treaties, or the minority provisions of the post-War treaties. In most instances, violations of minority rights may be referred to the League Council. In 1921 the World Court held that it had no jurisdiction to deal with the Finno-Russian dispute over the Finnish minority in Eastern Karelia, because the Finno-Russian minority treaty was only a bilateral agreement. The problem of correcting these abuses has been a trying one, since the task invariably involves an alleged violation of the state's sovereign rights.

(a) **MINORITIES COMMITTEE.** In 1929 the League Council revised its methods of dealing with minorities. A Minorities Committee was created, consisting of the president of the League Council and two colleagues selected by him, to decide whether the petitions to remedy designated abuses against minorities are worthy of consideration by the League Council. All communications are conducted through the Minorities Section of the Secretariat, which also collects all the necessary data on the problem for the League Council. The latter has made it a practice not to dictate arbitrary solutions of these problems, but to direct conciliations and compromises. Since few of these disputes can really yield to compromise, few have been satisfactorily settled in this wise way. Among the more notorious violations of the minorities guarantees are those of the legal rights of the Germans in the Polish Corridor, the Jews in Rumania, and the Jews in Germany. Little has been actually accomplished, but it must be admitted that these guarantees restrain the dominant nations from being too severe with their minorities. In October, 1934, Poland threatened to abrogate her minorities treaty, but under League pressure she soon retracted her threat.

### **Miscellaneous Activities of the League**

1. The Health Section of the Secretariat.
2. The Committee of Intellectual Coöperation.
3. The International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.
4. The International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

### **An Estimate of the League**

The League has not been uniformly successful in settling all political disputes and in reducing armaments, but it has furthered

international coöperation in many ways, in the extension of intellectual relations, the drafting of health regulations, the suppression of traffic in women, the restriction of the sale of opium, the codification of international law, and so forth. The future that is in store for the League depends upon what the nations of the world will make of it.

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## CHAPTER VI

### THE NEW PEACE MOVEMENT

The problem of maintaining universal peace has been the enigma of all peoples and their statesmen. The pre-War solutions to this problem were costly, death-dealing armaments and diplomatic alliances. The last war should have shown the world the futility of such time-worn procedure. The movements for disarmament and arbitration were in their infancies. Yet the nations of the world in their search for peace and security are to-day reverting to the age-old practices of engaging in belligerent defensive alliances and in a race for superior armaments. The alternative solutions of disarmament and arbitration are still largely academic. The serious application of these latter principles continues to be the great aspiration of enlightened mankind. The competition among the nations for superiority in military and naval strength, and the rivalry among the military alliances have made war more menacing now than ever before.

#### Rival Alliances

After the World War the European nations entered into three main military alliances, viz., the French, the Russian, and the Italian. The German program of imperialism, ultranationalism, and anti-communism in 1934 caused Russia and Italy to join with France in a common cause against Germany. To offset this formidable coalition, Germany succeeded in effecting a *rapprochement* with Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, and probably Rumania.

##### The French Alliances

The foreign policy of France since the World War has been to secure France against a future attack from Germany, and to preserve the treaties of peace and their awards. Poincaré, Tardieu, Herriot, and even Briand consistently advocated this policy. France finally encircled herself with national cohorts by means of loans and treaties with Belgium in 1920, Poland in 1922, Czechoslovakia in 1924, Rumania in 1926, Yugoslavia in 1927 and Russia in 1933. The new French hegemony became so formidable that it challenged the security and peace of the world.

(a) ATTEMPT AT ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES. During and immediately after the peace negotiations (June 28, 1919), France, at the price of making certain concessions,



tried to induce the United States and England to guarantee her integrity against a future attack by Germany, but the United States Senate refused to ratify the treaty and England declined to accept the obligation alone.

(b) **THE FRANCO-BELGIAN ALLIANCE.** In return for allowing Luxemburg to join in a customs union with Belgium, France entered into a military alliance with the latter for mutual assistance in September, 1920.

(c) **THE FRANCO-POLISH TREATY.** In May, 1922, France and Poland ratified a treaty, stipulating that they would consult one another in international questions, especially concerning supernaturalistic Germany and communistic Russia, assist one another in performing their respective treaty obligations, and protect one another in a defensive war. The treaty was renewed and strengthened as late as 1932 for a ten year period.

(d) **ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT AN ANGLO-FRENCH ALLIANCE.** In 1921 France made another attempt to arrange a mutually protective alliance not so much because of fear of a German attack but because of her Polish involvements. Lloyd George was skeptical of such overtures because of France's opposition to the abolition of the submarine at the Washington Conference (1921-1922), her invasion of the Ruhr, and her opposition to a revision of the German reparations.

(e) **THE FRANCO-CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PACT.** On January 25, 1924, the French concluded a pact with the eager President Masaryk and Foreign Minister Beneš of Czechoslovakia. It provided that they would defend themselves against a united rising of Austria and Germany, prevent a restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty to the Hungarian and Austrian thrones, defend one another when attacked, and unite against peace treaty modifications.

(f) **THE FRANCO-RUMANIAN ALLIANCE.** In June, 1926, a treaty between France and Rumania was concluded to arbitrate disputes, uphold the peace treaties, and defend one another when attacked.

(g) **THE FRANCO-YUGOSLAVIAN ALLIANCE.** In November, 1927, a treaty between France and Yugoslavia was concluded similar in terms to the Franco-Rumanian treaty.

(h) **THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN TREATY.** In July, 1933, a Franco-Russian non-aggression treaty, consummated through the efforts of Maxim Litvinov at the London Economic Conference, also provided for (1) a discontinuation of Communistic propaganda in France, and (2) a French grant of credits for Russian purchases.

(i) **THE LITTLE ENTENTE.** The satellite of French hegemony is the Little Entente formed by Masaryk and Beneš in 1920 and 1921 between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania to preserve the Treaty of Trianon, prevent the restoration of the Hapsburgs,

and crush the Hungarian irredentist movement. The Little Entente was not only united with France but also with Poland (1922) to serve as buffers against Russian Communism and revived German nationalism. In 1929 the Little Entente was renewed.

(j) **BALKAN PACT.** To offset Italian imperialism in the Balkan peninsula, particularly in Albania, to strengthen their military and naval defenses against all foreign aggrandizement, and to increase their prestige in international conferences, the Balkan states concluded a Balkan pact (February, 1934) to which Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia are the signatories. The hesitant states are Albania and Bulgaria. Perhaps, some day, Albania will be able to undo Italy's hold on her, so that she may be free to join the union. As for Bulgaria, the hope is that her hatred for her sister Balkan states, engendered by the Balkan Wars (1911-1913), will abate and that she will see the practical advantages to be derived from such a coalition.

(k) **THE ANTI-NAZI COALITION.** One of the important tenets of the German Nazi program is aggressive imperialism, implying the expansion of German interests. This menace caused her neighbors to ally themselves in an effort to nullify this plan. Foreign Minister Barthou of France is credited with having arranged this coalition, in 1934, consisting of France, Russia, Turkey, England, Czechoslovakia, and even Italy. The fear of isolation caused Germany to seek allies. By the time of this writing, she had succeeded in winning the friendship of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania and probably Rumania.

#### **The Russian Alliances**

The Russian Soviet government has consistently refrained from imperialistic or militaristic projects but (1) the fear of an international capitalistic effort to destroy her communistic experiment, (2) the fear of an irredentist and imperialistic movement among her national neighbors and (3) the desire to arrange credits and markets for Russian trade caused her to contract non-aggression pacts and commercial treaties with the nations of the world. Her able diplomats, George Chicherin and Maxim Litvinov, have succeeded in encircling Russia with a chain of national friends in a series of non-aggression or neutrality treaties and a number of commercial pacts.

(a) **THE RUSSO-GERMAN TREATY OF RAPALLO, April 16, 1922.** Out of the failure of the Genoa Economic Conference of 34 countries to correct the economic ills of the world emerged the Treaty of Rapallo between Walter Rathenau of Germany and George Chicherin of Russia on April 16, 1922. These two countries had much in common: both were distrusted, both were fearful of the French hegemony and the new Allied coalition, and both sought new trade.

(b) **THE RUSSO-TURKISH TREATIES OF 1925 AND 1933.** Russia and Turkey were fearful of the Allied powers; Turkey particularly so because of her dispute with England concerning Mosul. The treaty of December, 1925, providing for non-aggression and neutrality, if either one were attacked by a third country, was renewed in 1933.

(c) **MINOR TREATIES.**

The Russo-German Non-Aggression and Neutrality Treaty of April, 1925. (?)

The Russo-Lithuanian and Russo-Afghanistan Non-Aggression Treaties of 1926 and 1933.

The Russo-Persian and Russo-Latvian Non-Aggression Treaties of 1927 and 1933.

The Russo-Finnish and Russo-Polish Neutrality Pacts of 1931 and 1933.

(d) **THE RUSSO-FRENCH TREATY OF 1932 AND 1933.** These were treaties of neutrality. France was primarily interested in acquiring Russian oil and developing Russian trade. In addition, she was becoming fearful of the growing monarchist movement in Germany. Russia, too, became more and more anxious over the growing national and anti-communist movements in Germany.

(e) **THE LITVINOV NON-AGGRESSION TREATIES.** The crowning success of Russia was the consummation of a series of non-aggression and neutrality treaties with Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, France, Rumania, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan in July, 1933, by Maxim Litvinov as a by-product of the otherwise futile London Economic Conference. German influence at Moscow has been replaced by the influence of France and her Allies.

(f) **FRENCH DIPLOMATIC LEADERSHIP.** The increased menace of German imperialism and anti-communism caused Soviet Russia in 1934 to align with France in the latter's anti-Nazi Coalition.

#### **The Italian Alliances.**

Italy's great enemy in post-War history was France. This hostility was caused by Italy's designs on Nice, Savoy, and northern Africa, France's frustration of Italy's ambition to acquire more African territory at the Peace Conference, and their rivalry in armaments and naval strength.

(a) **ITALIAN HEGEMONY.** To realize his country's ambitions, Mussolini effected a cordon of amicable nations through his treaties of friendship and neutrality with Czechoslovakia in 1924, Jugoslavia in 1924, Rumania in 1926, Spain in 1926, Hungary in 1927, Turkey in 1928, Greece in 1928 and Austria in 1930; through a military alliance with Albania in 1927; through a trade agreement with Soviet Russia in 1932; and through cordial relations with England and the United States in 1931 and 1932. The Italian hegemony was one of Mussolini's glories.

(b) **THE FOUR POWER TREATY.** The three great hegemonies of France, Russia and Italy were a greater menace to the peace of Europe of to-day than the rivalry between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente of 1914. But since the leading statesmen of the three hostile alliances were timorous of the results a world war would now have on an already exhausted world, France, England, Germany and Italy, under the leadership of Mussolini, arranged the Four Power Friendship Treaty on July 16, 1933. It planned: to revise the Peace Conference treaties with a view toward doing greater justice to the subject nationalities, improve the Franco-Italian relations, aid the efforts of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, assist in establishing a four years' armament truce, help organize an international police organization, develop economic *ententes* and a common policy of the gold standard countries, and convert Hitlerism to a more conservative fascism of the Italian variety.

Russia looked askance at this "New Holy Alliance" lest it be a secret pact to crush communism. The Succession States of Austria-Hungary were fearful of it lest they be deprived of the territorial gains granted them at the Peace Conferences.

(c) **THE NEW ITALIAN HEGEMONY.** The Four Power Pact was short-lived. The advent of Hitlerism in Germany with its exaggerated nationalism and its determination to effect an Austro-German *anschluss* has caused Mussolini much worry. This fear of a powerful Austro-German state to the north of Italy has meant the death of the Four Power Pact, but it has given birth to a new Italian economic and military coalition. Premier Goemboes of Hungary, the late Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria and Premier Mussolini of Italy created a new Italian coalition and were considering inviting the Little Entente—a project which would incidentally destroy the French hegemony.

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### Disarmament

The statesmen of the world are academically willing to admit the folly of nations trying to excel one another in armaments in order to maintain universal peace and assure national integrity, but practically they have little faith in arbitration, and resort to the old practice of competing for military and naval supremacy. Disarmament depends upon national security and the latter in turn hinges on an inviolable agreement to arbitrate international disputes.

Yet definite steps have been made toward world disarmament. Thus far they have shown very little promise. Will they be more successful in the future? Let us review the history of disarmament since the World War.

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*Clause or Protocol.* However, the compulsory arbitration applies only to problems involving international law.

### The Washington Naval Conference, 1922

President Harding called a conference at Washington in the winter of 1921 to discuss the problems of naval limitation, the Pacific, and the Far East,—issues which were particularly critical at the time. Seven treaties were drafted, but only two dealt with disarmament.

(a) One *Five Power Treaty*, signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy, provided that submarines must comply with the international rules of surface vessels, and banned asphyxiating gas as a war weapon.

(b) The other *Five Power Treaty*, signed by the same signatories, provided for a ten year capital ship holiday and a tonnage limitation of capital ships and aircraft carriers. Capital ships are those which have a displacement of 10,000 tons or more, and carry guns of eight inch bore or more. They were to have the limitation ratio of 5:5:3:1.67:1.67.

	Aircraft Carrier Tonnage	Capital Ship Tonnage	Ratio
United States .....	135,000	525,000	5
Great Britain .....	135,000	525,000	5
Japan .....	81,000	315,000	3
France .....	60,000	175,000	1.67
Italy .....	60,000	175,000	1.67

Undoubtedly, the Washington Naval Conference represented an important step toward general disarmament, but it failed to limit land armaments and auxiliary naval craft.

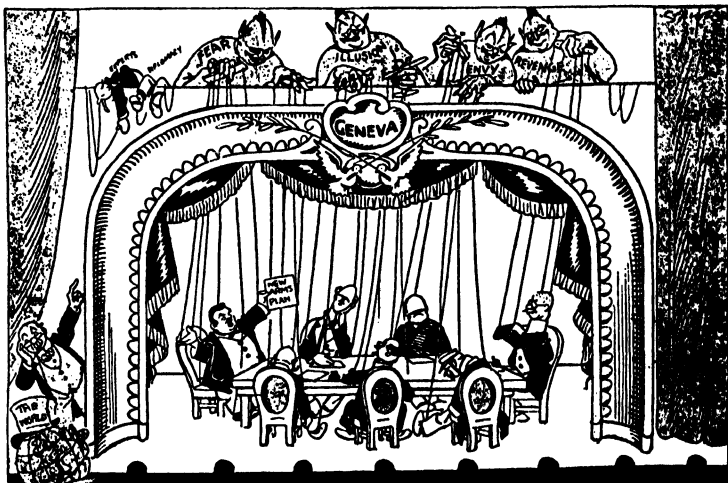
### The Treaty of Mutual Assistance, 1923

In February, 1921, the League Council appointed a Temporary Mixed Commission for Disarmament. Its draft of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was unanimously adopted by the Fourth League Assembly in September, 1923. It stipulated that: member nations aid one another if attacked; member nations may have regional alliances, if they desire, but not in conflict with this treaty or the regulations of the League; the League Council determine who the aggressor was within four days after the outbreak of a dispute; the League Council decide the extent of the reduction of all armaments of member nations; and each nation comply with the armament limitations within two years.

Not one nation signed this document since "aggressor" and "aggression" were not defined, methods of arbitration were not provided, the disarmament provisions were not clear, and national security and integrity were not guaranteed.

### The Geneva Protocol, 1924.

Edouard Herriot and Ramsay MacDonald inspired the "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," also known as the *Geneva Protocol*, in September, 1924, at the Fifth League Assembly. It provided that the signatories should agree: to refrain from war against fellow signatories who comply with international obligations: to refer all legal disputes to the World



The marionettes

—The Daily Express, London.

Court and all political controversies to the League Council or a board of arbitration; to forbear to mobilize while arbitration was being conducted; to declare a member who resorted to war before employing some peaceful method of settling the dispute an aggressor; to permit the League Council to declare an economic boycott against an offending nation; to have the costs of an aggressive war paid by the aggressor, but without any cession of territory; and to engage in a general scheme for disarmament to be arranged later.

This effort, too, proved futile. The smaller nations favored it, but the greater powers were not anxious to assume the responsibilities of its enforcement. At the time in England, the Labor Party under MacDonald was displaced by the Conservatives, headed by Prime Minister Baldwin. And the new ministry had little faith in compulsory arbitration.

### The Locarno Treaties, 1925

The Rhineland was still the gravest international sore spot in 1925. With a view toward solving this problem, Aristide Briand of France, Gustav Stresemann of Germany and Austen Chamberlain

of England called the Locarno Conference in Switzerland (October 5-16, 1925) and invited Italy, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Seven treaties were drafted. Among these were four arbitration treaties between Germany and Belgium, France, Poland and Czechoslovakia; two mutually defensive pacts between France, Poland and Czechoslovakia; and the *Treaty of Mutual Guarantees*, or the *Rhine Pact*, between Germany, France, England, Italy and Belgium. This last treaty stipulated that: the boundaries of Germany, France and Belgium be safeguarded by mutual agreement; the several countries agree to arbitrate all disputes; Germany be admitted to the League with a permanent seat in the Council; Germany renounce her claims to Alsace-Lorraine; and France abandon her ambition to create a Rhineland buffer state.

This pact was considered a great stride toward international peace, and the hope was entertained that "*the Spirit of Locarno*" might pervade all future international conferences, but, unfortunately, it seldom did.

#### **The Geneva Naval Parley, 1927**

Realizing the defects of the Washington Naval Conference, President Coolidge invited the great naval countries, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, to a conference at Geneva in February, 1927, to discuss the limitation of cruisers, destroyers and submarines. France and Italy refused the invitation because the smaller powers were ignored, and because it would embarrass the League Commission to Limit Armaments, which was then in progress. Great Britain would not limit cruisers, which she particularly needed to defend her far-flung empire, though she was willing to limit capital ships, which the United States needed for her extensive and exposed coastlines. In August, 1927, the parley adjourned with nothing accomplished and with considerable ill feeling.

American suspicions of England were increased when, in September, 1928, a correspondent of the *New York American* discovered a secret treaty between France and England in which France agreed to uphold England's views on cruisers in return for England's promise to uphold France's contention that military reserves are not to be included in computing the number of soldiers of a country. America showed her indignation at this deception by budgeting for the construction of fifteen additional cruisers in February, 1929, and for many more since,

#### **The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, or the Paris Peace Pact, 1929**

Originally, Briand suggested a Franco-American peace pact. On December 28, 1927, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg counter-suggested a multi-lateral anti-war pact, which was concluded at Paris on August 27, 1928, by the delegates of fifteen nations. By 1933, sixty-two nations had subscribed to it. It provides for a

renunciation of war as a national policy, and a subscription to arbitration and conciliation to settle international disputes, the pacific solution of all disputes which may arise among the signatories, and the freedom of action by the member nations in regard to the offending nation who violated her international obligations.

The failure of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact to reconcile China and Japan in their Manchurian controversy has proved its futility because each nation defines self defense to suit herself; it did not outlaw war; and public opinion is an inadequate means of enforcing its provisions.

#### **An Attempt to Outlaw War by the League, 1929**

In September, 1929, the Tenth League Assembly proposed an amendment to Article XII of the League Covenant providing for the absolute outlawry of war instead of merely postponing hostilities until three months after an unsatisfactory arbitral award. Thus, the League Covenant would comply more with the terms of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact in this regard. However, this amendment has not been ratified.

#### **The London Naval Conference, 1930**

Since the Naval Pact of 1922 was soon to expire, MacDonald invited the United States, by a personal visit, and France, Italy and Japan to attend a naval limitations conference, which opened January 21, 1930, at London. France and Italy withdrew because of: their rivalry for supremacy in the Mediterranean; France's unwillingness to reduce her armaments any further without special guarantees of security; and Italy's insistence on naval parity with France. The London Naval Treaty of January 31, 1931, was ultimately signed by the United States, England and Japan. It provided for an agreement for six years; a small reduction in definite proportions of capital ships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers and submarines; no new capital ships, though auxiliary sea-craft might be built until 1936 up to allotment; and the *Escalator Clause* which allowed any one of the three nations to increase her armaments in any category, should she feel that her national security was endangered by the increase in naval tonnage of any non-signatory power. However, she had to notify the other two countries and release them from their obligations in such an event.

#### **COMPARISON IN TONNAGE OF THE THREE NAVIES UNDER THE LONDON TREATY**

	United States	Great Britain	Japan	Ratio
Capital ships ..	462,400	474,750	266,070	10:10.3: 5.8
Aircraft carriers	135,000	135,000	81,000	10:10 : 6
Cruisers "A" ....	180,000	146,800	108,400	10 : 8.1: 6
Cruisers "B" ....	143,500	192,200	100,450	10:13.4: 7
Destroyers .....	150,000	150,000	105,500	10:10 : 7
Submarines .....	52,700	52,700	52,700	10:10 :10
	<hr/> 1,123,600	<hr/> 1,151,450	<hr/> 714,120	<hr/> 10:10.3: 6.9

The London Naval Conference has little to commend it because in total naval tonnage it provided for a comparatively small reduction; the *Escalator Clause* made the entire document farcical; the national expenditures to scrap obsolete ships and to replace them by new ships permitted by the agreement involved great financial obligations; and the sense of security was not heightened to the extent of eliminating international rivalry in armaments.

#### **The World Disarmament Conference, 1932**

The Sixth League Assembly, in 1925, prevailed upon the League Council to appoint a Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference. It first met at Geneva, May 18, 1926, and has had several sessions since. A number of questions troubled the commission as it proceeded to draw up a tentative treaty and agenda. Were reserves to be counted as military effectives? England and the United States were of the opinion that they should be, while France replied in the negative. Was naval tonnage to be limited by class or by total tonnage? England and the United States approved the former plan, but France and Italy the latter. Was there to be an international organization to maintain peace and security? France insisted upon it, but the other nations were willing to depend upon the good faith of the member nations. At the 1928

meeting of the Commission, Maxim Litvinov recommended absolute disarmament in one to four years, and the establishment of an international police force to secure peace. The German and Turkish commissioners approved of the plan, but the other delegates disregarded the idea. On December 9, 1930, the Preparatory Commission adopted a tentative Draft Convention, with many reservations, which it submitted to the first general Disarmament Conference, assembled by the League Council at Geneva on February 2, 1932. Arthur Henderson of England was made president of



**THE SPIRIT OF '31**

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*



the gathering of 200 delegates from sixty different countries. The Draft Convention suggested budgetary armament limitations; limitation of armaments; and the creation of a Permanent Disarmament Commission to supervise the fulfillment of the disarmament plan. Many difficulties confronted the Conference. Germany wanted general disarmament on an equality with herself or that she be permitted to arm to French parity, and France insisted upon an international police organization to insure her security and universal peace. President Hoover suggested a drastic cut of about one-third of the land and naval armaments of all countries. Japan and England objected to his plan because it provided for the abolition of tanks, bombing planes and mobile guns, and France insisted upon the simultaneous creation of an international police force. On June 30, 1933, the Conference adjourned with no definite achievements and in hopeless deadlock over the question of the authority of the proposed Permanent Disarmament Commission. Great Britain wished the Commission to investigate the extent and nature of the armaments of the various countries, only when a signatory demanded such investigation because its suspicions had been aroused, while France wanted periodic investigations by the established international police organization, a guarantee of national integrity, and control over the manufacture of munitions. Germany recognized the futility of it all, left the Conference, and resigned from the League (October, 1933). The oft-postponed Disarmament Conference convened again on May 29, 1934, but it was immediately deadlocked largely because of the insincerity of the nations. It was adjourned, having achieved nothing.

### World Armaments To-day

Despite all the efforts to achieve disarmament, the world today has larger armies, larger navies, and larger armament costs than it had prior to the World War. During the very years of these post-War negotiations for disarmament and arbitration, national armament budgets were mounting.

EXPENDITURES FOR ARMAMENTS BY THE GREAT POWERS			
	1913	1931	% of Change
United States . . . . .	\$244,600,000	\$727,700,000	+197
Russia . . . . .	447,700,000	579,400,000	+ 30
Great Britain . . . . .	375,100,000	535,000,000	+ 42
France . . . . .	348,700,000	455,000,000	+ 30
Italy . . . . .	179,100,000	258,900,000	+ 44
Japan . . . . .	95,500,000	232,100,000	+142
Germany . . . . .	436,300,000	170,400,000	- 63

The larger powers were appropriating as much as 70% of their annual post-War budgets to defray the expenses of previous wars and to maintain current armaments. The staff of the League

of Nations has also found an alarming increase in world expenditures on armaments since the War. In 1925 just under \$3,500,000,000 was expended by sixty-two countries for this purpose. In 1930 the amount rose to the colossal sum of \$4,128,000,000.

**PERCENTAGE OF ARMAMENTS COSTS TO THE TOTAL  
BUDGETARY EXPENDITURES, 1930-1931**

Great Britain .....	14%
United States .....	17%
France .....	22%
Italy .....	24%

**Per Capita Cost of Armaments, 1930**

France .....	\$13
Great Britain .....	11
Italy .....	8
Holland .....	8
United States .....	7
U. S. S. R. ....	4
Germany .....	3
Austria .....	2

**Approximate Size of Armies, 1931**

France .....	662,000
U. S. S. R. ....	562,000
Italy .....	491,000
Poland .....	323,000
Japan .....	270,000
India .....	260,000
Rumania .....	250,000
Czechoslovakia .....	150,000
U. S. A. ....	145,000
Great Britain .....	137,000

**FLEETS OF THE NATIONS, 1932\***

A plus sign (+) indicates vessels under construction.

	Great Britain	U.S.A.	Japan	France	Italy	U.S.S.R.	many
Battleships and Battle Cruisers .....	15	15	10	9	4	3	4+2
Cruisers .....	53+7	19+7	31+7	22+5	17+9	4	6
Destroyers and Torpedo Boats .....	134+20	251+5	110+10	65	99+11	17	26
Minesweepers .....	32	43	10+2	26	48	6	29
Aircraft Carriers and Flotilla Leaders .....	24+3	3+1	3+1	14+19	21	—	—
Sloops, Gunboats, and Motor Boats .....	51+10	20	15	65+25	70+3	4	3+1
Submarines .....	52+10	81+3	67+5	65+45	46+29	16	—

**AIR FLEETS OF EUROPE\***

A plus sign (+) indicates aeroplanes not fit for active military use.

U.S.A. ....	1,752+599
Japan .....	1,639
Great Britain .....	1,434+127
France .....	2,375
Italy .....	1,507
Germany .....	—
U.S.S.R. ....	750+750

The nefarious rôle of the manufacturers of munitions in the disarmament problem is ordinarily not well understood. Yet the

\* G. D. H. Cole and M. Cole, *Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today*, pp. 510 and 511.

facts are conclusive that they are significant in furthering militarism and navalism throughout the world, so that they may sell their death-dealing wares. Profits, not nationalism, is what they worship. In the 1930's Eugene Schneider of the Creusot firm of France armed or partly armed more than twenty countries. China was his biggest customer in 1932. Though he is a Frenchman, he is a backer of the Nazi movement in Germany. He approves a larger German army. Albert Vickers of England is advertising the sale of war tanks in Germany. George Seldes in his book, "Iron, Blood and Profits," reveals the iniquitous part the Du Ponts of America, the Krupps of Germany, Vickers of England and Schneider of France played in the War as arms merchants. The Krupps and their chief director, Hugenberg, sold to the British their patented hand grenade fuse, which killed thousands of German soldiers; yet they received the highest decorations for patriotism from the Kaiser and, at the end of the War, 123,000,000 shillings, one shilling royalty for each grenade, from the British. These episodes are typical of the various anti-patriotic activities of the munition manufacturers.

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## CHAPTER VII

### REPARATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

#### Reparations

It was accepted at the Peace Conference that the Central Powers were responsible for causing the World War, for which guilt they were to make financial restitution to the civilian populations of the Allied Powers for the damages the latter suffered (Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles). In addition, the Central Powers were to assume the Belgian War costs, and the costs of pensions and separation allowances of all the Allied Powers. As an economic and military sanction, the Allies were to occupy the west bank of the Rhine for 15 years and additional territory, if necessary.

#### The Reparations Commission

The Peace Conference could not readily compute these damages, but insisted that Germany pay \$5,000,000,000 on account to defray the costs of the Rhine army of occupation, and appointed the Reparations Commission to perform this task by May, 1921. The Commission consisted of one representative each of Great Britain, France, Italy and the remaining Allied powers, with France in control. In the meantime, the *Spa Conference* of Allied statesmen in July, 1920, agreed that the reparations, when received, were to be distributed as follows: France 52%; British Empire 22%; Italy 10%; Belgium 8%; and all others 8%.

#### The Invasion of the East Bank of the Rhine

In January, 1921, Germany contended that she had made full payment of her initial instalment of \$5,000,000,000, but the Reparations Commission replied that the German value of the produce was overevaluated by 60% and that Germany, therefore, was in default. To punish her for her recalcitrance, the Rhine army of occupation extended its control across the east bank of the Rhine on March 8, 1921 to include Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort. In addition, a tariff wall against German goods encircled the occupied area and an additional tariff was placed on German goods entering Allied countries.

#### The Report of the Commission

The findings of the Reparations Commission were that the total German indemnity be \$32,000,000,000, exclusive of the Belgian

War debts. In accordance with the arranged London schedule, \$500,000,000 plus a tax equivalent to 26% of Germany's exports was to be the annual payment. Under threat of having the Ruhr area of Germany occupied by the Allies, Chancellor Wirth of Germany accepted these terms.

#### **Germany's Default**

(a) CAUSES. Germany defaulted in the payments of her debts and her reparations because her imports exceeded her exports; German capital fled to foreign countries to escape heavy taxation, e.g., the wealth of Hugo Stinnes; German gold was exported; foreign loans were unobtainable; German money was inflated; Germany wished to avoid payments; her annual payments of the reparations were smaller than the annual interest charges on the entire reparations debt and hence the debt was perpetual; and the Allies failed to aid her credit or her foreign trade.

(b) THE ALLIES INVADE THE RUHR. On August 31, 1921, Germany paid her first instalment, but then, upon request, Germany was granted a partial moratorium through the July 15, 1922 payment. Germany then urged a full moratorium until the end of 1924. Lloyd George and England were willing to comply in order to aid Anglo-German trade, but Poincaré was opposed because the actual costs of restoring devastated France had greatly exceeded the German payments. Poincaré, in the spirit of revenge, wanted "productive guarantees" of mines and dyestuff factories in the Rhineland. The Reparations Commission declared Germany in default in her coal and timber deliveries, and in January, 1923, the French, Belgian and Italian troops occupied the Ruhr, the last stronghold of German economic life. England reluctantly participated in the occupation because she was fearful of the undue advantage that France might derive by the occupation of this additional industrial area. The inhabitants resorted to passive resistance to the military occupation,—an act which had the effect of defeating France's purpose. Even the employment of French troops to operate the mines and trains proved a failure. However, Germany yielded. In addition to the existing economic depression, the loss of the industrial areas of Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar Basin, and the Ruhr; the drop of the German mark to 5,000,000 to the dollar; the closing of the banks; and a separatist movement in the Rhineland tended to cause Germany to surrender and make overtures for new reparations terms on September 26, 1923. France, though victorious, lost the friendship of England and of the neutral countries, and received no reparations in spite of her punitive program.

#### **The Dawes Plan, 1924-1929**

The Reparations Commission, realizing the need of solving the reparations problem scientifically, appointed one committee, headed

by Reginald McKenna of England, to determine the amount of German capital abroad, which was later computed to be \$1,687,500,000, and another committee, known as the Dawes Committee, to balance the budget of Germany and to stabilize the mark.

(a) **PROVISIONS OF THE DAWES PLAN.** The Dawes Committee consisted of two representatives each from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, with Charles G. Dawes of the United States as chairman. On April 9, 1924 it made its report, recommending that: (1) the Ruhr be evacuated by the Allies; (2) the Reichsbank, controlled by a committee of an equal number of Germans and foreigners, be created with a capital of 400,000,000 gold marks and a fifty year monopoly to issue paper money; (3) reparations payments be 1,000,000,000 gold marks for the first year, rising slowly in amount for four years, when they were to reach the "standard" annual reparations payment of 2,500,000,000 gold marks; (4) the "standard" annual payment vary with the "index of prosperity" of Germany; (5) a foreign loan of 800,000,000 gold marks be granted Germany; (6) reparations be paid from railway bonds, transport taxes, industrial debentures and revenues of alcohol, tobacco, beer and sugar; and (7) a foreign Agent General for Reparations Payments be appointed,—a position which was later filled by S. Parker Gilbert of the United States.

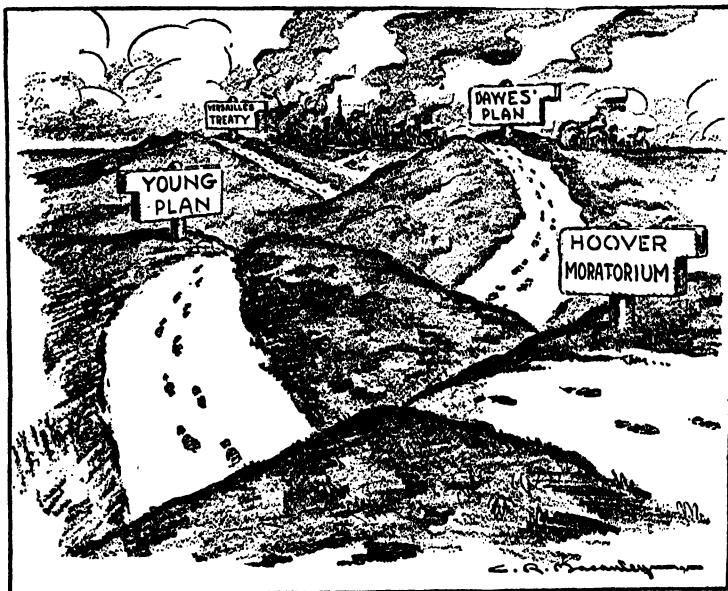
On August 31, 1924, the protocol enforcing this report was adopted by the various powers. Herriot of France accepted the proposition that no nation was to apply military sanctions on her own account, but that the Reparations Commission alone by a unanimous vote might declare Germany in default and decide upon an appropriate punishment.

(b) **WEAKNESS OF THE DAWES PLAN.** The Dawes Committee failed in its purpose to settle the reparations problem completely and finally because: the total reparations bill was not determined—a very discouraging blow to the Germans; Germany was subjected to a foreign international control; and the Rhineland was to be occupied by a foreign army of occupation until 1935.

#### **The Young Plan, 1929-1931**

In 1929 another committee, under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young of the United States, was created to solve Germany's problem of reparations. Germany had paid the annuities prescribed by the Dawes Plan for the first four years largely out of borrowed money, and, hence, was not genuinely recovering. When she was required to pay the larger annuity of the fifth year, she collapsed financially. Germany requested considerable reductions in the annuities. France's remedy for the economic plight of Germany was the immediate liquidation of the German reparations debt by floating a German bond issue and distributing these bonds among the creditor

nations in accordance with the Spa percentages. England, on the other hand, wanted a reduction of payments in those commodities which competed with English industries.



"THE ROAD BACK"

—*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

(a) PROVISIONS OF THE YOUNG PLAN. On June 7, 1929, the Young Committee reported as follows: (1) the total indemnity bill of Germany should be \$8,032,500,000, spread over 58½ yearly payments at 5½% interest, which would, in fact, increase the sum to \$26,350,000,000 instead of \$32,000,000,000 as fixed by the Reparations Commission; (2) Germany should make 37 annual reparations payments, averaging \$473,700,000, followed by 22 annual reparations payments, averaging \$391,250,000; (3) these annuities should be distributed among the Allied powers in accordance with the approximate Spa percentages, except that Great Britain should receive slightly less than her share and France should receive larger sums at first, to be deducted from her total reparations allowance; (4) of each annuity, \$157,212,000 should be unpostponable, whereas the balance might be postponed, on application, for two years; (5) if any of the Allied nations should receive a reduction in the payments of their war debts during the first 37 years, Germany was to benefit two-thirds, and that, during the last 22 years, the whole relief should be applied to the reduction of

Germany's debts; (6) the Rhineland should be evacuated by June 30, 1930 but that the costs of occupation after September 1, 1929, should be borne by all the countries; (7) the sources of revenue for the annuities during the first 37 years should be a direct tax on the railway lines and the budget of the German Republic and that, thereafter, the whole annuity should come from the budget; (8) the railway bonds, the industrial debentures and the Reparations Commission of the Dawes Plan should be voided; (9) the payments in kind should be reduced to 10 yearly instalments of gradually decreasing amounts; and (10) the operation of the Young Plan should be controlled not by a political organization but by a newly created non-political *Bank for International Settlements* for the collection of annuities and the distribution of the funds, administered by a board of directors, representing the creditor nations and Germany. It was hoped that the B. I. S. might also contribute to the stability of international finance and to the growth of world trade.

(b) **ADVANTAGES OF THE YOUNG PLAN.** The advantages of the Young Plan as compared with the Dawes Plan were that: (1) it fixed the number and the amounts of the annuities that Germany owed her creditors, (2) it abolished foreign political control of her destiny and placed the responsibilities of her indebtedness and economic life upon herself, (3) it greatly reduced the system of payment in kind, and (4) it placed the management of the plan with a financial institution, the B. I. S., in the management of which Germany participated.

(c) **RATIFICATION OF THE YOUNG PLAN.** On January 20, 1930, the delegates adopted the Plan after much discussion. Philip Snowden, the English Laborite Chancellor of the Exchequer, objected at first, but yielded when he succeeded in securing for his country an increase in the share of the annuities, and further limitations on payments in goods. France insisted upon the right of sanction, and it was finally agreed that the Allied powers had the right to invade Germany whenever the Permanent Court of International Justice declared Germany in default. The ratification of the document in the spring of 1930 by the individual countries met with little difficulty, except in Germany, where Dr. Schacht of the Reichsbank resigned because he felt the annuities were too burdensome. However, the ratification was effected by a plebiscite. "

## **The Inter-Allied Debts**

### **American Investments Abroad**

In 1930 the accumulated value of United States private loans in foreign countries totaled \$16,600,000,000, of which \$5,000,000,000 were located in Europe. The interest payments alone to United States citizens on these private loans to foreign companies, municipalities



and foreign countries amounted to \$740,000,000 per year. In addition, European War debts to the United States amounted to a sum of \$11,000,000,000, of which 70% was incurred during and 30% after the War. Foreign trade, too, averaged about \$9,000,000,000 per year during the prosperous post-War period. The United States was no longer a debtor nation, as she had been before the War. She was now the world's great banker.

### Why Europe Should Pay Her Debts

Much discussion and controversy has arisen concerning the vexing problem of Europe's War debts to the United States. England, another great creditor nation, has repeatedly promised to cancel the War debts of the Allies to her, if the United States would show the same courtesy to the Allied debtors. Many statesmen, particularly American diplomats, are convinced that the War debts should not be cancelled, holding that: (1) the cancellation of the



"I ALWAYS THOUGHT THERE WERE  
TWO BAGS"

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

European debts would mean that the United States citizens would have to pay them, since the United States War bonds would have to be met in any event, (2) the European debtor countries are investing money that might be employed to discharge their debts in costly armaments and large standing armies and navies, thus exposing themselves to the charge of fraud, (3) since the contracts resulting in these War debts were sealed with the promise to pay the indebtedness, their sanctity should be upheld to restore international confidence, and (4) about 30% of the loans were made after the War for food and for the rehabilitation of the debtor countries, and not to prosecute the War.

### Why the War Debts Should Be Cancelled

Most European statesmen do not share these opinions and maintain that the United States should be willing to cancel the War debts as her contribution to the War since: (1) she was spared the loss of American life and property during her years of neutrality,

while the Allies fought her battles; (2) the United States became the world's wealthiest country out of her war-time trade with the European countries; (3) the European nations could either pay in gold,—an act which would cause an increase in commodity prices in the United States and disturb the world trade by reducing the security behind the monetary systems of the debtor nations, or by the dumping of manufactured goods which would adversely affect United States manufacturers and their employees; (4) insistence on the payment of the debts would aggravate the ill will that already exists among the nations of the world, because the debtor nations make payments to the United States with the German reparations money; (5) international ethics is not identical with business ethics and the tenet of the sanctity of a contract may not be applicable in all international relations; and (6) the sacrifice of the United States would not be great, because the annual payments of the debtors under the funding plan amount to only  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the United States federal expenditures.

#### **The Solution of the War Debt Problem**

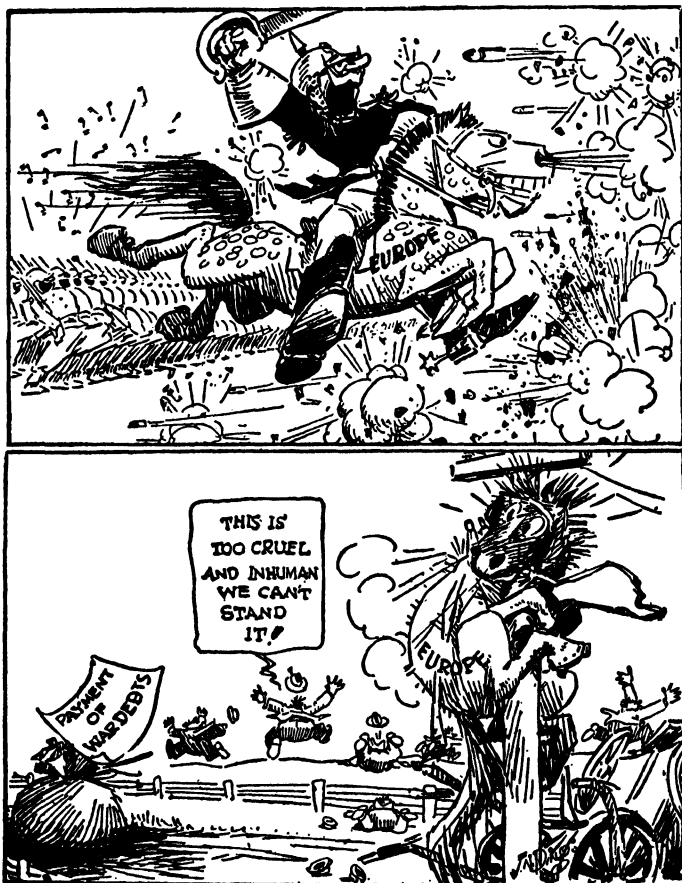
The United States government compromised with the original extreme non-cancellation stand by appointing a Debt Funding Commission in 1922, headed by Andrew Mellon, to the end that conditional cancellations of the War debts be made, depending on each debtor nation's capacity to pay, and on the understanding that the savings be invested to further world good will and not to build up rival systems of armaments. The War debts were thus ultimately reduced by the United States from \$11,000,000,000 to \$7,000,000,000, at reduced rates of interest, to be paid in graduated sixty-two annual instalments. However, the accrued interest on these payments over a period of sixty-two years would increase the indebtedness to a total of \$22,000,000,000.

(a) **GREAT BRITAIN.** In 1922 her debt was reduced 19.7% to \$4,600,000,000 to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments. The interest rate, too, was reduced from 5% to 3% for the first ten years, and to 3½% thereafter.

(b) **BELGIUM.** She was the second debtor nation to have her debts funded. In 1925 they were reduced 53.5%, since she had suffered more from the ravages of war and was less able to pay. Her pre-Armistice debt was reduced to \$172,000,000, to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments without interest; and her post-Armistice debt was reduced to \$246,000,000, to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments at 3½%, commencing with the year 1935.

(c) **ITALY.** Her War debt, also funded in 1925, was reduced by 75.4% to \$2,042,000,000, to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments without interest for the first five years; thereafter, the interest rate was to be graduated from  $\frac{1}{8}$ % until it reached 2% during the last seven years. In 1926 Italy funded her debt to England;

thereupon, her obligation was reduced to \$2,877,000,000 to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments, with the expressed understanding that she would be excused from making remittances, if England secured similar treatment from the United States.



Strange that the same people should have so much courage in the face of war—and so little in the face of peace  
—New York Herald Tribune

(d) FRANCE. In 1929 the French debt was reduced by 52.8% to \$4,025,000,000, to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments without any interest rate during the first five years. It was then to be increased gradually until it became 3½%. She also funded her debt to England at the reduced sum of \$3,200,000,000 to be paid in sixty-two annual instalments with an understanding in regard to future remittances similar to that which England had with Italy.

(e) **OTHER NATIONS.** All the other debtor nations had their debts revised, likewise, according to their capacities to pay.

**The Relationship Between the Young Plan and the Inter-Allied Debts**

Technically and legally, the annuities of Germany's reparations payments have no relationship to the Inter-Allied debt payments, but the problems of War debts and reparations are connected, the significance of which became greater with time because: (1) the number of the German annual reparations payments corresponded to the number of Inter-Allied debt payments, and (2) Germany was to enjoy two-thirds reduction on her reparations accounts during the first thirty-seven years on all debt reductions that her creditor nations won, and the entire benefit of them during the last twenty-two years.

**The Hoover Moratorium, 1931-1932**

It soon developed that the Allies would pay their debts to the United States only as long as Germany paid reparations to them. Germany, however, could not remit even the reduced Young Plan annuities because of the flight of German and American capital from Germany, the economic depression in all countries, the high tariff walls of all nations, the communistic and Hitlerite propaganda in Germany, and the unreasonable French oppression of the Germans.

Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister, recommended an economic union of all Europe. Though theoretically meritorious, it proved to be a scheme to create a European military coalition against Germany, and, hence, was abandoned. Dr. Johann Schober, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and Dr. Julius Curtius, the German Foreign Minister, advised regional economic unions as a solution. They particularly stressed the need of an Austro-German customs union, but France opposed it as being a disguised military *anschluss* between Germany and Austria.

(a) **PROVISIONS OF THE MORATORIUM.** As Germany and Austria were on the brink of bankruptcy and collapse, President Hoover offered a plan which was adopted on July 1, 1931, providing that: (1) a one year moratorium from July 1, 1931, be declared on all inter-government debts and postponable reparations annuities, (2) the unpostponable reparations annuities be paid by Germany to the Bank for International Settlements, which was to buy German railway bonds with them and then have the railway turn the money over to the government, (3) the postponed payments be paid in ten instalments commencing the next year in addition to the regular annual payments, (4) the B. I. S. advance loans to the smaller debtor nations who were depending on these reparations instalments to balance their budgets, (5) the moratorium also control the deliveries in kind, and (6) Germany use the money thus spared for economic purposes exclusively.

(b) **THE FAILURE OF THE MORATORIUM.** The moratorium did not stay the impending collapse of Germany. The German mark continued to drop. Short term loans were no longer extended to Germany. Banks, such as the Darmstadter and Nationalbank and others, failed.

#### **The Wiggin Committee and the Standstill Agreement**

On August 8, 1931, the B. I. S. appointed a committee headed by the American, Albert H. Wiggin, to investigate the economic needs of Germany.

On August 18, it recommended that: the short-term credits to Germany be extended for six months, new long-term credits be extended to her, and tariff walls be lowered to encourage German and world industrial and agricultural activities.

The B. I. S. adopted only one of the Committee's suggestions, *the Standstill Agreement*, whereby payments on short-term loans were extended until February 29, 1932. It was later extended for another year.

#### **The Special Advisory Committee**

The Standstill Agreement hardly alleviated the economic misery of Germany. On December 23, 1931, the Special Advisory Committee of the B. I. S. reported that, commencing July, 1932, Germany would be justified in not paying her conditional part of the annuity because of her financial inability, and that there was a great need of adjusting all inter-government debts to insure economic stability and real peace. Chancellor Brüning then announced that Germany could not continue to pay her Young Plan annuities.

#### **The Lausanne Conference, 1932**

(a) **PURPOSE.** On June 16, 1932, representatives from Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Japan met at Lausanne to discuss the economic distress of Germany, the world economic crisis, the problem of Inter-Allied debts, and German reparations.

(b) **CONCLUSIONS OF THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.** It recommended that (1) the total reparations debt be reduced to a total of \$714,000,000; (2) Germany pay this sum by delivering 5% bonds to the B. I. S. for the amount, (3) the B. I. S. hold the bonds as trustee for three years before negotiating them, (4) Germany might redeem the bonds at par, if she wished, and that after fifteen years all the bonds which the B. I. S. could not negotiate be cancelled, and (5) a world economic and monetary conference be called to deal with the world economic crisis.

(c) **THE NATURE OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS.** The delegates of these creditor nations thus cancelled about 90% of the Young Plan reparations accounts. This act was not philanthropy, but an earnest effort to save their own countries from economic destruction. Furthermore, this generosity was conditioned on the United

States' agreement to cancel the Allied debts to her. If she refused to do so, then it was understood that the obligations of Germany were to be those that obtained under the Young Plan.

(d) **THE FAILURE OF THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.** The United States refused to cancel the Allied debts to her. President Hoover consistently maintained that the reparations and the Inter-Allied debts were two distinct problems. The Lausanne agreement was dropped and technically the Young Plan was once again in force. Germany has since failed to pay reparations, and, hence, the collection of the international debt instalments to the United States become problematic.

#### **The Present Status of the Inter-Allied Debts.**

The clamor for the further revision or cancellation of the War debts has not been allayed. In November, 1932, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Poland and others requested a postponement of their December annuities and also a revision of the debt agreements in the light of the new world economic conditions. They contended that (1) there is an implied admission in the Hoover moratorium, that there is a relationship between reparations and War debts, (2) their economic conditions were worse, (3) Germany would be obliged to pay reparations if they had to pay their War debts, and

(4) further payments of their debts would lead to a greater decline of commodity prices, a greater reduction of Europe's purchasing power, and a greater diminution of foreign trade.

The United States is now more reluctant than ever to revise or cancel the already generously reduced War debts because (1) since no world plan for economic recovery has as yet been formulated, there is no particular cause for the United States making the only great sacrifice, (2) Europe has broken faith by creating the largest military and naval organizations in history with the War debt re-



And we need\* that button so badly right now

—*New York Herald Tribune*

ductions already made to her, instead of encouraging economic and moral world recovery, and (3) since the economic conditions in the United States had become worse, reductions in debts would mean increasing American tax burdens.

Since the United States refused to suspend payments, England remitted her instalment on December 15, 1932, with the suggestion that the debt agreements be further revised, while France, Belgium, Poland and others defaulted. No further adjustments in the War debts have been made and the European nations are finding it even more difficult to make payments. On June 15, 1933, an instalment date, Great Britain tendered only 8% of the sum due, \$143,604,856, "as an acknowledgment of the debt, pending a final settlement." Italy, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Latvia and Lithuania followed suit and made these "token" payments, partly in depreciated silver. The others defaulted. On the instalment date of December 15, 1933, only Finland paid her instalment in full. The others only made "token" payments. On the instalment date of June 15, 1934, only Finland as usual fulfilled her obligations, while the other debtor nations defaulted absolutely, making not even the small "token" payments. It is believed that the Johnson Act, passed by our Congress, was responsible for the fact that our debtor nations refused to make the June 15, 1934, payments because this act made it impossible for foreign nations to borrow money in the United States while they were not fulfilling their existing financial obligations to us. Our debtor nations again complained about the folly of our demanding payment of these debts when the Johnson Act, like our tariff, retarded their industrial revival and thus their ability to pay the debts.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan on the Inter-Allied debts is to devise means to make it possible for these debtors to pay their very generously reduced debts. He favors our former Allies who are debtors,—Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Serbia, but here he distinguishes between debts contracted during and those contracted after the War. He feels that, since the post-War debts are in the same category as commercial loans made by the American people to Japan or South America, they should be paid in full. He feels particularly so toward our "enemy" debtors, whose loans were contracted since the War. These countries are Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, Austria and Hungary.

By June 15, 1934, as much as \$2,628,000,000 of all the funded and reduced War debts had been paid to us. Of this sum, \$726,000,000 represented principal and the balance interest charges. Only \$475,068,625.79 was past due on June 15, 1934. The principal and interest charges for the period of sixty-two years, during which the principal is to be paid, total \$22,188,000,000. To this

sum must be added the unfunded and the unpaid indebtedness of Armenia, Nicaragua and Russia in the total sum of \$662,953,254.93, if one wishes to compute the entire indebtedness of the foreign countries to the United States.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### THE WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

#### The Nature of the Crisis

##### The Economic Crash

The economic rehabilitation of Europe in the decade following the War was only superficial. Germany, Austria, Hungary, and other countries had been nursed along economically by extensive loans till a semblance of economic recovery was attained. The devastation in Belgium, France and elsewhere had been repaired. The United States was particularly prosperous. Statesmen the world over were credulous enough to believe that time would calm all of the world's economic disturbances. But in October, 1929, the New York stock market crash occurred. In its wake followed innumerable bankruptcies of banks, factories and mines.

The economic distress extended to Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and South America. About 25,000,000 workers throughout the world were unemployed and hungry. Only Russia, France and Palestine escaped for a time the horrors attending this world panic. Germany borrowed heavily from the United States to reorganize her industries. The Allies were saddled with large debts to the United States, which they could not discharge because of the highest tariff walls in history, the revived industrial activity in their customer countries, and the system of commodity quotas for importation. American and foreign investors, becoming suspicious of the degree of American prosperity, sold their bonds and shares. The United States refused to lend any more to European enterprises and governments. Sixty per cent of the world's gold lay idle in the United States treasuries. Manufactured goods and foodstuffs glutted the market. Cotton was ploughed under in the United States. Canada burned some of her wheat crop. Brazil dumped coffee into the sea. During the years 1929 to 1932 the world wholesale prices fell by about one-third in terms of gold currencies. Agricultural products suffered greater reductions in prices than manufactured goods. During the same period of time the value of world trade in exports and imports declined by over sixty per cent in gold values for all European countries. The imports and exports of the United States dropped as much as sixty-eight per cent during the same period. The Central European countries were on the verge

of bankruptcy when new loans were denied them. In 1931 the *Credit Anstalt* in Austria was on the verge of bankruptcy. German banks closed their doors. Then, England and America, reluctantly coming

to the rescue, made additional loans. England's economic condition became precarious as her long term loans to the Central European countries became frozen. Her treasury became depleted by the "doles" under the unemployment insurance system and by the heavy expenditures for public welfare. Besides the fact that her imports exceeded her exports, her investments in oil fields and rubber plantations were no longer paying dividends. When England's National Government under Prime Minister MacDonald went off the



THE FOX WHO LOST HIS BRUSH

September, 1931—*Los Angeles Times*

gold standard in September, 1931, England's pound fluctuated from its fixed value of \$4.87 in United States currency. She was spared bankruptcy, however, by national economies, and by a stimulated foreign trade brought about by a lowered cost of production at home. By 1935 only France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Poland were on the gold standard, with Germany and Italy on a restricted standard. Fluctuating currencies paralyzed world trade.

### The Causes of the World Panic

The problem of the world panic is profound and complex. It has shown such diverse manifestations that it has baffled our most astute economists. Many causes for the world depression have been suggested, among which are the opinions that:

(a) *The increase in the use of labor-saving machinery* has created an overproduction of manufactured goods and a greater amount of unemployment. In capitalistic countries machines have thus enslaved mankind. In Russia an effort has been made to enslave the most efficient machines, so that man might enjoy greater leisure and a greater proportion of the economic goods, perhaps at the expense of the individual's personal liberties.

(b) *The rationalization of industry or the monopolization of industry* has tended to increase not only prices and productivity but

also unemployment. Even the stringent anti-trust laws of the United States, which are more severe than those in the European countries, have failed altogether to retard the entrepreneur's urge to "rationalize" his industry.

(c) *The war debts* have greatly decreased the purchasing power of Europeans. The debtor nations have been paying in gold, since the tariff barriers of the creditor nations prevent payment in manufactured goods. The result has been that the export of the gold has tended to depreciate the debtor nations' currencies.

(d) *The unequal distribution of gold and the extreme depreciation in the value of silver* have caused national monetary systems to lose their values correspondingly. Much of the available gold of the world has been accumulated by the treasuries of the United States and France. Thus the security of the gold standard monetary systems of the other nations of the world has been jeopardized. The depreciated value of silver has had a similar effect on the silver countries, like China, India and Mexico. As a net result, international trade and international credit have suffered.

(e) *Tariff walls and commercial quotas* have interfered with international trade. Countries, consequently, have found it impossible to dispose of their surplus commodities.

(f) *The failure to design a rational international plan of production and distribution* has added to the international economic chaos. Industry is not confined to the limits of any one country; it is international. The industrial and imperialistic countries have keyed their manufactories and agriculture for export trade particularly since the War, but with international credit and finance restricted, their surpluses of manufactured goods and foodstuffs have acted like boomerangs and caused them to suffer from overproduction. Some economists believe that the world needs an international program of production and distribution in which the nations of the world would raise, manufacture, and distribute the commodities that they are best adapted to produce in quantities governed by the world demand, without the artificial obstacles of tariff barriers and fluctuating, defective currencies.

(g) *The nationalization of industry* has introduced a new element in modern economics which has greatly disturbed the prevailing capitalistic order of world trade. As in Soviet Russia, it has taken the form of national trusts with all the advantages of trust organization amplified, such as the use of the most efficient labor-saving devices and quantity purchases of raw materials at greatly reduced prices. As a result such monopolists have been able to undersell the prevailing world market prices of commodities. Soviet Russia's tactics in thus dumping her goods on the world market have been notorious in the instances of wheat, timber, furs and sugar beet.

(h) *The balance of production, distribution, and consumption has been disturbed.* The great contribution of capitalism to modern civilization is its efficiency in the production of commodities, but it has neglected to develop parallel efficiency in the distribution and consumption of these commodities. Hence, we have the anomalous situation of numerous warehouses, overfilled with manufactured goods and foodstuffs, while an army of 25,000,000 unemployed, improperly fed, scantily clad, and poorly sheltered goes uncared for.

### Methods of Economic Recovery

Several efforts have been made with varied success to bring about the economic recovery of the world: (1) paternal economics, (2) fascism, (3) communism, and (4) internationalism. Since the diagnosis of the world economic malady is incomplete and probably inaccurate, the prescriptions for the cure of the malady have been equally faulty.



The jury failed to agree  
—New York World-Telegram

#### Paternal Economics

The powers of the world naturally resorted to time worn, national remedies to lift them out of their economic despair.

(a) **TARIFF POLICY.** An increased tariff schedule was immediately prescribed by the economic statesmen throughout the world to encourage new industries and to protect the old ones against foreign competition in order to aid the wage earner and the employer. In 1922, with the assistance of both Democrats and Republicans, the United States enacted the Fordney-McCumber tariff with these express purposes in mind. Since the tariff schedule apparently was not high enough to effect these results, in June, 1930, the Hawley-Smoot tariff, which raised the tariff schedule still higher, was enacted. Argentina, Chile, Belgium, France and the British

Empire enacted retaliatory tariff measures, because of their resentment toward these tariffs. These national tariff barriers are the highest in history. Even England has abandoned her traditional free trade program. The general effect of these tariff walls has been to hinder international trade and to aggravate the world economic depression.

(b) **MONETARY POLICY.** In 1935 France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Poland were the only large countries on the gold standard. A number of economic experts advised their respective countries to go off the gold standard because they felt that traders of gold standard countries would rather make their purchases in countries whose currencies had depreciated. England had such an experience. As foreign importers purchased English wares and paid in depreciated English pounds, her industrial activity heightened to the disadvantage of the gold standard countries. These advantages in international trade were soon equalized as more countries went off the gold standard, and, particularly as the price of labor and commodities advanced in England.

(c) **BIG BUSINESS POLICY.** European countries have taken an economic and paternal attitude toward Big Business. In the United States the fear of monopoly and extortionate monopoly prices caused Congress to enact the Sherman (1890) and Clayton (1914) anti-trust laws. In European countries the national governments actually subsidize large industries and allow them to organize *cartels*, or trusts, so that they may be able to compete successfully in the world trade against rival traders of other countries. Of course, the laws for cartels forbid them to fix exorbitant prices for their merchandise in the domestic market. Many of these cartels affiliate themselves with those of other countries for purposes of the division of international markets, and the regulation of prices and production. The match, steel, rayon, soap, sugar and coffee industries are several of the twenty-nine different industries in France which are associated with international cartels.

(d) **SOCIAL POLICY.** Social legislation is an established modern method of relieving the miseries of the worker. At best, it is a palliative. It does not remove the cause of the workers' discontent and troubles. Governments spend lavishly in building new highways, railways, hydroelectric plants, parks and the like, but often the money is squandered on unprofitable, unwise and unnecessary projects merely to provide labor for the unemployed. Italy, the United States, France and Germany are countries that have been more discriminate and economical in the selection of their public works projects. All western European countries offer some relief to their workers against inhuman working conditions by regulating the number of working hours, restricting immigration, and improving health conditions. Of late, unemployment insurance has won



AT THE POLITICAL MAGICIANS' DINNER

The Man Above: "But where's the magician who can produce some work?"

—Daily Express, London

considerable favor in Europe. Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, the Irish Free State and part of Switzerland have compulsory unemployment insurance where the workers and employers must pay premiums for the insurance benefits for the worker when he becomes unemployed. In most of these states the governments also contribute to these insurance funds. In Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, France, Norway and part of Switzerland, unemployment insurance is voluntary. The insurance in these countries is often controlled by the trade unions, but it is optional for the workers to purchase it. As the governments make liberal grants to these insurance funds, they become added burdens to their taxpayers. Insurance is a relief, but not a cure for the miseries that attend prolonged unemployment.

These paternal efforts to solve the world economic crisis by parliamentary legislation failed. Many people the world over believe that these attempts at curing the world economic ills were inspired by a desperate paternalism of statesmen to correct the wrongs of the *laissez-faire* theory of the 18th and 19th century economics, which worked to the advantage of the few and sacrificed the welfare of the masses. *Laissez-faire* economics or economic individualism is losing vogue in our decade. The world has been launched on at least three other contemporaneous, experimental policies of fascism, communism and internationalism, in an effort to realize a happier economic system.

### Fascism

In fascist economics, unrestrained individualism is abandoned; capitalist and worker alike submit to a national supervision, of industry in the interest of the nation; and the government is highly centralized. Fascism entertains the belief that national economic self-sufficiency offers the greatest good to the greatest number. This sacrifice of the individual for society, fascism believes, can be fostered by exalting the nation through a strengthening of the bonds of language, customs, race, religion, ideals, institutions, and history. These doctrines, first developed in Italy and Germany, are now spreading in Latin America and throughout Europe. The United States is a recent convert to a modified fascism. The entire world is anxiously awaiting the results of our experiment. The history of fascism in the various important countries, where it exists, will be treated in subsequent chapters.

### Communism

Another revolt against *laissez-faire* is the communist experiment. Attempts at communism have been made since the War in Germany, Spain, Hungary and elsewhere, only to be crushed by capitalistic and bourgeois forces. To-day, Soviet Russia is the only country in which modified communism is in reasonably successful operation. In communism, its exponents contend, lies a solution of the world's economic disaster. It champions socialist economy in contrast to capitalist efficiency. It denounces the exploitation of the masses as well as that of conquered peoples. Hence, it is truly socially democratic and anti-imperialistic. It is non-religious in that it advocates the divorce of prayer, worship and faith from one's duties and responsibilities to the community. Being also internationalistic, it abhors the exaggerated patriotic state worship which has brought in its wake many of the ills of modern civilization, such as military rivalry, national economic competition, and the exploitation of subjugated nations. Through internationalism it proposes to establish world peace. A survey of communism after the War, wherever it appeared, particularly in Russia, will be narrated in subsequent chapters.

### Internationalism

Nations and states have always had international intercourse. No state, not even the United States, is self-sufficient. The statesmen of to-day appreciate this, but in coping with our world economic crisis they have erred in their exaggerated nationalistic outlook. Now more than ever, the nations of the world constitute one large society. Perhaps that is why local or national panaceas for the economic depression have proven so ineffectual. Such noble projects as disarmament at the World Disarmament Conference (1932),

the revision of reparations at the Reparations Conference at Lausanne (1932), and the economic commonwealth of British nations that the Ottawa Conference (1933) tried to effect, failed to achieve satisfactory results because of the nationalistic bias with which most delegates were afflicted. Some more or less successful attempts at international coöperation follow:

(a) **THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION.** It was Wilson's League of Nations that invoked the force of international action in dealing with world problems. But in the matter of strictly economic problems, statesmen have resorted but little to international coöperation. The International Labor Organization, the child of the League of Nations, has a number of achievements to its credit. It has drawn up conventions and recommendations which have influenced the labor laws of many countries upon such matters as child and woman labor, night work, minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and the like.

(b) **THE GENOA CONFERENCE OF 1922.** On April 10, 1922, the delegates of thirty-four nations convened at Genoa to discuss means of financially assisting the new-born governments of Europe. Plans were formulated for various national loans and credits, but Soviet Russia got none, since she refused to honor the Czar's debts as long as the Allies refused to pay indemnities for the devastations caused by the Allied invasion into Russia during the Russian Revolution. On April 16, 1922, without announcement, Walter Rathenau of Germany and George Chicherin of Soviet Russia retired to Rapallo and signed a treaty by which the two countries recognized one another's governments, cancelled each other's national pre-War debts, and reopened trade relations. News of this treaty so infuriated the Genoa delegates that the Conference dissolved with nothing accomplished.

(c) **THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF 1927.** The League of Nations called the World Economic Conference in 1927 at Geneva, which was attended by delegates and economic experts from fifty different countries. After much deliberation, it drew up resolutions concerning commerce, industry and agriculture. In commerce it advised a lowering of tariffs; in industry a nationalization of industries to reduce the cost of production and an international industrial agreement to eliminate undue competition and overproduction; and in agriculture improved methods and better credit facilities to make the industry more profitable.

Nothing was actually achieved. These recommendations were largely ignored by the respective countries. Perhaps had these nations hearkened to the advice of the World Economic Conference of 1927 the distressful world panic might have been averted. A *World Economic Consultative Committee* was provided for with sub-



committees for commerce, industry and agriculture. Obviously, since its functions were only consultative and advisory, it could not be effectual.

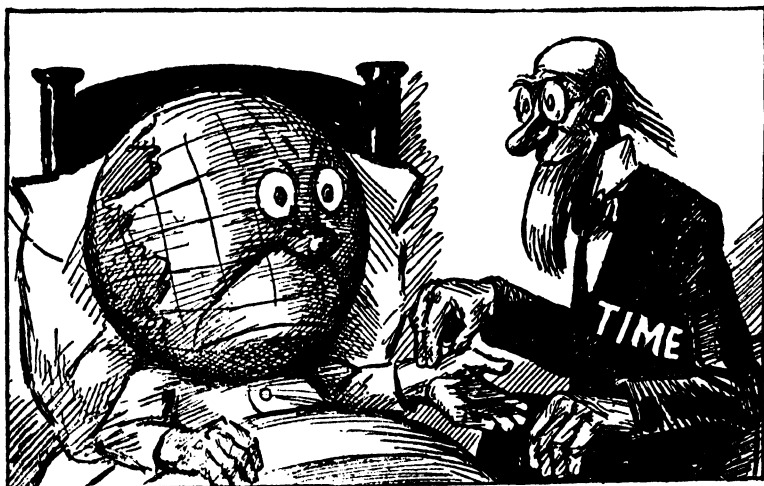
(d) **THE CHADBOURNE SUGAR PLAN (1930-1931).** In December, 1930, delegates from the large sugar producing countries, such as Cuba, Java, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, convened at Brussels to deal with the depressed price of sugar. The large sugar surplus of the world was created by an overstimulated demand during and after the War, and by the increased production of beet sugar. The Chadbourne Sugar Plan was finally adopted by the countries involved. It provided for the appointment of a *Permanent Sugar Council* with headquarters at The Hague with authority to fix the export sugar quotas of each of the interested nations, based on world sugar market prices.

In March, 1932, Cuba informed the Council that she was withdrawing from the Plan. Though Java protested vigorously, Cuba became an independent sugar producing country to the great distress of herself and other nations. Much of the cause for the A.B.C. agitation against President Machado's administration of Cuba, which ended in his overthrow in August, 1933, and a period of civil war, was the continued depressed price of sugar, which is Cuba's most significant export product. The high sugar tariff in the United States to protect the United States sugar beet growers contributed to the economic distress in Cuba. Formerly, the United States was Cuba's best sugar customer. The Chadbourne Sugar Plan is a dead letter today. A reciprocal tariff between the United States and Cuba was effected in August, 1934, to revive the sugar trade between the two countries.

(e) **THE WORLD WHEAT CONFERENCE OF 1931.** The World Wheat Conference in 1931, which was attended by forty-six nations, was called by the International Institute of Agriculture to relieve the depression in the grain market. The artificially increased demand for grain during the War and the desire of all nations to be self-sufficient tended to produce a world surplus of grain with a corresponding depression in grain prices. Here was an opportunity for curing the ills of the world's largest industry, but the individual national ambitions outweighed any international advantages that might have been derived. The conference failed. The wheat importing countries, such as Great Britain and Greece, refused to reduce their grain acreages. The wheat exporting countries, such as Australia and Canada, argued that, since it was their great export staple, they could not afford to limit its production. Russia, one of the world's largest grain producers, insisted upon absolute freedom in grain production.

(f) **THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF 1933.** Upon the suggestion of the Lausanne Reparations Conference of 1932, the League Council called the World Economic Conference on June 12,

1933, in London to solve the world economic, financial and monetary problems. Delegates from sixty-six nations discussed world economic recovery in the light of world monetary and credit policies, world prices of commodities, the resumption of the movement of capital, the abolition of the restrictions on world trade, the lowering of tariffs, and the reorganization of world production and trade. No doubt, reparations and War debts constitute significant factors



The Earth: "Doctor, I feel awfully depressed."

Dr. Time: "Cheer up. You never yet had a depression I didn't cure."

—*New York American*

in the world depression, but the United States forbade the discussion of these questions at this conference. The problems emphasized were the regulation of production and of prices of wheat, the all-around lowering of tariffs, and the stabilization of the American dollar as compared with the French franc or the English pound. The gold standard countries, such as France, sponsored the last project, but the United States opposed it. America was more interested in raising the domestic prices of merchandise to effect domestic economic recovery than in stabilizing the dollar to encourage international trade. The Conference deadlocked and adjourned in July, 1933.

The silver pact, engineered by Senator Key Pittman, was one of its two accomplishments. Because of overproduction, the world price of silver had tumbled downward. Yet, for one-half the world population, silver is the medium of economic exchange. But this group cannot trade advantageously with the other half of the world population, which is the great manufacturing and imperialistic portion of the world, where gold is the standard of value. Pittman's

objective was to raise and stabilize the price of silver, thus giving the silver monetary countries greater purchasing power. The silver pact stipulated that for the four year term commencing April 1, 1934: India bind herself not to sell more than 175,000,000 fine ounces of silver, no more than 35,000,000 fine ounces of which might be employed for War debt payments to the United States; China agree not to sell any of her demonetized silver; and Spain agree not to sell more than 20,000,000 fine ounces of it. The silver producing countries, Australia, Canada, the United States, Mexico and Peru, agreed not to sell any silver, and to buy or otherwise withdraw from the market a total of 35,000,000 fine ounces of silver from the mine production of the five countries in each of the four years. This silver was to be used for currency purposes.

The other indirect achievement of the World Economic Conference was the belated wheat accord of August 26, 1933. A world agreement to limit wheat export was signed by twenty-one nations to insure fair prices to wheat farmers and to eliminate the present world surplus of 440,000,000 bushels by a two year export limitation. The exporting nations, the United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Russia and the Danubian nations, were bound, during the 1933-1934 crop year, not to export more than a total of 560,000,000 bushels which they will reduce by 15% in the 1934-1935 crop year. The importing nations agreed not to encourage an increase of wheat acreage during the agreed period, and to seek of their parliaments lower wheat tariffs when the world price of wheat, for a period of four months, reached or exceeded 63.02 gold cents a bushel. All international efforts to fix minimum wheat prices failed.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace of the United States immediately asked wheat farmers in the United States to reduce their crops 15%, for which they will receive, in accordance with the farm relief measures of the New Deal, \$125,000,000 in government bonuses through a process tax of 30 cents a bushel on domestic wheat.

In August, 1934, it was reported that Australia alone had lived up to her pledge. She reduced her wheat acreage by 15%, but the United States decreased hers by only 12%. Britain violated her pledge by increasing her acreage by 6% and Argentina by exporting some 34,000,000 bushels more than her quota. The plan for fixing quotas was abandoned temporarily.

(g) THE RUBBER PACT OF 1934. There was, in 1934, an over-supply of wild and domestic rubber raised on the plantations in Brazil, Ceylon, Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Africa and elsewhere, which had the effect of lowering its price in an already economically depressed market. In May in London the British and Dutch monopo-

lists of the product agreed not to regulate prices but to regulate production, an increase of 25% within five years being permitted. A central committee was to set quotas for each area.

World coöperation in the solution of world affairs is still in its incipient stage. Little has been achieved by international procedure in the solving of economic problems. What the future has in store for world economic coöperation is problematic.

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## CHAPTER IX

### SOVIET RUSSIA

#### Russia at the Eve of the War

##### The Nature of Old Russia

Russia before the War occupied about one-sixth of the globe's land. It had 180,000,000 people, consisting of a majority of Great Russians, and, in addition, about sixty different nationalities and civilizations, each with its own language, such as the Little Russians (Ukrainians), White Russians, Poles, Finns, Letts, Esths, Turks, Jews, Mongols and Armenians.

(a) PEASANTRY. About four-fifths of the people were peasants. In 1861 Czar Alexander II emancipated the serfs and expropriated about one-half of the noblemen's arable soil with compensation, which he sold to the villages or *mir*s. They were to reimburse the government on the instalment plan. With each generation, the patches of peasant land in the *mir* were redistributed among the villagers, whose remittances to the *mir* for the land were large and whose tax burdens were heavy. The Revolution of 1905 effected a cancellation of the unpaid remittances of the peasants on their lands. Thus the lands became the absolute property of the individual peasants. The villagers, however, were just as poverty stricken, illiterate, and addicted to drink as ever. In addition, they were blindly and slavishly devoted to the Greek Orthodox church.

(b) CITY WORKERS. Old Russia was in its industrial infancy; only about 2,500,000 were industrial workers. They, too, were wretched, censored, and denied the usual liberties of man.

(c) GOVERNMENT. Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917) was a weak and irresolute ruler, though well-meaning. His government was an absolute monarchy, but the power was really exercised by the Czarina Alexandra, who herself was dominated over by a Siberian monk and impostor, Gregory Rasputin. It was the faithful devotion of the masses to the Holy Orthodox faith that helped maintain this autocracy. The first Duma had been convened by Nicholas II in 1905, but, by restrictions on the suffrage, the Duma of 1914 was rendered so subservient that, with the exception of five deputies, it voted for war in 1914.

(d) **THE RADICAL PARTIES.** There were four radical political parties in old Russia. The *Constitutional Democrats*, or *Cadets*, advocated a limited monarchy, and represented the economic and political interests of the middle class. The *Social Revolutionaries* advocated collectivism with the socialization of property, and represented the interests of the peasantry. The *Social Democrats* advocated the abolition of private property and represented the interests of the proletariat. This party split into the *Bolshevik* and the *Menshevik* factions in 1903 at its London convention. It came about when Nikolai Lenin favored centralized organization, dictatorship of the proletariat, strong discipline, absolute independence from bourgeois institutions, uncompromising Marxism, and revolution, views which were carried by a majority (Bolsheviks) in the referendum. The minority (Mensheviks) favored a looser organization, welcomed non-proletarian alliances to further workers' ends, and advocated legislative means of achieving the Marxian state.

### **The March Revolution of 1917**

#### **Early Disturbances**

The privations of war, the defeats of the army, and the inadequate preparations to prosecute the War aroused much dissatisfaction among the Russian people and in the Duma. The discontented wanted ministerial responsibility and a liberal policy, but their efforts were fruitless. In February, 1917, a factory strike broke out in Petrograd. Nicholas II ordered its cessation and ruthlessly tried to crush it. He then blundered by dissolving the Duma on March 11, 1917. Meanwhile, the workers organized the *Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*, and the dismissed Duma elected a committee to lead a revolution against the Czar. The two organizations, working together, formed a *Provisional Government*, controlled by the moderate Cadets, headed by Prince George Lvov, and one Social Revolutionary, Alexander Kerensky.

#### **The Fall of the Romanoffs**

On March 15, 1917, Czar Nicholas II reluctantly recognized the new government. He was then persuaded to abdicate the throne in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael. A delegation from the Duma informed the Grand Duke, however, that the people were demanding that he surrender his power to the Provisional Government until a constituent assembly could decide on the future government of Russia. He yielded and the Allies recognized the Provisional Government as a bourgeois régime, which continued to prosecute the War.

#### **Discord among the Revolutionists**

The Lvov Cabinet and the Petrograd Soviet began quarreling over the problem of War objectives. Lvov, who had enacted legislation guaranteeing the bourgeois liberties of man, was determined

to prosecute the War in coalition with the Allies, but the Petrograd Soviet wanted immediate peace, the nationalization of all property, and the sovietization of all Russia. On March 14, 1917, the Petrograd Soviet advised the soldiers and sailors to mutiny and to obey their own organized soviets. The Lvov Cabinet members were obliged to resign because of the riots, uprisings and mutinies of the masses. Kerensky, Minister of War, continued in the cabinet but even he was unsatisfactory, because he advocated the continuation of the War and the enactment of moderate social legislation.

### **The Rise of the Soviets**

By the autumn of 1917 Russia was completely organized into workers', peasants' and soldiers' soviets, clamoring for peace and the nationalization of the industries; the submerged nationalities, such as the Ukrainians and the Finns, wanted independence; and the German and Austro-Hungarian troops were enveloping Russia. In June, 1917, the *All Russian Congress of Soviets* of 1,000 delegates of the Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, with some few Bolsheviks, convened and formed the *All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets*, numbering 300, to act as a parliament, and another committee as a *presidium*. However, the Bolsheviks, led by N. Lenin and inspired by his slogan of "Peace! Land! and Bread!," were causing considerable alarm to all political factions, as they continued to organize soviets, preach their platform, and agitate against Kerensky. German money helped perceptibly in sowing this discord in the ranks of the Russians. In July an anarchist uprising was crushed. In September a monarchist *coup*, led by General Laurus Kornilov, was suppressed by the Bolshevik Red Guards, who were invited by Kerensky to do so. The Bolsheviks now realized their strength.

## **The November Revolution of 1917**

### **Its Nature**

In October, 1917, the Bolsheviks decided on a *coup d'état* to be executed November 6 and 7, 1917, just before the convention of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The government was accordingly seized, but Kerensky escaped. When the All-Russian Congress of Soviets did convene, it was packed with a Bolshevik majority, which ratified the new revolution. The Congress appointed a Bolshevik-controlled *Central Executive Committee* and a cabinet, called the *Soviet of People's Commissars*. Of this cabinet, Lenin was chairman; Trotsky, commissar for foreign affairs; Alexei Rykov, commissar for the interior; and Joseph Stalin, commissar for workers' and peasants' inspection.

### **The New Program**

Its program was the Bolshevik platform of immediate peace; the suppression of local revolts; the establishment of a proletariat dictatorship and communism; the spread of these doctrines throughout the world; and immediate relief to the needy. Finally, the elections for the constituent assembly were held November 25, 1917, but the Social Revolutionaries elected 412 deputies and the Bolsheviks 183 deputies. Realizing that the Bolsheviks only had a minority, the Central Executive Committee did not convoke the assembly until January 18, 1918. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks spread their gospel. When it did convene, it elected a Social Revolutionary president, Tchernov, to the dismay of the Bolsheviks, who immediately dissolved the assembly by force and inaugurated the rule of the proletariat.

### **The Domination of the Bolsheviks**

#### **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk**

The Bolsheviks complied with their promise to give Russia peace. The secret treaties of the old Russian government were published to expose the sordid motives of the War, strengthen the Bolshevik control at home, and reveal the unscrupulous practices of capitalist governments. Trotsky proposed a general peace on the basis of self-determination, no annexation and no indemnities, but the Allies ignored it. Hence, the Bolsheviks negotiated with the Central Powers the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (March 3, 1918) instead. Though it was a humiliating peace, it did put an end to the useless struggle on the Eastern Front which the Russians could not continue. Russia agreed to: (1) give up Poland, Courland, and Lithuania, whose fates were to be determined by Germany and Austria, (2) evacuate Finland, Esthonia, Livonia and the Aaland Islands, which were soon overrun by the Germans, (3) evacuate Ukraina and recognize the treaty signed by the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Central Powers, (4) surrender to Turkey Ardahan, Kars, and Batum, and (5) discontinue Bolshevik propaganda among the Central Powers. By additional treaties, Russia further agreed to: (1) pay 6,000,000,000 gold marks indemnity, (2) grant Germany the most-favored-nation treatment in Russian markets, and (3) allow the export of rough and hewn timber to Germany.

#### **Counter-Revolutionary Attacks**

From 1917 to 1920 the Bolsheviks were engaged in combating counter-revolutionary movements by ex-Czarist officers, adventurers and noblemen, most of whom were financed by the Allies to prevent the Allied munitions deposited at Archangel and Murmansk from being captured by the Bolsheviks; but, what was of more importance, to revive the Eastern offensive against Germany, and to



crush the spread of Bolshevism. Besides, the Allies continued the blockade against Russia; France took Odessa; Great Britain took Baku; Japan took eastern Siberia; Americans aided in the occupation of Archangel and Vladivostok; Rumania took Bessarabia; and Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, and the Transcaucasian states fought the Bolsheviks and declared their independence. Then "White" governments were created by Admiral Alexander Kolchak in Siberia; General Denikin in south Russia; General Peter Wrangel in the Ukraine; Nikolai Judenich in the Baltic Sea area; Gustav Mannerheim in Finland and Karelia; and General Haller and Simon Petlura along the western border. In 1919 all the Bolsheviks possessed was the area around Petrograd and Moscow.

#### **The Failure of the Anti-Bolsheviks**

The enemies of the Bolsheviks were not only the invaders but also the large majority of the Russians. To fight this domestic opposition to their régime, the Bolsheviks employed terror, administered by the *Cheka* organization, to instil fear in the hearts of opponents. The former Czar Nicholas and the royal family were executed to intensify this effect. Thousands must have been killed by this secret revolutionary tribunal. As for the external foe, the "White" invaders were ultimately expelled by Trotsky's well-drilled, zealous Red Army, the liberal minded officers who came to the aid of the Red Army, and the Russian peasants, who were afraid that the "White" governments might deprive them of their newly acquired lands. Russia enjoyed peace again in 1920. Treaties of friendship were negotiated with Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. The governments of Kolchak, Judenich, Denikin and Wrangel collapsed in the same year. Russia reorganized her government and set up the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.) in 1918, and established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.) in 1923.

#### **R. S. F. S. R.**

The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), which is one of the seven confederated socialist states of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.), is the most influential unit. All the Russian governments resemble one another in political organization and economic theory. They all profess a belief in a communistic ownership of all property and the means of production and distribution, effected by the dictatorship of the proletariat, with complete authority vested in the deputies of the workers', peasants', Cossacks', and Red Army's soviets. They proclaim religious toleration and free education; and autonomy for the national minorities. The right to vote is extended to all men and women 18 years of age and over.

**The Federal Government of the R. S. F. S. R.**

(a) **THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS.** The supreme power of the state is vested in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Its personnel consists of representatives of the city soviets on the basis of 1 deputy for every 25,000 *voters*, and representatives from the provincial soviets on the basis of 1 deputy for every 125,000 of the *population*.

(b) **THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.** To this committee of 400, appointed by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, is delegated the latter's legislative and administrative authority. The Congress is unwieldy, and, as a consequence, the Executive Committee has usurped its great authority. The former, at its biennial meetings, merely ratifies the work of the smaller body. The decisions of the Central Executive Committee, which meets several times during the year, are decrees.

(c) **THE PRESIDIUM.** Since the Central Executive Committee is also too large to do very proficient work, its authority is delegated to an appointed Presidium of 40 that has actual control of affairs.

(d) **THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS.** Another body appointed by the Central Executive Committee is the Council of People's Commissars. It is supervised by the Presidium to see that its work is performed. Though its decrees need the approval of the Central Executive Committee, the Commissars of labor, finance, heavy industry, light industry and others, which together constitute the Council of People's Commissars, actually govern the people.

**Local Government of the R. S. F. S. R.**

(a) **IN THE RURAL AREAS.** In the villages, peasants, home-workers, teachers and others convene and, voting by show of hands, elect one representative to the *Village Soviet* for each 100 inhabitants. The Village Soviets send delegates to the *District Congresses of Soviets*, which dispatch deputies to the *Regional Congresses of Soviets*. They, in turn, send representatives to the *All-Russian Congress of Soviets*.

(b) **IN THE URBAN AREAS.** The towns and cities are governed by *Town and Factory Soviets* elected on the basis of one deputy for each 1,000 of the population. Geographic representation has been abolished in Soviet Russia. The representative is elected by one's co-workers in the same industry by show of hands. The Town and Factory Soviets send delegates directly to the *District Congresses of Soviets*, the *Regional Congresses of Soviets*, and the *All-Russian Congress of Soviets*.

The urban population is better represented than the rural population because the town voters enjoy greater direct representation, and the Communist Party is the only official party with its strongholds in the cities.

## U. S. S. R.

The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.), created July 6, 1923, consists of seven similarly organized constituent republics (1935). They are the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Uzbekistan Socialist Soviet Republic, the Turkmanistan Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Tadyikistan Socialist Soviet Republic, extending over the areas formerly known as Russia in Asia and Russia in Europe. These constituent republics are subdivided into about 2,500 political units.

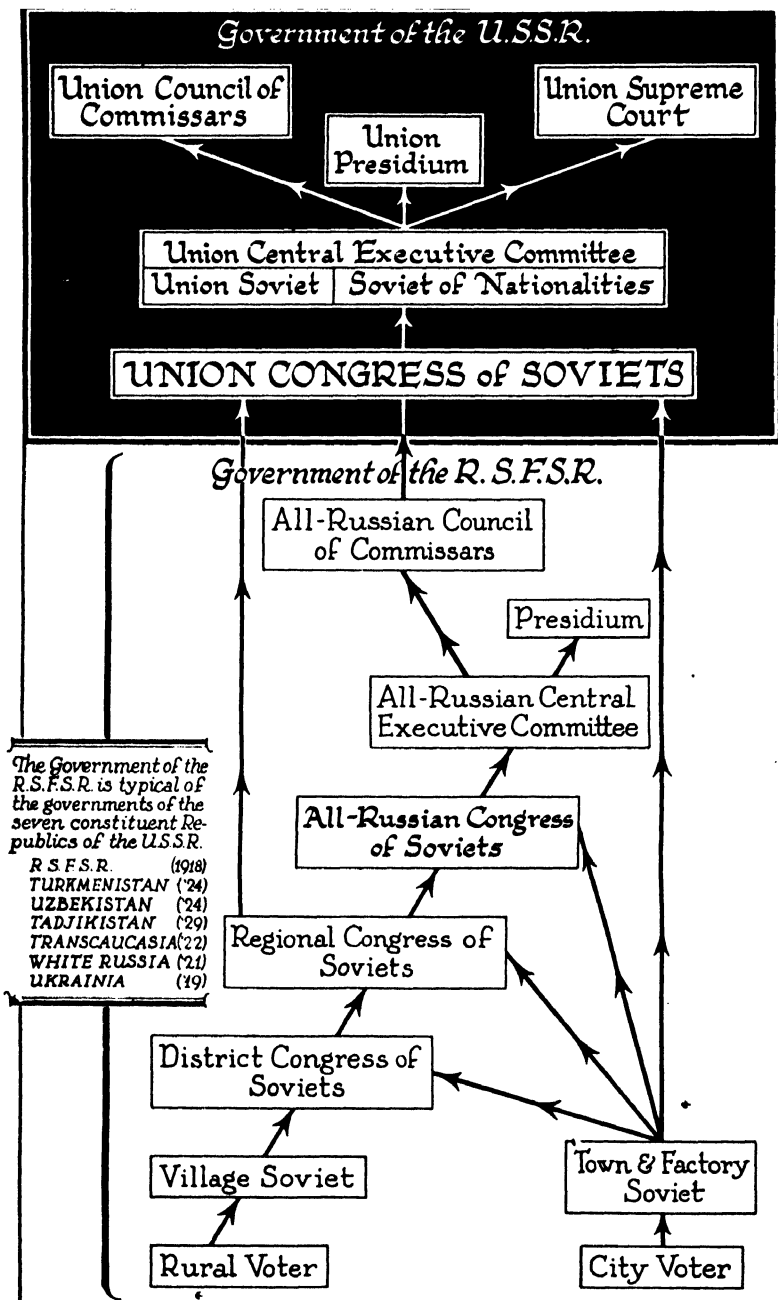
### The Government of the U. S. S. R.

(a) THE ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. It is the central organ of political authority in the U. S. S. R. Its personnel is composed of elected deputies from the City and Regional Soviets in each of the seven republics on the basis of one deputy for each 25,000 city voters and one deputy for every 125,000 of the rural population. With as many as 2,000 delegates, it meets every two years merely to ratify the work of the Central Executive Committee and the Union Council of Commissars. It convenes at the various republican capitals in rotation.

(b) THE UNION CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. To it is delegated most of the legislative and administrative powers of the Congress. It, too, moves its capital from one state seat of government to another in rotation. Its meetings are held three times per year. Its work is divided between the *Union Soviet* and the *Soviet of Nationalities*. The Union Soviet, elected by the All-Union Congress, has 400 elected members from the seven republics. The Soviet of Nationalities has a personnel of 140 members elected by the several Executive Committees, who must, however, be acceptable to the All-Union Congress. Its function is to foster the culture of the various nationalities of Russia.

(c) THE UNION PRESIDIUM. Consisting of 27 members, elected by the Union Central Executive Committee, its chief function is to supervise the work of the Union Council of Commissars. Kalinin was President and Molotov Premier in April, 1934.

(d) THE UNION COUNCIL OF COMMISSARS. It is composed of officers appointed to it by the Union Central Executive Committee. These commissariats are specialists in foreign affairs, war and marine transportation, postal and telegraph systems, agriculture, labor, finance, foreign and domestic trade and the like. They may or may not share their authority with their counterparts in the republican Councils of Commissars.



**The U.S.S.R. and its CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS**

(e) **THE UNION SUPREME COURT.** A creation of the Union Central Executive Committee is the Supreme Court, which has, however, no authority to declare legislation or decrees null and void. It may guide legislation and may decide questions of conflict of authority.

### **Four Significant Features of the Soviet Russian Government**

1. The U. S. S. R. is a highly centralized system of government with most of its authority lodged in the Union Central Executive Committee and its offshoots, the Union Presidium and the Union Council of Commissars. The several confederated republics enjoy only a minimum of local sovereignty.
2. Neither in the U. S. S. R. nor in the confederated republics is there an attempt at dividing governmental functions into legislative, judicial and executive powers.
3. The town workers enjoy more direct representation in government than the rural workers, though in both groups representation is indirect above the Village and Town Soviets.
4. Representation is vocational rather than geographic.

### **The Communist Party**

#### **Birth of the Communist Party**

In 1903 at the Russian Social Democratic Party convention in London a split occurred on the issues of legislative tactics, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolution. The extreme views of N. Lenin, who led the bolt, were carried by a majority of the referendum vote (Bolsheviki), overwhelming the minority (Mensheviki). In February, 1918, the Bolsheviks assumed the name of the Communist Party and in 1923 the All-Union Communist Party.

#### **Two Distinguished Leaders of the Communists**

(a) **NIKOLAI LENIN (VLADIMIR ILYICH ULYANOV)**, a radical of the lower nobility, was educated in law at St. Petersburg University. He was engaged as a Marxian socialist group leader during the Czarist régime, a crime for which he was exiled to Siberia. He, however, escaped to Switzerland, where he carried on his Marxian propaganda. He participated in the Russian Revolution of 1905, but had to flee when it was suppressed. He led the Bolshevik bolt in 1903, of which he was the able orator and organizer. Germany allowed him to return to Russia during the World War to lead a Russian insurrection, which resulted in the November Revolution.

(b) **LEON TROTSKY (LEV DAVYDOVITCH BRONSTEIN)** was a self-educated man and a voluminous reader. He organized the South Russian Workers' Union during the Czarist régime. This and similar

illegal acts resulted in his imprisonment and exile to Siberia. He escaped and traveled widely, spreading the Marxian gospel. At first he was opposed to Bolshevism, but after the March Revolution of 1917 he espoused its cause. He returned to Russia from the United States via Canada in 1917 upon the recommendation of Kerensky to the Allies.

### Membership

Its membership totals about 2,500,000, confined largely to the male population in Great Russia, and to the city workers in general. Admission to the party is difficult; and expulsion from the party is ordered upon slight violation of party regulations. Most party recruits come from the ranks of the three junior organizations,—the *Octiabrists* of the ages of 8 to 10; the *Pioneers* of the ages of 10 to 16; and the *Komsomol* of the ages of 16 to 23. Prospective members are required to serve a probationary period of six months, need the endorsement of two members, and must qualify at the local branch. Sexual morality, absence from church and sobriety are requisites for good standing in the party. About 2% of the members are expelled every year for infraction of the party standards. The salaries of Bolshevik members are limited to a maximum of about 300 rubles per month. However, specialists, who are party members, are permitted to be paid as much as non-party specialists.

### Organization

There are about 40,000 branches of the party. The administrative work is performed by the regional city, provincial and county committees, officiated over by the Central Control Commission and by the Central Committee. A biennial All-Union Congress of the party merely ratifies the work of this central organization.

(a) THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION. It has 200 members, meets every three months, controls the entire organization, and supervises the personnel of the party.

(b) THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. It has 70 members, meets often, and functions through its *Secretariat* and its two committees, the *Orgbureau* which supervises membership and propaganda, and the *Politbureau* which defines the party platform and policies.

(c) THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. At the head of the Secretariat is the secretary-general, who is the chief executive of the party. Joseph Stalin occupies this post to-day and as such is a member of the Orgbureau and the Politbureau as well as of the Secretariat. Stalin exercises his political dictatorship in Russia through the supreme control that he enjoys in the All Union Communist Party which constitutes the foundation of Soviet Russia. High Communist party officials occupy important government posts.

### **The Rôle of the Communist Party**

Though it is a small minority party, it exercises supreme control of Russian political and economic life by constituting the only organized and official party; eliminating non-Communist officials from the Rural Soviets by the indirect electoral system; strictly censoring political thought through the O.G.P.U., successor to the *Cheka*; issuing effective Communist propaganda; intimidating the voters by having them vote by show of hands; and granting city workers greater representation. The Communist party is separate and distinct from the U. S. S. R., but at the All-Union Congress on January 26, 1934, it was proposed that the Central Committee of the party exercise direct control over the Union Council of Commissars of the U. S. S. R. When this recommendation is accepted, it will give the Communist party direct control over the Soviet government.

### **The Experiment with Pure Communism, 1917-1921**

#### **The Plan**

Under the auspices of the Supreme Economic Council, Russia experimented with pure Communism from 1917 until its collapse in 1921. The land and natural resources were nationalized. The means of production and distribution were owned and operated by the state. The workers were divided into four categories depending upon the amount of physical labor they expended. Food, clothing and shelter were rationed accordingly. The Orthodox Church was disestablished and its property nationalized. Barter was encouraged to replace money economy. Women were completely emancipated. Marriage and divorce were solely civil matters.

#### **Its Effects**

Chaos followed in the factories, mines and rural districts. Manufacturing and mining were about 10% as productive as they were before the War; and the harvest of 1921 was only 40% as great as it was in 1913. The working day was lengthened; inflated paper money was resorted to; and the estates of the Crown, the Church and the landlords were divided among the peasants rather than nationalized.

#### **Results**

As long as the people were in dread of the "White" armies and their governments, that were determined to restore private property and autocratic or semi-autocratic governments, they bore privations and starvation. With those dangers gone, the tide of opposition to the chaotic communism grew greater in 1920 and 1921, particularly in the rural areas. Peasants received little manufactured goods and no money in exchange for the compulsory requisitions of

grain. City workers, organized into armies in search of food, robbed the peasants of their hoarded grain supplies. Droughts, lack of fertilizers, and poor transportation aggravated the strife between the city and country workers. Starvation hovered over Russia in 1921 and 1922. American and Allied relief commissions did much to alleviate the misery. Revolts occurred here and there; the policy of pure communism appeared to be doomed.

## **The New Economic Policy, 1921-1928**

### **Its Program**

The Tenth Party Congress in March, 1921, proclaimed the abandonment of pure communism and the adoption of a New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), which restored small industrial and agricultural establishments to private enterprise, subject to state control. It was a system of state socialism, state capitalism and private capitalism. It allowed (1) private retail trading in competition with the government retail stores and consumers' coöperatives, (2) factories, with less than 20 workers, to be restored to the original owners, (3) barter and inflation to be abandoned and a new sound money economy and banking system to be introduced, (4) compulsory requisitions of grain from the peasants to be replaced by a fixed tax in kind and surplus grain to be sold in the open market, (5) concessions in all industries to be offered to capitalists on a profit sharing basis, with a guarantee against national expropriation, (6) labor to be compensated on a graduated wage scale alike for men and women (7) food rations for the categories of workers to be increased, with the proviso that workers might buy additional food in the open market, (8) large industries to be organized into state owned and operated trusts, (9) all industries to be coöordinated into one national program, and (10) trade union membership to be voluntary, thus reducing the influence of the twenty-three trade unions of Soviet Russia.

### **Its Effects**

By 1926 the N.E.P. had brought industry back to pre-War standards. About 75% of the industries were organized into national trusts, subject to the control of the Supreme Economic Council; only 15% were recaptured by the *petite bourgeoisie*; 5% were operated by coöperative organizations; and 5% were owned by concessionaires.

Agriculture enjoyed a similar recovery. Private landholdings increased in size and number by 1928; the tendency toward coöperative holdings, however, was slow in increasing. At present about 70% of the agricultural soil is operated by the collective or coöperative organizations, a small percentage as state owned farms, and the remainder is both owned and operated by individual peasant owners.



### **The Trend since the N. E. P.**

The N.E.P. brought in its wake the *kulaks* or the large land-owning peasants, and the N.E.P. men or *petite bourgeoisie*. Since 1928 both of these classes have been harried out of existence by popular opinion, force, consumers' coöperatives, and state trusts.

### **Conflicts within the Communist Party, 1922-1934**

#### **Joseph Stalin**

The death of N. Lenin on January 21, 1924, opened a conflict for leadership in the Communist Party. He had exercised his dictatorial powers over the U. S. S. R. through the office of chairman of the Politbureau of the Communist Party. The claimants for leadership were Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. The latter, whose correct name is Joseph Visserionovich Dzhugashvili, was the son of a Georgian shoemaker. He was being trained for the clergy, but his theological studies were interrupted when he was expelled for his radical views. As a member of the Social Democratic Party, he followed the Bolshevik defection from the party with Lenin in 1903. He was imprisoned and exiled for his activities, as were many other socialists. After the March Revolution, he served as Secretary-General of the Communist Party, Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection from 1919 to 1920, and Commissar of Nationalities from 1920 to 1923.

#### **The Nature of the Conflict**

Trotsky advocated a world-wide communist revolution, and the supremacy of the proletariat as against that of the peasantry. Furthermore, he was too aggressive and a convert to Bolshevism only since 1917. Stalin led the triumvirate of Kamenev, Zinoviev and himself against Trotsky. They advocated a communistic experiment confined to Russia, peasant coöperation rather than subordination, and the use of foreign capital and skill in the experiment.

#### **Party Politics**

Stalin succeeded in becoming chairman of the Politbureau and instigated the expulsion of Trotsky from the position of Commissar for War and Defense, and his exile to the Caucasus. Upon his return, he was given a small state position. When dissension arose, however, in the triumvirate, Kamenev and Zinoviev bolted and joined Trotsky in his opposition. With the support of the Communist party, Stalin had the three leaders expelled from the party in 1927 and sent to distant parts of Russia. The oppositionist agitation continued from Turkestan, where Trotsky was stationed, with the result that he was conducted across the Turkish border in February, 1929, and expelled from Russia. He remained in Turkey and continued his propaganda until August, 1933, when he was permitted

to move to France. It was here where he developed the program of the proposed Fourth International, which is based on his earlier economic and social ideas.

### **The Five Year Plan, or Piatiletka, 1928-1933**

#### **The Plan**

Although the N.E.P. had ameliorated the economic condition of Russia, the peasantry felt aggrieved because, though the price of grain in 1928 was 50% above its price in 1913, the price of manufactured goods had risen about 350%. Hence, Stalin inaugurated the Five Year Plan (1928-1933) to increase manufacturing about 130% and agriculture about 50%, and to educate the vast illiterate population. A State Planning Commission, or *Gosplan*, appointed by the Union Council of Commissars, was designed to officiate over this new experiment. About thirty-five billion dollars was to be expended on the project. The money was to be raised by taxes, domestic bond issues and profits from the state trusts. All Russians were expected to make great sacrifices and to give their fullest coöperation to achieve these great objectives.

#### **Achievements**

In many of the industries they exceeded their goals and in a few they attained their objectives in four years. Distinction was attained in the oil, peat, sugar, coal, electrical fixture, automobile, tractor and agricultural machine industries. Particular mention should be made of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, the Dnieprostroy dam and power plant, and the Magnitogorsk steel mill, the last two the largest of their kind in the world. Private trading disappeared; 70% of the arable land was collectivized; and consumers' coöperative organizations secured 55,000,000 members.

#### **Defects of the Five Year Plan**

There were evident defects in the program: (1) to raise money to pay for the foreign skill and machinery it became necessary to "dump" in foreign markets Russian merchandise, such as grain, oil, timber, and sugar at the expense of the natives, who needed it, and of the world producers of such commodities, (2) the quality of the goods was poor due to the lack of skilled labor, hasty work, poorly constructed machines, and lack of discipline, (3) inefficient railway transportation retarded all industries, (4) the slow progress of some industries arrested the advancement of others, and (5) the abolition of the kulak class eliminated the most efficient farmers.

#### **Remedies**

To correct these defects (1) piece work and other rewards were introduced to stimulate greater production, (2) the collectivization of the peasants was retarded, and (3) greater disciplinary control over the workers in industry was developed.

## Education

### Education in the Old Régime

In the old régime, 75% of the population was illiterate. The Orthodox Church, the Russian government, and private schools offered educational facilities but only the nobility and the middle class could avail themselves of these opportunities.

### Education in the New Régime

The flight of the nobility, the persecution of the intelligentsia, and the domestic disturbances inclined to make Russia a culturally dark country. To correct this tendency, the government provided local school facilities. In 1930 a minimum of four years elementary education was required of all children throughout the U. S. S. R. In the large cities greater school accommodations are offered. Higher education is free. By a system of alternating compensated work in one's future vocation with university study, these opportunities are available to every one. The educational program is not confined to the school and college, but includes the stage, cinema, library, museum and radio station, so that adults may also be provided with a liberal education. However, much of this education was propaganda to further the Five Year Plan. Soviet Russia has made remarkable success in literacy, particularly in the cities, in this short period of time. Only about 30% of the people are illiterate.

## Religion

### Religion in the Old Régime

In the old régime, the Orthodox Church was the established church of Russia. It controlled religion, the schools, and many civil functions, such as the performing of marriages and the recording of births and deaths; and was closely associated with the government and with the life of the people.

### Religion in the New Régime

The Orthodox Church was disestablished. Its buildings and lands were confiscated; many of its churches were destroyed or converted into anti-religious museums and clubhouses; and civil authority, education and political influence have been denied it. Church attendance was at first forbidden, but, with the exception of the denial of this privilege to Communist Party members, this is no longer the case.

## The Second Five Year Plan, 1933-1938

A new Five Year Plan was launched in 1933 to increase the amount of goods for domestic consumption. The promised emphasis upon consumers' goods industries is represented in figures which schedule an annual increase of 18.5%, compared with 14.5% for heavy industries.

Under the new Five Year Plan former taboos, such as attractive clothes, jazz music, and cosmetics, are permitted. The substantial success of Russia's economic program and the increased security of Russia's international position caused the Stalin régime to permit greater freedom in education, cinema, drama and the press.

### **Soviet Foreign Policy**

#### **The Spread of Revolutionary Communism, 1918-1921**

(a) **THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.** The First International was an association of all national socialist groups, convoked by Karl Marx in 1864. This organization met annually thereafter until 1876. The Second International was an association of all national socialist and labor groups, that first convened in 1889. It advocated social reform through parliamentary action, and forbade violence. The Third International met in Moscow in March, 1919, but, unlike the First and Second Internationals, it advocated revolutionary international communism. Gregory Zinoviev was its first president and I. Y. Koganitzky has been its president since 1929. At first, Soviet Russia was its valiant sponsor. In 1921 the All-Union Communist Party of Russia, abandoning its international program, decided to make a success of its program in Russia first. Thereafter, the Russian government no longer subsidized the Third International. A most serious cause for denying Soviet Russia membership in the League of Nations was thus removed.

(b) **AGGRESSIVE COMMUNISM.** From 1918 up to 1921, however, to help destroy the "White" governments in Russia and out of sincere conviction, an aggressive program was launched by Soviet Russia through the Third International at Moscow to spread a world revolution in Asia and in Europe. Russia renounced her rights and concessions in Persia, China and Turkey. In addition, in September, 1920, she called the *Baku Congress* of the peoples of the East to spread the communistic gospel but failed, since neither Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, India nor China espoused the cause. She also made futile efforts to arouse the Social Democrats and Labor parties in Great Britain, France, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Her efforts proved more successful, for a time, at least, in Germany in 1918 and 1919, Hungary in 1919, Italy in 1920, and the Baltic Republics in 1918 and 1919.

#### **Soviet Russia's International Trade Politics, 1921-1924**

Russia declared a truce in 1921 in her war on capitalism. She abandoned her experiment with pure communism; introduced the N.E.P.; imported capitalistic raw materials, machines and specialists; and put an end to the "White" governments and invasions. Besides, the capitalistic countries wanted the valuable Russian trade. Hence, treaty negotiations with Russia began.

(a) THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN TRADE AGREEMENT OF MARCH 16, 1921. It provided for the raising of the English blockade of the Russian ports and the cessation of the Bolshevik propaganda in England.

(b) OTHER TRADE TREATIES OF 1921. Similar treaties were contracted with Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Italy and Czechoslovakia in 1921.

(c) THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT GENOA OF APRIL, 1922. The Allies insisted that Soviet Russia recognize the Czar's debt of \$8,000,000,000, which she had cancelled on January 21, 1918, and that she compensate foreign citizens, whose property had been nationalized. George Chicherin urged his country to refuse to honor the debt until the Allied powers grant large credits to Russia, and the Allies indemnify Soviet Russia to the extent of 50,000,000,000 francs for the devastation caused by their interventions in Russia from 1917 to 1921. No agreement was reached here or at The Hague in June, 1922, concerning the matter.

(d) THE TREATY OF RAPALLO OF 1922. Secretly, the German and Russian representatives to the World Economic Conference in April, 1922, retired to Rapallo and concluded a treaty to the dismay of the other delegates at the Conference. They agreed that: (1) Germany give the Russian government *de jure* recognition, (2) Germany free Russia from her Czarist obligations, and (3) they conclude commercial arrangements.

(e) ENGLAND AND ITALY RECOGNIZE RUSSIA. The MacDonald Government of England recognized the *de jure* government of Russia on February 1, 1924. Mussolini followed suit on February 7, 1924, both thereby receiving favorable trade treaties with Russia.

(f) OTHER *De Jure* RECOGNITIONS. Norway, Austria, Greece, Sweden, Hejaz, China, Denmark and Mexico from February to September, 1924, followed the example of the others.

#### Russia's Friendship and Trade Treaties, 1925-1935

The fear of a combined attack of the capitalistic countries to wipe out communism in Soviet Russia has caused Russia to maintain a large standing army and expensive armaments. To dispel this fear and reduce the cost of militarism, Russia has through her able diplomats, George Chicherin and Maxim Litvinov, encircled herself with a new chain of trade, non-aggression and neutrality treaties among her neighboring states—with Turkey in December, 1925, and with Germany, Afghanistan and Lithuania in 1926. In 1927, England severed diplomatic relations with Russia because of the latter's revolutionary propaganda, though the raid on Arcos, Ltd., Russian headquarters in London, disclosed no such evidence. In December, 1929, the Second English Labor Cabinet resumed diplomatic relations with Russia. Persia and Latvia signed friendship treaties with

Russia in 1928. Russia also adhered to the Kellogg Peace Pact in 1928. The Litvinov Protocol in 1929 made the Kellogg Peace Pact immediately applicable to Poland, Russia, Esthonia, Latvia and Rumania. In 1931, Italy and Turkey renewed their trade agreements with Russia. So did Germany, which guaranteed a Russian credit of \$75,000,000. The Russian foreign trade became so enormous in 1931 as a result of successes of the Five Year Plan that a cry against Russian "dumping" arose throughout the world, and with it, the tariff rates increased to exclude inexpensive Russian merchandise. In 1932, France, becoming more fearful of Germany, Italy and Hungary, concluded a treaty of neutrality with Russia to strengthen her military coalition. The wish to secure Russian oil was another motive for France's desire to conclude this treaty with Russia. The great success of Russian diplomacy was the cordon of friendship, neutrality and non-aggression treaties that Litvinov concluded with all of Russia's neighboring countries as an outgrowth of the London Economic Conference of 1933.

For a long time, the United States refused to recognize the government of Russia because the latter would not honor both the debts of the Czar and Kerensky governments and continued to instigate revolution in the capitalistic countries. The fact that until recently the United States enjoyed only a small part of the valuable Russian trade, which was largely diverted to Germany, Italy, France and England, and that Stalin ceased his communistic propaganda abroad, at length caused the United States to alter her political attitude toward Russia. The former soon made it possible for two American brokerage houses, by extending credit to them, to sell cotton to Russia. And in November, 1933, the United States recognized the *de jure* existence of Soviet Russia with no present determination of the debt problem. Thus ended our ridiculous position of recognizing the Kerensky government, which has for a long time been defunct.

In early 1934, the danger of a war with Japan over Manchukuo was still real. Naturally, the Soviet government took additional steps to strengthen its position in the West, by extending for ten years its pacts of non-aggression and arbitration with Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia. Similar arrangements have been concluded with Poland, Finland and its other neighbors on its western border.

Perhaps the most significant sign of the Soviet Union's success in world affairs is the break in the financial blockade against her. At first, Germany and other governments guaranteed credits to their exporters to Soviet Russia. On March 14, 1934, it was announced that Sweden would extend to the Soviet Government a loan of \$26,000,000. Seven per cent Soviet gold bonds were sold to some 3000 investors in the United States. Soviet Russia is one of the few countries in the world, which have met their financial obligations

during the last fifteen years. Financial and credit arrangements are being made with other countries. Heretofore, Soviet Russia financed herself by taxes, by domestic sales of her bonds, and by favorable balances of trade.

In October, 1934, Soviet Russia was admitted to membership in the League of Nations. This feat was Maxim Litvinov's crowning success in foreign diplomacy. By the end of the year 1934, it developed that Soviet Russia accepted French military and diplomatic leadership in their common cause of curbing the aggressive imperialism of Nazi Germany.

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## CHAPTER X

### GERMANY

#### Old Régime

Prior to the World War, many Germans were dissatisfied with the undemocratic organization of the government of the German Empire. The special objections were the following: the Chancellor was responsible to the Emperor, rather than to the Reichstag; the Bundesrat was a council of appointees, with no discretionary power, selected by the rulers of the various confederated states; the Emperor, who was also king of Prussia, could defeat an amendment to the constitution since 14 adverse votes in the Bundesrat could do so and he alone controlled 17 votes; a "rotten borough" system existed and a redistribution of the election districts was necessary to enfranchise many people of the new industrial centers; and the "three class system" of Prussia enabled the wealthy classes to monopolize the government of that state. But all political parties, including the Social Democrats, supported the German government at the outbreak of the War because of the common urge to defeat the enemy, the domination of the German army and navy in German life, and the filial respect that the people had for their government with its elaborate system of social legislation.

#### The Political Upheaval during the War

##### Its Causes

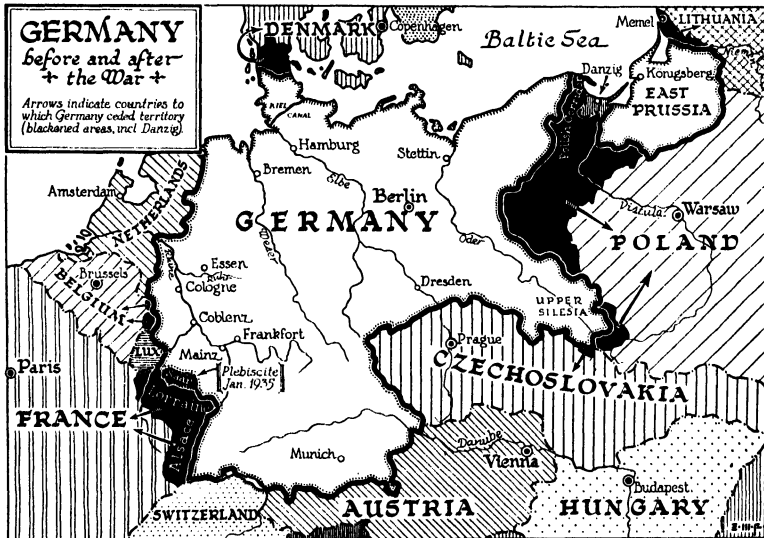
The food shortage, the Russian Revolution, the inability to effect an immediate victory, the sacrifices at home, and the United States' entry into the War caused strikes, uprisings and mutiny in the navy during the years 1917 and 1918. These were the toxins of the coming German Revolution.

##### The Social Democrats Split

The Social Democratic Party immediately divided into the *Majority Social Democrats*, under the leadership of Friedrich Ebert and Philip Scheidemann, who wanted the continuation of the War and the slow nationalization of private property with compensation; the *Independent Social Democrats*, under the leadership of Hugo Haase, who sought peace without annexations and the immediate socialization of private property; and the *Spartacists*, under the



leadership of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who desired cessation of the War and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. Hence, the political party that was expected to lead the German Revolution was disrupted over the problems of objectives and program.



### The Changing Ministries

Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg resigned in July, 1917. His ministry was followed rapidly by the ministries of Dr. George Michaelis, Count Hertling, and then Prince Max of Baden, who organized the Coalition Cabinet on October 2, 1918, which included National Liberals, Centrists and even Majority Socialists, such as Scheidemann and Bauer.

### The Overthrow of the Empire

Prince Max, having converted the German empire into a weak, limited monarchy, negotiated with Wilson for peace. The American President refused to deal with any government other than a German republic. Events moved rapidly in Germany. The Emperor fled to Spa on October 23, 1918; sailors mutinied at Kiel on October 28; Independent Socialists overthrew the Wittelsbach king of Bavaria and set up a republic on November 7; and Independent Social Democrats and Majority Social Democrats insisted that the Emperor abdicate. He complied with their demands, choosing Holland as a place of refuge.

### **The Provisional German Republic**

A federation of republican states, temporarily governed by a *Council of Six People's Commissars*, three of the Majority Socialists and three of the Independent Socialists, under the joint chairmanship of Ebert and Haase, replaced the Prince Max Government. The Spartacists boycotted the provisional government and agitated for communism. The Independent Socialists withdrew both their support and their members from the government because of differences over policies with the Majority Socialists. Thus, the Majority Socialists were in complete control of the government. With the assistance of Gustav Noske, they crushed the uprising of the Spartacists and the Independents, in which Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed. The spirit of the German Revolution, accordingly, passed from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and continued to move toward the Right.

## **The German Republic**

### **The Weimar Assembly**

On January 19, 1919, the elections for the constituent assembly to draft a republican constitution for Germany were held, with the following results:

Party	Number of Seats	Platform
1. Spartacists	0	Communism
2. Independent Socialists	22	Rapid socialization of industry and property
3. Majority Socialists (Social Democrats)	163	Gradual socialization of industry
4. Democrats	75	Bourgeois republicanism
5. Christian Democrats (Center Party)	88	Republicanism with social legislation
6. People's Party	21	Centralized republic favoring Big Business
7. Nationalists	42	Monarchism

More than 30,500,000 men and women voted by proportional representation, thus indicating their political convictions. The Communists refrained from voting. Friedrich Ebert was elected president. Scheidemann became chancellor with the Weimar Coalition Cabinet of Social Democrats, Centrists and Democrats. The Opposition consisted of the Independent Socialists, the People's Party, and the Nationalists. Colossal problems had to be solved at once. The veterans had to be reabsorbed. The people were hungry. The Communists rioted and revolted, but were crushed by Minister of Home Defense Noske after 15,000 had been killed. On June 23, 1919, the Weimar delegates reluctantly accepted the treaty of peace, dictated by the Allies. On July 31, 1919, they adopted a republican constitution.

### The Nature of the German Republic

The republican Reich, which the constitution provided for, consisted of a federation of seventeen republican states. The government at Berlin controlled foreign affairs, immigration, defense, coinage, railways and social legislation. The states lost much of their former state sovereignty. Bavaria, which particularly resented this, formed the Bavarian People's Party to champion her cause. The new Reich provided religious freedom, secular education up to the age of 18, and social legislation. The National Economic Council of Workers and Employers, a unique feature, was ineffective, since all it could do was to suggest labor and industrial legislation, the enactment of which was not mandatory on the legislature.

(a) **THE EXECUTIVE.** The President was elected by direct universal suffrage for a period of seven years. His term of office might be terminated if the Reichstag impeached him by a two-thirds vote, followed by a referendum vote of the people. His authority was restricted mainly to signing treaties, sending and receiving diplomats, and commanding the army, navy and air fleet. He might dissolve the Reichstag, but new elections had to be held within 60 days. In an emergency, the constitution might be suspended, but it had to be restored on demand of the Reichstag. The real executive authority resided in the responsible cabinet, headed by a Chancellor whose term ended upon a vote of lack of confidence by the Reichstag.

(b) **THE LEGISLATURE.** It consisted of two houses,—the Reichstag and the Reichsrat.

(1) *Reichstag.* The members of the Reichstag were elected by proportional representation for a term of four years. The number of members was governed by the number of votes cast; one for every 60,000. The political parties selected the panel of candidates. Hence, the voter voted for the party rather than for the candidates. The party organization then sent as many deputies to the Reichstag as it was entitled to. These delegates were selected in accordance with a previously arranged order of names on the party panel. A veto of the upper house might be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag. However, the President might even then submit the question to a referendum. By a 10% vote bills might be initiated. The Reichstag might also refer bills to the people.

(2) *Reichsrat.* This body represented the states. Its number of members was also indefinite, except that the ratio was one for every 700,000 votes. Furthermore, no state, not even Prussia, might have more than two-fifths of the total membership. There were usually about 70 members. Ordinarily, they were the cabinet officers of the several states.

The ex-saddler, President Ebert, and the constituent assembly continued in power as the executive and the legislature of the new Reich, rather than risk a new election and invite a revolution. The capital of the Reich was moved to Berlin.

### **Opposition to the Republic**

The German Republic was not altogether warmly received by the German people.

#### **The Communists**

The Communist movement was held in check by an actual slaughter of its members, which was conducted by Noske, Minister of the Home Defense. It was not republicanism that the Communists wanted.

#### **The Kapp Putsch**

The Monarchists, organized into the *League of the Upright* and the *Steel Helmets*, were the bitter enemies of the Republic, because the Social Democrats and others had incited dissension among the Germans during the War, and accepted the humiliating Versailles Treaty. Wolfgang Kapp, together with Waldemar Pabst and General von Lüttwitz, led 8,000 monarchists on March 13, 1920, in an attack upon Berlin. The Ebert government had to flee for safety to Dresden and then to Stuttgart. The *Putsch*, however, was crushed by a general strike of the people.

In the first Republican elections on June 6, 1920, however, the Nationalist and People's Party votes increased. The Independent Socialists also gained more votes at the expense of the moderate Republicans. A coalition cabinet was then formed of the People's Party, Centrists and Democrats, but with no Socialists. Konstantin Fehrenbach, a Centrist, became Chancellor. A movement against Socialism and moderate Republicanism set in. Ebert and Scheidemann were abused by Monarchists. Two other prominent liberals, Erzberger in 1921 and Walter Rathenau in 1922, were assassinated.

#### **The Ludendorff-Hitler Putsch**

In 1923 Adolph Hitler and General Ludendorff planned a march on Berlin, but, because of a conflict in plans with Gustav von Kahr, the movement dissipated. These militarists were disappointed in the absence of glory in the German Republic.

#### **The Separatist Movement in the Rhineland**

Dr. Dorten and Herr Matthes organized the "Rhineland Republic" in October, 1923. It was short-lived, however, because the leaders began quarreling amongst themselves, England opposed it, and it was an artificial state based on no real separatist sentiment.

It is believed that the French were supporters of the separatism in the Rhineland so that a buffer state might be established between France and Germany.

### **The German Currency D  b  cle**

#### **The Decline of the Mark**

The Germans financed the War by the sale of war bonds and paper marks, and only 5% of the war costs were derived from taxes. The German mark had dropped in 1918 to one-half its value. And with no foreign credit, with adverse trade balances, and with the Allied occupation of the Ruhr, the mark fell to a value of 2,500,000,000,000 to the dollar in November, 1923, whereas before the War it was worth 23.82 cents. Gold marks fled and debts were wiped out, all of which added to the political disruption in the German Republic.

#### **The Mark Stabilized**

Finally, Finance Minister Dr. Hans Luther and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, beginning in October, 1923, succeeded in stabilizing the mark. They created a new national bank,—the Rentenbank, which issued rentenmarks with the agricultural and industrial wealth of Germany as security. They determinately balanced the budget, reduced expenditures, increased taxes, and soon redeemed the paper marks at the ratio of 1 to 1,000,000,000,000. The Dawes Plan, an 800,000,000 gold mark foreign loan, and the evacuation of the Ruhr helped to save the financial situation of Germany. The Reichsbank and the Reichsmarks later replaced the Rentenbank and the rentenmarks, respectively.

### **Politics since 1924**

#### **Trend Toward the Right**

From 1920 to 1924, Wirth, Cuno, Stresemann and Marx were the Chancellors. They gave stability to the government. In the elections of 1924, the Monarchists and the extreme Socialists gained at the expense of the Moderates. Marx, a Centrist, continued as Chancellor in alliance with the Nationalists until January 15, 1925, when the Centrist-People Nationalist Coalition under Dr. Luther, with Stresemann as Minister of Foreign Affairs, replaced him. The latter ably filled the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs until October, 1929, always seeking to bring about a reconciliation with the Allied powers.

#### **Election of Hindenburg**

Ebert died February 28, 1925. Paul von Hindenburg was the candidate of the Right groups for the presidency; Wilhelm Marx of the Moderate groups; and Ernest Th  lmann of the Communists.

Since no candidate received a majority of the votes in the first election, a second one was held. In the latter election only a plurality was needed. Hindenburg won the presidency. Had the Communists and the Moderates voted together, he would have been defeated. Though first feared as a Monarchist, after election he swore allegiance to the Republic and supported its institutions.

### Political Stability

#### Bourgeois Control of the Government

The first four German ministries, beginning in 1918, were headed by Socialist Chancellors. But during the eight years commencing June, 1920, there was not a single Socialist Chancellor, and only twice were Socialists included in the ministries. On the other hand, the People's party had the chancellorship four times and the Nationalists were included twice. The control of the government was passing into the grasp of the Right.

#### A Temporary Social Democratic Reaction

A reaction set in on May 20, 1928, when the Social Democrats increased their control of the Reichstag. The Marx coalition of the Center and Right resigned, whereupon Hermann Müller, a Social Democrat, with a coalition cabinet of the Center and Left, took its place. On March 27, 1930, Heinrich Brüning of the Center Party formed a Coalition Cabinet with the Moderates.

#### The Growth of Power of the National Socialists

In July, 1930, Hindenburg dissolved the Reichstag because of its rejection of a budgetary bill. In the September 14, 1930, election, twenty-seven parties presented candidates. The Social Democrats had a plurality, but the surprise returns were those of the Communists, whose seats increased to 76, and the National Socialists who gained 95 seats.

### Adolph Hitler

#### His Life

He was born a Catholic, in 1889, in Upper Austria, son of a Bohemian mother and an Austrian father. He is a self-educated man with some mediocre artistic ability, but possessed of great oratorical strength and leadership. He enlisted in the German army during the War and was rewarded with the Iron Cross for his valor. After the War, on November 9, 1923, he attempted with Ludendorff a *putsch* on Berlin, for which he served several months in jail.

#### National Socialism

(a) THE PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS OR THE NAZIS.

Upon his release from prison, he invigorated the National Socialist German Workers' Party and wrote *Mein Kampf*, in which he declares the program of the Third Reich: (1) a Greater Germany,

(2) anti-Semitism, (3) the restoration of the colonies, (4) Nordicism, (5) the abrogation of the treaty of Versailles, (6) the revocation of the German war guilt, (7) parity in armaments, (8) social legislation, (9) better working conditions, (10) the nationalization of the trusts, (11) land reforms, and (12) the abolition of unearned profits.

(b) THE STRENGTH OF THE NAZIS. The National Socialists have a membership of about 700,000, but the supporters of the *Swastika*, the emblem of the party, number several million to be found among the bourgeoisie, the professionals, the peasantry and the university people. The Jews and liberals and most Catholics and laborers are opposed to the Nazis.

(c) THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF MARCH, 1932. Hindenburg, Hitler, Theodor Duesterberg, and Ernest Thälmann were the candidates for the presidential election of March 13, 1932. Since Hindenburg commanded a plurality instead of the required majority in the election, another election was necessary. Hindenburg maintained his plurality in the second election of April 10, 1932, which was all he needed this time to be reelected. Hitler and the Nazis retained their strong second place in the election returns.

(d) SUCCESSES OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS. The Hitlerite voters increased in the state elections, especially in Prussia, and the Brüning Center-Socialist cabinet failed to crush their agitation. But Brüning himself had to resign on May 30, 1932 because of the budget deficit and the increased unemployment. Franz von Papen, a Monarchist, was invited to become Chancellor, but could not maintain a majority in the Reichstag. Hindenburg dissolved it and called a new election for July 31, 1932. The Hitlerites secured 230 seats, the Social Democrats 133 seats, and the Centrists 97 seats. When the Reichstag assembled September 12, 1932, von Papen dissolved it and called a new election for November 6, 1932. In the new Reichstag, the Hitlerites again had a plurality, but no party or bloc had a majority to nominate the Chancellor. Von Papen continued as a "constitutional" dictator for a time, but resigned under duress. He was replaced by General Kurt von Schleicher, whom Hindenburg invited to become Chancellor on December 2, 1933. He retained most of the ministers of the former "Presidential Cabinet" of von Papen. Von Schleicher, however, was a more popular figure because of his association with the development of the Reichswehr. Rather than risk a vote of no-confidence by the Reichstag, he temporized with it for three days. It then adjourned over the Christmas holidays. He advocated land settlement, public works, and subsidies for industry as means of combating unemployment. The Hitlerites, the Social Democrats and the Communists vigorously protested against the alleged unconstitutionality of these "Presidential Cabinets" and against the inability of the Government

to alleviate the miseries attending chronic unemployment. Hitler, the leader of the plurality party, asked to be invited to the chancellorship. Hindenburg, fearing his arrogance and his platform, therefore compromised by offering him a portfolio in a coalition cabinet, but the Nazi leader declined it. Finally, Hindenburg yielded, whereupon Chancellor Hitler organized a coalition cabinet, largely of National Socialists and Nationalists.

The test of Hitler's political strength was the election of March 5, 1933, for the German Reichstag and for the Prussian Diet. Could he muster a majority in either or both new legislatures? In the Reichstag election 39,047,000 votes were cast. The National Socialists polled 17,300,000 votes, 44% of the total, winning 238 seats, a gain of 93. The Nationalists polled 3,100,000 votes, winning 53 seats, a gain of 3. The Social Democrats and the Communists lost heavily because of the intimidation and the propaganda of the Nazis. In Prussia the Nazis and the Nationalists were equally victorious in the elections. The life of the Hitler cabinet depended upon the coalition of the Nazis and the Nationalists, who together controlled 52% of the seats of the Reichstag. Hence, Hugenberg and von Papen were included in the cabinet. They, however, were powerless.

#### The Nazi "Totalitarian" State



"Frankenstein"

—Washington Post

Hitler now proceeded to crush all opposition and to set up his Third Reich. His *bêtes noires* were the Jews, the Masons, the labor unions, liberals, Socialists, and all the opposing political parties. To effect the "totalitarian" state the Nazis took the following steps: the outlawing of the Communists; the dissolution of the Social Democrats and the Nationalists; the centralization of the federal, state and local governments; the co-ordination of the labor organizations; the amalgamation of the



youth organizations; the coördination of the Steel Helmets and the Nazi Storm Troops with the Reichswehr; the submission of the new unified German Evangelical Church to state control; the suppression of the opposition newspapers; the oppression of liberals, Social Democrats and Communists; the expulsion of the Social Democrats and the Nationalists from the Reichstag; the "voluntary" dissolution of the Center Party; the conclusion of a Concordat with the Catholic Church; and the deprivation of German Jews of most civil and political rights, merely because they were not born Aryans.

What the future has in store for this Nazi state is difficult to foretell. Its methods have been ruthless, inhuman, and autocratic. Its success in solving the problems of unemployment, the German colonies, and reparations remains insignificant. The German people will not tolerate the rigor of the Third Reich very long, unless these problems are solved. Yet, despite the acute disapprobation of Hitler's efforts to nationalize the Lutheran and the Catholic churches, when the *Führer* asked for the endorsement by the German people of his withdrawal from the League of Nations because of the latter's unwillingness to allow Germany increased armaments, the German people supported him by an overwhelming vote. The occasion was the election of November 12, 1933, when the German people were summoned to the polls to vote on two questions: (1) whether they endorsed the policy of the Hitler government and (2) whether they would vote for the Nazi list of candidates for new members to the Reichstag. Out of an electorate of 45,000,000, more than 43,000,000 cast ballots. On both questions 93.5% voted affirmatively. This referendum shows how strongly the German people endorse the Hitler régime, even if allowances are made for the fact that the Nazi list of candidates was the only one submitted to the voters and that they were afraid to vote otherwise.

June, 1934, witnessed the death of sixty Germans to preserve the authority of Chancellor Hitler against a revolt from radical and undisciplined elements in the Left wing of the Nazi party. The cause of this massacre was alleged to be the discovery of a plot on the part of Storm Troop leaders to defy the authority of the Chancellor and to seize the authority for themselves. The fact of the matter was that Hitler's position was becoming weak because Germany was diplomatically isolated, she was rapidly becoming impoverished, her bondholders were protesting against her failure to pay the interest on her debts, and traditional Protestants and Catholics were objecting to the Nazification of religion. This reign of terror tended to unify public opinion for a while by fear.

On August 2, 1934, President Hindenburg died at the age of 87 years. The Cabinet's decree permitted Hitler to assume the functions and powers of President of the Reich. He accepted, preferring, however, to be called *Führer* and *Reichskanzler*. Nevertheless, he ordered

the entire army and navy to swear allegiance to him. On August 19, as much as 90% of the German people in a plebiscite endorsed the Chancellor's action in assuming the powers of the President.

## Germany's Economic Success and Failure

### Causes for Her Economic Recovery and Collapse

The Peace Treaties deprived Germany of all of her colonies, foreign investments, foreign trade and much of her coal, iron and metals. Her economic life was at its worst in 1923, but by 1929 she had recovered to such an extent that her industrial output was greater than in 1913. Her recovery was due to her repudiation of her debts by inflation, the foreign loans made under the Dawes Plan which stimulated German business, the "rationalization" of German industry, new chemical successes in dyes, drugs, fertilizers, and nitrates, the organization of vertical, horizontal and international cartels, and government subsidies to manufacturing and shipping.

### Economic Decline of Germany

Since 1930, the economic prosperity of Germany has been declining. Out of a population of 64,000,000 there probably were 7,000,000 unemployed in January, 1934. The reasons for this depression are: loans are no longer made to Germany; her own manufacturing needs are already supplied and her foreign trade is crippled because of high tariffs, quotas and depreciated currencies in other countries; and the failure of the German attempt to recapture the Russian and Latin American markets. Furthermore, the "rationalization" of industries has caused unemployment; the world depression has aggravated the German economic distress; and the unsolved reparations problem has halted economic activity in Germany.

### Remedies

The Brüning ministry (1930-1932) tried to remedy the situation by a German-Austrian *Anschluss* in 1931, which was opposed by the Allies, and by increased taxation, to which there was a natural limit. The Hoover moratorium (July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932) merely postponed the problem, and the Lausanne Conference on Reparations (June-July, 1932) achieved as little. The von Papen ministry attempted to cope with the distress, but it became worse. The Hitler administration inherited a serious problem. Just how the *Führer* will solve it remains to be seen.

The Hitlerites contend that by February 4, 1934, they had reduced the number of the unemployed to 3,374,000, the lowest figures in four years. But these statistics did not truly portray the actual state of affairs. These figures did not include those unemployed, who did not receive state or private aid. Furthermore, the average

working day was reduced to 7.19 hours, creating artificially the need for more workers. The Jews, who were everywhere dismissed from employment to be replaced by German Christians, were not included among the unemployed. Many large public works provided employment, which absorbed many of the unemployed, who might otherwise have found it impossible to earn a livelihood. Those who received nominal wages in labor camps, emergency farms, and emergency relief works, were not included in the unemployment statistics.

On May 19, 1934, the *Law for the Organization of Labor* was enforced to care for the workers' wages and working conditions. In reality the law functioned in such a way that the nominal improvement in the conditions of the workers redounded to the greater advantage of the employers. The law provided for thirteen Trustees of Labor for corresponding thirteen geographic areas. They had the right to fix wage scales, to prevent large dismissals of employees, and to enforce existing trade agreements between industrialists and workers. Private property and private initiative were preserved. The class struggle between capital and labor was put at an end, since the trade unions were abolished. Each mine and factory had a Confidential Council of Workers and Employees to guard the interests of the employer-Leader, the worker-Followers, and the National Socialist Party. The Trustees of Labor were advised by commissions of experts in the various industries of their areas so that the national economic welfare might be improved. Agriculture and the fine arts were separately organized. Officiating over the entire industrial organization of Germany was the Supreme Economic Council.

In 1934 the Nazi rule caused Germany to suffer an additional decline in exports. This caused a drop in Germany's foreign exchange and gold supply with the result that she was obliged to declare a moratorium on her foreign interest payments (June, 1934) and to impose new embargo restrictions. The reduction in German export trade was caused by a shrinkage in the export of coal and coke, the decline in prices paid for the goods by foreign countries on a devalued currency, the boycott of German goods by Jews and proponents of the civil rights of man the world over, and the deflection of Russia's purchases from Germany on account of the anti-Communist activities of the Hitlerites.

### Foreign Affairs

#### Gustav Stresemann

The national aspirations of post-War Germany are to regain standing in the family of nations and to revive her trade. Gustav Stresemann was the great German foreign minister (1923-

1929) who made considerable progress toward these goals. Fulfilment of treaty obligations, recognition among the world powers, and reconciliation were his objectives. Germany's diplomatic successes were: (1) the Treaty of Rapallo with Russia (1922), (2) the Locarno treaties (1925), (3) membership in the League of Nations (1926), (4) coöperation in the Kellogg Peace Pact (1928), (5) the Young Plan (1929), and (6) the evacuation of the Rhine territory (1930).

#### Since Stresemann

Julius Curtius, as foreign minister, followed the program of Stresemann. He essayed the German-Austrian *Anschluss* in 1931 but failed. The ultra-nationalism of the period since 1930 has made the management of German foreign affairs difficult. Von Papen's clamor for parity in armaments and reparations reductions has gone unheeded. Hitler's Greater Germany program is menacing and ill-boding for the future peace of Europe. However, a ten-year commercial and military pact was concluded between Poland and Germany on February 24, 1934, which has temporarily adjusted the controversy between these two countries concerning Danzig, the Polish Corridor and Posen.

Germany's clamor for parity in arms, her sudden resignation from the League of Nations, and her Nazi propaganda in Austria terminating in the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss led to her diplomatic isolation. Germany, as a result, sought allies. By the time of this writing she had befriended Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia to offset, in particular, French hegemony.

#### The Unsolved German Foreign Affairs

The acute German foreign problems are (1) Danzig and the Polish Corridor, (2) the union with Austria, (3) the restoration of the colonies, (4) the question of war guilt, (5) parity in armaments, (6) the revision of reparations payments, (7) Germany's secession from the League of Nations on October 14, 1933, and (8) Germany's unauthorized increase in armaments threatening the peace of her neighboring countries.

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## CHAPTER XI

### GREAT BRITAIN

Though Great Britain came out of the World War victorious, without loss of land or her monetary system seriously disturbed, and with the rewards of reparations, indemnities and territory, the story of post-War England is one of constant wrestling with the problems of declining foreign trade and chronic unemployment.

#### **The Lloyd George Coalition, 1915-1922**

##### **Successes**

H. H. Asquith headed the Liberal ministry when England declared war on the Central Powers in 1914. Because of serious criticisms of the ministry's prosecution of the War, Asquith in 1915 invited Conservatives and Laborites to join the cabinet. Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions in this cabinet, replaced Asquith as Prime Minister in 1916. The Lloyd George Coalition Cabinet achieved: the postponement of the Parliamentary elections of 1915 so that the dissension in the country might not be aggravated; successful negotiations with the rebellious Irish; Indian reforms; the extension of the suffrage in 1918 to all men 21 years of age, who had resided in England or occupied a business establishment for six months, and to all women 30 years of age, who were local government electors or wives of such electors; and the passage of the Fisher Education Acts providing for a system of lay elementary and higher education.

##### **The Elections of December 14, 1918**

Since the House of Commons had served eight years, the Lloyd George Coalition cabinet thought it high time to procure a popular endorsement of its war time record. The Coalition of Liberals, Conservatives and Laborites won an overwhelming victory, capturing 467 seats. It pledged itself to: hang the Kaiser; exact a large indemnity from the Central Powers; forbid the "dumping" of manufactured goods in England; settle the Irish Question; reduce still further the powers of the House of Lords; and care for the veterans of the War. The Asquith Independent Liberals and the Independent Conservatives won 28 and 23 seats, respectively. The Independent Laborites won as many as 63 seats and the Sinn Feiners of Ireland won 73 seats. The latter, however, would not take their seats at

Westminster. Though the Coalitionists retained control of the House of Commons, 70% of them were Coalition Conservatives, a fact which was reflected in the new Coalition Cabinet. But Lloyd George continued as Prime Minister. He personally attended the Peace Conference, where he won the lion's share of the booty for his country. During his ministry, too, England enjoyed prosperity, supplying the needs of continental Europe with manufactured goods.

### **Economic Depression**

The year 1920 marks the beginning of the English depression, which soon became chronic. The reasons for the depression are that: England's best customers became impoverished; England returned to the gold monetary standard until 1931, while most of the other European monetary systems were inflated, thus discouraging purchases in England; her machines were obsolete, while the other countries in their efforts to rehabilitate their industries installed most modern machines; England's markets were captured by the United States and Japan; woman labor replaced the more expensive man labor; the high tariffs, enacted by other nations, so that they might rebuild their own industries, reduced English foreign trade; and the burden of the national War debt increased taxes.

**ATTEMPTS AT SOLVING THE PROBLEM.** To alleviate the misery attending unemployment, the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 was enacted, which increased both the number of beneficiaries and the benefits ("dole") to 15 shillings per week for men and 12 shillings per week for women. A campaign was launched for the emigration of the unemployed to engage in agriculture in the colonies and dominions. A trade treaty with Russia was concluded on March 16, 1921, which offered additional markets for English manufactured goods. The Safeguarding of Industries Act was passed, establishing a protective tariff of  $33\frac{1}{3}\%$  on the key industries and on goods coming from countries with depreciated currency. England, thus, partially abandoned her traditional free trade policy.

## **The Conservative Ministry, 1922-1924**

### **The Conservative Bolt**

The Lloyd George Coalition Cabinet lost its Conservative supporters, whereupon the Prime Minister was obliged to resign, because they: objected to the Anglo-Irish Treaty recognizing the Irish Free State; advocated more sympathetic diplomacy toward France; complained about the diplomatic failures in dealing with the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern problems, and also about the extravagance of the "dole" and the public works program. A new election, therefore, was scheduled for November 15, 1922. The Conservatives advocated the evasive program of "tranquillity and

stability." The Liberals were split into the Asquith Independent Liberals and the Lloyd George National Liberals. Lloyd George pointed to his war time record, while Asquith favored free trade and economy. The Laborites, headed by James Ramsay MacDonald, wanted a mild socialistic program with the nationalization of the mines and the railways, more social legislation, and a peaceful foreign policy. The Conservatives won a majority of the seats in the House of Commons, thus capturing the administration. The Laborites secured the surprising number of 142 seats. The rest was divided between the National Liberals and the Independent Liberals. Bonar Law was invited by the King to become Prime Minister. But, because of poor health he resigned in May, 1923; Stanley Baldwin was his successor.

#### **Free Trade versus Protection**

After studying the problem of unemployment, Stanley Baldwin suggested as solutions higher protective tariffs and imperial preference, that is, a lower tariff duty on British imperial merchandise entering any part of the Empire than on foreign merchandise. Since the Conservatives had opposed such planks in their party platform, Baldwin felt the need of getting a new mandate from the electorate. The new election was called for December, 1923. The Liberals reunited on free trade in opposition to the new Conservative platform. The Laborites continued to advocate the mild socialistic platform of the national ownership of the major industries, a capital levy, more social legislation, a peaceful foreign policy, and free trade. The Conservatives lost their majority in the House of Commons, but retained a plurality, followed by the Laborites with 192 seats and the united Liberals with 158 seats. Because of the three party battles in the constituencies, the Conservatives polled as many votes as in the previous election, yet lost their majority control. If the three party political conflicts are to continue in England, only proportional representation can save her from the democratic injustice of a minority control.

#### **The First Laborite Ministry, Jan. 1924—Oct. 1924**

In January, 1924, upon the resignation of the Baldwin Ministry, the National Liberals and the Independent Liberals united to aid the Laborites in forming the first Laborite Government, headed by James Ramsay MacDonald.

#### **Rise of the Labor Party**

The Labor Party was born in 1900 out of the Labor Representation Committee which sought political representation for the workers. Then the Fabian Socialists and the Independent Laborites united with it to form this new party. Its platform includes: social reform by legislation, nationalization of the industries with com-

pensation to the owners, a constitutional monarchy, autonomy for the British colonies, and opposition to class war. In 1900 it polled 60,000 votes and won 2 seats. In 1929 it polled 8,380,000 votes and gained 289 seats. It has grown in power since, except for its temporary reverses in 1931.

#### **Activities of the First Labor Government**

MacDonald was aided by Philip Snowden as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Arthur Henderson as Home Secretary. The fear of a capital levy, class war and Marxian socialism caused capital to be exported with the result that the British unemployment problem was aggravated. This fear was unfounded since the Laborites were dependent upon the Liberals for the control of the government. During its nine months existence, import duties were lowered on tea, coffee and chocolate, and more public works were undertaken. Of greater significance were its achievements in foreign affairs, --the concluding of the Dawes Plan, the issuance of the Geneva Protocol, the recognition of Soviet Russia in 1924 and the arranging of a commercial treaty.

#### **Defeat of the Labor Government**

This new Anglo-Russian agreement, together with the discontinuance of the investigations of a case against the acting editor of the communistic "*Workers' Weekly*," and a forged *Zinoviev*, or *Red Letter*, urging British Communists to prepare for the world revolution, aroused so much opposition to the Labor Government from their aids, the Liberals, that MacDonald dissolved Parliament and called for a new election for October, 1924. Increased distress and the fear of Bolshevism brought about the defeat of Labor and a victory for the Conservatives by a majority of 200 seats. As there was no provision for proportional representation, the Conservatives won the majority in the House of Commons although they polled only a minority of the popular vote. Stanley Baldwin was invited to become Prime Minister of the Conservative Ministry, which included Austen Chamberlain as Foreign Secretary.

### **Five Years of Conservative Government, 1924-1929**

#### **The Labor Crisis**

The enigma of unemployment was still unsolved. What particularly vexed the Conservative Ministry was the labor crisis in the coal industry. This was especially depressed because of the use of oil as a substitute, the development of hydroelectricity, the indemnity and reparations payments in the form of coal by Germany to the Allied powers in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, and the world economic depression. The labor contract between



## **GREAT BRITAIN**

the mine owners and the miners expired July 31, 1925. In anticipation of this event, the owners suggested lower wages and longer hours as the terms of the new contract. When the miners protested, the owners threatened a lockout rather than operate the mines on the old labor terms. In the meantime, the Baldwin Government, in order to save one of England's basic industries, subsidized the coal industry to the extent of £20,000,000, pending the study and report of the Coal Commission, which was completed in March, 1926. But, though it recommended government ownership of the mines operated by individual contractors, it advised that wages be reduced, and subsidies discontinued. This report was unsatisfactory, particularly to labor, and resulted in a threat of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, with which the Miners' Federation was affiliated, to order a general strike, unless the mine owners came to terms by May 3, 1926. Since they did not yield, the general strike was ordered in the basic industries, but not in those that controlled the health of the populace. Thus only 2,500,000 out of a total of 16,000,000 workers struck. The general strike lasted nine days, but the coal strike continued six months until November 19, 1926.

The strike was a failure. Its effects were to strengthen the Conservatives, weaken the Laborites and the Liberals, and cause the passage of the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act of 1927. This act made general strikes illegal, and forbade picketing and political party levies on trade unions, unless the individual union workers consented in advance. The Coal Commission's Report was not adopted.

### **The Domestic Legislation of the Conservative Ministry**

The Conservatives, taking advantage of their strengthened position, attempted to modify the Parliament Act of 1911 by restoring to the House of Lords its lost authority; but this move failed. They did succeed in passing the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Pensions Acts, which increased the benefits of these classes of people. A new woman suffrage act in March, 1928, reduced the age qualification of women for voting to 21 years. A new Prayer Book had been prepared which tended to bring the doctrines of the Anglican Church closer to those of the Roman Catholic Church. As the Anglican Church is the state church of England, it was necessary that the new Anglo-Catholic Prayer Book be adopted by Parliament; but it was rejected by the House of Commons largely through the efforts of the non-Anglican Protestants. The Conservatives had pledged themselves not to pass new protective tariffs, yet to the Conservative Ministry in office that seemed to be one plausible solution of England's economic ills. Therefore, the Board of Trade was permitted to hear applications from industries for protective duties, which the Ministry might act upon. Another suggested remedy was a reduction of the heavy local taxes on strangled basic industries.

### **The Foreign Affairs of the Conservative Ministry**

The diplomatic successes of Austen Chamberlain were no less commendable than those of MacDonald during the First Labor Ministry. The Conservatives effected a War debt settlement with Italy and France, concluded the Locarno Pact, and helped Germany become a member of the League. They severed diplomatic relations with Russia in May, 1927, because of a number of anti-British plots that had been discovered in China to hurt British trade and in England to incite the unemployed to rebellion and communism,—though a raid on the Arcos, Ltd., in London offered no corroborating evidence.

## **The Second Labor Cabinet. 1929-1931**

### **The Elections of May 30, 1929**

The army of unemployed had now reached 2,000,000. The Conservatives failed to alleviate this misery. The test of their popularity came in the Parliamentary elections of May 30, 1929. They emphatically advocated imperial preference and protection; the Liberals, free trade, public works, and closer coöperation with the other nations; and the Laborites, nationalization of the industries, public works, and extensive social legislation. The Laborites captured 289 seats; the Conservatives, 259; and the Liberals, 58. Again the Liberals aided the Laborites in winning the Government, when on June 6, 1929, MacDonald was invited to form a cabinet, in which were included Philip Snowden, Arthur Henderson and James H. Thomas.

### **Domestic Legislation**

The number of unemployed in 1931 reached 3,000,000. Nor were the Laborites any more successful in gaining employment for them. Since the Second Labor Cabinet's existence depended upon the support of the Liberal Party, which was now split, the Laborites could not enact their party platform. Not even the Trade Unions Act of 1927 was repealed.

### **Foreign Affairs**

The Labor Party's commendable foreign program was revived; the friendly relations with India, Arabia, and Egypt were restored; diplomatic and trade relations with Russia were renewed; the Young Plan was accepted; and a world disarmament program was launched.

## **The National Coalition, 1931—**

MacDonald's Second Labor Government was a failure because unemployment increased, the gold reserve drifted to France, and the national deficit was augmented because of the "dole" and the public works program. The immediate cause of MacDonald's fall

was his introduction on August 25, 1931, of a number of bills for the reduction of civil service salaries and of national expenditures. However, he was immediately called back to form the National Coalition Ministry of the major parties. Their departure from the strict party platform caused the expulsion of MacDonald, Snowden, and Thomas from the Labor Party. Arthur Henderson became its new leader.

#### **Achievements of the National Coalition Cabinet**

Since England was on the verge of bankruptcy, emergency measures were necessary; civil service salaries and national expenditures were reduced notwithstanding the active opposition of government employees; and England went off the gold standard on September 21, 1931, causing the pound in relation to the dollar to drop from par at \$4.86 to as low as \$3.00, although after the United States went off the gold standard it advanced and fluctuated around \$5.00. The abandonment of the gold standard was intended to reduce the internal debt, lessen the cost of production, and give British goods sales advantages in the world market over those of gold standard countries. There is no doubt that this move was largely responsible for England's gradual economic improvement.

#### **The Elections of October 27, 1931**

MacDonald, feeling the need of a vote of confidence, called a new election for October 27, 1931. The Conservatives, National Liberals and National Laborites were opposed by the Independent Laborites and the Independent Liberals. The various National groups captured 493 seats; the Conservatives alone had a majority of 327 seats over all other groups. The latter, however, feared leadership, since England was on the brink of bankruptcy and revolution. Hence, MacDonald who had shown great ability in government, continued as Prime Minister with a large representation of Conservatives in the cabinet.

#### **Domestic Affairs**

A minimum tariff of 10% was imposed on many commodities, not including raw cotton, wool, meat, fish and wheat. The Tariff Commission was permitted to raise the tariff against discriminating countries. Domestic wheat was guaranteed \$1.00 per bushel. The War loan of £2,000,000,000 was converted to low interest rate bonds, an act by which the government was saved the payment of millions of pounds in interest. Besides the purchase of gold to prevent British money inflation from getting beyond control, a stabilization fund, dealing in gold and foreign currencies, was used to reduce fluctuation. England was economically recovering because of cheap money, and because confidence in her government was restored. So successful has the National Government been in its domestic policy that on March 31, 1934, the Chancellor of the Exchequer reported a surplus

of revenue of £31,148,000. Provisions were immediately effected for the restoration of the cuts made in the unemployment insurance and of one-half of the pay cuts suffered by civil employees; and for a cut in the income tax rate from 25% to 22½%. The unemployed have been reduced to about 2,000,000.

### Foreign Affairs

There were rumors of the reestablishment of the old *Entente Cordiale* with France, but this did not materialize. The *Imperial Economic Conference*, held at Ottawa, Canada, from July to August 1932, was attended by delegates from the British dominions and larger colonies. Twelve bilateral treaties were concluded on the principle of imperial preference, whereby the signatories grant trade concessions, privileges and preferential tariffs to one another. The discussions evidenced the fact that there was much intra-imperial rivalry and stronger dominion nationalism and patriotism than British imperial loyalty. Credit was extended to Russia for eighteen months to increase the Russian purchase of English manufactured goods. The *Disarmament Conference* of 1933 at Geneva was a conscious effort to reduce armaments in the interest of universal peace and a reduction in the cost of government. It adjourned deadlocked, in June, 1933. At last, the National Coalition Cabinet declared that the economic recovery of England from her serious depression depended upon the recovery of the entire world, and that the efforts of the "dole," public works, imperial preference, and high tariffs were failures. Hence, it called the *World Economic Conference*, which opened June 12, 1933, in London to discuss world economic recovery. Because of extreme nationalism little was achieved, except silver and wheat production accords.

Despite all this, in the fall of 1934 there were evidences of dissatisfaction with the Coalition Government. The Laborites were advocating a modified Communist state as in Russia, the Conservatives a modified New Deal as in the United States, and some extreme Conservatives a Fascist state as in Italy.

## The British Commonwealth of Independent Nations

### Growth of Dominion Authority

The British dominions of Canada, Newfoundland, the Union of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and, since the World War, the Irish Free State enjoyed autonomous government, but their foreign affairs, and their military and naval protection were controlled by the British Parliament. In December, 1933, Newfoundland temporarily abandoned her dominion status because of her grave financial condition. But the exigencies of the World War; the dependence of England upon the military and economic assistance of her

dominions; and their independent membership in the League of Nations have greatly added to their sovereignty. This trend is evidenced by Canada's act in signing in her own behalf the Halibut Fisheries Treaty with the United States in 1923 and other commercial treaties with other countries; the dominions of Canada and Ireland's sending and receiving their own diplomatic representatives; Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa's administering their own mandates; the Irish Free State's adoption of her own Great Seal in 1931; and her president's refusal to swear allegiance to the British Crown.

Since the *First Imperial Conference* in 1911, this slow political growth of authority has been sanctioned by England and the dominions. In 1930 the *Imperial Conference* accepted the Balfour Report declaring Great Britain and her dominions autonomous communities within the British Empire in domestic and external affairs, but that they were all connected by a common allegiance to the Crown. These principles were ratified by the British Parliament in its *Statute of Westminster*, December 10, 1931.

#### **The Statute of Westminster**

This statute stipulated that: the dominions and the mother country enjoy equal status; no statute passed by a dominion legislature may be declared null and void because it is contrary to the law of the British Parliament; dominions may pass laws having jurisdiction over their own citizens abroad; the king, on the advice of his cabinet, cannot nullify an act of a dominion parliament; no law of the British Parliament shall apply to any dominion unless the latter requests it; and no change shall be made in the royal succession without the consent of all the dominions.

#### **The Nature of the Union of the New British Empire**

The British Commonwealth of Independent Nations, as the term implies, is a union of practically independent nations. The only bonds of union among the British dominions and England are the Crown; a feeling of a Commonwealth citizenship; a common history; a British navy and army; and treaties, such as the commercial pacts, that grew out of the Ottawa Conference. What discord there is within the new British empire is of an economic nature. Australia, New Zealand, and Canada want a larger share of the British trade in manufactured goods, which they will undoubtedly demand at the next Imperial Conference.

### **The Irish Free State**

#### **Ireland before the World War**

Rome never invaded Ireland. Therefore, in the nation to which he came as missionary in 432 A.D., St. Patrick found the primitive institutions of a Celtic tribal civilization, a federal executive called

the High-King, a highly developed corpus of Brehon Law defining the economic and political constitution, a tradition of learning, craftsmanship, arms, and a rich folk lore. In 1169 began the incursions of the English. From then on English warfare with the clans of the coastal provinces was constant and varyingly successful until the 16th century—the English hold being focused in “the pale” of Dublin. Then a fixed policy of “plantation,” or colonization, was instituted under the Tudor and Stuart monarchs, and pursued by Cromwell. To insure the Protestant (“Planter”) ascendancy the Dublin Parliament enacted the *Penal Laws*, which, for more than a century, excluded the native Catholics from ownership of land, education, the franchise, the professions, the army, and the practice of their religion. The Rebellion of 1798, product of industrial and agricultural distress consequent on British trade restrictions, and of Irish republican sympathy with France, resulted in the *Act of Union* of 1800 abolishing the separate Irish Parliament.

The 19th century was one of unremitting agitation for deliverance from the yoke of British tyranny. Immediately, it aimed at social and economic reform, the termination of the enslavement of the Penal Age, but, implicitly, always as a restoration of Irish political integrity. Its weapons were parliamentary tactics, physical force, and the boycott. O’Connell’s leadership secured Catholic Emancipation in 1829, but the almost fatal famine of 1846 caused the Young Irelanders to lose faith in his peaceful methods and to rebel in 1848. From their organization stemmed the *Fenian Brotherhood* of the next generation, whose violent demonstrations in 1867 roused England’s consciousness of Irish conditions; consequently the (State) Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1871. In 1875 Parnell, taking up the legislative struggle for Home Rule waged by Isaac Butt, and, earlier, by O’Connell’s “Repealers,” perfected the new Obstruction Policy. And lastly, in this long agitation, the wholesale evictions of the impoverished tenants from the land formerly owned by their forefathers led to Davitt’s founding of the *Land League* in 1879, and its development of the instrument of social and commercial ostracism which took its name from the notorious Captain Boycott. This grievance was redressed more swiftly than had been the others by the *Land Purchase Acts* of 1885, 1891, 1903, and 1909, which advanced loans to enable tenants to buy their holdings. The attitude of conciliation was further exemplified in a measure of 1908, organizing a system of higher education. But, despite all this progress of amelioration, the fundamental, or “Irish,” question still had to be met.

### The Irish Home Bill, 1914

Irish political independence is the most acrid problem of the Irish question, because of the proximity of Ireland to England. England's imperialistic designs in Ireland are not motivated by a desire to exploit her raw materials because they are not of any great value. Nor does she wish to develop a market for her manufactured goods, for Ireland has no large purchasing power. She wishes chiefly to safeguard herself against a possible enemy taking possession of Ireland and using it as a military base against England.

At the eve of the World War the British Parliament enacted the Home Rule Bill of 1914, which gave a large degree of autonomous government to united Ireland. This act was one of the first laws to be enacted in accordance with the British Parliament Act of 1911, which permits a bill to become a law in spite of its veto by the House of Lords after it has passed the House of Commons three times in two years. This system of government could not be and was not a success because it united the six counties of Ulster, which are industrial and Protestant, with the twenty-six southern counties, which are agricultural and Roman Catholic. Hence, the Asquith Ministry agreed to suspend the operation of the Home Rule Act until the close of the World War, when it would be modified to approximate the demands of the Ulsterites, headed by Sir Edward Carson.

### The Rise of Sinn Fein

The *Gaelic League*, founded in 1893 to preserve the native language and traditions, in 1905 begot a political movement for industrial self-sufficiency under Arthur Griffith, and, later, for political independence, under Padraic Pearse. When news came of Carson's activities, the *National Volunteers* formed to support Redmond's Irish Nationalist Party, which was loyal to England. Kitchener's distrust of them caused their offer to serve in France as a unit to be rejected. On April 24, 1916, Pearse led the radical wing, the *Irish Volunteers*, together with Connolly's National-Socialist Citizen Army, founded in 1913, to rebellion in Dublin, and proclaimed the *Irish Republic*. Sir Roger Casement in the meantime failed to gain aid from the German government. On his return to Ireland he was captured and executed. The *Sinn Fein* (in English, "We Ourselves") Organization, which had adopted the principles and membership of the *Irish Republican Brotherhood*, who, in turn, had inherited the old *Fenian* program of physical force, won general support through the punitive retaliation of Britain and the Compulsory Service Act of 1918. But the War ended before conscription went into practical effect. The Easter Rebellion, originally deplored in Ireland, and undertaken, without hope of success, as a declaration of principle, had established Sinn Fein as the dominant

Irish party. Consequently, in the December, 1918, general election it won 73 of the 105 seats to which Ireland was entitled. The Unionists of Ulster captured 25 seats and the Irish Nationalists, 7. The Sinn Fein representatives were pledged not to sit at Westminster; instead, forming into the Dáil Eireann, they elected Eammon de Valera, a veteran of the Easter Rising, President of the Irish Republic in January, 1919. Throughout the rebellion their government, though outlawed, legislated and administered justice with the whole confidence of the people. Britain recruited a reckless auxiliary police, the "Black and Tans," who opposed the Irish Republican Army under the able Michael Collins with a system of "reprisals" which inaugurated an undisciplined reign of terror.

#### **The Irish Home Rule Bill, 1920**

On December 23, 1920, Lloyd George's Government of Ireland Bill, amending the Home Rule Bill of 1914, became law. It set up a distinct government for the six counties of "Northern Ireland," and another for the twenty-six of "Southern Ireland." Upon additional assurances that the partition would be permanent, Ulster reluctantly accepted; Sinn Fein ignored the statute. The new Ulster Parliament met in June, 1921, and Sinn Fein elected 124 representatives of the 128 provided for the Southern Ireland Parliament in the Bill. These delegates sat, as before, in the Dáil Eireann. Bloodshed and destruction continued. Negotiations between Lloyd George and De Valera in July came to naught, since the latter would not compromise with his views on Irish independence. In October, therefore, the Dáil accredited five delegates to arrange a lasting peace. On December 6, a treaty creating the Irish Free State with a status like that of the Dominion of Canada, but reserving to Northern Ireland the right to secede and retain its existing relation to Great Britain, was signed in London.

#### **The Irish Free State**

By a vote of 64 to 57 the Dáil ratified the pact. De Valera resigned in protest, whereupon Michael Collins set up a provisional government under the presidency of Arthur Griffith. The Republican irreconcilables contended that London had exercised duress upon the Irish signatories, and that by signing they had treacherously counteracted the gains of the rebellion and the cause of independence. Almost at once a bloody civil war broke out. In the meantime, the Free State constitution was drawn up. In the election of June 16, 1922, for a new parliament, the Free Staters won the majority; the Irish Free State constitution was adopted; and William Cosgrave was elected president. The civil war continued for a time, but dissipated, when in August, 1922, Collins was killed and Griffith died of overwork. In the spring of 1923 the De Valera Republicans



abstained from violence, and organized the Fianna Fáil or the Irish Republican Party, which became a constitutional political party in September, 1927.

### **Its Government**

The provisional parliament elected Cosgrave president and adopted the new constitution in September, 1922. After the British Parliament had ratified it, King George V proclaimed the Irish Free State on December 6, 1922.

(a) **EXECUTIVE.** The government of this new dominion provides for an executive department with a governor-general, appointed by the King of England, but the ruling executive is the responsible administrative council, officiated over by a president.

(b) **LEGISLATURE.** The legislature consists of two chambers, the Senate and the Dáil Eireann. The 60 Senators are elected for twelve years by an electorate of those 30 years of age or over. Since 1928 the senators have been elected by the two houses voting from a previously selected panel. The senate has only a suspensive veto. The members of the lower house are elected for 4 years by proportional representation by all voters 21 years of age or over. This body elects the executive council.

(c) **MISCELLANEOUS.** The Ulster counties were never joined with the Irish Free State. The latter sends diplomatic representatives to the United States, France, Belgium and Germany. In September, 1923, she was admitted into the League of Nations and also into the British Imperial Conferences.

### **Early Successes of the Irish Free State**

The Cosgrave administration was fairly successful. The civil war ceased, and a reasonable degree of prosperity followed in its wake. The police and postal systems were reorganized. The River Shannon was electrified. The local government, the school system, and the organization for the relief of the poor were greatly improved.

### **The Presidency of De Valera**

Opposition to the Free State government under President Cosgrave was growing, however. The world depression was being reflected in Ireland. The export duties on Irish agricultural products were criticized. The electric current rates of the River Shannon were high. The government opposed a high protective tariff on manufactured goods. Civil service salaries were cut. New stringent laws, such as the Public Safety Act of 1931, were enacted to suppress Irish Republican agitation. In the election of February, 1932, Fianna Fáil presented its platform calling for: the abolition of the oath of allegiance to the British Crown; the retention by the Irish treasury of all future land-purchase instalments; the repeal of the Public Safety Act of 1931; the erection of a high tariff to encourage Irish

manufacturing; and a united Ireland. The Republicans won the election. In March, 1932, as a result, De Valera was elected President of the Executive Council. However, the Republicans encountered difficulties in enforcing their platform. The Irish Senate refused to omit the oath of allegiance to the British Crown which Irish officials were compelled to take. The Irish treasury's retention of land-purchase instalments met with the opposition of the English government and with the moral issue that it had wilfully dishonored a debt. The erection of a high tariff wall to encourage manufacturing led to a retaliatory tariff from England in July, 1932, which gravely hurt Irish prosperity. The English punitive act was also designed to make Ireland yield on the questions of the oath of allegiance and on her refusal to arbitrate in a court of Britishers the default on the land-purchase instalments. The Public Safety Act of 1931 was suspended by the Irish Republicans. On May 25, the Dáil Eireann passed a bill to abolish the Irish Senate. Its ultimate extinction will undoubtedly occur. When it does, the Irish Free State will have severed her connections with Great Britain. The Senate is the stronghold of the British interests.

(a) OPPOSITION TO IRISH REPUBLICANISM. General Owen O'Duffy, head of the National Guards or "Blue Shirts;" Frank McDermott, head of the Center Party; and William Cosgrave have united and organized an opposition party, called the United Ireland Party. The growth of the Irish economic depression is responsible for this anti-DeValera movement. It is in accord with De Valera's program as to a united Ireland and much of his domestic policy, but it wants a new tariff agreement with England and allegiance to the British Crown. In October, 1934, discord broke out among the leaders of this new party which has had the effect of allowing De Valera to continue in power.

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## CHAPTER XII

### FRANCE

The three main problems that have confronted France since the World War are: the establishment of national security to prevent the repetition of the horrors and devastations of the Franco-Prussian War and the World War; the task of restoring the ruined portion of France; and the raising of funds to defray the costs of restoration.

#### The Government of France

The government of France is a centralized republic. In the past few years there has been a strong tendency to increase the authority of the executive department.

##### The Executive

The executive department consists of a *president* and a *cabinet*.

(a) THE PRESIDENT. The authority of the President, who is elected by the National Assembly, is very much restricted; he neither reigns nor rules. With the consent of the Senate, he may dissolve the Assembly before its term expires, but this power is rarely exercised. President MacMahon took advantage of this prerogative in 1877. Raymond Poincaré became president in 1913. He was followed by Paul Deschanel in 1920, Alexandre Millerand in September, 1920, Gaston Doumergue in 1924, Paul Doumer in 1931, and Albert Lebrun in 1932. With the exception of Poincaré and Millerand, they were mere figureheads.

(b) THE CABINET. The Premier and his Cabinet are appointed by the President, but, in reality, the chiefs of the leading political groups of the Chamber of Deputies dictate the choice of these people. There are between 10 and 15 such groups. The Cabinet's life is determined by its ability to muster a large enough coalition or *bloc* of these groups to maintain a majority control. Cabinets may fall, but the Chamber is not dissolved. All that happens is a shift to the Right or Left in the alignment of the political groups and a corresponding change in the personnel of the Cabinet. Up to 1934, the Third French Republic has had ninety-five different ministries. The government of France is none the less stable, since the bureaucracy continues in office and the political principles of the

ministries are comparatively consistent. Nevertheless, because of the political crisis of 1933, constitutional changes are being advocated to give the French President more authority. André Tardieu and Joseph Caillaux would also like to protect the budget from the avidity of civil service employees and from other special interests by giving the President greater authority in financial legislation.

### **The Legislature**

The parliament, consisting of a *Senate* and a *Chamber of Deputies*, is called the National Assembly.

(a) The *Senate* is elected for nine years indirectly by the officials of the departments. Its functions are legislative, primarily in the revision of bills introduced in the Chamber.

(b) *The Chamber of Deputies* is elected by universal male suffrage for a term of four years. It has control over all bills and rules the Cabinet, which it may overthrow by defeating an important Cabinet bill or by a vote of no-confidence, following an interpellation by a Deputy. The more important groups are the Monarchists, Conservatives, Republicans, Democratic Republicans, Democrats, Left Republicans, Radical Socialists, Republican Socialists, French Socialists, Socialists, and Communists. A Deputy may belong to more than one group and transfer his vote from one to another, depending upon the bill at hand.

## **The Sacred Union**

### **Its History**

Through the World War and up to November, 1919, the coalition cabinet, called the "Sacred Union," functioned successfully. It won great rewards for France at the Peace Conference through the able statesman Clemenceau. The "Sacred Union" then split into two coalitions, the *Bloc National* and the *Cartel des Gauches*.

(a) **THE BLOC NATIONAL.** The Bloc National was supported by the moderate and conservative groups. Its leaders were Clemenceau, Poincaré, Millerand, and the less fervent Briand. It advocated: severe punishment of Germany; anti-socialism; a *rapprochement* with the Papacy; and national security. The extreme Right were the *Camelots du roi* or Royalists, led by Léon Daudet.

(b) **THE CARTEL DES GAUCHES.** The Cartel des Gauches was supported by the Left groups. Its leaders were Edouard Herriot and Joseph Caillaux. It advocated: anti-clericalism; higher income taxes; the extension of social legislation; the reduction of the power of the Senate; and a conciliatory foreign policy, particularly with Germany and Russia. The extreme Left was the Communist group.

## **The Bloc National Ministries, 1919-1924**

### **Premier Briand**

In 1919 the Bloc National Ministries came into power as a result of the French fear of radicalism or Bolshevism. Its chief undertaking was to reconstruct devastated northern France. Anticipating the reparations and indemnities Germany would pay, the government raised \$7,000,000,000 in francs by loans and additional paper money to pay for the costs of restoration. But when Germany temporized about making her reparations payments, and when in 1921 she asked for a partial moratorium, Briand was ousted as Premier because of his failure to be firm with Germany.

### **Premier Poincaré**

Poincaré, who succeeded him, promised with greater determination to make the Germans pay. To carry on the work of restoration, he at once secured foreign loans, introduced government economies, and raised taxes. But the futile invasion of the Ruhr to oblige Germany to pay her reparations; the increase of the national debt; heavier taxes; the inability to balance the government budget; the fall of the franc; and the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican in 1921—all these factors caused the fall of his ministry. In 1901 and 1905 France had reduced the number and the activities of the religious orders; closed some monasteries and church schools; and nationalized church property. Since the War the Right and the Catholic Church have been making efforts to effect a reconciliation.

## **The Left Bloc in Control, 1924-1926**

### **Premiers Herriot and Painlevé**

The Cartel des Gauches, led by the Radical Socialist group, won the parliamentary elections of May 11, 1924. The Left Bloc forced the resignation of President Millerand, because of his open support of the National Bloc. Gaston Doumergue was elected President. Edouard Herriot, the leader of the Radical Socialists, became Premier. He was succeeded later by Painlevé.

(a) FOREIGN AFFAIRS. In foreign affairs, the French Left Ministries accepted the terms of the Dawes Plan; agreed to withdraw the French troops from the Ruhr; aided the negotiations which led to the Locarno Pact; helped to frame the Geneva Protocol; and developed more friendly relations with England, Russia and Germany.

(b) DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. In domestic affairs, the Left Bloc was anti-clerical. It tried to discontinue the embassy to the Vatican and expel the unauthorized religious orders, but the opposition was too great. The Church showed its friendliness to the Republic by

putting the *L'Action Française*, a French Monarchist publication, on the Index in 1927. The next year under Church auspices, the archbishop of Paris practically excommunicated those Catholics who continued to be Monarchists.

(c) **FINANCIAL DISTRESS.** But the financial dilemma remained unsolved. The national War debt was over 180,000,000,000 francs. The costs of reconstructing the devastated area were enormous. The national deficits had added 150,000,000,000 francs to the national debt. National taxes were five and one-third times as much as they had been in 1913. The franc was greatly inflated. It had depreciated from its normal value of 19.3 cents to less than 5 cents in 1924. The extreme Socialists advocated a capital levy on the wealthy industrialists, but Premier Herriot sponsored greater inflation by printing more paper francs. Three ministries fell in 1925 because they supported more inflation. Four more ministries followed suit in 1926 because no new system of taxation could be agreed on.

## **The National Union Ministry, 1926-1929**

### **Premier Poincaré and the National Union Ministry**

The franc had depreciated to a value of 2 cents in 1926; in addition, the national debt was colossal. France was on the verge of bankruptcy and revolution. In desperation the National Union Ministry, which included six former premiers, was formed. It was headed by Poincaré, who was given practically dictatorial powers in the realm of finance. The franc was saved. Consequently, France was spared bankruptcy, but at the cost of burdening her citizenry with the highest tax rate in western Europe, and by economy in government expenditures. In 1926 the budget was balanced for the first time since the War and there was a paper balance of \$60,000,000. The franc rose in value to 4 cents, at which point the Chamber of Deputies stabilized it in 1928. This act had the effect of a capital levy by reducing the debts of France and of all French debtors by four-fifths of the principal. Soon, the gold reserve in the Bank of France was the second largest in the world, excelled only by the gold in the Federal Reserve System of the United States. The balance of the national debt was refunded at lower rates of interest. The reconstruction of devastated France was practically completed. The Alsace, Lorraine and Saar Valley mines, mills and factories were operating. Total French exports were about 50% greater in 1926 than in 1913. The electorate in 1928 ratified the work of the National Union Bloc by returning it with an increased majority of 427 in a Chamber of 612. Poincaré resigned because of ill health on July 26, 1929.

## The Hectic Years, 1929-1935

The political history of France since 1929 is characterized by cabinet crises, which reflect the instability of the party system and the economic distress of France.

### Premier Briand

The *volte-face* of the Republican Socialists, Radicals and Socialists, who turned against the National Union Bloc because of certain clerical and military clauses in the proposed budget, caused its fall in 1929. Briand succeeded Poincaré as Premier, but his Ministry was short-lived because of his views on public finance, the Young Plan, and the evacuation of the Rhineland.

### Premier Tardieu

The Tardieu Ministry came into power in 1930. Before its fall, it achieved: tax reductions; a decrease in the period of compulsory military service from three years to one year; an increase in the war budget to build new battleships and fortresses; and a national compulsory social insurance law.

### The Return of Premier Briand

The Ministry of Briand, who was returned to the premiership, ratified the Young Plan; evacuated the Rhineland; and announced the French scheme for a Pan-European Federation.

### Premier Steeg

The German elections showed an increase in the Nationalist and the National Socialist votes in the September, 1930, elections. This caused the fall of the Briand Ministry in France and the election of Theodore Steeg to the premiership. The world depression was now having its dire influence on France. The economic prosperity, that Poincaré had ushered in, was now on the wane.

### Premier Laval

In January, 1931, Pierre Laval became Premier. To stave off the tide of depression, he had government credit extended to firms on the verge of bankruptcy. His Ministry also opposed the Austro-German Customs Accord of 1931; accepted Hoover's debt moratorium plan; and was represented at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

### The Return of Premier Tardieu

Tardieu then became Premier until the regular elections in May, 1932. He effected: a balanced budget; increased tariff duties; and the system of import quotas from foreign countries to protect French industries.

### **The Return of Premier Herriot**

The elections of May 1932 showed a decided trend to the Left. The Radical Socialists under Herriot captured 160 seats out of a total of 614. Their grievances against the Right were: an empty treasury; unemployment; heavy taxes; heavy military expenditures; and the government's financial losses to bankrupt firms. Tardieu resigned, whereupon Herriot became Premier. The problems that faced his Ministry were: Germany's demand to be released from the military restrictions imposed on her by the Versailles Treaty; Italy's unfriendliness; adjustment of the reparations and War debt questions; balancing of the national budget; and the restoration of economic prosperity.

### **Premier Paul-Boncour**

Premier Herriot's Ministry was forced to resign December 14, 1932 when he insisted that France pay her December debt instalment to the United States. Joseph Paul-Boncour became Premier. whereupon France defaulted in the payment of the debt instalment. His short premiership was otherwise uneventful.

### **Premier Daladier**

In January, 1933, Edouard Daladier became Premier. At the World Economic Conference and thereafter, his Ministry consistently opposed general inflation and affirmed that it was necessary for the nations who have abandoned the gold standard to resume it for the economic good of the entire world. On the problem of tariffs, Daladier advocated higher retaliatory rates. Accordingly, over 1,800 commodities were placed on the restricted importation quota list. On July 15, 1933 the price of wheat was fixed by law at 115 francs per quintal (220 pounds), which was to be increased by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  francs at the first of each month. The price fixing of wheat was the beginning of a similar general program to be applied to other commodities. This system has not been altogether successful, for export wheat only commanded 45 francs in June in the world market and the French government paid the difference to the French farmers.

The budget deficit and the business depression of France were aggravated by: the loss of her tourist trade; the disadvantage of remaining on a gold standard while all other large countries abandoned it; the world economic depression; the cost of social insurance; the non-payment of reparations by Germany; and the retaliatory measures of other countries to France's system of importation quotas, high tariffs, and surtaxes.

It was Daladier's budget bill providing for a reduction from 3% to 9% of the civil service salaries in order that the budget might be balanced, together with the disarmament crisis and Ger-



many's demands for armament equality, that caused the downfall of his Ministry. The Premier resigned after the desertion of Léon Blum's Socialists and the Right, who withdrew their support from the Ministry.

#### **Premier Sarraut**

On October 26, 1933, Albert Sarraut, a left Democrat, was invited to form a Ministry, which consisted of Radical Socialists and Centrists, representing the bourgeois interests of France. But Léon Blum's Socialists and the extreme Right did not support it, a fact which was again responsible for the defeat of the Ministry when the Sarraut cabinet introduced civil service salary reduction measures. The dissident Socialists represent the civil service employees and the workers in general. They prefer cuts in French military expenditures and advocate inflation rather than reductions in civil service salaries. The Radical Socialists represent the bourgeoisie. They are particularly fearful of inflation and the exodus of gold to the United States, lest the hardships caused by the inflation of 1925 and 1926 be repeated.

#### **Premier Chautemps**

On November 27 Camille Chautemps formed a Radical Socialist Ministry and succeeded in forcing through the reduction of civil service salaries to help balance the budget. It was the fear of a panic and the bankruptcy of France that caused all political groups, except the dissident Socialists, to vote in favor of the measures.

On December 30, 1933, the Bayonne pawnshop scandal came to light. It involved many policemen, judges and even members of the Chautemps Ministry in a plot that robbed the French people of millions of francs. Minister of Public Works, Albert Dalimier, and Minister of Justice, Raynaldy, were implicated, a fact which led to their resignations and ultimately to the resignation of the entire Cabinet on January 27, 1934. The revelation of this scandal crystallized public dissatisfaction with the French political machinery, which had not been able to balance the budget and reduce unemployment. The Camelots du Roi and the Communists took advantage of this opportunity to riot and denounce the French Republic.

#### **The Return of Premier Daladier**

On January 30, 1934, President Lebrun invited Edouard Daladier to form a cabinet. The new Ministry proceeded to prosecute the judges and police who had perpetrated the Stavisky pawnshop crime. The Chamber of Deputies became convinced of the sincerity of purpose of the Cabinet, but the mobs in the cities, led by extreme Right and extreme Left agitators, seized the opportunity to give vent to their hatred for French republicanism and forced the Cabinet to resign.

### **Premier Doumergue**

The French Republic was on the verge of a revolution. Former President Gaston Doumergue was invited to form the National Union Cabinet on February 8, 1934, consisting of the leaders of all parties, but the Royalists, Socialists and Communists. This emergency Cabinet appeased the French public and saved France from the ordeal of a revolution. It was the sixth cabinet in a little more than one year. It immediately passed the government budget, providing for the dismissal of about 10% of the civil employees and a pay cut of about 10% for the others over the opposition of the Léon Blum Socialists and a few Radical Socialists, and pressed the investigation of those officials responsible for the Bayonne pawnshop scandal more vigorously. Furthermore, steps were taken to curtail the power of the Chamber of Deputies by having the President exercise the right to dissolve the Chamber with the consent of the Senate and by giving the Cabinet the control over finance bills. Thus, an unruly Chamber of Deputies would not again be able to impede the operation of the French governmental machinery. The rioting of the Communists and the semi-Fascists, who are both enemies of the French republic as well as of each other, was ruthlessly suppressed. On November 9, Doumergue's cabinet had to resign because of its insistence on the constitutional changes. Premier Pierre-Etienne Flandin strengthened the new coalition cabinet by inviting the leaders of the Right into it.

The real strength of Premier Doumergue's coalition cabinet lay in the French fear of German Nazi aggression. The late Foreign Minister Barthou succeeded in befriending Russia, England, Italy and the Little Entente in a coalition against Germany. There were evidences in the fall of 1934 that France had alienated Poland and had lost the good will of Yugoslavia. These countries associated themselves undoubtedly with Germany to neutralize the new French hegemony.

### **Alsace and Lorraine**

At the Peace Conference, Germany ceded Alsace and Lorraine to France, who promised to respect the traditions, customs and local rights of the principalities. However, disputes soon arose over language, religion, political rights, and economic opportunities.

#### **Language**

Since only one-fourth of the natives speak French, a conscious effort was made by the French to Gallicize the population. The inhabitants objected to the ban on the German language and literature. After much agitation, a compromise was effected allowing French to be taught exclusively in the first two years of a child's school life. Thereafter, German instruction was to be permitted 3

hours per week and in the religious hours, though French continued as the school language.

### **Economic Opportunities**

The natives, ousted from their positions in the civil service and in the public utilities, were replaced by Frenchmen. Strikes ensued, whereupon the authorities reluctantly restored the natives to their positions. The economic conditions in the coal, iron, textile and potash industries were poor under the French government for a number of years. This depression caused the natives to yearn for the prosperity they had enjoyed under the German rule. The recent well-being of France as compared with that of Germany has caused the Alsatians to be more contented.

### **Religion**

The natives of Alsace-Lorraine are chiefly Roman Catholics. By the Concordat of 1801 that Napoleon had concluded with the Pope, the government paid the salaries of the clergymen and provided religious instruction in the schools. The Bloc National did not disturb this arrangement until 1924, when the Left Bloc under Herriot tried to disestablish the Church. This engendered a strike by the devout inhabitants, but a compromise was forthwith arranged. All children had to attend the same lay schools, but religious instruction was to be offered in separate religious schools of the various faiths.

### **Local Government**

Alsace and Lorraine enjoyed autonomy from 1911 until 1925 when they were incorporated into the government of France and were governed from Paris. Alsace and Lorraine were thereafter called Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, and the Moselle.

HEIMATBUND. In May, 1926, the Heimatbund, or Home League, was formed in Alsace demanding local autonomy and the supremacy of German in the schools. The movement was suppressed in November, 1927, with the assurance that France would be more considerate of the demands of the natives.

### **French Rule versus German Rule**

Alsace and Lorraine may grumble under French government but they scorn the thought of German Nazi rule. Actually, the natives prefer autonomy to French or German rule. They are now accustomed to the new moderate French régime. The loss of regionalism and democracy, the nationalization of their Catholicism, and the deprivation of their independent political thinking are what these people would suffer, if they were reannexed to Germany to-day. Hence, they resist Hitler's German imperialism.

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## CHAPTER XIII

### THREE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

#### **Austria**

The Austro-Hungarian empire, with her heterogeneous people of different religions, races, nationalities and industrial activities, was disrupted by the World War. Much of the territory was partitioned among the neighboring countries of Italy, Rumania and Poland; part of it was organized into the states of Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia; and what remained was Austria and Hungary. The results have not been satisfactory because of the religious, racial, and national minorities that each state, except Austria and Hungary, has, and because of the economic ruin that was wrought by the rivalry among these states. The internationalization of the Elbe, Oder, and Danube rivers has hardly improved the economic distress of these countries. The formation of the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania naturally aggravated the enmity of Austria and Hungary.

#### **Birth of the Austrian Republic**

Charles I succeeded Emperor-King Francis Joseph on November 21, 1916. He acquired a decadent Austro-Hungarian empire. By the close of the World War, the empire disintegrated because of: the separatist movements; the effects of the Russian Revolution; the lure of Wilson's War aims; and the great losses and suffering. Charles I tried to stave off this disruption by offering a plan of a federated state of autonomous units, but in vain. The people rose in a bloodless revolution causing Charles I to abdicate November 11, 1918, and to flee to Switzerland. They did not surrender to the Allies, but proceeded to form an Austro-German republic. The Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists, who assumed the leadership, opposed both Bolshevism and Monarchism. In the midst of the appalling starvation and hunger, a constituent assembly convened in February, 1919. But it failed in its plan of an Austro-German union because of the objections of France, and its contravention of the treaty of St. Germain, which forbade an Austro-German Anschluss. An independent Austrian republic was agreed upon instead.



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#### Government of the Austrian Republic up to 1934

A federal republican constitution was designed, so that the reduced state of Austria, with her population of 6,680,000, could permit her agricultural, mining and religious area, and the industrial and Social Democratic urban area to enjoy some self-government, thus preventing a conflict of interests between these two divergent groups.

(a) **LEGISLATURE.** The Nationalrat and the Bundesrat comprised the legislature. The former, which was elected for four years by all citizens over 20 years of age, could not be dissolved by the upper house or the executive. The upper house had from three to nine representatives from each of the nine provinces of Austria, elected by the provincial diets.

(b) **EXECUTIVE.** The President and the Cabinet comprised the executive department. The President, formerly elected by the two houses of the legislature was, after 1929, elected by the people for one term only. There was a responsible Cabinet and also the democratic expedients of the initiative and the referendum.

In the first elections, held October 17, 1920, Dr. Michael Hainisch was elected President and a Christian Socialist majority was returned, because of the great hatred of the Austrians for the treaty of St. Germain. In 1920 Austria was admitted to membership in the League of Nations.

**Domestic Affairs, 1921-1927**

(a) **ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.** Prior to the World War, the heterogeneous Austria-Hungary was an economic unit, even though she was an example of a flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination. Austria was the banking area, Bohemia the manufacturing and mining area, and Hungary the agricultural area. After the War, the economic condition of Austria became distressing because of: the economic insufficiency of her landlocked situation, though she did have access to the Black Sea *via* the internationalized Danube River and to the Adriatic Sea by virtue of treaty rights; and inflation, resulting in a decline in value of the Austrian *crown* from 5 to the dollar to 3,000 to the dollar. Austria appealed to the League for aid, which granted her a \$170,000,000 loan and a \$50,000,000 gift in 1921, but these served only as palliatives. Ministries changed often. However, the political trend was toward the Christian Socialists. On June 1, 1922, Chancellor Ignaz Seipel visited the European countries and asked for financial aid. In 1924 the League Council guaranteed a loan of \$131,690,000 to Austria for 20 years made by several European powers, subject to the surveillance of a League Commissioner. This loan brought about a marked improvement for a time. The budget was balanced, and the shilling at 14 cents par was made the new monetary unit. In 1925 the economic improvement of Austria was so great that the direct League supervision was discontinued.

(b) **POLITICAL DISSENSION.** From the year 1920 to the present, the leading political parties in Austria have been the Pan-Germanists, the Christian Socialists, the Social Democrats, and the Communists. The Christian Socialists, assisted by the Pan-Germanists, have managed to direct the politics of post-War Austria. The political life of the country was very much disturbed by two large associations,—the Heimwehr and the Schutzbund. The former, led by Richard Steidle and Walter Pfriemer, had a membership of 60,000 in 1930. It represents the Pan-German, the Nazi, the agricultural and the religious interests. The Schutzbund, with a membership of about 90,000 in 1930, represents the industrial and Socialist interests. To-day the Austrian Nazi party is the most fervent of the Pan-Germanists.

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**Foreign and Domestic Affairs, 1927-1934**

(a) **CHANCELLOR SEIPEL.** Between 1927 and 1929 Seipel again served as Chancellor. He advocated an Austro-German Anschluss to safeguard the future of Austria, a plan which was opposed once more by Briand of France. Seipel's protest against Italy's maltreatment of the former Austrians in the South Tyrol led to his resignation as Chancellor, when Italy objected vigorously to his political program.

(b) **CHANCELLOR STEERUWITZ.** His successor, Ernest Steeruwitz, pursued a similar foreign policy. But when he began compromising and yielding, his behavior so outraged the Heimwehr, that it helped to terminate his Ministry.

(c) **CHANCELLOR SCHOBER.** Johann Schober, who became the new Chancellor, was not encouraged by the European powers to turn dictator, though he desired to do so. Schober restored peace at home by reconciling the various factions. He attended the Hague Reparations Conference in January, 1930, where he succeeded in having Austrian reparations instalments postponed until 1943. In February, 1930, Austria signed a friendship pact with Italy and later secured a new Italian loan. Schober also concluded an Austro-German commercial treaty in 1930. Several ministries followed, all of which were absorbed with the problems of destitution, the impending national bankruptcy, and the aggressive Heimwehr.

(d) **CHANCELLOR DOLLFUSS.** Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, a Christian Socialist, became Chancellor in May, 1932. He opposed German Nazis and their propaganda in Austria largely because Nazi affiliation with Germany would mean the extinction of Austria as an independent state. The Four Power Pact brought pressure to bear on Germany to make her Nazis desist, but with little success. It was Mussolini's personal intervention that saved the political independence of Austria. Dollfuss recognized, however, that a customs union of Austria with a neighboring country would save his nation. On September 21, 1933, he suspended the Austrian republican constitution and established a non-party, non-parliamentary, Christian, German corporative state under authoritarian leadership. Officially, he recognized no political parties, though his political support came from the *Fatherland Front*, consisting largely of members of the Christian Socialist and the Peasant parties. Marxists and the Nazis, who would annex Austria to Germany, were banned. He contemplated an Austrian Fascist state modelled on that of Italy. Ultimately the Heimwehr, headed by Prince Starhemberg, became conciliatory to the new plans of Dollfuss.

#### **The Clerical-Fascist State, 1934—**

The understanding of Chancellor Dollfuss' *Fatherland Front*, Prince Starhemberg's Heimwehr and Mussolini's totalitarian state caused the Austrian Social Democrats to become fearful lest the ill fate of their political comrades in Germany befall them. Hence on February 12, 1934, they struck in protest against the suspension of the Austrian republic and the establishment of a dictatorship. A civil war, in which over 1,000 people perished, ensued, lasting for several days. The Social Democrats were defeated and their party became extinct. With this event all outward opposition to the new administration ceased.



Chancellor Dollfuss then had a new constitution drafted for Austria, which went into effect at Easter 1934. On April 30, it was ratified by Parliament, which consisted largely of Dollfuss' own Christian Socialists and the Fascist Heimwehr. The Socialist members were in prison or in exile; the Austrian Nazis were in concentration camps; and most of the Pan-Germanists were absent. The constitution prescribes an anti-democratic, clerical-Fascist state, known as the "Federal State of Austria" instead of the "Austrian Republic."

(a) **LEGISLATURE.** The Federal Chamber, consisting of 55 delegates from four advisory councils, constitutes the legislature. These councils are the Council of State, the Federal Economic Council, the Federal Cultural Council, and the Council of Provinces, which are composed of loyal selected specialists of their respective fields. Bills are recommended by the Government and they require the approval of the appropriate packed advisory Council and the vote of the Federal Chamber. Should the Chamber reject the Government's bill, the latter may appeal to the people by a plebiscite.

(b) **EXECUTIVE.** Legislation is ordinarily enforced by the Federal Chamber. But no legislative act is enforced unless it is approved by the appropriate Council. The joint meeting of the four Councils practically controls the election of the President for a seven year term. He commands the army, appoints the Chancellor, and with whose advice he appoints the other members of the cabinet, and originates, in conjunction with the Cabinet, all legislation.

In June, 1934, Dollfuss had himself continued in office as Chancellor and had assigned to himself several significant cabinet portfolios. He placated his rivals, Emil Fey and Prince Starhemberg, by including them in the cabinet.

On July 25, 1934, Engelbert Dollfuss was assassinated by Austrian Nazis, who were in collusion with the German Nazis. The roots of this brutal act were: the losses that Austria suffered as a result of the War and the Peace Treaties of 1919; the activities in Austria of the Nazi movement; the ruthless undemocratic methods which the Dollfuss government gradually felt forced to adopt; and particularly the persistent threats to the Dollfuss government by the German Nazis from across the border. Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg succeeded him as Chancellor-Dictator. The clerical-fascist state survived and it at once suppressed all opposition.

### **Anschluss**

Austrian statesmen have not abandoned the idea of an economic Austro-German *Anschluss* to save this nation from ruin, but France, Italy and the Little Entente have thus far successfully opposed the plan because it would: give Germany direct contact with the Balkans; give rise to a strong military organization in Central Europe; and

create a strong commercial and industrial rival. The Deutsch Österreichische Arbeitsgemeinschaft and the Deutsch-Österreichische Volksbund are agitating for it. There is a minority that objects to the plan because of a possible clash between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism, and the subordination of Austria to Germany in such an arrangement. In 1931 an *Anschluss* or customs union was again suggested and opposed. On appeal to the World Court, it was held that the project would be a violation of the Treaty of St. Germain, in which Austria agreed to remain an independent state. The economic plight of Austria has been growing worse in the absence of favorable trade treaties. Foreign loans have only relieved the distress. On August 23, 1932, Austria ratified the Lausanne Protocol by which she obtained a loan of \$12,000,000 for 20 years, coupled with an agreement that no *Anschluss* would be consummated with Germany until 1952 at least, if at all. Chancellor Dollfuss accepted it, but Dr. Schober and the Pan-Germans, the Austrian Fascists, and the Agrarian League opposed it.

One of Dollfuss' outstanding economic achievements for Austria was a commercial pact which he helped to effect between Italy, Austria, and Hungary on August 26, 1933, that might later include the Little Entente. It was the fear of a united Austro-German Fascist state to the north of Italy that impelled Mussolini to help organize this pact. It was the menace of German Nazism to her independence and a desire to bring about an economic recovery that caused Austria to enter this association. Hungary, too, benefited by the commercial advantages of the pact and by the friendship of Mussolini and Dollfuss, which might be valuable in an attack by the Little Entente. The pact stipulates that: Italy concede Austria a free zone at Trieste; Austria establish a merchant fleet under her own auspices with headquarters at Trieste; Austria concentrate her mercantile traffic and emigration at Trieste; Italy grant special preferential treatment to Austrian and Hungarian imports; and Italy purchase an increasing amount of the products of both countries. Austria's economic isolation is thus at an end, since she can now dispose of her grain and timber through the port of Trieste or directly to Italy.

## Hungary

### Count Michael Károlyi and Liberalism

When Emperor Charles I issued his Austrian Federalization Manifesto, October 16, 1918, Magyar leaders voided the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary, created in 1867, and declared their independence. In their great enthusiasm over their own nationalism, they disregarded the rights of their minorities. Nevertheless, the spirit of independence did appear among their Rumanian and Slovak

minorities, who were particularly heartened by President Wilson, when he recognized the independence of Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia on October 18, 1918. The wealthy nobleman, Count Michael Károlyi, six days later, captured the leadership of the revolution, organized the National Council of the various liberal political factions, such as the army, the Socialists and the non-Magyars, made himself Premier, and proclaimed an extensive platform offering liberal republicanism, the secret ballot, universal suffrage, proportional representation, freedom of speech, trial by jury, separation of church from state, and expropriation of the large estates. On November 13, King Charles I abdicated the Hungarian throne; three days later a republic was declared. But before the constituent assembly convened, most of Károlyi's followers deserted him because: the Hungarian subject nationalities wanted independence; the returning soldiers could not be absorbed; the continued Allied blockade brought on starvation; the Communists wanted a communist state; the nobles objected to the confiscation of their estates; Oscar Jászi and the Social Democrats became discouraged because of Károlyi's inactivity and empty promises of reform; and the peasants discovered that his land reform act increased the price of land above the former market price. Therefore, he was shunted to the position of Provisional President. When the Peace Conference granted Transylvania to Rumania, his remaining followers deserted him, and he went into exile. Sigmund Kunfi, a Social Democrat, and Béla Kun, a Communist, designed a new government of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, in which Alexander Garbai became President and Béla Kun, Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

#### **Béla Kun the Dictator**

(a) **BÉLA KUN.** He served as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army during the World War and was captured by the Russians. He worked in the Russian propaganda bureau during the March and November Revolutions in Russia, where he met Lenin and Trotsky. After the War, he returned to Hungary, edited the *Red News*, and organized the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, acts for which he suffered imprisonment.

(b). **THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.** The Communists immediately ousted Kunfi and the Social Democrats from power in the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. A Red army was organized and the population was forced to submit to Communistic regimentation. All industry and private property above a minimum were nationalized. In June, 1919, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was established. It immediately waged a war against Czechoslovakia and then against Rumania in order to spread the Communist gospel. On August 1, Béla Kun was defeated in battle. From Vienna, to which he fled, he escaped to Russia, where he became governor of

Crimea. The failure of Hungarian Communism was brought about by the starvation of the people, the Allied blockade, and anti-Semitism. Béla Kun and other members of the Communist party were Jewish. The counter-revolution of the "Whites" was led by Archduke Joseph, Count Stephen Bethlen, Julius Károlyi, and Vice-Admiral Nicholas Horthy.

### **The Dictatorship of the Hungarian "Whites"**

The counter-revolutionists proclaimed Archduke Joseph, Regent and Stephen Friedrich, Premier. In the meantime, the Rumanian troops overran part of Hungary and even Budapest in retaliation for the devastation wrought by the Hungarian troops during the World War. Horthy, who was substituted for Joseph as commander of the "White" troops, expelled the Rumanians. Karl Huszar, succeeding Friedrich to the premiership, called a constituent assembly, which convened January 25, 1920. Of the delegates 95% were monarchists, but, as the Hapsburg dynasty was proscribed by the Peace Treaty, Horthy was made Governor and Regent on February 2. With considerable ruthlessness the Communist and Socialist agitation was subdued. By April, 1921, under the premiership of Count Bethlen, a stable government was restored to Hungary. King Charles I made two efforts to regain the throne, but failed because of the protest of the Allied powers, and Horthy's unwillingness to resign in his favor unless the Hungarian constituent assembly and the Allied powers were ready to accept a Hapsburg. Horthy caused Charles to be captured and exiled to the Madeira Islands, where he renounced his claim to the throne. The assembly passed an act dethroning the Hapsburgs and making the kingship elective. On November 10, it agreed to consult the Allies before electing a ruler, and then signed the *Treaty of Trianon*. Horthy and Bethlen became the new dictators of Hungary. They made no political reforms, ruled by decree, suppressed liberalism, restricted voting, and suspended the constituent assembly. Their foes were the Communists, whose agitation was forthwith suppressed. The Legitimists, too, were obnoxious to the government because they: championed the claim of Charles' son, the Archduke Otto, to the throne; were bitterly opposed to Horthy's military rule; and caused domestic dissension as a result of their agitation against the Jews, trade unions and Communists.

Bethlen, who was Premier from April, 1921, to August, 1931, was really dictator. His government secured itself in office by restricting the suffrage, passing the *Defense of the Realm Act* to crush the Legitimists, and suppressing Communism. To placate the people, an upper house was created in November, 1926, which however, was filled by appointment and by election of an electorate of the nobility, clergy, and business and professional groups.

**Fiscal Conditions**

(a) **FINANCES.** The economic condition of Hungary after the World War was just as desperate as that of Austria. Hungary appealed to the Reparations Commission for aid. Upon the latter's recommendation it was granted in December, 1923, at the following terms: (1) a \$50,000,000 international loan was to be arranged under League auspices, (2) inflation must be ended, (3) reparations must be paid for 20 years in annual instalments of \$2,000,000, (4) the revenues of the government must be assigned as security for the loan, and (5) a League Commissioner must supervise the finances of Hungary. The country recovered very well from its distress. The League control ended in 1926; a new monetary unit, the pengő worth 17.49 cents, was introduced; and a budget surplus was achieved in 1930.

(b) **ECONOMICS.** By the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary lost two-thirds of her land and three-fifths of her population. In the former Austro-Hungarian empire she supplied wheat for the rest of the empire. Now, she is still a wheat growing country, but, since the world price of wheat has fallen and the large estates are still monopolized by a few, the agricultural population is impoverished. No attempt has been made to develop industry, since Hungary is landlocked, though by treaty she has access to the sea. Numerous conferences have been held with the Little Entente and Austria to establish an economic union, but for a long time they have failed because of mutual jealousy and the interference of the Allied powers. The economic recovery of Hungary appears assured, now that the Italo-Austro-Hungarian commercial pact of August 26, 1933, has been concluded through the contributory efforts of Gömbös, who became Premier after Bethlen and Károlyi. It provides for Italy's preferential treatment of Hungarian and Austrian products with reciprocal treatment of one another's goods. Thus, Hungary will be able to dispose of her grain in Italy and in Austria. Besides, she has gained the good will of Mussolini, which may stand her in good stead in any provocation by the Little Entente.

**Political Affairs**

(a) **KINGSHIP.** The monarchist faction is very strong in Hungary and undoubtedly Bethlen's sympathies are with the royalty. Were it not for the opposition of the Allied powers, the treaty of Trianon, and the divided royalist support between two claimants, the executive position in Hungary would not have been vacant so long. The two royalist contenders to the Hungarian throne were Archduke Otto, championed by his mother, Zita, and the legitimists, and the Archduke Albrecht, a scion of the Hungarian branch of the Hapsburg family, championed by the "Awakened Magyars" association.

Albrecht married a commoner and thus quit the race for the kingship. Although Otto became of age in 1930, he did not particularly press his claim at that time. He is still on the political horizon, however.

(b) **HUNGARIAN IRREDENTISM.** The Treaty of Trianon has made Hungary the most discontented of the Succession States of Central Europe and she has been agitating for revision ever



since. By the treaty Rumania was given 1,500,000 Magyars, Czechoslovakia, 1,000,000 Magyars, and Yugoslavia, 500,000 Magyars. *The League for Hungarian Integrity* and the *Magyar National Union* are Hungary's irredentist associations. At present the Hungarians are seeking the revision of the Treaty of Trianon in two ways. Premier Gömbös and his adherents are working to obtain this result by coöperating with Hitler. On the other hand, ex-Premier Bethlen is urging a greater Hungary as the only effective barrier against Hitlerism. In the meantime Legitimists and Jews are being attacked by the administration. Regent Horthy has turned against Premier Gömbös, and Bethlen's political star is rising again.

(c) **COALITIONS.** Since 1927 Hungary has been affiliated by friendship treaties with Italy, Germany, Austria and Turkey, who together advocate the revision of the Peace Treaties for the purpose of rectifying the nationalistic and economic injustices wrought by

these pacts. This coalition is counterbalanced by the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, which is just as keenly interested in maintaining the present Peace Treaties for their own reasons. Revisionism received a setback in 1931 when France loaned Hungary \$25,000,000 contingent on her ceasing the revisionist agitation. Premier Bethlen had to accept these terms because Hungary was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Premier then resigned, terminating a dictatorship of ten years. Count Julius Károlyi, who succeeded him, prosecuted his policies just as vehemently. The financial condition of Hungary became aggravated, nevertheless. In 1932 the League loaned Hungary \$20,000,000 more and put a moratorium on her debt, upon condition that she gag the revisionist agitation. In September, 1932, Julius Gömbös—a confirmed anti-Hapsburger and a revisionist—became Premier. The economic depression, Fascism, Communism, and the Balkan tariff have revived the revisionist agitation, the dominant note of which is the hope that revised treaties will improve the economic welfare of Hungary and restore all her nationals to her.

## Czechoslovakia

### Birth of the Republic of Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia consists of the three former Austrian provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia, and the two former Hungarian provinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia. The inhabitants are mainly of two racial groups, the Czechs and Slovaks. Thomas Garrique Masaryk and Eduard Beneš are the fathers of the very stable Republic of Czechoslovakia, whose independence of the Dual Monarchy they announced October 18, 1918. This act was ratified by the Czech National Council in Prague, and on October 29, by the Slovak National Council, that voted for a political union with the Czechs. On November 14, the provisional Czechoslovakian Assembly proclaimed the republic, electing Masaryk, President, Karl Kramář, Premier, and Beneš, Foreign Minister. On May 24, 1934, Masaryk was elected President for a third term.

### Constitution

The government is a confederated republic.

(a) **LEGISLATURE.** The legislature consists of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The former has 150 members who are elected for eight years by voters 26 years of age or over. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 300 members, who are elected for six years by compulsory voting of all men and women 21 years of age or more. It may override the veto of the Senate. There are about fifteen political groups in the legislature representing various religious, racial, national, and economic interests.

(h) **EXECUTIVE.** The executive department consists of a President and a responsible Ministry. The President, who has a suspensive veto, is elected for seven years by both houses.

### **Domestic Problems**

Though Czechoslovakia is the most stable of the Succession States of the former Austro-Hungarian empire, she has been confronted with many difficult domestic problems.

(a) **LAND REFORM.** Much of the land in the republic was owned by *Germans and Magyars*, who conquered it during the Hussite Wars. By a law of April, 1919, all estates exceeding 375 acres of tillable soil and 625 acres of mixed tillable and non-tillable soil might be expropriated by the state at pre-War prices, while royal lands were confiscated. No more than 37.5 acres were to be sold to a peasant. Payment for such purchases could be made on easy instalment terms. Church lands were also subject to confiscation when necessary for the good of the state.

(b) **THE CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY.** A conflict arose between the Catholic Church and the republic because of the expropriation of Church lands, the secularization of education, the use of German or Hungarian instead of Bohemian in church services when Latin was not employed, and foreign clergymen, particularly German, in the churches. Since the reconversion of the Czechs to Catholicism in the 17th century, they have not been warm communicants of Catholicism. Many of these people, in behalf of the republic, after the World War, founded the Czechoslovak National Church which soon had about 1,000,000 adherents. In January, 1928, harmony was restored between the Catholic Church and the republic when: the Czechoslovakian diocesan boundaries were altered so that they were within the boundaries of the Czechoslovakian state exclusively; the state agreed to pay the salaries of the clergy; the government was given a voice in the nomination of bishops; the Catholic Church agreed that the clergy must be Czechoslovakian citizens; the clergy were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the state; and only the native language was to be employed in the church services except when Latin was used.

(c) **PROBLEM OF MINORITIES.** There are 3,300,000 Germans, 760,000 Magyars, 180,000 Ruthenians, and some Poles and Jews in the total Czechoslovakian population of 14,000,000 people. The minorities treaty of 1919 and her own constitution guaranteed the rights of her minorities, which she respected by maintaining special schools for them and by proportional representation.

(1) *Germans.* They are the wealthy industrial classes in Bohemia and Moravia. For a long time they remained aloof from the government, but the entreaties of Masaryk succeeded in making most of them participate in the society and government of the republic. There are still some German irreconcilables.



(2) *Ruthenia*. This territory was granted to Czechoslovakia to help encircle Hungary and to extend Czechoslovakia to her natural boundary on the Carpathian Mountains. The Treaty of St. Germain prescribed that the Ruthenians be given autonomy, but Czechoslovakia failed to comply largely out of fear that the Magyars and Jews would take advantage of the more illiterate though more numerous Ruthenians about them. Instead, secular schools were established in which they were given instruction in the Ruthenian language. By 1927 and 1928 a local autonomous administration was introduced, but there is still some discontent rampant, since there are too many Czech officials in Ruthenia.

(3) *Slovaks*. The Czechs are more enlightened, more industrious, and less religious than their confrères, the Slovaks. Some few Slovaks want absolute independence; many more seek autonomy. The Slovak People's Catholic Party advocates the latter plan. In 1926 the Slovaks were admitted into the cabinet. In 1929 they were given administrative autonomy. Hungary has been scheming for an independent Slovakian state, but there is little danger of Czechoslovakia disintegrating.

(d) **ECONOMICS**. Of all the Succession States of Central Europe, Czechoslovakia is economically most successful. Though she is landlocked, the Elbe and Oder rivers, which empty into the North and Baltic Seas, are accessible, and by treaty the Adriatic Sea is easily available to her. This country was not ruined by the War. Eighty per cent of the industries of the former Austro-Hungarian empire are located in her land, particularly the glass, pottery, textile, beer, coal and iron industries. Besides, she has a large agricultural trade in hops, fruits, flax, maize, wine, and tobacco. Her commercial treaties with Germany, Austria, Great Britain, and Hungary are helping her to dispose of her manufactured goods. Since the leading exporting countries, like Great Britain, the United States and Japan have gone off the gold standard, Premier Malypetr on February 10, 1934, announced that the gold content of the crown would be reduced by one-sixth, to enable the republic to compete with these countries in export trade.

#### **Foreign Affairs**

Eduard Beneš has controlled the foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia since her inception. His guiding principle in diplomatic dealings for his country has been the maintenance of the *status quo*. The nation, landlocked, and with no natural boundaries, is surrounded by Germany, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Austria. To secure and protect the country, Beneš supports the League as the protector of the smaller nations; secured the friendship of Slavic Russia

for mutual trade benefits; supports the existing Peace Treaties; allied himself with French diplomats; organized the Little Entente against Hungary between 1920 and 1921; and concluded a treaty of friendship with Austria in December, 1921.

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## CHAPTER XIV

### ITALY

#### Italy at the Close of the World War

##### Italy's Imperialistic Disappointments

The Versailles Treaty was a great national disappointment to Italy. The Allies had promised her control over the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, and an extension of her African empire in order to persuade her to abandon her alliance with the Central Powers. Italy acquired some former Austrian territory, but her imperialistic ambitions in Dalmatia, Albania, the Near East, and Africa were frustrated.

(a) FIUME. The Peace Conference granted the seaport Fiume in the Dalmatian area to the new state, Yugoslavia. The Italian poet-patriot Gabriele D'Annunzio, without the official approval of the Italian government, led his patriotic followers, the *Arditi*, against the city and captured it in September, 1919, heedless of the objections of the Supreme Peace Council and the Yugoslavians. In the meantime, the Italian Premier, Francesco Nitti, negotiated the Treaty of Rapallo in November, 1920, with Yugoslavia by which both countries recognized the independence of the *Free City of Fiume* in perpetuity. Accordingly, the Italian troops were obliged to wage a war with D'Annunzio, in which they succeeded in driving him from Fiume. The Treaty of Rapallo was unsatisfactory to ardent patriots of both Italy and Yugoslavia, who wanted to annex Fiume to their respective countries. The quarrel was finally terminated in the Treaty of Rome on January 27, 1924, by which Italy was granted Fiume, while Yugoslavia received Port Baros and a fifty year lease of part of the Fiume harbor.

(b) ALBANIA. During the World War, the Austrians, Serbians, and Italians fought one another in Albania with a view toward ultimately annexing it. Italy's desire was to acquire it at least as a mandate. She was particularly covetous of the seaport of Valona, the key to the Adriatic Sea. The Albanians, naturally dissatisfied with anything short of absolute independence, were opposed to the sinister imperialism of the Italians, Austrians, and Serbians. Finally, in 1920, Premier Giolitti relinquished Italy's imperialistic demands on Albania, whereupon the latter was assured of her independence, except for the island of Saseno, which Italy annexed.

(c) **NEAR EAST.** Italy had been promised land in the Near East as an inducement to join the cause of the Allies. All she received, however, were a few commercial concessions.

(d) **AFRICA.** In Africa, Italy's dream also remained unfulfilled. She had expected vast extensions of territory, but received only insignificant additions to Lybia and Somaliland.

#### **Domestic Situation**

The domestic affairs of Italy were even more disheartening at the close of the World War. She was wrestling with unemployment, industrial disorganization, budget deficits, inflation, violent strikes, riots, Anarchism, Socialism, and Bolshevism.

### **Mussolini and Fascism**

#### **Mussolini**

Benito Mussolini in early life was an ardent Socialist editor, who served a term in jail and later was obliged to flee from Italy because of his views. Upon his return and during the World War he was ousted from his party when he advocated that Italy renounce neutrality and join the Allied cause. He enlisted as a private, abandoned Socialism, and later became the editor of *Il Popolo d'Italia*, which heralded the program of a virulent Italian nationalism and social legislation.

#### **Fascism**

At the end of the World War, to save Italy from chaos, disorder, and international insignificance, Mussolini, having called a meeting of the ex-service men and the discontented nationalists in March, 1919, organized the *Fasci di combattimento* with the following platform: (1) universal suffrage, (2) proportional representation, (3) an eight hour day, (4) a heavy capital levy, (5) inheritance taxation, (6) the confiscation of some Church property, (7) the abolition of the Senate, (8) a new system of government, (9) nationalization of the munition factories, (10) industrial councils with legislative powers, (11) workers' participation in the control of industry, (12) the annexation of Fiume and Dalmatia, and (13) opposition to Socialism and Communism.

#### **Victory of Fascism**

Gradually business men, professionals, ex-soldiers, and intellectuals joined the Fascist movement\* so that in November, 1921, the *National Fascist Party* was organized by uniting the many local Fascist groups with a drastically changed platform: (1) the protection of private property (2) the championing of the bourgeoisie,

\* The word "fascism" is derived from the Latin word "fasces," which means a bundle of rods and an ax, symbolizing the sovereign authority of the Roman state.

and (3) the renunciation of the proletariat cause. Events moved rapidly. Converts were made by violence with guns, clubs and castor oil. Soon the Fascists took possession of many towns. About 50,000 Fascists marched on to Rome, intimidated the Chamber of Deputies, and forced Premier Facta to resign in September, 1922. The King then invited Mussolini on October 29, 1922, to become Premier and form a cabinet. It consisted of 4 Fascists, 11 Conservatives, but no Socialists.

### **The Dictatorship of Mussolini**

By the end of 1923 Mussolini had transformed the government of Italy, which was very much like that of England, into a dictatorship in the following ways:

(a) HIS CONTROL OVER THE PREFECTS AND SUBPREFECTS. He appointed Fascist officials in the provinces of Italy.

(b) THE ENACTMENT OF THE ACERBO ELECTION LAW (December, 1923). This law provided that the party that polls a plurality vote in a national election is to have two-thirds of the seats of the Chamber of Deputies. The other parties were to divide the remaining seats proportionally.

(c) THE ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION. In the elections of April, 1924, Fascists polled a majority. The Opposition was the Socialist Party, headed by Giacomo Matteotti, who, together with others, was later found murdered. The Socialists accused the Fascists of having committed the murders, and the former seceded from the Chamber in protest. In 1926 the Socialist Party and the Masons were legislated out of existence.

(d) THE SUSPENSION OF LOCAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. In November, 1925, in small municipalities, and in 1926, in larger ones, popular governments were suspended and *podestàs*, appointed from Rome, took their places.

(e) LEGISLATION BY DECREES. The Premier and his Cabinet were no longer responsible to the Chamber of Deputies but to the King. Hence the Premier could now make laws by decree.

(f) THE SUSPENSION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF MAN. The freedom of speech, press, congregation, and trial by jury were suspended.

(g) THE PREMIER BECOMES MILITARY CHIEF. The Premier declared himself Commander-in-chief of the army, navy, police, and air forces.

(h) THE REDUCTION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE AND THE CHAMBER. The powers of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies were diminished. The Chamber has lost its authority to introduce legislation, and Mussolini dictates to the Senate by having the King appoint additional Senators, when necessary. Mussolini announced that the Chamber of Deputies would be superseded and its duties absorbed by the National Council of Corporations.

(i) **SOCIAL CONTROL.** To develop a large and homogeneous population, Mussolini has decreed that there be no divorces, no birth control, and no emigration.

## **The Fascist Party**

### **Organization**

In 1934 the Fascist party had 1,538,000 members, all affiliated with one or another of the 10,000 local Fascist groups. The number of members in allied organizations would raise the total to 5,594,363.

(a) **GRAND COUNCIL.** The central organization consists of a Fascist Grand Council of about 20 members. It drafts new legislation; fills its own vacancies; names the successors of the King and the Premier; deliberates on Italian treaties; sees that its members occupy ministerial positions; and appoints the National Directory.

(b) **NATIONAL DIRECTORY.** This, the executive department, consists of a Secretary-General of the party and nine appointees of the Council, headed by *Il Duce* as president.

(c) **AUXILIARY ORGANIZATION.** The Italian youth has Fascism inculcated in him by appropriate instruction in the schools and in the youth organizations. The latter care for the boys of all ages: the *Balilla* from the ages of 8 to 14; the *Avanguardia* from the ages of 14 to 18; and the *Giovine Fascisti* from the ages of 18 to 21. Of course, compulsory military service is prescribed, though there is also a volunteer *Fascist Militia*, known as the "Black Shirts."

## **Fascist Syndicalism and the Corporate State**

### **Syndicalism**

Georges Sorel is one of the founders of the international political and economic philosophy of Syndicalism, which repudiates the state and denounces the capitalistic order, and believes that the best society is that in which the industrial trade-unions govern in the interests of all. Such a society could be brought about by "direct action" and the "general strike," Syndicalists believe.

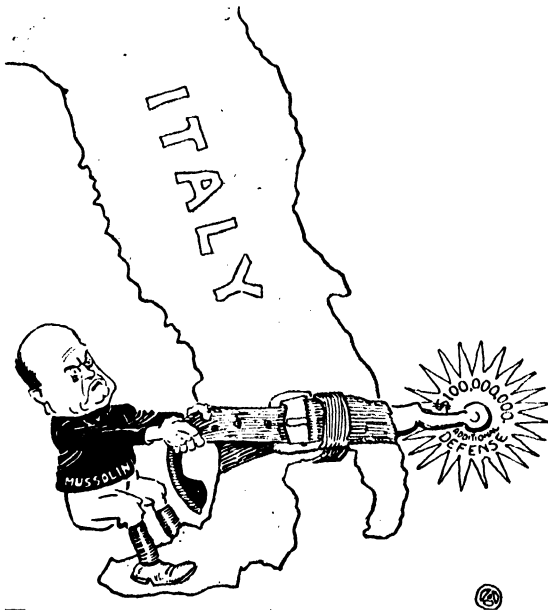
### **Italian Syndicalism**

Early in 1919 Edmondo Rossoni united the principles of Syndicalism with Fascism and organized the Fascist Syndicates. They were: opponents of Communism and Socialist trade-unionism; advocates of ultranationalism; defenders of private property; proponents of economic representation rather than geographic representation in government; and opponents of class war, but champions of class collaboration.

### **The Corporate State**

On April 3, 1926, Mussolini enacted a law subordinating this vast organization of Fascist Syndicates to the direct control of a

Ministry of Corporations, of which he became first Minister. The organization then had 2,400,000 members, affiliated with one or another of the thirteen confederated Syndicates, one each for employers and employees, called the Syndicates of Industry, Agriculture, Commerce, Maritime and Aerial Transportation, Land Transportation, Inland Transportation, and one for the Intellectuals. Strikes and lockouts were forbidden, and labor disputes had to be arbitrated. Membership was restricted to Fascists. In 1934 about one-fourth of the employers, three-eighths of the employees, and one-half of the intellectuals were members. In 1930 Mussolini had another law enacted, which created the *National Council of Corporations* to co-



When the rest of the world is talking reduction of  
armament

—Adams Service

ordinate the thirteen Syndicates with the cultural and educational organizations so that these facilities might be at the disposal of the Fascist Syndicalists.

The new plan that Mussolini laid before the "Suicide Parliament," which was formally opened on April 28, 1934, provided for the replacement of the Chamber of Deputies by a revised National Council of Corporations. The economic life of Italy would thus be put in the charge of nine great confederations and twenty-two corporations. The former thirteen national Syndicates would be reduced to

nine, each composed of an equal number of representatives of capital and labor. The direction and planning of the economic life of the nation would be given over completely to the corporations. Above them all, the Fascist party would reign. The president of each of the corporations would be appointed by Minister of Corporations Mussolini. It is believed that the actual replacement of the Chamber of Deputies by the new National Council of Corporations will take place in the year 1935.

### **The Charter of Labor**

To improve the miserable conditions of Italian workers after the War, Mussolini had the Charter of Labor enacted on April 21, 1927, which proclaimed that: (1) night workers were to receive higher pay than day workers, (2) Sunday be a day of absolute rest, (3) workers receive an annual paid vacation, (4) the Italian government offer accident, maternity, occupational, illness, unemployment, and endowment insurance to its people, and (5) vocational education be provided by the state. These are the great altruistic principles of Fascist Italy toward the workers. It seems, however, that in practice the employers are favored and the complete enforcement of the Charter of Labor is still being sought by the workers.

### **Economic Representation**

In May, 1928, politico-geographic representation in the Italian legislature was abolished and economic and industrial representation was substituted. The number of members in the Chamber of Deputies was reduced from 560 to 400. The thirteen confederated Syndicates and the cultural and charitable institutions nominate 1,000 candidates. Of this number the Fascist Grand Council selects 400. It may even substitute candidates. On election day the electorate accepts or rejects by plebiscite the entire selected list as a unit. If it rejects the list of selected candidates, a new election is held. Here again the employers are favored. Though they are numerically fewer than the employees, they have as many Deputies in the Chamber. Early in 1929 this law was first employed, with Mussolini's name heading most syndicate lists. The overwhelming majority of the electorate voted affirmatively. The elections of March 25, 1934, gave Mussolini and his Fascist régime another overwhelming vote of approbation.

(a) **SUFFRAGE.** The right to vote is restricted to men who pay the Syndicate dues, pay taxes of a minimum of 100 lira, receive government pensions, receive salaries from public institutions, or belong to the clergy. In addition, they must be 21 years of age or more, or at least 18 years of age if they are married and have children. The electorate has thus been reduced to 10,000,000 out of a population of 42,000,000.



## Italian Domestic Affairs

Fascist Italy has been confronted with several significant domestic questions:

### Economics

At first Italy enjoyed decided economic improvement under Fascist rule, notwithstanding the fact that she is poor in fertile soil, coal, and iron. The budget was balanced; the smaller War debts were paid; and in 1925 and 1926 the War debts to the United States and Great Britain were funded. Since 1930 the world depression has been felt in Italy, but it is being counteracted by: agricultural cooperative organizations; government aid to agriculture; the regulation of prices, wages, and rent; subsidies to world trade and the tourist business; the merger of the steamship companies to stimulate maritime trade on the Mediterranean and on the high seas; tariff protection of home industries; trade agreements with Russia (1931), Hungary (1931), and Austria (1932); encouragement of the rayon, silk and hydroelectric businesses; reclamation projects in the Pontine Marshes; subsidies to the air lines and railways; and the launching of about 5,000 different public works. In 1933 only about 850,000 workers were unemployed.

### Literacy

At the eve of the World War, 40% of the Italians were illiterate,—most of them living in southern Italy. The Fascist government has already reduced illiteracy to about 25%. School attendance is compulsory up to the age of 14. In school the children are imbued with Fascism through specially prepared lessons.

### Nationalism

By divers methods the people have been indoctrinated with an exaggerated nationalism which takes the form of a demand for high armament budgets, aggressive imperialism, and a definite increase in population, all of which is a menace to the peace of the world.

### Question of Alto-Adige (South Tyrol)

South Tyrol was given to Italy at the Peace Conference for strategic reasons, even though the area is inhabited by 250,000 Austrians and few Italians. Their language, customs, and institutions were respected until 1922. With the advent of Fascism, however, the inhabitants were subjected to Italianization with great thoroughness. Chancellor Monsignor Seipel of Austria protested in behalf of these people, but Mussolini would not allow the matter to be submitted to the League. Instead, Italy and Austria signed a treaty of conciliation and arbitration in 1930. Apparently, Austria was intimidated, with the result that the program of Italianization goes on in South Tyrol unhindered.

## The Lateran Accord

### The Roman Question

The "Roman Question" originated in the Italian conquest of Pope Pius IX and the Vatican in 1870. As a boon to the Pope, the Italian government passed the *Law of Papal Guarantees* in 1871, which provided for the Pope's perpetual possession of St. Peter's Cathedral, the Vatican, the Lateran Palaces and the Villa of Castel Gandolfo, the Pope's enjoyment of sovereign rights within these possessions, and the payment to the Pope of an annual pension of \$645,000. The Pope refused to accept these favors from the Italian government because the Law was dictated to rather than negotiated with him as a sovereign; a subsequent parliament might repudiate it; and he would become an Italian subject by virtue of the Law. Accordingly, the Popes have ever since considered themselves "prisoners of a usurping power," and have directed Italian Catholics to ignore the Italian government.

### Rapprochement between the Church and the Italian Government

In 1905 Pope Pius X authorized Catholics to participate in Italian parliamentary elections. In 1923 religious instruction was made compulsory in the Italian elementary schools. Between October, 1926, and February 11, 1929, Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri negotiated and concluded the *Lateran Accord*. It consists of a treaty, a concordat, and a financial agreement.

(a) **TREATY.** The "Roman Question" is terminated. The Pope recognized the Kingdom of Italy, in return for which Italy recognized the absolute neutral sovereignty of the Pope in the principality of the City of the Vatican. This little state has 600 inhabitants and an area of 108.7 acres. It also provided that the person of the Pope be considered sacred and inviolable, and that he may send and receive diplomats.

(b) **CONCORDAT.** It provided that Roman Catholicism was to be the Italian state religion. Archbishops and bishops were to be selected by the Church, but the candidates had to be satisfactory to the Italian government and swear allegiance to it, in return for which the government agreed to pay their salaries. It was also concluded that the canon law was to govern matters of faith and morals, including matrimony and education. A religious marriage would thus obviate the need for a civil marriage. Accordingly, matters of divorce would be left to the Church. Furthermore, religious instruction had to be offered in the elementary and secondary schools by state-paid priests, but the clergy were to refrain from interfering in politics.

(c) **FINANCIAL AGREEMENT.** Italy had to pay a sum equivalent to \$39,375,000 in cash and \$52,500,000 in bonds at 5% to the Papacy as an indemnity for the losses attending the conquest of the Vatican in 1870 by the Italians.

#### **New Religious Difficulties**

The Lateran Accord settled the old "Roman Question," as the Church and the Italian government needed one another. But new controversies arose between them. In 1931 Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* on labor and on the world economic depression, which somewhat slurred dictatorships. In reply to the encyclical, Mussolini ordered the dissolution of all the *Catholic Action Societies* because of their anti-Fascism, and the state suspension of religious instruction in the schools. In September, 1931, a reconciliation was effected between them in which they agreed not to violate their duties to one another. On February 11, 1932, Mussolini visited the Pope.

#### **Fascist Foreign Affairs**

Mussolini adopted a forceful and aggressive foreign policy as part of his program. It has involved him in a number of serious international disputes, but his successes therein have made him a leading world statesman.

#### **Italian-French Controversy**

A bitter imperialistic dispute between France and Italy was still raging in 1934 over the fact that: (1) Italy wanted Corsica, Savoy, Nice, and Tunis, which belong to France, (2) Clemenceau prevented Italy from fully realizing her imperialistic program at the Peace Conference, (3) Italy rivalled France in naval armaments, (4) Italy challenged France's supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, and (5) France upheld her ally, Yugoslavia, in the latter's controversy with Italy over the control of the Adriatic Sea. By the end of the year 1934 the menace of imperialistic Nazi Germany caused Italy to align herself with France in the latter's coalition against Hitler.

#### **Italian-English Relations**

Italy wants to annex the English-owned island of Malta. In this regard Mussolini has made very little advancement.

#### **Italian-Swiss Relations**

Italy seeks to acquire the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino from Switzerland. This would embroil Il Duce in an international war, which would be too great a consideration for so small a canton. Hence, Italy has made no progress here.

### **Tangier Controversy**

France, Great Britain and Spain opened negotiations in 1920 for an international government at Tangier in Morocco. Italy was not invited. Little was achieved. In 1927, when France and Spain were again about to negotiate concerning the international régime there, three Italian warships "visited" Tangier. Accordingly, in March, 1928, Italy was invited to share in the administration of the Free City of Tangier. This was a decided diplomatic victory for Mussolini.

### **Dodecanese Islands**

In 1923 Italy's possession of the Dodecanese Islands was confirmed over the protests of the Greeks. These War prizes were choice because of their strategic position at the mouth of the Aegean Sea.

### **Albania**

(See page 200). The establishment of a protectorate over Albania by Italy almost converts the Adriatic Sea into an Italian lake.

### **Abyssinia**

In 1924 England and Italy divided Abyssinia into two spheres of influence. The Abyssinian king protested and appealed to the League, where France supported him in 1926. Hence, Italy concluded a traffic route agreement in 1928 with Abyssinia shifting her Abyssinian trade to Italian seaports in Eritrea. Abyssinia, fearing for her independence because of the Italian, French, and English economic interests, joined the League of Nations for whatever protection it might offer.

### **Corfu**

(See page 195). Italy took Corfu, a Greek island at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea, but had to abandon it because of international intervention. Italy's possession of it would have strengthened her diplomacy in the Balkan peninsula and assured her of the control of the Adriatic Sea.

### **Italian Alliances**

Mussolini concluded a series of *non-aggression* and *friendship* treaties with the Central and Eastern powers: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Spain, Hungary, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Russia, and Austria. Becoming more anxious over the French chain of alliances, Italy drew further away politically from France, Poland, and the Little Entente in 1931 and 1932. The treaty of friendship with Yugoslavia was not renewed in 1929 because of a quarrel over Dalmatia and Albania. Italy became hegemonous in her own alliances, particularly with Austria, Germany, and Hungary. In addition, Mussolini has also been very successful in winning the friend-

ship of the United States, Turkey, and England. Italy's foreign policy seems to be to revise the peace treaties and to readjust the reparations and the inter-Allied War debts.

(a) **FOUR POWER PACT.** Mussolini engineered the conclusion of the Four Power Pact between Italy, Germany, France, and England on July 16, 1933. This treaty, which purported to be a New Holy Alliance, planned to: (1) develop economic *ententes*; (2) help organize an international police organization; (3) establish a four year armament truce; and (4) revise the peace treaties with a view toward doing greater justice to the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the submerged nationalities. This pact is regarded as a diplomatic failure to-day.

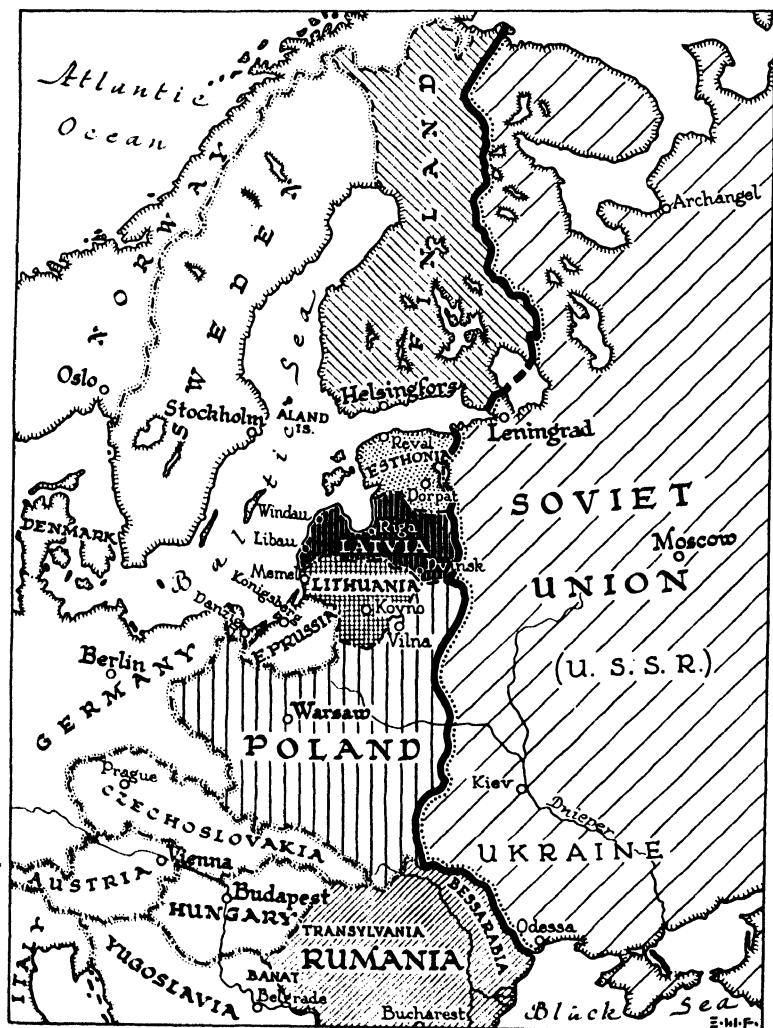
(b) **THE ITALO-AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PACT.** To prevent the notable *anschluss* of Austria and Germany, a contemplated move that was a threat to Italy, Mussolini effected the Italo-Austro-Hungarian Pact on August 26, 1933, which gave Austria a free zone at Trieste and established reciprocal commercial advantages among the three countries.

(c) **THE ANTI-GERMAN NAZI PACT.** The danger of a Germano-Austrian Nazi alliance caused Italy and France to set aside their differences and to form an anti-German Nazi pact in the fall of 1934. The nations who united against Germany were France, Italy, England, Russia and others.

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**RUSSIA'S BORDER COUNTRIES**

## CHAPTER XV

### RUSSIA'S BORDER COUNTRIES

Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania,—the border states of Russia in Europe, either came into being or were enlarged as a result of the World War. Their common fear of Communistic Russia united them but loosely. All attempts to form a Baltic Union of some of the border states against Russia failed since Russia no longer threatened the world with Communism when she began to confine her experiment to herself; Finland looked toward Scandinavian alliances; Lithuania and Poland continued to quarrel over Vilna; and Poland appeared to be domineering her sister states. Strange to relate, it was Russia who succeeded in concluding various non-aggression and neutrality treaties with them. Maxim Litvinov arranged the first one with Lithuania on September 28, 1926, others with Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania on February 9, 1928, and with all her European border states in 1933.

The menace of German Nazi imperialism in the Baltic area caused Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania to unite finally on July 10, 1934, to frustrate Nazism. This pact provides for a military alliance and a tariff union.

### Finland

#### Freedom from Russia

The Grand Duchy of Finland was ceded by Sweden to Russia as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. Czar Alexander I declared that the union of Finland with Russia would be only a personal one, and that he would preserve the government and institutions of Finland. Commencing with Czar Nicholas II in 1894 and continuing with his successors, serious attempts were made to Russianize Finland. The Finns, however, preserved their identity and developed a higher culture than that of the Russians. During the Russian Revolution, in December, 1917, they declared their independence, which was recognized by Soviet Russia and other European countries.

#### Birth of the Finnish Republic

The Finnish Republic, one of the new post-War states, arose out of civil turmoil.

(a) RED REVOLUTION. The left wing of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, leading the first phase of the revolution, pro-

claimed Communism. The Communist Russian soldiers and propagandists invaded Finland, and early in 1918 took Helsingfors and south Finland. The "Whites," representing the middle class and the landowners, launched a counter revolution under Baron Mannerheim, a Swedish Finn, to fight the Communists. In April, 1918, the German troops in the land assisted the "Whites" and in May together expelled the Communist government.

(b) GERMAN OCCUPATION. The German motive in the anti-Communist war was to Germanize Finland. For a time they were so successful that they induced the Finnish Senate to offer the crown to a brother-in-law of the Kaiser. An anti-German reaction set in, however, and the Finnish Diet decided upon a republican government in July, 1919. The next year Finland was admitted to membership in the League of Nations.

#### **Nature of the Finnish Government**

The government is a republic with a unicameral legislature, a responsible ministry, universal direct and equal suffrage, and a president elected by an electoral system.

(a) POLITICAL PARTIES. In the regular triennial election to the Diet on July 1 and 3, 1933, the Left parties won a decided victory over the Right and Fascist parties. Only one of the new Fascist groups won a seat in the new Diet. The Social Democrats added 12 seats and thus gained control of 78 of the 200 seats in the Diet. This party is concerned primarily with furnishing relief to the unemployed and eradicating the Lapuan Fascists and other anti-democratic movements.

#### **Treaty of Peace with Russia**

On October 14, 1920, Finland signed a treaty of peace with Russia at Dorpat by which the ice-free port of Pechenga on the Arctic Ocean was ceded to Finland and Eastern Karelia was retained by Soviet Russia, although the inhabitants of the latter are akin to the Finns. Because of the existing railway which terminates at Leningrad, Eastern Karelia was denied self-determination, but autonomy was assured her. In 1921 Finland protested to the League and to the Permanent Court of International Justice against the maltreatment of these inhabitants, but the Court held that it had no jurisdiction because Russia was not a member of the League. Thus Eastern Karelia became an autonomous Socialist soviet republic.

#### **Aaland Islands Dispute**

(See Chapter V). A dispute arose between Sweden and Finland over the possession of the Aaland Islands. The decision of the League Council stipulated that Finland retain her sovereignty over them, though she was to grant autonomy to the inhabitants. At no time was she to fortify the islands.



### **Land Reforms**

The desire to do economic justice caused Finland to distribute free land to the poor in 1922. Large estates were expropriated with compensation to the owners. This law was aimed at the absentee owners and at those proprietors in possession who held more than 500 acres. In case of estates of 12,000 acres or more, no more than one-half was to be expropriated. The land reforms were not drastically enforced, since the government itself owned much land and the country was sparsely settled.

## **Esthonia**

### **Early History**

This little republic is inhabited largely by Esths and some Letts. Its history is rather hectic. These people have been ruled since the 12th century by foreign conquerors,—the Germans, the Danes, the Swedes, the Poles, and, from the 18th century till 1917, by the Russians. Until 1819, when they were emancipated, the natives were serfs, serving their lords, the Balts, who are the German descendants of the Teutonic Knights. After 1819 their masters were still the Balts, who owned the land and industries, and also the Russians, who ruled them and tried to Russianize them.

### **Establishment of the Esthonian Republic**

This foreign rule did not succeed, however, in eradicating Esthonian nationalism. The natives revolted during the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, when the Russians awarded them autonomy, allowing them to set up a National Council. But after the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, the Esths declared their absolute independence and drove out the Communists. The Bolsheviks then overran Esthonia with the intent to sovietize her. A bitter civil war ensued in the early part of 1918 with the result that the Bolsheviks were forcibly expelled by the Esths with the assistance of the German troops. For a time it seemed that the Esths had substituted German for Bolshevik conquerors. The Balts were elated with the German occupation, but the Esthonian assembly resisted electing a Hohenzollern duke as their country's executive. The throne was, however, tendered to Kaiser William II, who accepted it, in April, 1918, through the agency of his Chancellor. With the defeat of the Central Powers, the German plans in the Baltic collapsed. Esthonia was subjected to another Bolshevik invasion followed by months of civil war, which terminated in an armistice with Soviet Russia in December, 1919, and a treaty of peace at Dorpat on February 2, 1920. This treaty provided for Russia's recognition of the independence of Esthonia, and also for Russia's right of free transit across Esthonia to the sea.

### **Government of Esthonia**

On June 15, 1920, the Esthonian republic was established. The executive was the Prime Minister, who was responsible to the legislature, and who was also vested with presidential authority. The office of president did not exist. They had initiative, referendum, and a unicameral legislature, elected by a direct and equal suffrage.

On June 10, 1933, in a national referendum the proposal for a popular election of a president for a term of four years was defeated. The Socialists and the Fascists were responsible for its failure. The former feared the disappearance of democracy, and the latter voted against the measure because it did not give the office of President enough executive and legislative authority. However, the Esthonian citizens in the October, 1933, referendum decided upon an amended constitution, effective February 5, 1934. This new constitution provides for a President for a term of five years with powers very much like those of the United States President. The legislature is changed so that it has only 50 members, whose terms of office are reduced to three years. Acting President Paets postponed the Presidential elections scheduled for April 22, 1934, when he discovered that the Fascist Liberator group was unduly powerful. Instead he extended martial law indefinitely and proceeded to purge Esthonia of the Fascist leaders. On October 13, 1934, Esthonia joined the long list of dictator countries, when her Cabinet adjourned Parliament to curb both the Communist and Nazi agitators who were embarrassing the government.

### **Land Reform**

Before the World War, 60% of the land in Esthonia was owned by the Balts. The peasants, aroused by national, racial and economic motives, rebelled and confiscated this land. The Esthonian land law of October, 1919, legally expropriated all the Balt holdings, except those owned by charitable institutions. Estates of less than 400 acres were exempted, if owned by non-noblemen. To correct the injustice, the act of 1925 restored 125 acres to the original owners in usufruct. The act of March, 1926, provided for compensation for the expropriated land and stock, but the reimbursement was negligible because payment was made in depreciated paper rubles at 1914 prices. The ownership of the expropriated land resided in the state. The latter carved it into small parcels which it allotted to the peasantry, who operated farms for trial periods of six years.

## **Latvia**

### **History**

Like the Esths, the Letts had been overrun by neighboring countries since the 12th century. The invaders were the Germans, the Danes, the Poles, and, since the 18th century, the Russians. During

the World War, particularly after 1915, German troops were in possession of Latvia, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the Letts. On November 18, 1918, the Letts declared their independence of Russia, only to be swamped by the Bolsheviks who were at the time being driven out of Esthonia. The German troops, on the advice of the Balts, helped the Letts drive out the Bolsheviks, which they accomplished by February, 1920. On August 11, 1920, Russia signed a treaty of peace with Latvia. In February, 1922, the Latvian republic was established. Esthonia and Latvia, after having been recognized as independent nations by the Allied powers on January 26, 1921, were admitted to membership in the League of Nations in September, 1921.

#### **Government of Latvia**

Latvia had a republican government at first with a President elected by a unicameral Legislature, a responsible Ministry, initiative, referendum, and universal direct and equal suffrage. On May 16, 1934, Premier Ulmanis effected a *coup d'état*, dismissed the Diet, proclaimed martial law, and instituted other restrictive measures. Strange as it may seem, Ulmanis, the Agrarian party leader, justified these tactics as a means of defending Latvian democracy against the Left, inspired by Russia, and the Nazis, supported by Germany. These two parties were growing politically strong, particularly since the Diet was divided into twenty parties.

#### **Land Reform**

The land reform act of September 16, 1920, expropriated the large estates, allowing the former owners no more than 125 acres each. About 60% of the area of the large estates has already been expropriated with little remuneration; the Balts, guilty of anti-Latvian intrigue, received no compensation at all. The Latvian peasant was then allowed to lease or buy from the state no more than 55 acres of this land.

#### **Economic Conditions**

Latvia, like Esthonia, spared herself the burdens of Communism, but was subjected to the ravages of both the German and Bolshevik invasions. Under the Russian régime, Reval, Libau and Riga were the important seaports of the empire, but now that the hinterland is shut to Latvia, these cities and the nation have been seriously impoverished.

#### **Foreign Affairs**

A Baltic Union of the border states of Russia failed of achievement largely because of the rivalry and jealousy among them. Thus they deprived themselves of one remedy for economic recovery. Esthonia and Latvia concluded treaties with Russia, providing for the latter's transit of her merchandise to the Baltic seaports. Among

themselves, they arranged friendly, arbitration, and defensive alliances on November 1, 1923. The dread of Russia has been considerably reduced by the wise diplomacy of Maxim Litvinov, who succeeded in arranging such treaties with all of Russia's border states in 1933. The pact of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, concluded in 1934, provided for a military alliance against any attempt of Nazi Germany to extend her imperialism into the Baltic area and for a tariff union among them. This pact should further the economic and political welfare of these Baltic states.

## **Lithuania**

### **History of Lithuania**

In 1386 Grand Duke Jagiello of Lithuania, having married the queen of Poland, Yadviga, was crowned King of Poland. Thus the two states were united in a personal royal union. In the 17th century, with the merging of the two states, Lithuania was rapidly Polonized. When Poland was subjected to partition in the 18th century, Lithuania was allotted to Russia who thoroughly Russianized her. The 19th century saw a national awakening in Lithuania. During the Russian Revolution of 1905 the Lithuanians vainly demanded autonomy. During the World War they clamored for absolute independence, which was finally proclaimed on February 16, 1918. The Germans, taking advantage of their occupation of the area, set up a German prince as the Lithuanian king in July, 1918. With the defeat of Germany, this Teutonic ruler was removed, whereupon Antanas Smetona had himself elected President of the Lithuanian republic and invited Augustus Voldemaras to form a cabinet. The German troops were soon driven out only to be replaced by the Bolshevik and Polish invaders. The Russians drove the Lithuanian government from Vilna into retirement at Kovno. Finally, the Russians were expelled and the treaty of Moscow was concluded, July 12, 1920, which provided for Soviet Russia's recognition of Lithuanian independence and the award of Vilna to Lithuania. But Poland claimed the city and immediately took it from Lithuania by conquest.

### **Establishment of a Republic**

Lithuania continues to claim Vilna because it was awarded to her in the Treaty of Moscow, and because it was her historic capital. In 1926 the Pope, with good intent, established a new diocese in Poland with Vilna as its seat. This outraged the Lithuanians, since it appeared as though the Pope sanctioned the Polish claims to Vilna. The Lithuanian Left got control of the republic as a result. But the Left's leanings toward Communism and extreme anti-clericalism brought about its defeat in the *coup d'état* of December 16 and 17, 1926, led by fervent nationalist army

officers. The Left government resigned, whereupon Voldemaras and Smetona were recalled as Prime Minister and President respectively to establish a conservative government. The new government rapidly crushed Communism and Socialism and prepared a new constitution, May 26, 1928.

#### **Government of Lithuania**

The new constitution provides for a republican form of government with a president for seven years, instead of for the length of the session as in the earlier constitution, a bicameral parliament to serve five years, a responsible ministry, and male suffrage to include those 24 years of age and older.

In 1929 there was a plot against the Voldemaras régime because of its tendency toward dictatorship and its delay in settling the Vilna question. Although the plot was foiled, the government resigned.

On June 6, 1934, Voldemaras tried to come back to power by a coup d'état against the Tubelis cabinet but he failed. He was captured and put to hard labor for ten years because he was convicted of furthering German Nazi interests.

#### **Land Reform**

Thirty-six per cent of the land in Lithuania before the World War belonged to Polish and Russian noblemen. By the land reform act of February, 1922, all land holdings in excess of 200 acres were expropriated, including the church lands. Compensation was arranged for at pre-War prices in depreciated paper money, an act which was tantamount to confiscation.

#### **The City of Memel**

Germany surrendered Memel to the Allies by the Treaty of Versailles. An Allied commissioner, supported by French troops, governed it temporarily. In January, 1923, Lithuanian soldiers captured the city and put an end to the commission government. Norman H. Davis, of the United States, was engaged by the League Council to study the problem of Memel and to recommend a satisfactory system of government for it, which was finally accepted by Lithuania and the Allies, March 15, 1924. Though Memel was recognized as part of the sovereign state of Lithuania, the former was granted considerable autonomy in executive and legislative matters. Its port, however, was to be administered by a Harbor Board consisting of citizens from Memel, Lithuania, and Poland. Because of the German Nazi agitation, the German population in Memel has of late been clamoring for annexation to East Prussia, but the administration has, at this writing, been successful in controlling the movement.

## Poland

### Rebirth of the Polish State

The Polish state, but not the Polish nation, was abolished by the three Partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795. It was resurrected during the Napoleonic Wars as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, only to be abolished again by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which dismembered it among Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

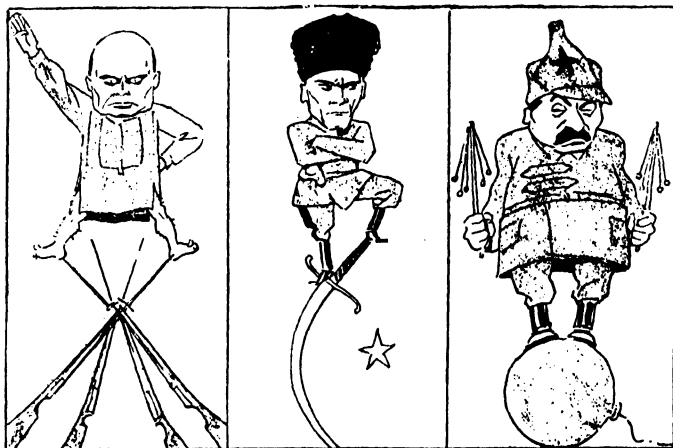
The three national heroes of the new Poland are Joseph Pilsudski, Roman Dmowski, and Ignace Paderewski. The first was a Polish Socialist who organized a Polish army in Austrian Poland to fight against Russia with a hope of gaining Polish independence; the second preferred to fight with Russia for Polish independence; and the third argued persuasively in the United States and at the Peace Conference for Polish independence. Their hopes were strengthened when Wilson promised the Poles the fulfilment of their wishes. As the Russians retreated from Poland in 1917 Pilsudski directed his soldiers against Germany, but was captured. At the end of the War, Pilsudski became Chief of State. On November 16, 1918, the independent Polish Republic was proclaimed at Warsaw. But, in the meantime, Dmowski and his Polish National Committee, with headquarters in Paris, created a rival Polish government. Dmowski was supported by the bourgeoisie and the peasants; Pilsudski by the laboring classes, war veterans and radical peasants. Paderewski, who reconciled the two factions, was himself made Premier and Foreign Minister on January 16, 1919. Pilsudski continued as Chief of State, with all parties represented in the Cabinet. Paderewski and Dmowski went to the Peace Conference to achieve a Greater Poland, while Pilsudski continued the struggle for the same cause. It was not an ethnic country that the Polish statesmen wanted, but the Poland that existed prior to the Partition of 1772. Hence, they claimed Lithuania, the Ukraine, Galicia, and parts of Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Russia. However, Pilsudski's war to acquire this area proved futile.

### Political Affairs, 1919-1935

Paderewski was obliged to resign as Premier in December, 1919, when he could not induce the Peace Conference to grant his claims to a Greater Poland. A constitution was adopted March 17, 1921. Pilsudski remained as Chief of State until the election of a president in December, 1922, when he retired.

(a) THE FIRST POLISH CONSTITUTION. Because of the French influence, the Polish government was modelled on that of the French republic. The President was elected for seven years by the Senate and the Sejm. With the consent of the Senate, he might dissolve the latter. Ministries changed often because of the multi-party arrangement of the Sejm, to which the Ministry was responsible. The

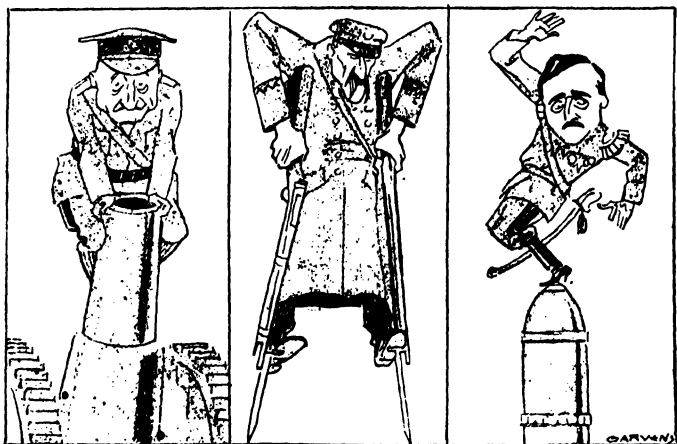
legislature consisted of a Senate and a Sejm. The former was elected by men and women at least 30 years of age and the latter by those 21 years of age or more. Proportional representation was practised.



MUSSOLINI

KEMAL PASHA

STALIN



PRIMO DE RIVERA

PILSUDSKI

ALEXANDER OF  
YUGOSLAVIA

# DICTATORS

—Kladderadutsch, Berlin

(b) PILSUDSKI THE DICTATOR. The early history of the republic was marked by assassinations, party bickering, and legislative inactivity. Pilsudski in disgust came out of retirement, marched on Warsaw (May 12 to 14, 1926), and drove the President

and the Premier to flight. He had the legislature elect his friend, Ignace Moscicki, President and himself made Minister of War in the new cabinet of Casimir Bartel. The citizens approved of Pilsudski's tactics, whereupon he proceeded to make constitutional changes strengthening the authority of the President so that he could: dissolve both houses of the legislature; control the budget; and issue decrees with the force of law during recess. In October, 1926, when the Sejm balked, he asked the President to make him Premier. This office enabled him to act as a veiled Dictator from October, 1926, to June, 1928. Then he resigned from the premiership, which went to Bartel. He became Chief of War again. Pilsudski remained the real power, however. He was determined to increase the authority of the Polish executive for the good of the people. In the November, 1930, elections his followers organized the *Non-Party Union*, winning 247 out of the 444 seats in the Sejm and 74 of the 111 seats in the Senate. In May, 1931, Colonel Alexander Prystor, a friend of Pilsudski, became Premier. By intimidation he got the ministry and the legislature, in March, 1932, to pass a law authorizing the President for a period of three years to issue decrees with the force of law. Pilsudski's dictatorship was now complete. He secured absolute control of the legislature, the executive and the army. The only opposition was that of M. Witos, but it was feeble. Pilsudski's master stroke was his abrogation of the republican constitution.

(c) **THE SECOND POLISH CONSTITUTION.** On January 26, 1934, the Pilsudski majority in the Sejm voted a new constitution which completely changed the democratic parliamentary régime in Poland.

(1) *Executive.* The President appoints the Premier without the approval of the Cabinet or of Parliament. The Premier remains responsible only to him. He also names the Supreme Court Justice and the Commander-in-chief of the army. He has the power to dissolve Parliament, veto legislative acts, impeach Cabinet ministers, and nominate, but not appoint, his own successor.

(2) *Legislature.* It consists of the Sejm and the Senate. The lower house is elected by popular vote for a five-year term. The Senate consists of 120 members, one-third of whom are appointed by the President; the other two-thirds are chosen by those who have won two military decorations in Poland's struggle for independence.

### Domestic Affairs

(a) **ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.** Poland inherited a distressing economic problem as a result of the World War. This condition was caused and aggravated by inflation; economic instability; ravages of war; continued warfare with Russia; bad crops; land problems; and quarrels among factions. Between 1923 and 1925 Premier Ladislav Grabski corrected the situation by: increasing taxes; reducing expenditures; repudiating the national debt; creating a Bank



of Poland; establishing a new monetary system; and ending inflation. But distress reappeared because of the poor harvests and the tariff war with Germany. In 1926 Prof. Kemmerer, an American, invited to act as expert adviser, recommended a sounder monetary system and reduction in army appropriations, since there was no need for Poland to have the fourth largest army in Europe. With the acceptance of the recommendations, improvement was soon visible. A good harvest in 1926 was also helpful. Exports increased. A foreign loan was floated again in the sum of \$72,000,000. Charles S. Dewey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was employed as financial adviser. The budget of 1927 was balanced for the first time since the World War. Agriculture, particularly, suffered because of the devastations of both a German and a Bolshevik invasion during the War. The complete economic recovery of Poland has been hindered by a lack of markets caused by hostile tariffs; the fear of Russia; the failure to conclude a Baltic Union; and the world economic depression.

(b) **LAND REFORM.** Polish Socialists and peasants want the large estates carved up, particularly in Galicia and in Russian Poland. The Right and the Left had been at loggerheads for about six years over the question. Finally, in December, 1925, an expropriation land law was enacted providing that 494,200 acres of land be parcelled out among the peasantry annually for 10 years. No landowner was to have more than 150 acres; but as much as 750 acres were permissible in the eastern border lands. Peasants were expected to pay for their allotment at present values with a 25 to 50 per cent cash payment and the balance in government bonds. Little expropriation has been made, however, largely because of a lack of funds on the part of the government and the peasantry.

### Minorities

About one-fourth of the inhabitants of New Poland are minorities,—the Ukrainians or Ruthenes, Jews, and Germans, whose rights were protected and guaranteed by a treaty at Paris. These minority guarantees were flagrantly violated between 1920 and 1924.

(a) **UKRAINIANS OR RUTHENES.** In 1922 Poland gave partial local autonomy to the Ukrainians, but tried nevertheless to Polonize them; Russia, in behalf of the Ukrainians, complained of this treatment in 1924. As a result, Premier Grabski had three laws passed which allowed the minority languages in the administrative offices, courts and schools, but stipulated that Polish remain the state language. When these laws were not honored, the League Council investigated the matter. Its *Committee of Three* found so much unrest there that it felt it was wiser to wait.

(b) JEWS. In Poland, Jews, who are accused of being capitalists, Boisheviks, internationalists and profiteers, are consequently persecuted. In June, 1925, England and the United States intervened in their behalf. As a result, the *Declaration of Warsaw* was proclaimed. It stipulated that: Jews be more loyal to Poland; they enjoy the same linguistic and religious rights as other minorities; and Poland reduce the taxation on the *petite bourgeoisie*. Anti-semitism, nevertheless, prevails in Poland.

(c) GERMANS. Many Germans settled in Prussian Poland, when Germany occupied it during the World War. The Poles tried to evict them. The German Reich appealed to the League Council in their behalf and then to the World Court. In an advisory opinion it declared that Poland must respect the private rights of these Germans and compensate those already evicted. In Upper Silesia, the inhabitants held a plebiscite, which the League Council ignored by turning over to Poland an area including many Germans in that portion of Silesia that is rich in economic and natural resources. The Poles, then, maltreated these Germans by terrorism and strict censorship. At the instigation of the Volksbund, Germany presented this complaint to the League, but conditions were not relieved.

(d) DANZIG AND THE POLISH CORRIDOR, AND VILNA. These minorities questions have been treated earlier in the book. (See pages 53 ff.).

### Foreign Affairs

Poland has no natural boundaries. Her neighbors, Soviet Russia, Germany and Lithuania, have been her enemies because of the problems arising out of the World War. It was to her interest to form military alliances and to make arbitration agreements. Poland, therefore, became a member of the French alliances to which she is bound by heavy loans that France made to her. In 1921 Poland concluded alliances with Rumania, France and Czechoslovakia, and in 1922 with the Little Entente. In 1925 Poland signed arbitration treaties with Latvia, Finland, Esthonia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, in addition to the signing of the Locarno Pact and the acceptance of a Concordat with the Pope. In 1929 additional alliances were made with Russia, Esthonia, Latvia, and Rumania. In the same year she accepted the Kellogg Peace Pact terms. In 1931 a non-aggression treaty with Russia and an alliance with France and Rumania further safeguarded Poland against invasion. Repeated attempts to conclude the Baltic Union have failed, however. Poland's chief enemy is Germany. The Nazis of Germany covet the Polish Corridor, Memel, and the Saar. These areas are Europe's sore spots. However, the new Reich and Poland signed a ten year peace pact on January 26, 1934, which should ease the border issue for this period since the treaty provides

for direct settlement of all controversies between these two countries. On March 7 a trade agreement was concluded between the two countries in the spirit of the non-aggression declaration of January. These Polish treaties with Germany estranged France. However, in April Foreign Minister Beck succeeded in reviving the friendship of France for Poland in an interview with the late Foreign Minister Louis Barthou. The negotiations of Beck with Germany and France caused apprehension at Moscow, but it was allayed by the Polish-Soviet protocol of May 5, which extended a non-aggression agreement until 1945.

In 1934 the nature of Poland's foreign policy was a mystery. She had concurrent treaties with Russia, Germany and France. Perhaps she was determined to befriend Lithuania and then play her own game in diplomatic circles.

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## CHAPTER XVI

### THE BALKANS

The Balkan peninsula, with its national rivalries, assassinations, revolutions and dictatorships, the turmoil of which has not been abated by the World War, is still the cockpit of Europe. Even the intervention of imperialistic nations is still evident, except that it is no longer Russia and Austria, but Italy and France.

The impending danger of the Nazi movement of Germany and its spread into Austria have done much to unite the Balkan states in the face of the common enemy. On September 25, 1933, the Foreign Ministers Beneš of Czechoslovakia, Titulescu of Rumania, and Jefitch of Yugoslavia conferred at Sinaia, Rumania, with King Carol of Rumania and King Alexander of Yugoslavia concerning a Balkan union. In addition to a discussion of the nature of the Nazi power in Germany and Austria and its determination to revise the peace treaties to regain lost territories now held by the Balkan states, they conferred about the *rapprochement* between Austria, Hungary, and Italy, and about a Danubian economic union. Little was achieved. Bulgaria refused to join the Little Entente or any Balkan alliance. She insisted on the protection of her nationals in the neighboring Balkan states and on an outlet to the sea through Thrace to the Aegean. The traditional hatred of the Balkan states toward Bulgaria, which was aggravated by the World War, made any compromise with Bulgaria impossible. On February 9, 1934, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania signed a Balkan pact, guaranteeing one another's territorial integrity. Albania and Bulgaria refused to join.

### Greece

#### Greece at the Close of the World War

It was Premier Eleutherios Venizelos who in 1917<sup>6</sup>, with the aid of the Allies, persuaded his country to espouse their cause against the wishes of King Constantine. Though he helped draw the Treaties of Neuilly, Trianon, and Sèvres, with their many favorable features for Greece, the tide of anti-Venizelism after the World War was ever growing, because: the Allied powers meddled in Greek affairs; Venizelos caused the king to abdicate in favor of his son, Alexander; Venizelos involved Greece in the Balkan Wars and

the World War; the people were unwilling to wage war again to uphold the provisions in the Treaty of Sèvres concerning Asia Minor; and the people desired to have Constantine return to the throne, after the death of Alexander. The Venizelists were defeated in the November, 1920, elections, when Constantine was recalled by plebiscite. Hence, Venizelos had to quit the country.

#### **The Return of Venizelos**

Constantine inherited a war with Mustapha Kemal to uphold the Treaty of Sèvres for Greece. The Allies, unfriendly to Constantine, were no longer inclined to send munitions to Greece because of his return to the throne, a fact which contributed to the Greek defeat at Smyrna and the threatened loss of Thrace. When the army demanded his abdication a second time in September, 1922, the throne went to his eldest son, George II. Venizelos, who had to be recalled, tried to save what he could for Greece at Lausanne in 1923. Greece relinquished Smyrna and Eastern Thrace and agreed to a compulsory exchange of populations with Turkey. Greece had to absorb 1,000,000 refugees. Neither they nor the Greek government could defray the costs of resettlement in Thessaly and Greek Macedonia. Only the philanthropic work of the *League of Nations Settlement Committee*, under Henry P. Morgenthau, at the cost of \$70,000,000, saved the destitute refugees from extermination. The disputes concerning the private property that the Greek and Turkish refugees left behind in their respective former homelands were finally settled in June, 1930, by Greece's paying Turkey \$2,125,000 for the confiscation of property belonging to "non-exchangeable" Turks. In 1933 Turkish and Greek friendship was further bound by treaties of arbitration, neutrality, and naval parity.

#### **Economics**

Greece is a poor country. Agriculturally, her products are meagre because of the condition of the soil; industrially, she is hampered because of her failure to exploit her natural resources. However, of late, international loans are stimulating the economic life of Greece, particularly in the construction of public works.

#### **The Greek Republic**

The government of George II was marked by riots and assassinations because of quarrels between the Royalists and the Venizelists, who were now advocating republicanism. After a Venizelist election victory, the King and Queen were asked to leave Greece so that the legislature might decide upon the type of a new government without intimidation. In March, 1924, the legislature deposed the royalty and established a republic. When a plebiscite in April, 1924, by a vote of two to one, upheld the action of the legislature, Paul Kountouriotis was made Provisional President. Venizelos re-

tired. The early history of the republic was no more passive than the last years of the monarchy. In 1928 Venizelos returned to politics. With the success of his Liberal Party in the election, he became Premier until May, 1932. During his administration order was restored; public works were undertaken; agriculture was aided; a modern educational system was established; the War debt with the United States was settled; and friendly alliances were concluded with the neighboring countries. His chief failure was his inability to conclude a federation of the Balkan states because of the Balkan national rivalries and the intervention of Italy. The world depression had its reflection in Greece, causing her to suspend the payment of her foreign debts. Venizelos was recalled as Premier for the seventh time in December, 1932, on this occasion, to help revive the economic conditions of his country. The political life of the Greek republic in the year 1933 was fraught with cabinet crises causing President Zaimis to alternate between anti and pro-Venizelist cabinets. The economic depression and adherence to the Balkan Pact have embarrassed the anti-Venizelist Tsaldaris Ministry of 1934 to the political advantage of the aged Venizelos. The anti-Venizelists are accused of conspiring to establish a royalist dictatorship and to depreciate still further the value of the drachma.

#### **Foreign Relations**

Of primary concern to Greece after her Peace Treaties were her foreign affairs.

(a) **DODECANESE ISLANDS.** These islands along the coast of Asia Minor have been in the possession of Italy since the Turco-Italian War of 1912. Although the inhabitants are largely Greek, and in spite of her promise in the Treaty of Sèvres to relinquish them, Italy continued to hold the islands, obviously because of their strategic location. The Treaty of Lausanne confirmed Italy's possession of them.

(b) **GRAECO-ALBANIAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE.** After the World War, Greece and Albania constantly quarreled about their intervening boundary. A commission was appointed to adjust this Graeco-Albanian boundary. The Greeks became outraged at the commission's frequent decisions in favor of Albania, especially when it was discovered that the Italians on the commission were favoring their protectorate, Albania. In 1923 four Italian officers of this commission were shot on Greek soil. This act evoked an ultimatum from Italy to Greece, very much like the Austrian note to Serbia which precipitated the World War. Greece, like Serbia, refused to allow her sovereignty to be violated by having foreign officers conduct a tribunal on her soil, though she herself was willing to investigate the matter and prosecute the murderers. Greece and Italy simultaneously appealed to the League. Without awaiting the

action of the League, Italy bombarded the island of Corfu, located at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea. Italy objected to the League's intervention in the controversy. Therefore, the League referred the matter to the Council of Ambassadors at Paris. It concluded that because of Italy's failure to present the problem for arbitration before sending her ultimatum to Greece, she must evacuate Corfu; and Greece must apologize to Italy, seek for and try the murderers, and pay an indemnity of 50,000,000 lire.

(c) **GRAECO-JUGOSLAVIAN CONTROVERSY.** The Graeco-Serbian treaty of 1913 gave Serbia a free zone in the port of Salonica, but it was not used by Serbia because of the World War. In 1923 similar arrangements were made, by which Greece gave Yugoslavia a fifty year leasehold on a free zone in Salonica, which was to remain Greek sovereign soil. The unsatisfactory nature of these arrangements led to disputes which were finally settled by Venizelos in 1928.

(d) **PEACE TREATIES.** Peace was further assured for Greece by a series of friendship treaties with Italy in 1928; Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in 1920; Turkey in 1930; and by the four-cornered alliance of Turkey, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece in 1934.

## Jugoslavia

### Birth of Yugoslavia

In 1917 out of the ruins of the World War came the artificially created state of the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes," designed at Corfu by the patriotic leaders of these peoples with the understanding that the Serbian dynasty would rule the new state with generous consideration of the rights of all the peoples concerned. This new state came into being in 1919 under the rule of King Peter of Serbia. The real sovereign was his son Alexander, who began to rule in his own right in 1921. The State included Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and parts of Carniola, Styria, Banat of Temesvar, and Western Bulgaria. The Serbs, who constituted 45% of the population, were Greek Catholics and somewhat Asiatic in culture, while the Croats, who comprised 37% of the population, were Roman Catholics and more modern and Westernized in culture.

### Domestic Political Quarrels

*The Serbian Radicals*, led by Nichola Pashitch, wanted a Greater Serbia with a highly centralized state, a governmental system under which the minority peoples of the state would be subordinated. *The Croatian Peasant Party*, led by Stjepan Raditch, sought a decentralized state so that the various peoples, who would constitute it, might enjoy autonomy and preserve their institutions and customs. In 1920 the King conducted national elections, at

which the Croatian Peasant Party elected as many as 50 deputies. The latter boycotted the legislature and their constituents boycotted the entire government. Hence, the *Democrats* and the Serbian Radicals created a centralized government in 1921. The old traditional boundaries were replaced by new provincial lines; a unicameral parliament was founded; universal suffrage was proclaimed; and all provincial officials became directly responsible to the central government.

Riots, assassinations, and civil war became increasingly prevalent. In 1924 the Croats decided to participate in the government with obstructionistic purposes. The Pashitch Government was obliged to resign, whereupon a series of short-lived ministries followed. In February, 1925, the King recalled Pashitch, who fearlessly tried to suppress the opposition. The Croatian Peasant Party deputies, who were returned in the new elections, practised their obstructionism in parliament. Political peace was established for a time by the admission of several Croats into the cabinet. This proved to be only a truce, because when Pashitch died in 1926, the discord between the two major parties was resumed. In a heated debate in parliament over the ratification of a treaty with Italy, Raditch and others were mortally shot by a Serbian deputy on June 29, 1928. The old hostilities between the Serbs and the Croats were heightened.

#### **The Dictatorship of King Alexander**

In November, 1928, King Alexander set up a dictatorship, acting through General Pera Zhivkovich and a ministry of Serbs, Croats, Slavonians, Bosnians, and Dalmatians. The official name of the state was changed to Yugoslavia in October, 1929. A new highly centralized constitution was drafted on September 3, 1931.

(a) GOVERNMENT OF JUGOSLAVIA. The legislature consists of a Senate and a Chamber. The former, one-half of which is appointed, serves for six years. The latter is elected for a term of four years by universal suffrage of those 21 years of age or over.

(b) NATURE OF THIS RULE. Alexander recognized all religious faiths and the three major languages, but curbed the press and all political parties, divided the kingdom into nine parts with their officials responsible to him, made voting oral, and gave the pluralist party two-thirds of the seats of the Chamber.

The first election under the new constitution was held in November, 1931. Of the 1,330 candidates, all nominated by the King and all members of the *National Party*, the voters were to elect 305 deputies. The National Party consisted of the loyal members of the former major parties. The former Serbian Radicals controlled a plurality, and worked in unison with the king. Zhivkovich, who headed the list of candidates, was Premier until April, 1932,



when he was replaced by Marinkovitch. The domestic problems of large debts, very small peasant holdings, and the absence of sea-ports vexed the king-dictator, in whose reign very little was achieved. It neither allayed internal discord nor pacified the hostile neighbors.

On October 9, 1934, King Alexander and the French Foreign Minister Barthou, with whom he was on a good-will tour, were assassinated. It is believed that Croatian malcontents were responsible for their death. Prince Paul was made Regent for the child-King Peter II. The dictatorship continued under the leadership of Premier Nikola T. Uzunovitch, aided by the National Party.

### **Foreign Affairs**

In addition to her domestic problems, Yugoslavia has many complex foreign issues, which are discussed more fully elsewhere.

(a) **LITTLE ENTENTE.** Soon after the War, Yugoslavia entered the French hegemonous alliance by joining the Little Entente to obtain French loans and to oppose any revision of the peace treaties by Austria and Hungary which might be to her disadvantage.

(b) **OTHER FOREIGN PROBLEMS.** Yugoslavia has been embroiled in other foreign entanglements, such as her Macedonian dispute with Bulgaria, the Fiume controversy, her imperialistic ambitions in the Adriatic Sea, and her conflict with Greece over the free zone in Salonica.

## **Bulgaria**

### **Bulgaria at the End of the World War**

Czar Ferdinand, who espoused the cause of the Central Powers during the World War, suffered with them at the Peace Conference. Bulgaria was deprived of territory; her army was reduced; and she had to pay heavy reparations. Her population, about 6,000,000, of which 85% is Bulgar, ekes out a poor existence, mainly from agriculture. The lack of seaports on the Mediterranean Sea is a great economic handicap to her. A seaport on the Aegean Sea had been promised her at the Peace Conference and again at the Lausanne Conference of 1923, but she has thus far realized nothing from these promises. Bulgaria was offered a Greek Corridor and a port at Kavala, but she refused to accept this. She wanted the actual cession of the land, a request that Greece refused to grant.

### **Domestic History of Bulgaria**

(a) **GOVERNMENT.** Upon Czar Ferdinand's abdication in 1918, Boris III, his son, succeeded to the throne. The Czar's consent is necessary in all legislation. The Parliament, which is unicameral, is elected by universal suffrage. The Greek Orthodox Church is the state religion.

(b) PARTY HISTORY. The Agrarian Party, or the "Green" Socialists, headed by Alexander Stambulsky, advocated friendship with the neighboring countries; the punishment of the politicians who plunged Bulgaria into the World War; the fulfillment of treaty obligations to obviate foreign control; the expropriation of Church, Crown and private estates in excess of 75 acres; state aid for the peasants; limited profits and increased income taxes; and compulsory uncompensated labor of men, women and children on public works.

This party was in power from 1919 to 1923, but, because of the dictatorial conduct of Stambulsky, was ousted in June, 1923, by a *coup d'état* of the "Whites," representing the professors, lawyers, and industrialists. Alexander Tsankov was their leader. The "Whites" stayed in power until 1925 and undid much of the work of the "Greens" by equally harsh dictatorial methods.

Riots, civil war, assassination, and Communist uprisings were frequent occurrences. The Tsankov government resigned. In January, 1926, a new bourgeois government, with Andrei Liapchev as leader of the *Democrats*, came into power. This party advocates co-operation with the League of Nations and the neighboring states; financial and educational reforms; a balanced budget; reclamation of the waste land; public works; local autonomy; reconciliation with all political parties; and the repeal of the censorship laws.

As a result of the ceaseless political discontent, the Agrarians, Democrats, National Liberals and Radicals in 1928 formed a coalition cabinet, called the *National Bloc*. In June, 1931, the National Bloc defeated Liapchev, and Nichola Mushanov became Premier. This government managed to stay in power for a while, though it was always threatened by the Left and the Right.

#### Dictatorship

On May 19, 1934, M. Gueorguiev, a leader of the "Whites," effected a *coup d'état*, which put an end to the tottering coalition government, and set up a Fascist state. The immediate cause of the downfall of Mushanov's premiership was the demand of the Agrarians for more representation in the cabinet. The old parliament was dissolved and a rump parliament of 100 members took its place, three-fourths of whom were appointed by the Government. The real power of the dictatorship lies in the army. Gueorguiev's plans include: (1) a "disciplined" state, (2) public works to relieve unemployment, (3) social legislation, and (4) the dissolution of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. By the end of the year 1934 the dictatorship had achieved very little. The Bulgarian dictatorship was regarded as the weakest of them all. No political party seemed to support it.

**Foreign Affairs**

Bulgaria, too, has her vexing foreign problems.

(a) **MACEDONIAN QUESTION.** Macedonia has a population of about 2,000,000, concentrated on the northern coast of the Aegean Sea. In modern times it had been governed by Turkey, but on the eve of the World War, was being claimed by each of its neighbors, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, on historical and linguistic grounds. Bulgaria had acquired most of it as a result of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), but the Peace Conference of 1919 gave a large part of it to both Greece and Yugoslavia, and a small corner to Bulgaria. The majority of the Macedonians are Bulgarophiles, who trekked into Bulgaria rather than live under Greek or Yugoslavian rule. There they organized the *Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization*, led by Ivan Mihailov, which advocated a unified and independent Macedonia, and terroristic methods to attain their goal. Bulgaria was unable to suppress the movement.

The I. M. R. O. invaded Greek Macedonia and practised terrorism there, precipitating the Graeco-Bulgarian crisis. Greece warned Bulgaria of these border invasions in 1922, and in desperation she invaded Bulgaria in 1925 to punish the I. M. R. O. Bulgaria appealed to the League for protection, whereupon the Council ordered Greece to withdraw her troops and to pay Bulgaria \$220,000 damages. Subsequently, with the waning of the activities of the I. M. R. O., Bulgaria and Greece concluded treaties of commerce and friendship in 1927 and again in 1929.

It was the terrorism of the I. M. R. O. which brought on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian controversy as it had the Graeco-Bulgarian dispute. But, unlike it, there was no invasion and no intervention of the League. The two countries made peace, signing an arbitration treaty in 1930.

The Macedonian question remains unsettled. Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia, who work in harmony to suppress the I. M. R. O., are all dissatisfied with the present disposition of Macedonia. It is one of the sore spots of Europe.

**Albania****Domestic Affairs**

Albania was created as an independent kingdom with a German prince, William of Wied, as its mporet at the close of the Balkan Wars in 1913. During the World War it remained neutral, but the mporet was obliged to flee, as Austria, Italy and Serbia used Albania as a battlefield to further their own ends. At the Peace Conference, these three countries wanted to annex Albania but, thanks to Wilson, Albanian independence was restored and the little nation was admitted into the League in December, 1920. In 1925 the Council of

Ambassadors defined her present boundaries. The Moslem prince, Ahmed Zogu, who became Premier, was rivalled by Bishop Fan S. Noli of the Albanian Orthodox Church. In 1925 Albania established a republic, of which Zogu was chosen President for seven years.

### Foreign Affairs

Albania soon became subservient to Italy because of Albanian loans made in Italy and the presence of the latter's civil and military advisers in Albania. Finally the *Treaty of Tirana* of November 27, 1926, established a mutually defensive arrangement between Italy and Albania, except that Italy might police Albania upon request. Yugoslavia objected to this treaty since, by controlling the Straits of Otranto, Italy was really closing in Yugoslavia in the Adriatic Sea. Italy did not heed the protest. In June, 1927, war seemed imminent between Yugoslavia and Albania over Albania's arrest of a spy. With Italy's support of Albania, the matter was rapidly adjusted. On November 22, 1927, Italy and Albania signed a twenty year defensive military pact. The Treaty of Tirana was renewed in November, 1931, after Zogu had proclaimed himself King Zog I on September 1, 1928.

## Rumania

### New Rumania

Rumania doubled her size as a result of the World War. From Austria-Hungary she acquired Transylvania, Bukowina, most of Banat of Temesvar, and from her former ally, Russia, she acquired Bessarabia by an alleged packed plebiscite. This latter annexation was not ratified by England until 1922, by France until 1924, and by Italy until 1927. Fearing an attack from Russia, she concluded alliances with Poland in 1921, 1926, and 1931, and with France in 1926. Russia recognized the loss of Bessarabia in her Litvinov treaty of 1933.

### Minorities

Of her 18,000,000 subjects, Rumania has 1,500,000 Transylvanian Magyars; 1,000,000 Bessarabian Ukrainians; 750,000 Germans; 750,000 Jews; and 250,000 Bulgarians. Rumania, too, signed a minority treaty in 1919, but serious complaints concerning her maltreatment of and injustice to her subordinate peoples have been made against her. No corrections, however, have been effected.

### Land Reform

About one-half of the arable land of Rumania was owned by a few thousand large proprietors before the World War. By the land reform acts of 1917, 1918 and 1921, about 5,000,000 acres of nobility-owned land and all the arable lands of the royal, absentee, and foreign owners were confiscated. No farm could exceed 1,200

acres in area. Compensation was made in 50 year national bonds at 5%. The land was sold to the peasantry at 65% of the expropriation price. In the newly acquired territories, the large land holdings were reduced to about 250 acres in Bessarabia, 625 acres in Bukowina, and 300 acres in Transylvania. The landowners received very little compensation for the land, as they were paid in inflated money, and the assessed valuation was the 1914 value. In old Rumania the average peasant land holding was 12 acres; in Dobrudja 20 to 62 acres; in Bessarabia 15 to 20 acres; in Bukowina 10 acres; and in Transylvania 10 acres. By 1932 about 90% of the land was in the hands of peasant proprietors.

(a) TRANSYLVANIA. In Transylvania the large landowners were Magyars. By the Treaty of Trianon they might elect between Hungarian and Rumanian citizenships. Should they choose Hungarian, Rumania could not confiscate their lands as being the property of foreigners nor make payment to them in depreciated bonds. But when Rumania did do so, Hungary appealed to the League Council in behalf of her optants. Rumania contended that the fate of the optants was a national question and not an international one. The matter was finally settled at The Hague in January, 1930, and at the Paris conferences in April, 1930, where the Brocchi Plan was concluded. It provided that the expropriated optants be reimbursed by a fund, created by the leading Allied powers and Hungary. The animosity between Hungary and Rumania over the land question still lingers. This explains Rumania's loyal membership in the Little Entente.

#### Government of Rumania

Rumania is a monarchy. The king has a suspensive veto over legislation, and the ministry is responsible to him. The legislature consists of a Chamber elected for four years by proportional representation and by universal suffrage, and a Senate filled by appointment and election by a restricted electorate.

(a) PARTIES. The *Conservatives* represent the large landowners and the pro-German aristocrats. The *Liberals*, representing the industrial groups, are particularly opposed to the foreign oil interests. The former party practically disappeared with the land reforms and with Rumania's entry into the World War on the side of the Allies. The *National Peasants Party*, led by Dr. Jules Maniu, is the present opposition. It favors the policy of the Little Entente, friendship with all of Rumania's neighbors, coöperation with the League, decentralization, a responsible ministry, honest elections, labor laws, development of Rumania's natural resources with foreign capital, and social legislation.

(b) POLITICAL HISTORY. The Liberal Party ruled Rumania until 1928 under the leadership of her kings, Carol I (1866-1914) and Ferdinand (1914-1927), and their ministers, Jon C. Bratianu,

and his sons, Jon and Vintila, but opposition grew because of the loss of foreign capital for investment, the high tariff wars, heavy taxation, and the discrimination against minorities. The 1926 electoral law, giving control of parliament to the party that polls 40% of the vote, saved it for awhile. In 1927 King Ferdinand and Jon Bratianu died. In 1928 Maniu and his party captured over 300 seats in the Chamber, while the Liberals secured only 13. The National Peasant Party effected the following reforms: (1) the repeal of the censorship, (2) the suppression of anti-Semitism, (3) the investment of foreign capital to exploit Rumania's oil and other industries, (4) the undertaking of new railway and other public works, and (5) the stabilization of the monetary system. The National Peasant Party rule came to a close in April, 1931, when it was ousted from power by King Carol II over the question of the succession to the throne.

#### **Succession to the Throne**

In December, 1925, the Crown Prince Carol deserted his wife, renounced his claim to the throne, and went to Paris to live with his mistress, Mme. Magda Lupescu. His mother, Queen Marie, and Bratianu, disapproving of his behavior, had a new succession law enacted, January 4, 1926, which denied the throne to the Crown Prince, made his five year old son, Michael, the heir, and provided for a Regency in the event King Ferdinand died before his grandson reached maturity. The King died in July, 1927. Michael, accordingly, became King with Bratianu and Queen Marie dominating the Regency. The National Peasant Party, with Maniu as its leader, and the army wanted the restoration of Crown Prince Carol, provided his wife Helen and he were reconciled. In 1928 this party won in the national elections, which were a barometer of public opinion concerning Crown Prince Carol. The latter came to Bucharest on June 8, 1930, and had himself proclaimed King and Michael, Crown Prince. Only Vintila Bratianu in the National Assembly voted against him. But Carol did not become reconciled with Helen. Worse still, Mme. Lupescu came to Rumania and lived near his castle. The National Peasant Party, which had offered him the throne now turned against him because of his undignified behavior. In October, 1930, Maniu resigned from the cabinet. In April, 1931, Carol expelled the party from power. He had a new ministry created by Nicola Jorga with the support of a *National Union Group* of followers. It stood for a non-partisan government, a balanced budget, economies in government, and an increased national defense.

#### **The National Union Group vs. the National Peasant Party**

Although the National Union Group is not a political party, during its brief stay in power it ruled like a dictator and inaugurated its program. But it soon fell into disrepute because of

its failure to make favorable treaties with neighboring countries, extravagance in government, and an economic depression which had dire effects. The Jorga ministry had to resign June 1, 1932. The National Peasant Party came back into power with its minister Alexander Văida-Voievod. In October, 1932, Maniu replaced Văida-Voievod over the issue of a non-aggression treaty with Russia, which settled the Bessarabian question in favor of Rumania (July, 1933). Because of the sovereign's interference in the government, this Liberal ministry resigned and Văida-Voievod at the head of the National Peasant Ministry was restored to power on January 14, 1933. Dissensions within the party caused Văida-Voievod to tender his resignation on November 12, 1933. Ion G. Duca, chief of the Liberal Party, was invited by the King to form a cabinet to stem the tide of German Nazi propaganda in Rumania and to uphold the cause of the Little Entente and France. The elections of December 20, 1933, attested to the popularity of the Liberal Party platform. Unfortunately, however, a member of the anti-Semitic Iron Guard organization killed Duca only a few days later. King Carol designated Dr. Constantine Angelescu as the new Premier. The latter, however, was incompetent to suppress the general disorder in Rumania. He was replaced by George Tatarescu on January 3, 1934, who represented the younger element in the Liberal party. His Cabinet, however, included men of Brătianu sympathies, who were opposed to King Carol.

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## CHAPTER XVII

### SPAIN

#### **Spain prior to the World War**

The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469 and the fall of Granada in 1492 are the events that mark the birth of modern Spain. The Spaniards rose to their golden age of culture in the 16th century under their rulers, Emperor Charles V and King Philip II, with their vast empire, large army and navy, rich maritime trade, monopoly of silver, and alliance with the Roman Catholic Church. What held the various principalities of Spain together were their common allegiance to the Church, war against the Moors, hatred of the Jews, and the despotism of their rulers. The catastrophic blow to the Spanish hegemony was the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. What brought on its rapid decline were the absence of a middle class, corruption in government, a weak and indifferent nobility, heavy direct taxes, taxes on trade and industry, illiteracy, the power of the Church, heavy military losses, emigration, scarcity of metals and minerals in Spain, and a strong provincialism, in which each province cherished its own language, history, customs, and institutions. The loss of the Spanish-American colonies between 1820 and 1830 and Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 aggravated her internal situation. At the eve of the World War, Spanish history was characterized by martial law, attempts at political assassination, suspension of constitutional guarantees, military intrigues, strikes, and attacks on Catholic Church property.

#### **Spain and the World War**

King Alfonso XIII and his subjects were divided in their sympathies for the Central Powers and the Allies. In October, 1914, the Cortes voted for Spain's neutrality, to her great economic advantage. Yet Spain's war history is marked by radicalism, provincialism in Catalonia and Galicia, military juntas opposing the government, and military disasters in rebellious Spanish Morocco.

#### **Spanish Problems since the World War**

Spanish history since the War has been no happier. Several significant problems have troubled her.

(a) CATALONIAN SEPARATISM. In Catalonia and its capital, Barcelona, there was considerable turmoil in 1917. Rioting and striking broke out against the industrialists, a disorder which was aggravated by a strong separatist movement. In December, 1918,



the Barcelona parliament proclaimed an autonomous Catalonia, confederated with the rest of Spain. Socialist, syndicalist, and independence agitation aggravated conditions. The militia was put in control, whereupon a reign of terror ensued which lasted through the years 1920 and 1921, when order was restored.

(b) **INTERFERENCE OF MILITARY JUNTAS.** Councils of army officers regularly interfered with the government, particularly concerning Morocco, but they were finally dissolved in November, 1922.

(c) **RIFF WARS.** The Riff wars were conducted with gross inefficiency, neglect, and corruption, unnecessarily costing thousands of lives and much money, as was shown in July, 1921, at the battle of Annual. In November, 1922, General Damaso Berenguer, former High Commissioner of Morocco, pressed charges of this nature against the government. A Committee of Twenty-One was appointed to investigate the matter. Its findings were most incriminating and hence were suppressed by the Council of Ministers. The Cortes demanded the report, while workers struck and radicals rebelled in protest. The Cortes was dissolved, but the new Cortes was no more submissive. On September 13, 1923, with the secret consent of the King, Captain-General Miguel Primo de Rivera, military governor over Barcelona, effected a *coup d'état*, overthrew the national ministry, and set himself up as Military Dictator of Spain, assisted by a directorate of eight generals and one admiral.

#### **Primo de Rivera as Dictator, 1923-1930**

(a) **NATURE OF THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP.** Primo de Rivera's slogan was "Country, Monarchy, and Religion." He intended to carry out his program by dissolving the Cortes, censoring the press, seizing documents dealing with the Moroccan scandal, suspending trial by jury, abolishing local governments, and suppressing democracy, liberalism, and republicanism. Miguel de Unamuno, the philosopher, was exiled and Blasco Ibañez, the novelist, fled because of their critical agitation.

(b) **DOMESTIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRIMO DE RIVERA.** Commencing with the year 1925 Rivera effected many domestic achievements. Martial law was abolished; subsidies were granted to shipping and industrial enterprises; and a civil cabinet, all of whom were members of the *Union Patriótica*, supplanted the military ministry. In 1927 the *National Regulating Committee of Industrial Production* was created to regulate the industries. In addition, commercial aviation and the coal industry were aided. In 1928 the *Department of National Economy* was devised to effect economy in the national administration. Compulsory labor courts were also established. Large estates were disintegrated. National educational reforms were achieved. High tariff laws were enacted to encourage Spanish industries. The *National Advisory Assembly*, which was formed in September, 1927, to replace the dismissed Cortes, had only

advisory power, however, and its personnel was nominated by the dictator. The year 1928 closed with a military dictatorship, sanctioned by a new constitution.

(c) **FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PRIMO DE RIVERA.** Although Rivera, like Mussolini, recognized that his country could only recuperate through an aggressive foreign policy, he was less successful than Mussolini. In 1926 Spain concluded a treaty of friendship with Italy. The Riff wars came to an abrupt end when Abd-el-Krim surrendered on May 28, 1926, and the Riffians were routed. Over 13,000 Spanish lives and \$800,000,000 in costs were lost in the Riff wars between 1917 and 1927.

#### **Birth of the Spanish Republic, 1931**

Liberalism, Republicanism, Anarchism, Socialism, Syndicalism and Provincialism increased in spite of Rivera's dictatorship. Dissatisfaction was universal. The world depression, despotism and his Clericalism were largely responsible for bringing about Rivera's resignation on January 28, 1930. General Berenguer, who succeeded him, was even less able to cope with the tide of dissatisfaction. The King and the new ministry hopelessly tried to win the confidence of the people by promising a new election in 1931; increasing tariffs on wheat and manufactured goods; and relinquishing restrictions on the freedom of speech and press. In September, 1930, a Republican uprising led by Niceto Alcala Zamora was suppressed by Berenguer. The monarchy lasted a little longer because of the able leadership of the King, the loyalty of the army, the support of the rich landowners, and the dissension within the ranks of the Republicans. Berenguer restored the constitution in February, 1931, which had been suspended by Rivera, but failed to satisfy the people, who wanted a new Republican constitution. The Monarchist, Admiral Juan Aznar, who succeeded him, announced municipal and provincial elections to be followed by a national election for a constituent Cortes to draw up a new constitution. When the local election proved to be a Republican landslide, he resigned on April 13, 1931. The revolutionist, Zamora, threatened revolution again if the King did not abdicate. The next day Alfonso XIII fled to France and Zamora made himself temporary president. Spain was torn by revolution. Zamora proceeded to suppress crime, stop the confiscation of Church property, check separatism in Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque provinces, and suppress the Monarchists and the Militarists. On June 28, 1931, at the first general Spanish election held since 1923, the constituent assembly decided on a Republican mode of government. The general disorder had not as yet been subdued. Because many Socialists and Republicans opposed Zamora's Clericalism, he resigned on October 14, 1931. His successor to the provisional Presidency was Manuel Azaña, the leader of the Radical Party.

### Nature of the Spanish Republican Government

On December 9, 1931, a democratic Spanish constitution went into effect with Zamora as the first President. The *legislature* is the unicameral Cortes of 470 deputies, elected for four years by universal suffrage of those men and women 23 years of age or more. The *executive* department consists of a responsible Premier and Cabinet, and a President elected for a single term of six years by the Cortes and an equal number of popularly chosen electors. Furthermore, under this system: (1) the state church is abolished; (2) religious freedom and secular education are guaranteed; (3) civil liberties are restored; (4) war cannot be declared unless the methods prescribed by the Covenant of the League to avert war have first been employed; (5) all wealth is subject to control for the national welfare; (6) the state may socialize large estates; (7) public utilities may be appropriated by the state; (8) the state may control private industry, commerce, and agriculture; (9) local autonomy may be granted; (10) a referendum on any question may be obtained when 15% of the voters demand it; and (11) all enterprises that engage fifty workers or more shall have workers' participation in management.

### Achievements of the Spanish Republic

The achievements of the Spanish republic thus far are comparatively insignificant. Alfonso XIII was declared guilty of treason. The highest protective tariff in all Europe was enacted. The Jesuit order was proscribed and its property confiscated. Spanish Morocco was progressively developed. Lay schools were established to counteract the illiteracy of 45% of the people. The large estates were socialized. On September 8, 1932, Catalonia received autonomy.

### Spanish Republican Crisis

On September 7, 1933, Prime Minister Azaña was forced to resign. Alejandro Lerroux of the Conservative Republicans formed a new ministry only to fall on October 3 when the Cortes refused him a grant of confidence. Five days later a coalition ministry, headed by Diego Martínez-Barrios, was formed, excluding the extreme Conservatives and the extreme Socialists. This political crisis was caused by the impasse that the Socialists and the Republicans had reached. The former was anti-clerical, Socialistic, and proletarian, while the latter was clerical, republican, and bourgeois. These executive changes did not abate the political dissension in Spain. Hence, President Zamora had to use his alternative, dissolve the Cortes, and call for a new election on November 19. The conservative parties of the Right, including Monarchists, Agrarians, Catholic Actionists, Basque-Navarrists, Galician Federationists, and others, won an unexpected victory over the Left, so much so, that the political strength of the Right in the Cortes swelled to 210 seats.

This bloc was well united; was fervently supported by the women voters; and was opposed to the anti-clericalism of the Azaña government. A moderate course was expected of the Right on the acute questions of land, education and the Church. The Anarchists, Communists, Syndicalists, and Socialists, however, rioted and struck. Premier Barrios declared "a state of alarm" and proceeded to suppress the Left agitation and disorder. When the Cortes convened on December 9, 1933, Barrios, lacking its support, resigned. On December 19, Lerroux formed a new cabinet with Center and Right support. The new government of Lerroux proved to be one of the strongest ministries since the fall of the monarchy. It rose in popular esteem by its effective handling of strikes and labor disputes. On April 25 Lerroux was asked to resign by President Zamora because of a dispute involving the Amnesty Bill, the law restoring the death penalty, and the Clerical Pensions Act. The President felt that Lerroux and the Cortes were leaning too far to the Right. Ricardo Samper of Lerroux' party became the new Premier. He, too, depended on the political support of the Center and the Right.

The Samper ministry, having achieved little, fell on October 3, 1934, and Lerroux was recalled to form a cabinet. This event incited the Left to call a general strike of over 1,000,000 people under the leadership of Francisco Largo Caballero, who was president of the Socialist Party. It objected to the appointment by Lerroux of three Catholic Popular Actionists to his cabinet. Gil Robles, leader of the Catholic party, ably upheld the cause of the Right by helping to crush the strike. Lerroux remained as Prime Minister.

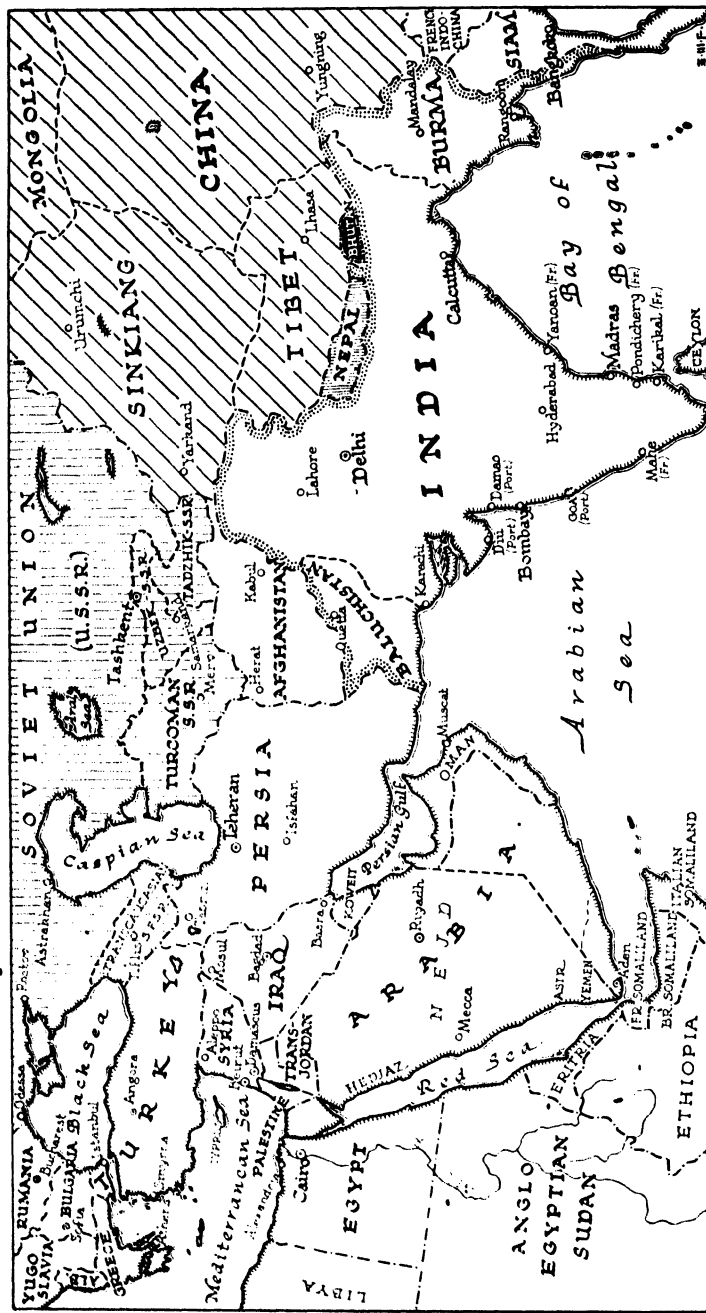
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## ✦ The NEAR EAST and CENTRAL ASIA ✦

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE NEAR EAST

The Peace Conference created out of the Arabian peninsula the French mandates of Syria and Lebanon; the British mandates of Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq; and the independent or semi-independent states of Hejaz, Asir, Yemen, Aden, Nejd, and Hasa. To the north of the Arabian peninsula the new republic of Turkey is located. These territories comprise the Near East.

#### **Palestine**

Palestine is a very small state, poor in natural resources, but rich in the religious lore of the Hebrews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The native population is about 900,000, four-fifths of whom are Mohammedans. The rest is divided between the Hebrews and Christians.

#### **Palestine as a British Mandate**

At the Peace Conference Palestine was established as a Class A mandate to be supervised by Great Britain. This disposition of Palestine was satisfactory neither to the Hebrews, who were promised "a national home for the Jewish people" in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, nor to the Arabs, who regarded the institution of the mandate as an overt violation of the principle of self-determination. Great Britain is interested in Palestine primarily because of the strategic position which the latter occupies.

(a) **THE GOVERNMENT.** Sir Herbert Samuel designed the constitution for Palestine in 1922. The executive department provides, for a High Commissioner, a position which Sir Herbert himself occupied; a Commander-in-chief; and an appointive Executive Council. The Legislature consists of a Legislative Council of the High Commissioner and twenty-two deputies, ten of whom are appointed and twelve of whom are indirectly elected. The Mohammedans boycotted the election, though they were entitled to eight of the twelve elective representatives. Sir Herbert ruled, therefore, with an Advisory Council. Again in 1932 High Commissioner Arthur Wauchoppe repeated England's desire to set up a legislative council in his report to the Mandates Commission of the League, but the Mohammedans still refused to submit.

### **Conflicts between Hebrews and Arabs**

Hatred between Hebrew and Arab is rampant in Palestine.

(a) **THE CONFLICT IN 1929.** A number of Hebrew settlements were attacked by the Mohammedan Arabs in 1929 and many of the settlers were killed. After the Palestine government quelled the riots, a British Commission of Inquiry discovered that the Hebrew-Arab controversies were brought about because the Hebrews had bought up the scarce rich soil, creating the problem of a landless Arab peasantry and that the Hebrews, because of considerable immigration, would soon outnumber the Arabs. However, the League Mandates Commission, after its own investigation, blamed Great Britain for the rioting because of improper policing.

(b) **THE "WAILING WALL" DISPUTE.** A chronic controversy between the Hebrews and the Arabs was the matter of the control of the Wailing Wall. According to traditional belief, the Wailing Wall was part of Solomon's Temple. The Hebrews were accustomed to worship and wail at this wall, but the wall is now part of the foundation of the Mohammedan Mosque of Omar. To solve the problem, the British government and the League Council appointed a commission in 1930 which reported in the following year that the Wailing Wall was Arabian property; nevertheless, Hebrews were to be permitted to worship there.

(c) **THE POPULATION PROBLEM.** In May, 1930, about 2,400 immigration permits were cancelled by the British authorities because they believed that Palestine could not absorb such large numbers of immigrants so rapidly without causing poverty among the Arabs and the Jews. This view was further upheld by the British Colonial Office in a White Paper. The news was gratifying to the Arabs, but the World Zionist Organization protested that such action was a betrayal of the Balfour Declaration. In 1932 the immigration restrictions were modified for those Hebrew immigrants who had a capital of at least \$2,500. Because of the persecution of the Jewish people in Germany, this money qualification has been relaxed so that Palestine might be a haven for some of these oppressed Jews.

(d) **POLITICAL PARTIES.** There are three Hebrew political parties in Palestine. The Zionist Labor Party has a Socialist platform and is the plurality party. The Zionist Revisionist party is a Fascist group; and the Zionist Clerical party is the religious group, as the name implies. Opposed to these parties is the Arabian party, which supports the interests of the Arabs.

### **Economic Revival**

Agriculture is the primary industry in Palestine, though the fertile lands are scarce and scattered among sand and stone.



The agricultural specialties are oranges, dates, and Carmel wine. The electrification of the land by two hydroelectric plants on the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers is helping to industrialize Palestine. Two corporations are engaged in the extraction of inorganic chemicals from the Dead Sea. In 1931 Palestine was one of the very few countries where prosperity prevailed.

### **Syria and Lebanon**

Syria and Lebanon, two French mandates located to the north of Palestine, have a population of 3,000,000, most of whom are Mohammedans, and whose chief industry is the manufacture of silk.

#### **Syria as a Mandate**

The French have had much greater difficulties in the governing of Syria than the British in the management of Palestine. Many of the French problems arose because of religious differences, the use of depreciated French francs in place of native gold money, a keen desire for self-determination among the people, the introduction of French law, and rule by martial law rather than by democratic local government. The government of the High Commissioners Weyand and Sarrail was very tyrannical, so much so, that the Druses rose in rebellion. In 1925 General Sarrail waged a war against Damascus with tanks and aeroplanes, partially destroying the city and killing about 1,000 of the inhabitants. Besides, Damascus was required to pay a fine of \$440,000 and surrender 3,000 rifles. The Druses reconsidered and then refused to surrender. A new attack was made on Damascus in 1926. The League of Nations Mandates Commission protested against the French resorting to air raids and the destruction of villages, except when absolutely necessary to subdue the Druses. By 1927 the revolts had abated.

#### **Present Political Status of Syria**

Auguste Henri Ponsot convoked a constituent assembly to draft a constitution for Syria, but when the Druses insisted upon absolute<sup>o</sup> freedom from both French and League rule, it was dissolved. In May, 1930, Ponsot drafted a republican constitution for Syria. There were express provisions, however, that France control her foreign affairs, and that France observe certain mandatory duties to the League. Syria's first elections in 1932 were accompanied by considerable disorder. The French officials, who sought to prevent the Syrian Nationalists from winning the elections, succeeded in bringing about the election of their candidates. French interests in Syria are economically, in the silk industry and railways, and, politically, in her strategic location. On November 4, 1934, the French High Commissioner suspended the Syrian Parliament in order to cope more effectively with the economic distress and the independence movement in the mandate.

### **Transjordania**

Transjordania, to the east of Palestine, is a mandate under British control. Abdullah, the king of Transjordania, is the son of Hussein, the first king of Hejaz. Great Britain has little difficulty in the managing of this mandate.

### **Iraq**

Iraq was a particular prize that was turned over by the League as a mandate to Great Britain. It was valuable oil fields in the Mosul vilayet that caused European powers to covet this mandate. Emir Feisal, the brother of King Abdullah of Transjordania, was made king by the British, but this did not discourage the inhabitants from continuing their opposition to foreign rule.

#### **The Turco-Iraq Boundary Dispute**

In addition to this internal disorder, Iraq, championed by Great Britain, was engaged in a bitter quarrel with Turkey over their intervening boundary, where the Mosul vilayet and its oil wells are located. By the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey and Iraq were to decide between themselves the location of this boundary within nine months. If they failed to do so to their mutual satisfaction, the League Council was to determine the boundary. Ultimately, the League had to appoint a commission to study the problem. After an investigation it reported that, while much of the vilayet should rightfully be annexed to Turkey, yet in the interests of the inhabitants it should revert to Iraq, provided Great Britain agreed to supervise Iraq for a period of twenty-five years. England happily contracted such a treaty with Iraq in January, 1926. In June, in order to restore friendship between Turkey and England, a small section of Mosul was returned to Turkey, together with a share in the oil royalties of the area.

#### **Present Problems of Iraq**

The relations between the Iraqi and England did not improve, however. In addition to the controversy arising from the desire of the inhabitants to enjoy independence, they now quarreled over the respective shares of the royalties and the piping routes of the oil to the seaports. In 1931 Iraq had her mandate status revoked and on the recommendation of Great Britain was admitted into the League as a member. In November, 1933, some Christian Assyrians in Iraq were massacred by the Iraqi to the great embarrassment of England and King Feisal. The disorder was suppressed. The problem of the Christian Assyrians was partly solved when 20,000 of them accepted on September 28, 1934, the invitations of France and England to allow them to settle in French West Africa and British Guiana. Iraq is now a protectorate of England without the

latter's being obliged to report to the League concerning her exploitation of the Mosul oil wells, which she had to do annually under Iraq's former status. The Turkish Petroleum Company, owned by British, United States, French, and Dutch interests, practically monopolizes the prospecting for, and exploiting of, the oil in this area.

## Turkey

The Treaty of Lausanne inaugurated a new epoch in Turkish history. Turkey renounced her Asiatic culture and acquired a European aspect under the guidance of a great leader.

### Mustapha Kemal Pasha

Mustapha's training was military, but he always had nationalistic, democratic, and revolutionary tendencies. He founded the *Vatan*, or the Nationalist Society. In the Turkish Revolution of 1908 he was chief of staff to Mahmud Shevket and, as such, he helped force Abdul Hamid to grant his people a constitution. Disappointed in the direction of the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908, he visited France in 1910, where he became convinced of the superiority of the Western European civilization. His military exploits are commendable. He fought ably in the Turco-Italian War (1911-1912), the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), and in the World War at Gallipoli (1915) in behalf of his country.

### The Turkish Nationalist Party

When the Sultan's representatives had signed the Armistice of Mudros in October, 1918, the terms of which approximated the unratified Treaty of Sèvres which followed later, Mustapha rushed to Constantinople to protest against the dictation by the Allies. He achieved nothing, but was punished by being abruptly sent to Anatolia to help demilitarize that area. Simultaneously, the Greeks were invading Turkey through the port of Smyrna to occupy the land that the Allies had promised the Greeks for their participation in the War. This, too, so outraged Mustapha Kemal that he proceeded to organize the Turkish Nationalist Party. He called a nationalist congress at Erzerum in July, 1919, and later at Sivas, where the *Turkish National Pact* was drawn up. Its program provided for Turkish self-determination; the protection of the rights of all minorities; the abolition of the capitulations; and the continuation of Turkish sovereignty over Constantinople, though the Straits were to be open to the commerce of all countries. The Turkish Nationalist party was in control of the Turkish parliament. Having subscribed to this Pact, it would not ratify the Treaty of Sèvres.

### **The Turkish Republic**

The British General, Milne, came to the assistance of the Sultan, but most of the Nationalists fled to Angora (Ankara) and established a Turkish Republic. The first assembly elected Mustapha Kemal President and Commander-in-Chief on April 23, 1920, and drew up the *Law of Fundamental Organization* on January 20, 1921, prescribing a President, a responsible Cabinet, and a Grand National Assembly at Angora. The electorate was at first enlarged to include males at least 18 years of age, but in 1931 it was restricted to those 21 years of age or over.

(a) ITS EARLY HISTORY. The problem of maintenance was a difficult one for this *de facto* government in the face of its foreign enemies. Mustapha Kemal first defeated the Armenians and annexed Kars and Ardahan. More difficult was the task of defeating the Greeks. At first the French and the English sympathized with the Greek invasion of Anatolia in order that Greece might actually be in possession of what would be hers under the Treaty of Sèvres. However, the Allies, becoming indifferent toward the Turco-Greek War, declared their neutrality on May 14, 1921. The Greeks, on their own account, gained preliminary success, advancing to within fifty miles of Angora, but were then hurled back by the Turks, yielding all their conquests by September, 1922. France came to terms with the Kemalists on October 20, 1921, when she renounced Cilicia to Turkey, in return for which grant the latter ceded to France mining rights and a lease to part of the Bagdad Railway. Italy, too, having made peace with the Kemalists, was given rights and concessions to public works, railways, and mines in Turkey. The last important combat that the Kemalists had was in Thrace. They were determined to drive the Greeks out of Eastern Thrace. Lloyd George intervened in behalf of the Greeks, but when he discovered that the Allies were not assisting England, overtures were made to Mustapha Kemal to settle the controversy by conference at Lausanne on November 20, 1922. In the meantime, the Grand National Assembly deposed Sultan Mohammed VI on November 2, 1922. A year later the Republic was officially declared with Mustapha Kemal as its first President.

### **The Treaty of Lausanne**

Invitations had been extended to France, the United States, Italy, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Russia, Japan, Greece, Great Britain, and Turkey to confer at Lausanne to settle some Near Eastern problems. Since the adopted treaty was not dictated to Turkey, she did not suffer the fate of her colleagues in the World War in this regard. It was concluded July 24, 1923, with Ismet Pasha representing Turkey. The latter won all the principles stipulated in her Turkish National Pact of 1920. The treaty provided that (1) Turkey recover Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople (Edirne), (2) Con-

stantinople be retained by Turkey, but that the Straits were to be open to all merchant and naval ships in time of war and peace, except the enemy ships of Turkey when she should happen to be engaged in war, (3) the islands of Dodecanesia, Rhodes, and Castellorizo be ceded to Italy, (4) the Anzac Area be policed by France, England, and Italy in order that their representatives might care for the graves of their countrymen, who had lost their lives in the campaign of Gallipoli, (5) Turkey renounce all claims to Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and the Arabian kingdoms, and recognize the English annexation of Cyprus, (6) the capitulations be abolished, and Turkey agree to protect her minorities, (7) Turkey pay no reparations, and (8) there be no restrictions on the military, naval, and air forces of Turkey. By a supplementary treaty between Greece and Turkey, a compulsory exchange of Turkish subjects in Greece for Greek subjects in Turkey was agreed upon, and the Graeco-Bulgarian-Turkish frontier in Eastern Thrace was to be demilitarized.

#### **The Problems of the Turkish Republic**

The modernization of Turkey has given rise to many problems.

(a) **DICTATOR MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA.** Much that the Turkish Republic achieved in westernization was accomplished through the tireless efforts of Dictator-President Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Though he was properly elected President of the Republic of Turkey, his real authority evolves from his position as President-General of the *National People's Party*, which has the largest membership. All other parties were outlawed. Up to 1927 he had the power to nominate all its candidates for the Assembly. In August, 1930, Mustapha permitted Ali Fethi Bey to organize a parliamentary opposition, which he called the *Liberal Republican Party*, or the *Independents*. In the election of April 24, 1931, the People's Party secured 304 members in the Grand National Assembly, all of whom were nominated by Mustapha Kemal, while the Independents secured only 13 seats. The wily General Ismet Pasha, who served his country so well at the Lausanne Conference, continued to be Turkey's Premier. Mustapha Kemal Pasha renewed his power by causing himself to be unanimously reelected in 1927 and again in March, 1931.

(b) **MINORITIES.** In accordance with the Graeco-Turkish treaty, 1,000,000 individuals moved to Greece and 400,000 individuals to Turkey. This great cross migration was attended by very great hardship and difficulty. There were many individual problems of religion, race, language, and property to be settled. These problems were finally solved with the generous assistance of the American Near East Relief. A treaty of friendship was concluded in June, 1930, between Greece and Turkey which terminated all their national and individual quarrels.

(c) **POSITION OF WOMEN.** In 1925 polygamy, which had been sanctioned by law and religion, was abolished in Turkey. Thereafter, all marriages had to be registered. The President was given the authority to decree divorces, whereas under the former Mohammedan practice the husband need only repeat three times that his wife was to be divorced and forthwith the two became separated. Mustapha Kemal Pasha exercised this prerogative to dissolve his own marriage. Civil marriages became obligatory after September 1, 1926. Voting in municipal elections was extended to women in 1929. A year later they were allowed to hold municipal office. Gradually women were completely emancipated. With regard to apparel, European dress became the vogue and the custom of wearing the veil became optional. The schools were open to women, and sex was no longer a bar to any trade or profession.

(d) **RELIGION.** During the World War, Mohammed VI was Sultan of Turkey and Caliph of the entire Mohammedan world. In 1922 he was deposed as Sultan. On March 1, 1924, the Grand National Assembly abolished the Turkish Caliphate and exiled all the members of the former royal family. Mohammedanism remained the state religion until April, 1928, when its preferred status was denied. There are many aspirants for the Caliphate, among whom are the King of Hejaz, the King of Egypt, the Sultan of Morocco, and Aga Khan of Bombay. The position is still vacant, however. Perhaps the organization of the Mohammedan religion will become nationalized in each large Mohammedan country.

(e) **LEGAL REFORMS.** The Treaty of Lausanne abolished the capitulations which allowed foreign European officials to care for the interests of their citizens in the Ottoman Empire. The nullification of the capitulations was conditioned on Turkey's adoption of new civil, penal, and commercial codes. In 1926 the government modelled its codes on the Swiss, Italian, and German.

(f) **EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.** The Dictator-President has been waging a relentless war against illiteracy, which was reduced during his administration to about 42% in 1933. School attendance is compulsory for children from the ages of seven to sixteen. In 1926 the Gregorian calendar was legally introduced. In 1928 by law the Turkish character alphabet was proscribed, to be replaced by the Latin alphabet as rapidly as possible. In 1929 the printing of new books in Turkish characters was banned. In the same year a dictionary of only genuinely Turkish words was planned. Persian and Arabic words were deleted. In 1931 the metric system was legalized to go into effect in 1933 to replace the former Turkish numerical system. In 1933 it was decreed that only the Turkish version of the Koran was thereafter to be used in the mosques.

(g) **INDUSTRY.** Prior to the World War, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians monopolized the industries of Turkey. The great mass of people eked out a livelihood by tilling the soil. Since the War, a conscious effort to revive and stimulate the industries of the country has been made. The protective tariff of 1929 and the commercial most-favored-nation treaties, concluded with Russia, the United States, Great Britain, and Italy, were designed to nurture infant industries, such as the textile, cotton gin, sugar refining, and lumbering. Tobacco, fruits, cereals, and cotton are Turkey's important exports. She is rich in minerals not yet exploited.

To encourage industry further the state, in 1929, undertook many public works, such as the building of highways and railways, and the improving of the soil by irrigation and reclamation. The Republic of Turkey has monopolies of the railways, merchant marine, tobacco, salt, gunpowder, and alcohol. Limited concessions in mining have been granted to the Italians and French. Nevertheless, Turkey like most nations suffered from the world depression.

(h) **FIVE YEAR PLAN.** To remedy the economic misery of Turkey, Mustapha Kemal Pasha launched a Five Year Plan for Turkey on February 20, 1934. The scheme is more like the Roosevelt New Deal than the Russian experiment. Industry is largely being run by the state. Private capitalism is encouraged, but only under the supervision of the government, which determines the extent of the operations of the privately owned companies. The whole of Turkish industry is guided, governed, and ordered by the state. The cotton, wool, natural silk, artificial silk, and harbor works industries are already under state control.

### **Foreign Affairs**

Turkey felt very uncertain of her future relations with the European countries in the light of her past experiences with them, especially with their unratiſed Treaty of Sèvres and their binding Treaty of Lausanne. Therefore, she contracted a treaty of neutrality and non-aggression with Soviet Russia in 1925, which was renewed in 1928, in 1930, and again in 1933. In time, Turkey, reassured of the friendship of the Western European countries, made a similar treaty with Italy in 1928 and with France in 1929. In 1932 she was admitted into the League of Nations. The diplomatic triumph that Mustapha Kemal Pasha sought is the creation of a Balkan confederation of interlocking non-aggression pacts and customs unions. It was not concluded because of the struggle for hegemony in the Balkan peninsula between France and Italy. Bulgaria, also, opposed it because she was fearful of her sister Balkan states. However, the Inter-Balkan Tobacco Bureau at Salonica was established. On February 17, 1927, friendship was restored between Turkey and the United States. In 1929 and 1931 this developed into

most-favored-nation treaties. On February 9, 1934, Turkey succeeded in negotiating a mutually protective Balkan pact with Rumania, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Albania and Bulgaria, however, refused to join.

Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, decided in 1934 to turn Turkish imperialistic ambitions toward the East and South, with the idea of forming a Moslem *bloc*, eventually to include Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and Egypt. Republican Turkey was rather suspicious of the designs of Italy in the eastern Mediterranean and, therefore, increased her navy and requested of the League the right to fortify the Straits.

### The Arabian States

The rest of the Arabian peninsula is divided into a number of semi-independent states under the indirect control of Great Britain. Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia (or Nejd), in 1934 made a comparatively successful attempt to bring the southwestern portion of the Arabian peninsula under his sway. The spoils amount to about 75,000 square miles of fertile land and a population of 2,500,000. He conquered Hejaz, Asir and Yemen. These conquests threaten to produce an international crisis. Across the Red Sea from Yemen lie Italian Eritrea and Somaliland, and French Somaliland. South of Yemen lies the British protectorate of Aden. Ibn Saud thus threatened the balance of power in the area of the Red and Arabian seas. Only the coastal principalities of Hadramaut, Oman and Koweit were still independent. Ibn Saud's ambition is to reunite Islamic Arabia of the Prophet Mohammed, free of all foreign rulers. On June 23, Ibn Saud concluded a treaty of peace with the Zeidi Imam Yahia of Yemen. It is believed that the pressure of great Britain and Italy was responsible for Ibn Saud's magnanimity.

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## CHAPTER XIX

### CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia, also called the Middle East, includes Tibet, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India. With the exception of India, this area is neither rich in natural resources nor densely populated, but it is here that Russia and England clashed in their imperialistic programs prior to the World War. Russia was desirous of reaching the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and England was determined to protect northern India from Russian aggrandizement. Following the World War, a Pan-Asiatic movement arose throughout the Asiatic continent to counteract, not so much the culture, but the imperialism and the religion of the European invaders. To this end, Soviet Russia signed treaties in 1921 with Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey, but the movement disintegrated because of the hostilities and differences in civilizations that exist among the Asiatic nations.

### Tibet

#### A Survey

Prior to the World War, Dalai Lama was the ruler of Tibet and the high priest of the Buddhist faith. His policy was that of extreme hostility to Europeans and their religions. However, the Russians succeeded in befriending this dignitary and soon the city of Lhasa was open to Russian merchants. In 1904 Lord Curzon, the viceroy of India, nullified Russian influence there by having Colonel Younghusband enter Lhasa and dictate a treaty to Dalai Lama, making Tibet a British protectorate. During the World War, Russian influence once again appeared in Tibet. But with the advent of the Bolsheviks, who renounced imperialism, Tibet reverted to the status of a British protectorate, though politically it is a vassal state of China. On December 18, 1933, Dalai Lama died and now there is much anxiety regarding the political leanings of the new ruler, who is not yet chosen. Will he favor Russia, China, or Britain? Panchen Lama, the exiled former ruler of Tibet, is one of the claimants to the throne.

## Persia

### Post-War History

The Anglo-Russian treaties of 1907 and 1915 had divided Persia into two mutually exclusive spheres of influence, the northern, controlled by Russia, and the southern by England. During the World War, Russian, British, and Turkish soldiers fought on Persian soil. With the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution, a futile effort was made to introduce Communism there. The defeat of Russia and later of Turkey made Persia entirely subject to the British troops. In 1919 an Anglo-Persian Treaty was signed, which made her politically and militarily dependent upon England. The Persian patriots resented this and in February, 1921, Rhesa Khan, Commander-in-chief of the Persian forces, overthrew the weak government and abrogated the treaty. He then made himself Minister of War, and later, Premier, in October, 1923. The Shah was induced to leave Persia, and a republican government was planned. The anti-Mohammedan movement, which accompanied the current Turkish republican agitation, outraged the Persians and tended to discredit republicanism. Accordingly, on December 12, 1925, the constituent assembly declared Rhesa Khan hereditary Shah. Foreign troops and civil officials were expelled and a stable government was established. In 1921 an American, Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, was invited to advise Persia on public works, health, and education. In April, 1927, Rhesa Khan announced the abolition of all foreign capitulations in Persia to go into effect May 10, 1928. In the same year a treaty of friendship and non-aggression was concluded with Russia, which was renewed in 1933. Persia is one of the few Asiatic countries admitted to membership in the League of Nations.

The most recent problem confronting Persia is her difficulties with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The controversy involves royalties and the company's political interference in Persia. The British navy is largely dependent upon this oil supply for fuel. In November, 1932, the Persian government cancelled the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession. The matter was referred to the League Council for adjustment on January 24, 1933. It was announced that a settlement had been tentatively reached by the parties involved as a result of the Council's hearing of the case. On May 28, 1933, a new agreement was concluded between the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Persian government. It was a decided victory for Persia since her sovereignty was preserved and the new terms were more favorable to her.

## Afghanistan

### Her Westernization

The treaty of 1907 between England and Russia, that had divided Persia into English and Russian spheres of influence, made a buffer state of Afghanistan under English influence. Russia promised to deal with the Ameer only through England. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 removed the danger of Russian imperialism to Afghanistan's independence, but substituted Communism as a new threat. However, a treaty of neutrality and non-aggression was made between Russia and Afghanistan in 1926.

The British influence was destroyed when Amanullah Khan became Ameer in February, 1919, and launched the Afghan Nationalist movement. Bitter conflicts arose between the British-Indian and Afghan troops until finally England recognized the complete independence of Afghanistan on November 22, 1922. The Ameer invited French, Italian, and German engineers to Westernize Afghanistan. He, himself, travelled in Europe to acquire modern ideas. His program, however, met with the hostility of the orthodox Afghan tribes. This opposition finally overwhelmed him so that he had to abdicate the throne on January 14, 1929. Three days later the orthodox rebel, Habibullah Khan, became Ameer. In recent years the succession to the throne of Afghanistan has been a troublesome question. On November 8, 1933, Amanullah offered to return to the throne when he learned that his uncle, King Nadir Shah, had been assassinated, but the latter's son, Mohammed Zahir Shah, succeeded him instead. It appears that he will continue the policy of his father in his neutrality toward Soviet Russia and British India, his moderation toward the Mohammedan minority, his public works program, and his support of the Constitution of 1932, which provides for personal freedom, abolition of slavery, compulsory elementary education, and political representation.

In September, 1934, Afghanistan became a member of the League of Nations. ••

## India

India is a large peninsula with a population of 300,000,000 people. Politically, it comprises fifteen provinces that constitute British India and about three hundred independent and semi-independent principalities. Its people speak about two hundred different languages, and belong to about forty different races and many social castes. Sixty-seven per cent of the people are Hindus. They are divided into four main castes. The Brahmins are the aristocrats, and the pariahs, or untouchables, are the most lowly people. Twenty-two per cent of the inhabitants are Mohammedans.

### Reasons for English Imperialism in India

England's imperialistic ambitions in India are actuated by a desire to continue to develop a market for her manufactured goods in that country. About \$3,500,000 of Indian bonds are owned by Englishmen. Indian imports from England total about \$500,000,000 annually and Indian exports, \$400,000,000 annually. Of late, this import and export trade has fallen off because of Gandhi's campaign of *non-coöperation* with England. The strategic location of the Indian peninsula in Asia gives Great Britain a military, naval, and economic advantage in the affairs of the Asiatic continent. England has been very generous in civilizing the Indian masses by an intensive program of industrialization, sanitation, and education, which has resulted in instilling ideas of nationalism, democracy, and liberalism among the natives. However, their training is inadequate to enable a people of various races, castes, religions, and languages to govern themselves.

### India before 1918

Political discontent has always been rife in India, whether it was in opposition to the government by the British East India Company (1600-1857), the government under the India Act (1858), or the government under the Indian Councils Act (1909). During the World War, the heterogeneous mass of people in India united in the common cause against the Central Powers by volunteering to serve in the British army and navy, and by donating a sum of \$525,000,000. Besides, the Mohammedans of India were loyal enough to England not to answer the call of the Turkish Sultan to a Holy War.

### Government of India Act, 1919

In 1916 a great national awakening was in evidence in India. Some advocated Bolshevism, others self-determination, and still others varieties of self-government. The uprisings finally became so effectual that in August, 1917, E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, with the aid of Viceroy Chelmsford announced that they were going to increase self-government in India. In July, 1918, their decision, known as the *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, was issued. It was a disappointment to the natives. Riots and agitation came to such a pass that in January, 1919, the viceroy announced the *Rowlatt Acts*, which suppressed the disturbances and restricted the liberties of the people. The very infamous behavior of England, in her effort to quell the anti-British movement, was the *Amritsar massacre* in the Punjab on April 13, 1919, when Brigadier-General Dyer unnecessarily killed about 400 natives and wounded three times as many.

(a) **FEDERAL PROVISIONS.** In December, 1919, the *Government of India Act*, based largely on the Montagu-Chelmsford report, was enacted by Parliament. This act provided for a plan of government which was to apply only to British India and not to the very many independent and semi-independent provinces. The executive department was to consist of a Viceroy and an Executive Council, both appointed by the Crown and responsible to it. The legislature was to consist of two advisory bodies, the Legislative Assembly of 144 members, 103 of whom were elected, and the Council of State of 60 members, 33 of whom were elected by a very restricted suffrage. Voting, based on social, property, and occupational qualifications, was extended to about 5,000,000 people, or less than 2% of the population. The legislative bodies were really only advisory, since the Viceroy controlled the budget and could decree emergency measures.

(b) **PROVINCIAL PROVISIONS.** The provincial governments were dyarchies. The Provincial Governor and his Executive Council, both appointed by the Viceroy, were to deal with the "reserved" departments of government, such as irrigation, land revenues, factory inspection, and police. Each province, in addition to having a Legislative Council, 70% of whose members were to be elected, was to have charge of the "transferred" departments of government, such as public health, education, public works, and agriculture.

(c) **ITS RECEPTION IN INDIA.** The Indian Nationalists objected to this system of government because the Viceroy had too much authority, the franchise was too restricted, and the natives shared little in the administration of government. Nevertheless, the act was enforced.

#### **Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi**

The leader of the opposition was Gandhi,—lawyer, ascetic, prophet, and leader of the Indian Nationalist cause for equality of all castes and religions. His party's bold slogan is "Swaraj," or "Home Rule for India," which he hopes to attain by a peaceful campaign of non-coöperation with the British. Its initial application was the boycott in November, 1920, of the first elections under the Government of India Act of 1919. The riots and strikes that attended the visit of the Prince of Wales, together with the program of non-coöperation, brought about the arrest and imprisonment of Gandhi in 1922 for six years. In 1924 C. R. Das, his successor, abandoned the boycott and ran candidates for the Legislative Assembly with a view toward obstructionism, should they succeed in being elected. Gandhi, released after two years of confinement, retired from politics for five years.

### Simon Commission

The Government of India Act of 1919 was admitted to be a failure even by the British. In 1927 Sir John Simon headed an inter-party commission to investigate and suggest political changes in India. This commission finally received the coöperation of the Indian leaders, but the All-India Congress, inspired by Gandhi, insisted upon dominion government for India, in which only military and foreign affairs would be reserved to the British government in England. Since the Simon Commission would not entertain this request, Gandhi, now out of retirement, conducted a *civil disobedience campaign* against English rule. On April 6, 1930, the British government salt monopoly was violated by Gandhi. Furthermore, his followers participated in native salt production. The general disobedience that followed led to Gandhi's rearrest in May, 1930. The Simon report which appeared in June was no consolation to the Indian National-

ists, who retaliated and advocated absolute independence. The report recommended the strengthening of the executive department and was silent on the question of dominion status.



THE LION AND THE MOUSE

Gandhi, the most powerful factor in Indian peace

—*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

### The First Round Table Conference

Thousands of Indian patriots were in jail. The viceroy, Lord Irwin, called a Round Table Conference to convene in London on November 12, 1930, with a view toward making governmental adjustments in India. To the invitation to attend the conference extended to representatives of all political views, Mohammedans, Hindus, Sikhs, pariahs, and women responded in large numbers. The only ones absent were the Congress Nationalists and Gandhi, who preferred not to coöperate. The Conference was successful in so far as most of the heterogeneous interests were willing to coöperate in



John Bull: "When I took that child to raise I might have known I'd have to walk the floor."

—Adams Service

an Indian federation. Its failure, however, was brought about by England's refusal to permit the formation of a dominion, and because the Mohammedans insisted on separate communal electorates and proportional representation in the new government.

#### **The Second Round Table Conference**

The Labor Government of England in September, 1931, called a Second Round Table Conference. This time, Gandhi, representing the National Congress of Indians, attended together with the other groups. There was, however, less concord among the representatives than at the First Round Table Conference. The native princes and British India, the pariahs and the Brahmins, and the Mohammedans and the Hindus had their respective quarrels. Premier MacDonald in disgust declared that a new constitution for India could not be

considered until the delegates themselves solved the problems of communal electorates and minority regulations. With that the Conference was adjourned. Again little was achieved. Gandhi, upon returning to India, resumed his anti-British, non-violent, non-coöperation campaign, but the new viceroy, Lord Willingdon, was less lenient. He issued a series of harsh restraining ordinances. In January, 1932, Mahatma was jailed once again. About 50,000 others suffered a similar imprisonment.

#### **Acts of Sir Samuel Hoare**

The rifts between the various patriotic factions became wider. In desperation, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, made public a scheme for communal electorates in September, 1932. He proportioned a number of delegates to about one dozen different class and minority groups for representation in the provincial assemblies, expecting the Third Round Table Conference to adjust the details. Many of the groups were contented, but Mahatma Gandhi protested on the ground that the distinctions between Sikhs, Indian Christians, Mohammedans, Brahmins, and "untouchables" intensified the disunion of India and worked a particular hardship on the "untouchables." To win his point, he started a fast on September 20, 1932. Within five days Sir Samuel Hoare yielded and the scheme of separate electorates for the "untouchables" was revoked, this class receiving twice as many seats in the provincial legislatures as had previously been planned. With most of the minority problems solved by compromise, the Third Round Table Conference was free to tackle the bigger problem of a satisfactory government for India, when it convened on November 17, 1932.

#### **The Third Round Table Conference**

This conference on the new constitution for India, after having prepared a concrete outline of a constitution, came to a close in London on December 24th. It was hoped that after due deliberation by a Joint Committee and by the Hindus at home the final legislation creating the new government would be enacted. The British Government insisted upon many safeguards and reservations in the new government, which caused the Hindus to question the sincerity of the British in offering to grant to India a self-governing constitution. The Governor-General in the new government was to have the ultimate authority in such matters as defense, foreign affairs, riots, rebellion, minorities, states' rights, and finance. The Joint Committee, appointed to study the constitution, has thus far (1934) accomplished little. The British Conservative party has gone on record as opposing it because of its liberality. Furthermore, many additional Hindus became oppositionists because they realized that the independent Hindu princes would not be forbidden to continue



their autocratic rule under the new federal government. The Congress party favored the ending of mass civil disobedience as a preliminary to the release of the political prisoners and to conversations with the Indian government concerning the new constitution. But Gandhi, who was now released from prison, resumed the leadership of the party and asserted that the Hindu mass civil disobedience would not discontinue until he had made "an honorable agreement" with the Viceroy. The latter refused him an audience on these terms, whereupon Gandhi inaugurated new obstructionist tactics of *individual civil disobedience*.

#### Individual Civil Disobedience

Gandhi was rearrested, but was soon released on condition that he refrain from continuing his obstructionist program. However, he violated his parole, an act for which he was arrested. He immediately insisted that he be allowed to conduct his campaign against Untouchability from prison. The government yielded, but Gandhi decided to fast anyhow. This voluntary starvation so weakened him that he was released on August 25, 1933. There was evidence that the old Congress party was split in their sympathies over the question of the excesses of Gandhi's conduct. The failure of non-coöperation to achieve results brought about a revision of the Congress party's tactics which was welcomed throughout India. Gandhi himself was pleased with the revival of the *Swraj* party and the decision to take part in the November, 1934, elections. However, Pandit Malaviya led a defection of orthodox Hindu elements from the Congress party, a controversy once again arose over the question of communal representation, and there were many who were opposed to legislative activity and advocated civil disobedience. Communism and Socialism created further dissension within the ranks of the Indians. On October 28, 1934, Gandhi retired as president of the Congress party and he will devote himself hereafter to the new All-India Village Industries Association.

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## CHAPTER XX

### THE FAR EAST

#### China

China is a vast country, larger than Europe, with a population of about 300,000,000. China proper comprises the valleys of the Yangtze-kiang and Hwang Ho rivers, with Mongolia, Tibet, and Sin-Kiang as her outlying districts. The country's exports and imports total about \$1,500,000,000 per year. Great Britain, Japan, Russia, the United States, and France have many billions invested in railways, factories, mines, and missions in China. China is still Asiatic in culture, but, because of this trade and these investments, she is part of the politics and economy of Europe and America.

#### The Chinese Revolution

(a) BIRTH OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. The Manchu dynasty ruled China from 1644 until 1911. Then it was that the Chinese revolutionaries set up a republican government under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The Manchus were largely responsible for the retardation of China's civilization and for the foreign imperialism in China with its leaseholds, spheres of influence, and extraterritorialities. The Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the aggression of the European imperialists ushered in a Chinese intellectual awakening. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900, inspired by the Dowager Empress Tsze-Hsi, did not eradicate it. The last of the Manchus had inaugurated a liberal program by abolishing the memory literary examinations for the civil service and by launching a seven year plan for constitutional reform. The Regent-father of the child Fu-yi, who inherited the throne, cancelled the entire program, however.

An assembly filled with Chinese Nationalists convened in 1910 at Peking to protest against the Regent's reactionism. Troops mutinied, strikes broke out, civil war was rampant, and, on February 12, 1912, the Manchu dynasty came to an end. In the meantime, on January 1, 1912, a revolutionary assembly at Nanking elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen President of the provisional republican government. He was the leader of the *Kuomintang*, or Nationalist Party, the slogan of which was, "Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood." They were not Boxers, but advocates of European culture. There was discord

in the party. For the sake of unity, Sun resigned in favor of a northern leader, Yuan Shih-kai. This move did not altogether unite the northern and southern leaders. The northerners wanted a limited monarchy, sought immediate participation in the World War, and welcomed foreign loans for the price of concessions, while the southerners wanted a republic, wished to remain neutral, and were opposed to the granting of further concessions to Europeans for loans. Late in 1914 Yuan dissolved the balky assembly and ruled as a dictator until his death in June, 1916. In June, 1917, the Kuomintang set up at Canton a southern constitutional government in opposition to the one at Peking, but it was the latter government which was recognized by the foreign countries and which received heavy loans in exchange for concessions. China was still further disintegrated by a dozen or more military chieftains (tuchuns), who ravaged the country and submitted to neither the Peking nor the Canton government.

#### **Twenty-One Demands**

In accordance with her treaties with the Allies, Japan's chief rôle in the World War was the conquest of Kiao-chau on the Shantung peninsula from Germany, which the latter had leased in 1898 from China. The Chinese Nationalists, protesting against the Japanese ownership of this land, demanded that it be returned to China.

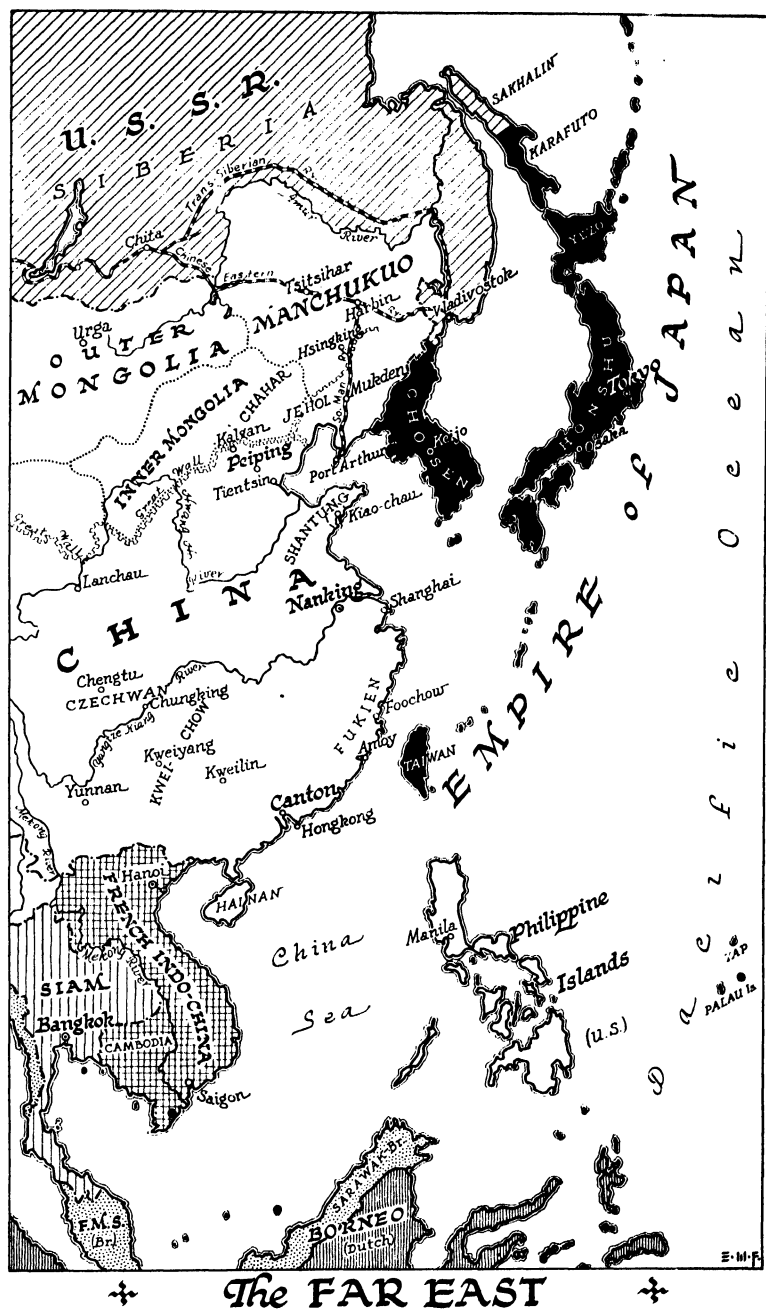
Japan thought this an opportune time to dictate her imperialistic program in Asia, now that the European countries were engaged in the World War and greatly dependent on Japanese manufactured goods. On January 18, 1915, the Twenty-One Demands were secretly made of Yuan. But, when the news reached the United States and the European countries, they voiced strong objections. Japan modified these terms slightly on May 25, 1915, and obliged Yuan to sign two nationally suicidal treaties. The Chinese to this day deny the legality of these treaties since they were ratified by neither the Peking nor the Canton assemblies. These treaties provided that: (1) China must accept any disposition that Japan and Germany might arrange concerning Kiao-chau and the Shantung peninsula, (2) China must consult Japan concerning future concessions to foreign countries in southern Manchuria and in eastern Mongolia, (3) Chinese iron and steel works are to be exploited only by joint Chinese and Japanese interests, (4) no further leaseholds of sea-ports are to be granted by China to foreign countries without the consent of Japan, (5) China must employ Japanese civil and military advisers, (6) China must purchase at least one-half of her munitions from Japan, and (7) Japan must enjoy import preferences over other countries in China.

## China in the World War

China remained neutral in the World War until 1917 largely because of the machinations of Japan and the latter's fear of a strong, militarized China. But in February, 1917, a secret Anglo-Japanese treaty was concluded in which England agreed to support the claims which Japan, at the peace conference at the end of the War, would advance to the Shantung peninsula, which includes Kiao-chau, and to the German Pacific Ocean islands north of the equator. In return for this, Japan was to send warships into the Mediterranean Sea to aid the Allies. France signed a similar treaty in March 1917. Russia and Italy also offered no objections to Japanese interests in China. But on August 14, 1917, Peking declared war on the Central Powers. The Canton government did likewise soon after. Even the United States gave Japan assurances of her special interests in China in the *Lansing-Ishii Agreement* of November 2, 1917, in exchange for Japan's promise to respect the *Open Door policy* of the United States. This agreement was cancelled in April, 1923, at the request of the United States. China played an insignificant rôle in the World War and, although an Ally, won none of the spoils of the War at the Versailles Conference. Japan insisted upon the promises of the secret treaties against the protests of the northern and southern Chinese delegates to the Conference. Clemenceau and Lloyd George persuaded Wilson to disregard the Chinese requests because of their own countries' treaty obligations to Japan. The latter acquired the Shantung peninsula and the mandate over the former German Pacific islands north of the equator. In indignation, the Chinese delegates refused to sign the Versailles Treaty. Later China concluded a separate treaty of peace with Germany and gained admittance to membership in the League of Nations.

### The Washington Conference, 1921-1922

The Chinese did not resort to war to resist Japan, but initiated a national boycott of Japanese merchandise, in which most Chinese engaged irrespective of their political views,—a method similar to the non-violent, non-coöperative program of Gandhi and his followers in India. This economic war proved more devastating to Japan than a military and naval war. President Harding interceded and invited Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, and Japan, but not Russia, to the Washington Conference to discuss the settlement of the international problems in the Pacific Ocean and the Far East and to limit naval armaments. Other reasons were: the desire to right the injustice done to China; to check the insistence of Japan for naval parity with Great Britain and the United States; the fear of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty in 1921; and England's repeated violations of the *Open Door policy*.





Nine treaties were drawn up at the Conference. The two which dealt with naval disarmament have been discussed. Five were concerned with the problems of the Far East and the Pacific Ocean, and two supplementary treaties were concerned with the Shantung peninsula and the island of Yap.

(a) THE TREATIES OF THE FAR EAST AND THE PACIFIC.

(1) *The First Four Power Treaty* between Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States required that the signatories respect one another's rights in the lands about the Pacific Ocean.

(2) *The Second Four Power Treaty* of the same countries provided that, should any one of the nations violate these recognized rights in the Pacific Ocean area, the others would convene to discuss methods of punishing the offending nation.

(3) *The First Nine Power Treaty*, signed by all the attending countries, stipulated that: the signatories guarantee the integrity and independence of China, subject to the existing spheres of influence and leaseholds; they reaffirm the principle of the Open Door policy for China; and China was not to discriminate in her offering of concessions and privileges to foreign countries.

(4) *The Second Nine Power Treaty*, signed by all the countries attending the conference, gave China greater control over her customs duties.

(5) *The Six Power Treaty* distributed the German-owned cable lines among the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, and China.

(b) THE TWO SUPPLEMENTARY TREATIES.

(1) *The Sino-Japanese Treaty* provided for the return of the Shantung peninsula and other German property to China for a monetary consideration, which included compensation for Japanese investments in the Shantung peninsula since 1914.

In December, 1923, the Shantung peninsula was released to China.

(2) *The United States-Japanese Treaty* dealt with the island of Yap in the Pacific Ocean. This island is significant in that one of the two cables between the United States and China passes through it, as does the only cable from the United States to the Dutch East Indies. The United States suggested at the Peace Conference that Yap be internationalized. But the Conference paid no heed to the suggestion and assigned the island to Japan as a mandate. The United States-Japanese Treaty stipulated that the economic interests of the United States be respected everywhere in the Japanese Pacific Ocean mandates, and that the United States may lay another cable passing through the island of Yap.

### **The History of the Chinese Republic**

The constitutional government that was founded in 1917 on the principles of the Kuomintang party, led by Dr. Sun, was determined to unite all China. Russia, which was anxious to spread Communism and destroy capitalism, offered the services of Michael Borodin to Dr. Sun. He was accepted to assist in the Chinese cause for unification. But without the knowledge of Dr. Sun he spread Communistic propaganda. In 1924 a treaty was concluded between China and Russia whereby Russia: recognized the independence of China and agreed to disregard all existing subversive imperialistic enterprises of the European countries in China; cancelled the unpaid balance of the Boxer Rebellion indemnity; promised not to spread Communism in China; and agreed to restore Mongolia, which Russia had occupied since the Boxer Rebellion. Another Sino-Russian treaty was concluded in 1924 which provided that the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria should remain under dual control as it had been since 1896, until such a time as China could redeem it with her own capital.

In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, the successor to the deceased Dr. Sun, brought great successes to the Kuomintang party. He drove out the Communists from the party and conquered northern China in April, 1928, making Nanking the capital of the Nationalist Government. In June Peking was captured. By December most European states, Japan, and the League of Nations had recognized the Nationalist government.

However, after 1929 the Nationalist Government was none too successful in its battles with the Communists, and was vexed by Chinese famines attending the floods, its wars with the rival military chieftains, and the controversy with Russia over the Governor of Manchuria's attempt to oust the Russians from the Chinese Eastern Railway.

On the other hand, the Nationalist Government continued to make significant strides toward the redemption of the sovereignty of China. In July, 1928, it announced that it would abrogate all "unequal treaties" as they expired. By the end of 1928 all nations recognized China's right to complete national tariff autonomy. In July 1929 China raised her basic tariff rate from 5% to 12½%. China introduced a new modern criminal code in 1928, whereupon the National Government proceeded to ask the European nations to abolish their extraterritorial rights in China. Germany and Russia had already done so. Late in the year 1928 Belgium, Italy, Denmark, and Portugal did the same. The further extension of Chinese sovereign prerogatives was temporarily arrested by the recent Sino-Japanese quarrel over Manchukuo.



### The Disintegration of the Chinese Republic

Almost a quarter of a century has elapsed since the founding of the Chinese Republic, yet China is farther from being a united state than she ever was. *Manchukuo*, formerly Manchuria, is an independent country under the protection of Japan. *Jehol and the zone north of Tientsin and Peiping* are administered by the Chinese, but under Japanese surveillance. The province of *Charhar*, the capital of which is Kalgan, is in the control of the erstwhile Christian General, Feng Yuhsiang. For a long time he alternated his loyalty between Tokio and Nanking, depending upon which offered the greater reward. At the present writing, his territory is definitely at the mercy of Japan. *South China*, with its capital at Canton, is nominally attached to Nanking, but in reality is a rich, fertile, independent state, controlled by Governor Chen-Chi-tang and his 100,000 well trained and well equipped soldiers. In 1933 *Fukien* declared her independence. Her capital is Foochow; other important cities are Liengcheng and Amoy. The Chinese Social Democrats, in alliance with the Communists, rebelled against Nanking and set up this new state, which was fighting to retain her independence from both Nanking and Canton rule. The Fukien rebellion collapsed on January 13, 1934, when a Nationalist army crushed it. The outlying *Chinese Turkestan* is in revolt and it is only a question of time before it will win independence. *Outer Mongolia* is autonomous, and very friendly to Moscow. It probably will not be long before *Inner Mongolia*, which wants the same status, will be autonomous. In the province of *Szechuen*, Tibet has conducted a successful war and invaded Yunnan and Kweichow. The part of China under the direct control of Nanking is thus comparatively small.

### Japan

Japan consists of four large islands and about 3,000 small ones lying off the eastern Asiatic coast. Including Korea, she has a population of 92,000,000 people, which is much too large to be supported by her barren soil. Though closely allied to China in culture and in race, the Japanese did not resist the Western civilization that Commodore Perry opened to Japan in 1853 as did the Chinese when they were exposed to Westernization. In eighty years of phenomenal history, Japan became a leading commercial, industrial, military, and naval power.

### Post-War Domestic Problems

(a) ECONOMIC CONDITION. The demands for manufactured goods that the Allies made on Japan during the World War overstimulated her industrialization. After the World War, she needed raw materials, markets, and space to support her rapidly growing population. Her customers during the War were now once again

competing with her in the world markets. Japan proved to be a formidable competitor in the textile and rubber industries, particularly because of her new labor-saving machinery and the low wage scale of her workers. She is now one of the world's leading manufacturing and exporting countries.

(b) THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN. In 1918 the absolute monarchy in Japan was liberalized with the introduction of ministerial responsibility. In 1925 universal suffrage was brought into practice. However, the army and navy in Japan are practically beyond the control of the civil government. The *Seiyukai* party, under the leadership of Baron Tanaka, advocates positive imperialism, absolutism, and militarism. This party seeks the conversion of the Pacific island mandates into Japanese possessions and a navy no longer second to that of the United States and of Great Britain. In 1930 this party, having obtained control of the government, began clamoring for the Chinese province immediately to the west,—Manchuria. In foreign affairs the party advocates regional leagues such as the United States Monroe Doctrine and the European Little Entente. This would enable Japan to control the destinies of Asia.

#### **Manchukuo**

(a) THE NATURE OF MANCHURIA. Manchuria was the north-eastern province of China. It has a population of about 25,000,000, ninety-five per cent of whom are recent Chinese immigrants. The area has unusually rich soil, adaptable to the growth of the soy bean and wheat. Its subsoil contains rich deposits of coal, iron, shale, gold, silver, lead, and copper. Chang Hsueh-liang, who became governor of the territory in 1928, ruled it as an autonomous state, owing some allegiance to the Nationalist Government at Nanking. One-third of the exports of all China came from Manchuria. The business enterprises in China are largely foreign-owned. Japan, in particular, has about \$1,000,000,000 invested there and the South Manchurian Railway has belonged to her since the Russo-Japanese War. Russia had a one-half interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway until October, 1934, when this interest was sold to Manchukuo for \$56,000,000. Thus a chronic cause for a war between Russia and Japan was removed.

(b) THE CHINESE-JAPANESE CONFLICT. The immediate causes for the Chinese-Japanese conflict over Manchuria were that: a Japanese captain was murdered in Inner Mongolia by Chinese; the South Manchurian Railway was blown up with explosives by Chinese on September 18, 1931; and the government of Manchuria was building a line parallel with the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway in violation of the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1905. Japan did not declare war on China, but invaded Manchuria and rapidly took possession of it. On March 9, 1932, the independent



LET SAM DO IT

—New York American

government of Manchukuo was established, with the former Chinese emperor, Henry Pu-yi, as its ruler. The Chinese appealed to the League of Nations and to the United States for assistance, but the European nations were too exhausted by the World War, and too impoverished by the world depression to intervene effectively. China herself was torn by many factions. Her only direct method of fighting the Japanese was to boycott their wares. Next to the United States, China was Japan's best customer. She consumed about one-fourth of Nippon's exports. The boycott became so vexatious that upon the invitation of the Japanese in Shanghai, the Tokio Government sent an army to that city in January, 1932, to suppress the anti-Japanese movement. Months later the Japanese offered to evacuate Shanghai if the Chinese would discontinue the boycott. This arrangement was agreed upon in May, 1932.

(c) • **ARBITRATION AND THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION.** Legally, the Japanese argued that they had not declared war on China, that they had no designs on Chinese territory but that China had violated the "Twenty-One Demands" of 1915, which stipulated that China was responsible for maintaining peace and order and was not to engage in any boycotts. It was also held that China had violated the treaty of 1905 between China and Japan, which provided that China was not to build a railway parallel to the South Manchurian Railway. The European nations countered that Japan's behavior was a violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine

Power Treaty (1922), and the Kellogg Peace Pact (1928), to which both China and Japan had subscribed. Reluctantly, the League Council took action and appointed the *Lytton Commission* to investigate the matter. Soon after, the United States Secretary of State issued the famous *Stimson Doctrine*, which stated that the United States would not recognize any situation or treaty growing out of a violation of the Kellogg Peace Pact. In anticipation of unfavorable findings of the Lytton Commission, Japan officially recognized the independence of Manchukuo on September 15, 1932. The Lytton Commission Report treated the legal arguments 'pro and con, advising, among other things, that China and Japan settle their dispute by arbitration under international auspices. When Japan refused to accept the report, the League Council voted to refer the matter to the Assembly, which, in turn, created a special committee to solve the problem. Japan, in the meantime, penetrated Jehol so as to extend Manchukuo to its natural boundaries and also quit the League of Nations in protest.

#### Aftermath of the Manchurian Question

Furthermore, the request of the Japanese army and navy chiefs for their departments for the year 1934-1935 was \$347,000,000, a sum larger than that in any previous year, and an increase of 45% over the appropriation for the year 1933-1934. The government aimed to build up its navy to the London Treaty limits. The causes for this sudden increase in the Japanese navy are: the navy building program of President Roosevelt; the diplomatic isolation of Japan;



SCRAPS OF PAPER

—Los Angeles Examiner

the friction with several Western powers over the Manchurian dispute; her resignation from the League of Nations; and the determination of the Japanese Government to go to the naval conference in 1935 with a fleet up to the London Treaty limits, so that she could more effectively demand parity with the United States and England. In the meantime, Fijii Amau, chief of the Intelligence Division of the Japanese Foreign office, unofficially announced on April 18, 1934, that Japan assumed exclusive responsibility for peace in Eastern Asia, except as she might elect to share the burden with China. The recent activities of the League and of individual foreign countries in China were looked upon by the Japanese Government as having tended to support in China a resistance to Japan which threatens the peace of Asia. This declaration of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine in Asia immediately aroused opposition in diplomatic offices of all the foreign nations interested in the Pacific, including the United States. These nations interpreted the Japanese declaration to be an abrogation by Japan of all the treaties, signed by Japan, which involve Pacific problems.

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## CHAPTER XXI

### AFRICA

Africa, a vast continent, three times the size of Europe, inhabited by 135,000,000 people, is rich in gold, diamonds, rubber, oil, cocoa, sugar, cotton, cattle, coffee, and other products. Before the World War, nearly all of Africa was carved into British, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Belgian territories. The only independent states were Abyssinia, which was exploited by France, England, and Italy; and Liberia, which was a protectorate of the United States. At the end of the World War, the only change in the territorial distribution of Africa was that Germany surrendered her colonies to England, France, Belgium, and the Union of South Africa as mandates.

Despite the earnest pleading of the Berlin Conference of 1885 that the European conquerors promote the welfare of the Africans, they greedily proceeded in their great lust for wealth and empire. The slogans of the World War, such as democracy, liberty, and self-determination, reverberated in Africa and awakened the natives to a realization of their long oppression. The religious teachings of the Christian missionaries and the smattering of a secular education, too, helped to incite these people to action. Prior to the World War, the European nations were fighting one another for possessions in Africa; now the Africans are struggling to liberate themselves from European control, although not from European civilization.

#### Central Africa

##### Kenya or British East Africa

After the War, the white employers in Kenya reduced the already low wages of the natives by a third. Harry Thuku founded the East Africa Native Association in 1921 to protect the interests of his fellow Africans and protested against this peonage. When riots followed, he was deported to Jubaland. This had the effect of terminating the opposition. In 1933 gold was found on the native reserve land. This fact portends an aggravation of the hostilities between the English and the natives.

##### Belgian Congo

In 1921 Simon Kimbangu, a negro Baptist preacher, became unusually influential in Belgian Congo. The whites, fearing the

growing arrogance of the natives under his guidance, soon found good cause for sentencing him to life imprisonment. Henceforth, in the Lower Congo, a native may not teach or preach without a certificate from some Protestant or Catholic missionary organization.

## Northern Africa

### Spanish Morocco

The administration of Spanish Morocco by Spain since 1912 has been a fiasco. The Riffs under Abd-el-Krim drove the Spanish soldiers back to the coast towns. Local taxes rose, censorship became more strict, and thousands of Spaniards were killed or taken captive. The *Picasso Committee's Report* revealed the general corruption and inefficiency of the Spanish army and the monarchy. On September 13, 1923, this general condition led to the *coup d'état* that made Primo de Rivera dictator.

### French Morocco

In 1924 and 1925 Abd-el-Krim waged a war to drive out the French and the Spanish from Morocco so that he could proclaim himself Sultan of Morocco. Though he had held the Spanish and French troops at bay since 1917 and subjected them to terrific losses of property and lives, on May 28, 1926, he surrendered to the French troops. Since then the Riffs have been comparatively pacific. Apparently, they realized the futility of continuing the struggle, at least for a time.

### Algeria and Tunis

The people in Algeria and Tunis have remained loyal to French rule because of the political reforms of an elective assembly and council that were granted them between 1921 and 1925.

### Libya

Italy, in her war with Turkey in 1911, won Tripoli, now called Libya, for the Italians. But the subjugation of the natives delayed Italy's complete occupation of the territory until 1926, as they were not willing to be transferred from Turkey to Italy.

## Egypt

At the eve of the World War, Egypt was technically Turkish sovereign territory, although it had been under British control since 1882. But on December 18, 1914, England freed Egypt from Turkey, proclaimed a protectorate over it, deposed Khedive Abbas II, and declared Prince Husein Kamel the Sultan of Egypt.

### **Egypt as a British Protectorate since 1914**

The Egyptians were dissatisfied with the British protectorate government because of their dislike for foreign rule, though there was no hatred manifested for European civilization. Hence, they were possessed with a desire for self-determination, and a dislike for Christians. Saad Zaghlul Pasha led the Egyptian Nationalist or *Wafd* movement for absolute political independence and republicanism.

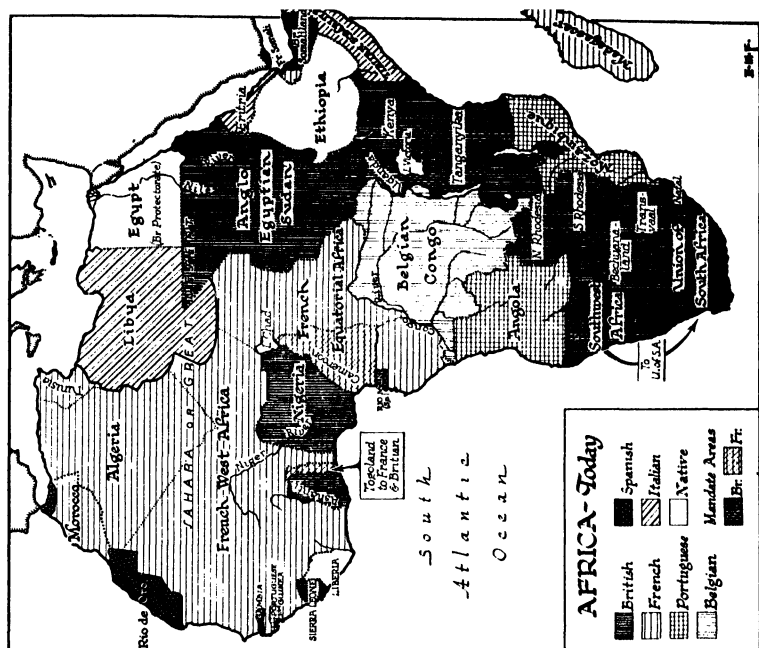
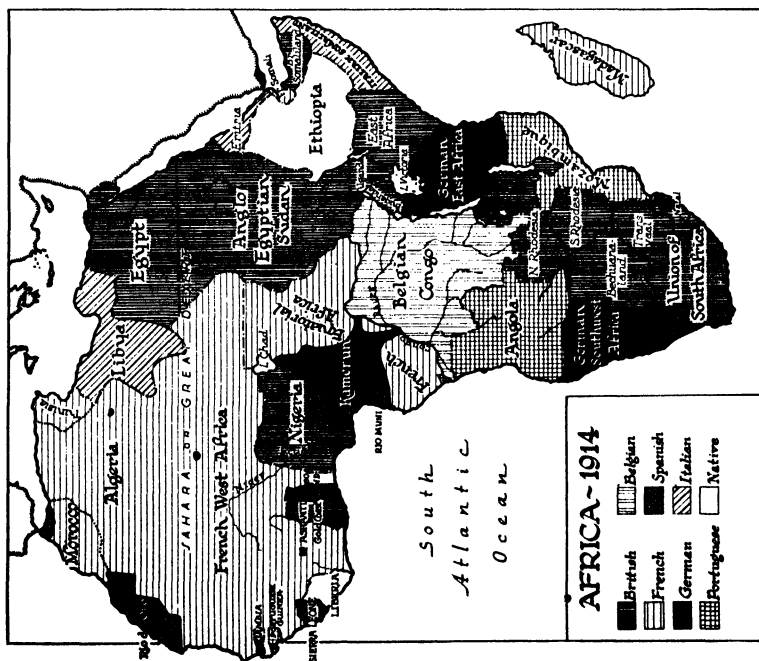
**LORD MILNER REPORT.** Though the Egyptians participated in the War, they were not given an opportunity to be heard at the Peace Conference. Riots and civil war ensued. In 1919 Lord Milner was ordered to investigate the situation. Because his proposed scheme of government did not provide for absolute independence for Egypt, the Wafdists rose in open rebellion. On February 28, 1922, the British, therefore, imposed the Milner plan of government upon Egypt, declaring her to be an independent country.

### **Egypt an "Independent Sovereign State"**

(a) **THE SCHEME OF GOVERNMENT.** The new government of Egypt was hardly that of an independent state. On the contrary, the protectorate really continued, though there was a provision that (1) the protectorate government terminate; (2) martial law come to an end; and (3) the independent sovereignty of Egypt be recognized by England. Still England was permitted to use her discretion in matters of: the security of British communications; the defense of Egypt; the protection of foreigners and minorities; and the exploitation of the Sudan. On March 15, 1922, Sultan Ahmed Fuad became King Fuad I. In April, 1923, the constitution was adopted.

(b) **ITS EARLY HISTORY.** The King and the upper house were supported by the British government, but the Chamber of Deputies was controlled by the Wafdists. Zaghlul was Premier. The Wafdists had not become more conciliatory in their political views. This fact was highly embarrassing to the Egyptian King and Great Britain. The Egyptian problem was further aggravated when Sir Lee Stack, a British Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army and Governor-General of the Sudan, was assassinated in November, 1924. King Fuad I and Zaghlul expressed their regrets, but on November 22, 1924, the British government sent an ultimatum to the Egyptian government insisting upon an apology; punishment of the assassins; prohibition of all political demonstrations; payment of a sum equivalent to a \$2,500,000 indemnity; the withdrawal of all Egyptian troops from the Sudan; and the granting of exclusive exploitation rights to England in the Gezira irrigation project in the Sudan for the cultivation of cotton. Premier Zaghlul accepted these terms, but protested against England's control of Egyptian foreign affairs and Egypt's evacuation of the Sudan. England







was firm, and took possession of the customs house at Alexandria. Zaghlul resigned. The new Premier accepted all the terms without reservation. The Sudan had been governed as a condominium of Egypt and England since 1899. Now Egyptian rule was terminated there. The White Nile River in the Sudan had been reserved for Egyptian water projects, but these were now jeopardized by the English plans for a dam. The Blue Nile River was to be developed by the British for Sudanese irrigation cotton projects. The Egyptian parliament complained to the League, but no one would champion the cause of Egypt. The Wafdists continued to obstruct the government of Egypt by controlling the Chamber of Deputies. On several occasions the King resorted to proroguing parliament. Finally in 1926 he secured a pro-British Chamber.

(c) ENGLISH DOMINATION. The death of Zaghlul in 1927 did not terminate the Egyptian Nationalist opposition to the pro-British King of Egypt and the British Egyptian government. Mustapha Nahas Pasha, Zaghlul's successor, was just as bitter an opponent. New controversies arose over the size of the Egyptian army and the quartering of British troops in Egypt. In April, 1928, England requested that Egypt withdraw several bills in her parliament which would allow Egyptians to assemble for political meetings and to carry arms. The bills were reluctantly withdrawn under the protest that the declaration of February 28, 1922, gave England no such authority. In 1928 the Wafdist Chamber of Deputies became so unbearable that the Egyptian King suspended the constitution and ruled as a dictator with the advice of his ministers and the British Crown.

(d) DICTATORSHIP IN EGYPT. In 1929 the Labor Government of England drew up a liberal treaty with Egypt. It provided that: a mutually defensive alliance be drafted; Great Britain remove all troops from Egyptian soil except those in the Suez Canal zone; only Britishers serve as Egyptian civilian and military advisers; Egypt apply for membership in the League with the endorsement of England; Egypt be responsible for the lives and property of her inhabitants; and the condominium of Egypt and England over the Sudan be renewed. The Egyptian ministry and parliament, under the leadership of the Wafdists, rejected the treaty. Again the parliament was prorogued and Ismail Sidky Pasha made himself Dictator. As leader of the *People's party*, which represented the wealthy class and the royalists, he promulgated a new constitution to perpetuate these classes in power. It provided for a hereditary King, who could suspend parliament. The legislature was to be composed of a Senate of 100, sixty of whom were appointive by the King, and a Chamber of Deputies of 150, who were to be elected by an indirect and restricted electorate. The test of Sidky's power was the elections of May 14 to 18, 1931, in which the Wafdists under

Nahas and the *Liberal Constitutionalists* under Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha were the opposition. Due to the method of indirect voting and intimidation, the People's Party won the election.

The dictatorship, having curbed the Wafdists, Communists, Laborites, and Liberal Constitutionalists, lasted until September 21, 1933. It collapsed, however, when the economic depression became overbearing and King Fuad himself became desirous of playing dictator. The dissension within the ranks of the Wafdists as to whether or not to support Premier Sidky Pasha's government was also responsible for the fall of the government. Premier Sidky Pasha's strength lay in his support of King Fuad and in the incompetence of the other members of his cabinet. His administration was embarrassed by: the people's distrust of him; the growing popularity of Yehia Pasha; the ruling of the Cairo Mixed Court that Egypt pay obligations on her bonds to French and Italian investors in gold, although Egypt had gone off the gold standard; and a religious controversy between the Christian missionaries and the Mohammedans. The appointment, on August 18, of Sir Miles Lampson as High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan caused some consternation in Egypt, lest this appointment mean that the British influence in Egyptian domestic affairs be increased. This event, too, might have contributed to Premier Sidky Pasha's resignation. On September 27 Yehia Pasha was invited by King Fuad to form a new cabinet consisting of members of all parties to relieve the economic depression, particularly the suffering of the fellahin, because of the fall of the prices of cotton and cereals. The King's illness and the British opposition to Yehia Pasha were responsible for the resignation of his cabinet on November 4. Aly Maher Pasha of the former Sidky Pasha's cabinet is expected to be the new Premier.

### **The Union of South Africa**

The defeat of the Boers in the Boer War led to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Some Boers, such as General Louis Botha and General Jan Smuts, reluctantly accepted this new status and organized the Boer or *South African party* with a view toward capturing the government of all of the states of the Union and opposing the English or *Unionist party*. Other Boers, like General De Wet, never admitted the loss of Boer independence. Still other Boers developed the political theory that South Africa, although a British dominion, was a political unit, and need not support the British cause in her wars. This faction, which was founded by General Hertzog, was properly called the *Nationalist party*.

### **The Union of South Africa and the World War**

General De Wet led a rebellion against the British Empire during the World War in behalf of Boer independence, which was

suppressed, however, within six months. In 1918 General Hertzog went to the Peace Conference and pleaded the cause for the freedom of the Transvaal and the Orange River State. His views were disregarded by the Prime Minister of the Union, General Smuts, who was supported by the South African Party, and by the Unionists, who argued that the Union of South Africa as a dominion was free and independent in the British Empire and a full-fledged member of the family of nations of the world.

### **The Union of South Africa since the World War**

Hertzog's views and those of his Nationalist Party that the Union of South Africa might leave the British Empire, should it so desire, ultimately prevailed in the legislature. Not until 1924 did he become Prime Minister, because until then the Unionists and the South African parties had united against him. His success was brought about by his coalescence of forces with the new *South African Labor Party*. In 1931 the Union of South Africa refused to go off the gold standard with England, largely as a gesture of political independence, and out of fear of the possible effect that it might have on the price of gold from her own gold mines. However, in 1932 the Union of South Africa reluctantly went off the gold standard when she could no longer balance her budget, though she exports more than one-half the gold production of the world. The South African Party, headed by General Jan Smuts, and the Independent, Tielman Roos, blamed Prime Minister Hertzog's Government for the Dominion's economic distress. Ultimately, the South African Coalition Ministry was established to salvage the government (1933). A tax was levied on the gold mines, which were now prospering. The English and Dutch leaders are now fraternizing and bending all their efforts to a reconciliation of the mining and the agricultural interests. General Hertzog and General Smuts, the leaders of the Coalition Ministry and of the Nationalist and South African parties, have practically succeeded in effecting a fusion of their parties. The gold tax yielded so much revenue during the year 1933-1934 that the prosperity of the government of South Africa was probably unequalled by that of any other government. As long as the rest of the world continues to bid for her gold, the Union of South Africa will continue to grow wealthy.

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## CHAPTER XXII

### THE UNITED STATES

#### **The Second Administration of Woodrow Wilson, 1916-1920**

President Wilson, a Democrat, was reelected in 1916 on the slogan, "he kept us out of war," defeating his rival, Charles E. Hughes, the Republican candidate, by a margin of 600,000 votes. However, his Senate majority was reduced to 12 and the House of Representatives was controlled by a small group of independents. The mid-term elections evidenced the voters' growing dissatisfaction with the President. Both houses fell into the control of the Republicans. The people were disgruntled because of the United States' entrance into the World War; the President's dictatorial methods; and the high cost of living, in spite of our success in the War. After 1918 profiteering, the shutting down of the war industries, and the brief economic depression of 1920 aggravated the situation.

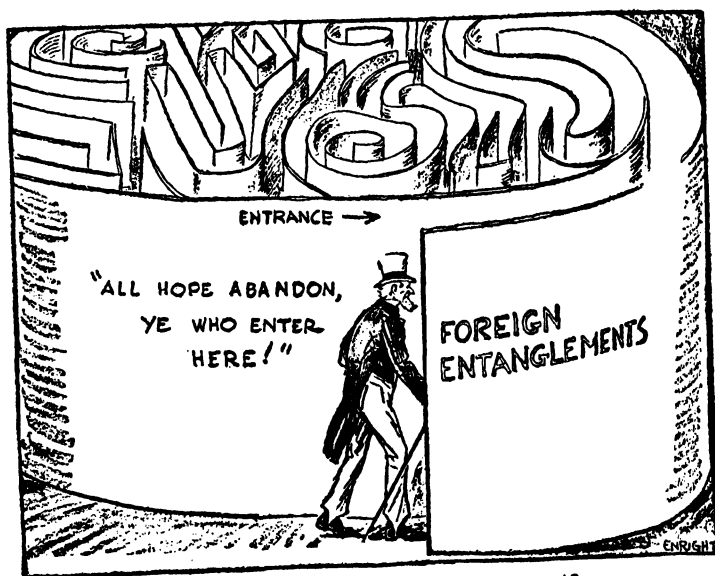
#### **The Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace**

The fact that President Wilson had signed the Treaty of Peace with the enemy, which was prefaced with the Covenant of the League of Nations, did not bind the United States to comply therewith. It was still necessary that the Senate ratify the treaty by a two-thirds vote. But the Senate was already divided into four groups, i.e., the Democrats who would ratify the document without reservations; the Democrats led by G. M. Hitchcock who would ratify with some reservations; the Republicans led by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Henry Cabot Lodge, who would ratify with drastic and sweeping amendments, and the Irreconcilable Republicans under W. E. Borah of Idaho and Hiram Johnson of California, who were unequivocally opposed.

(a) **THE OBJECTIONS TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE AND THE TREATY OF PEACE.** Many people who hated Germany believed the Treaty of Peace to be much too lenient, whereas many idealists denounced the Treaty as being at variance with Wilson's Fourteen Points. Membership in the League was extended to the British dominions, which gave Great Britain control over seven votes in the League Assembly, whereas all other nations were entitled to only one vote each. Another serious objection was the one raised to

Article Ten of the Covenant, which guaranteed the integrity and political independence of the member states. This might require the sending of American troops to adjust disputes in Europe and in other continents, where the United States might not have any interest in the controversies.

The reply of the League defendants was that our control of the foreign affairs of our Latin American protectorates offset any influence that England might have over the foreign affairs of her dominions. Furthermore, world public opinion and the boycott would obviate the need of sending troops to punish a recalcitrant state. War can be declared by the League against such a state only by a unanimous vote of the League Council, where we would have



Easy to get in, but how about getting out?  
—New York American

one permanent vote. Hence war could never be declared against a state unless we gave our consent.

(b) FAILURE TO RATIFY THE COVENANT. In November, 1919, and in March, 1920, acceptance of the Covenant in any form was defeated by the Senate. Legally we were still at war with the Central Powers since the rejected League Covenant formed part of the peace treaties. Wilson would not even sign the Knox Resolution repealing the declarations of war.

## **The Presidency of Warren G. Harding, 1920-1923**

The election of 1920 was unique in United States history in that the Democratic candidate, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, and the Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, were both "dark horses." The latter won the election on a muddled platform of a world peace movement without jeopardizing our national independence, and the restoration of the proverbial Republican prosperity, in opposition to the former's platform of immediate ratification of Wilson's policy without important reservations.

### **Foreign Affairs**

In July, 1921, the President signed the Knox Resolution declaring an end to the war with Germany, and in August signed treaties of peace with Germany and Austria. The United States had never declared war against Bulgaria and Turkey and, therefore, there was no need of making peace with them. The ratification of the Covenant of the League was a forlorn hope. However, Harding established the precedent of sending unofficial observers to the League's meetings. The proposal to recognize Soviet Russia Harding definitely refused to entertain. His greatest achievement in foreign affairs was the Washington Conference (1921-1922) for the limitation of armaments and for an understanding concerning Far Eastern policies.

### **Domestic Affairs**

Harding's slogan for the solution of domestic problems was "a return to normalcy." Big Business profited particularly by this plan. The excess profits tax was repealed and the surtax maximum was fixed at 50%. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff was enacted in 1922 increasing the protective tariff schedules above those of the Underwood Tariff of 1913. However, it gave the president the right to increase or decrease tariff schedules up to 50% to provide for "changing conditions and possible retaliatory measures by other nations. On the other hand, railway men and coal miners struck for higher wages. Farmers were particularly in distress as wheat fell in price from \$2.50 to less than \$1.00 per bushel.

What especially characterized the Harding Administration was the corruption and graft that developed. Charles R. Forbes, the Director of the Veterans' Bureau, was sent to Leavenworth prison for corruption and misappropriation of funds. Attorney-general Daugherty of the Department of Justice was dismissed from office by President Coolidge on charges of collusion with bootleggers and grafters. Secretary of Interior Fall in 1922 leased the government oil fields in Elk Hills, California, to Edward L. Doheny, and those at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, to Harry F. Sinclair. Senator Walsh revealed scandals of graft and conspiracy in connection with



these leases, causing Fall to resign. The former Secretary was then convicted and sent to jail for one year, while Sinclair, the oil magnate, served three months for illegalities in connection with this scandal. These major scandals illustrate the low standards of business and political ethics which prevailed in the United States at the time.

## **The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge, 1923-1928**

### **The Completion of Harding's Term**

On August 3, 1923, Vice-President Calvin Coolidge succeeded to the office of president upon Harding's death. A number of significant acts were passed during this short Coolidge term. A veterans' bonus bill was enacted in 1924 over Coolidge's veto. The new income tax law of 1924 further reduced the income tax rate. The restrictive immigration law of 1924 admitted no new permanent Asiatic settlers and curtailed the number of European immigrants, so that by 1929 only 150,000 per year were admitted, preference being given to north Europeans.

### **The Election of Calvin Coolidge**

In 1924 Calvin Coolidge was elected President on the Republican platform with Charles Dawes as Vice-President. The Democratic opponent was John W. Davis, a "dark horse," who succeeded in breaking the deadlock between William G. McAdoo and Alfred E. Smith in the Democratic Convention for the nomination, after 102 ballots had been cast. A new Progressive Party, headed by its presidential candidate, "Fighting Bob" La Follette, representing liberals and progressives, added much glamor to the campaign. It polled as much as 5,000,000 votes.

### **Domestic Affairs**

The country was enjoying prosperity. In fact it was the most prosperous period in the history of the United States. Under the leadership of the President, the surtax was lowered to 20%, and the income tax and the national debt were further reduced.

### **Foreign Affairs**

It was mostly foreign affairs that perplexed the Coolidge administration.

(a) DEBTS. The most complex problem in foreign affairs at that time and since arose from the altered economic position of the United States in international relations,—that of a creditor nation instead of debtor. American investments in foreign countries amounted to over \$16,600,000,000. In addition, European debts to the United States had risen to \$11,000,000,000. The debtors' inability to pay any such sums in gold and our unwillingness to

accept manufactured goods instead of gold have strained the relations between Europe and America. During the Coolidge administration the problem of War debts was temporarily adjusted by various refunding agreements.

(b) NICARAGUA. In 1927 the revolutionists under General Augusto Sandino rose in rebellion against the conservative government of Nicaragua. Obligated by the treaty of 1912 to maintain peace and order in an emergency in Nicaragua, and primarily to protect our treaty rights and advantages therein, Coolidge sent in the marines and an arbiter, Henry Stimson, but both failed to achieve much with the wily Sandino. Later a government was established which extended its rule over the entire country and was recognized by Sandino.

(c) MEXICO. The Mexican constitution of 1917 in its Article XXVII provides for the immediate confiscation of foreign concessions near the borders of the Mexican Republic and the conversion of the foreign concessions in the interior into 50 year leaseholds. United States citizens alone have over \$1,000,000,000 worth of investments in Mexican mines and oil fields. In December 1925 the Mexican government decided to enforce this constitutional provision by the enactment of two special statutes. Thereupon, indignation arose throughout the United States. Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, would not even arbitrate with Mexican authorities. Finally, Dwight W. Morrow, sent to Mexico as ambassador, succeeded in persuading the Mexican government to suspend the enforcement of these confiscatory statutes. In November, 1927, the Mexican Supreme Court declared the retroactive features of these laws unconstitutional. The solving of this Mexican problem was regarded as a great diplomatic victory for Morrow. It absolved Coolidge and Kellogg, in particular, from the undignified diplomatic mess into which they had precipitated the United States government.

(d) CHINA. The Chinese revolutions in and about Nanking and Tientsin jeopardized the lives and property of American citizens. Conditions became so grave that Coolidge decided to send the marines there to protect our interests. Later the marines were gradually withdrawn as order was restored.

(e) PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES. Efforts have been made by the United States to further Pan-Americanism among the South American states by developing good-will among them. To this end Pan-American Conferences were held at Santiago in 1923 and at Havana in 1928. Nothing of importance was achieved because the Latin Americans were suspicious of the government of the United States. They believe that the "Colossus of the North" is primarily interested in extending her imperialistic designs in Latin America and is not genuinely interested in creating a sisterhood of states in the Western Hemisphere.

(f) **THE WORLD COURT.** Although the Republican Senate was opposed to the Covenant of the League of Nations, Coolidge, like Harding, tried in vain to persuade it to ratify the World Court Protocol. Coolidge made a second effort in 1926 by appending a reservation. It provided that the World Court shall not "without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." However, the World Court would not accept this special reservation.

(g) **THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.** The United States still refused to join the League of Nations, but did send unofficial observers to Geneva. Many American citizens hold positions in the service of the League.

### **The Presidency of Herbert Hoover, 1928-1932**

The Republican candidate, Herbert Hoover, in the presidential campaign of 1928 advocated the enforcement of prohibition, farm relief, economy, and friendly international relations. His Democratic opponent, Alfred E. Smith, Catholic and "wet," advocated honest government, a more equitable system of taxation, and the enforcement of the anti-trust laws. The Republicans won the Presidency and both houses of Congress, defeating Smith so badly that the latter lost his own state of New York and carried only six of the southern states.

#### **Domestic Affairs**

Post-War prosperity in the United States proved to be short-lived. The stock market crash of October 24, 1929, precipitated the depression which has caused such great hardship and suffering in the United States and in the world at large. The Hoover administration enacted a series of statutes to remedy the condition.

(a) **THE HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF, 1930.** This act, replacing the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, increased the rates on manufactured goods and on agricultural products. It had the effect of causing the European nations to retaliate and to produce a further decline in the export business, thus reducing further the purchasing power of the American people. The act was intended to encourage manufacturing and agriculture by excluding European commodities.

(b) **THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD, 1929.** The farmers, who constitute about one-half of the American population, were in particular distress. To ameliorate their condition, the Federal Farm Board, with \$500,000,000 capital, was created to buy surpluses of agricultural products in order to stimulate a rise in their prices. This

proved to be a futile effort when the Federal Farm Board's money was practically exhausted and the prices of grain products had not materially increased.

(c) GLASS-STEAGALL ACT, 1932. This act enabled the Federal Reserve Banks to issue money against an increased variety of commercial paper as security. The purpose of this act was to make it possible for the banks to make loans to customers on collateral securities which were formerly unacceptable to the Federal Reserve System for rediscount. This act was intended to extend credit to the industrialist to permit him to rehabilitate his business, which was suffering from the panic.

(d) THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION, 1932. To aid further the business man who found his assets "frozen" by the depression, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was established with a capitalization that ultimately amounted to \$3,800,000,000, to help finance agriculture, commerce, and industry by making loans for a period of three years to such enterprises as were in need.

#### Foreign Affairs

Several foreign negotiations added to the Administration's problems.

(a) ROOT FORMULA. In December, 1929, Hoover submitted the *Root Formula*, which was acceptable to the World Court members, to the Senate for ratification as a condition to our signing the World Court Protocol. Elihu Root was responsible for this document, which provides for the submission of all advisory opinions to the United States for the discussion of American objections to such opinions with the parties concerned; and for the American withdrawal from the Court, without prejudice to her interests, if the other powers should refuse to concede that the United States had a vital national concern in the rendering of such opinions. The Senate has taken no action on the Root formula at this writing.

(b) LONDON NAVAL TREATY AND DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. The Hoover administration participated in the making of the London Naval Treaty in 1930 and in the Disarmament Conference in 1932. See pages 67, 68, 91.

(c) STIMSON DOCTRINE. Perhaps the Administration's greatest achievement in foreign affairs was the *Stimson Doctrine*, which stated that the United States would not recognize any territorial changes effected in violation of the Kellogg Peace Pact. The occasion for Secretary of State Stimson's issuance of this pronouncement was the Manchurian question at the time when the President refused to recognize the state of Manchukuo.

### **The Administration of Franklin Roosevelt, 1932—**

The Republicans renominated Herbert Hoover for another term to the Presidency. Though he had failed materially to restore prosperity to the country, his contentions were that: his "commission government" had thoroughly analyzed the causes of the crisis; his procedure to correct the crisis was sound; and it had not been sufficiently long in operation to show beneficial effects. Franklin D. Roosevelt, heading the Democratic ticket, advocated a system of national control and regulation to remedy the crisis. He won the Presidency and his party captured both houses of Congress.

#### **Domestic Affairs, 1933**

In the special session of the Seventy-third Congress from March 9 to June 16, 1933, Roosevelt, confronted with a grave economic depression, launched his "New Deal." The deplorable economic situation, which he inherited from his predecessor, was the most serious domestic problem that any President ever coped with in our history. The entire world is waiting patiently to observe the results of his program.

(a) **EMERGENCY BANK RELIEF, MARCH 9, 1933.** Roosevelt prohibited the hoarding and exporting of gold, besides effecting stringent bank control. This was to arrest the diminishing circulation and security of money, and to prevent the banks from dissipating what liquid assets they still had at the expense of their depositors.

(b) **GOVERNMENT ECONOMY, MARCH 20, 1933.** The national budget was cut nearly \$1,000,000,000. Further economy was effected by reducing the veterans' compensation by more than \$320,000,000.

(c) **REPEAL OF PROHIBITION, DECEMBER 5, 1933.** To create more revenue for the government and to stimulate the recovery of business, the Volstead Act was replaced by the Cullen-Harrison Beer-Wine Act, which defined an intoxicating beverage to be one that contained more than 3.2 per cent of alcohol by weight. This act, too, was nullified on December 5, 1933, when the Twenty-First Amendment was legally ratified, which repealed the Eighteenth, or the so-called Prohibition Amendment.

(d) **THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, MAY 12, 1933.** This act enabled the national government to give relief to the farmers. Since the Federal Farm Board had proved to be a failure, it was abandoned. In its place the domestic *Allotment Plan* was launched. The Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to advise the reduction of the acreage of the basic agricultural products with a view toward increasing the market price of these commodities. The individual farmers would be indemnified for the resulting smaller crops by the government, which in turn would receive the funds from taxes levied on the processors who prepare and manufacture food products for consumers.

In addition to the Allotment Plan a fund of \$2,000,000,000 was created by the government to help refinance the mortgages of farms threatened with foreclosure.

(e) **CONTROLLED INFLATION.** The same Agricultural Adjustment Act permitted of a scheme to raise prices of commodities through regulated inflation of the currency by giving the President authority through the Federal Reserve System to issue \$3,000,000,000 of fiat money, to devalue the gold content of our money 50 per cent, or mint more silver coinage at a ratio with gold to be fixed by the President. The President launched this scheme to raise the prices of commodities by raising artificially the price of gold, hoping thereby to increase the prices of all commodities.

(f) **MUSCLE SHOALS-TENNESSEE VALLEY ACT, MAY 18, 1933.** This act provided for a great public works project, involving the production of electric power and fertilizer at Muscle Shoals; the control of the floods of the coastal rivers; the improvement of the navigability of the Tennessee River; and the industrialization of its entire valley.

(g) **UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.** To alleviate immediately the misery among the 10,000,000 or more unemployed, a grant was made of \$500,000,000 by the federal government to the states to assist in the work of relief.

(h) **THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS.** This scheme was designed to offer immediate employment to young men of the country and incidentally to carry on the program of the conservation of natural resources.

(i) **NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, JUNE 13, 1933.** This act was designed to reduce the number of working hours of labor; fix a minimum wage scale; and regulate production. Hence, the employers and employees of any industry might draft a code of fair competition regarding these provisions, subject to the approval of the President. One of the effects of the operation of the N.I.R.A. was to raise the prices of commodities, but not to raise the scale of wages commensurately, thus causing aggravated grief among the unemployed and partially employed. However, four million unemployed were put back to work.

(j) **SMALL HOME-OWNERS' REFINANCING ACT, JUNE 13, 1933.** This act provided for \$2,000,000,000 to refinance the mortgages of small homes which were threatened with foreclosure because of the owners' inability to pay interest or principal.

(k) **RAILROAD RELIEF ACT, JUNE 10, 1933.** The railroads are recognized as an essential industry of the nation. Yet, because of competition with the automobile, the bus, and the aeroplane, they were on the verge of bankruptcy. This act provided for a Co-

ordinator of Transportation, who is to regulate the rates, the rehabilitation, the refinancing, and the consolidation of all transportation industries. Thereby, the economic distress of the railways will be lightened it is hoped.

(1) **BANKING ACT OF JUNE 13, 1933.** The fact that Canada with twelve large banks operating with branches throughout the dominion weathered the storm of the depression successfully has caused Americans, among other reasons, to criticize their banking system with its thousands of bankruptcies. Apparently, even the Federal Reserve System, which is supposed to have strengthened the solvency of its national bank members and its state bank members, was defective. This new Banking Act of 1933 provided for state-wide branch banking where the state laws permit it. All national banks must rid themselves of all their subsidiary corporations trading in stocks and bonds. Furthermore, all these banks must guarantee the deposits of their customers by insurance.

(m) **PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM.** By the sale of bonds, it was intended that a sum of \$3,300,000,000 be raised and expended for public works, including the expenditure of \$238,000,000 for the navy, so that it may be increased to the strength allowed under the Washington and London limitation treaties.

### **Foreign Affairs, 1933**

Just as Franklin Roosevelt's domestic policy has been unorthodox, his foreign policy, too, has been a new one. He opposes aggressive imperialism and intervention in Latin America and believes in world coöperation for world peace.

(a) **LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE (1933) AND THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (1933).** Americans participated in both these meetings, but their presence did not help to make the deliberations successful. (See pp. 59, 62, 68, 136, 147).

(b) **THE RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA.** In November, 1933, Maxim Litvinov, the special envoy of Soviet Russia, visited Roosevelt and finally concluded a recognition and friendship treaty with the United States, leaving the matter of debts in abeyance. In 1933 the United States was the only large power that had not recognized Soviet Russia. The previous presidents refused to do so because Soviet Russia had repudiated the Russian imperial debt and the Kerensky government debt totalling \$75,000,000 and refused to compensate American citizens for the confiscation of American private property valued at \$430,000,000. On the other hand, there were those who fervently advocated the recognition of Soviet Russia since this would increase the active trade balance with her, an amount as high as \$118,000,000 in the year 1929-1930, in spite of non-recognition. Furthermore, the Sovietophiles indicated that Soviet Russia has a

much larger counterclaim for the damages American soldiers had wrought in Archangel and Siberia when they aided the counter-revolutionaries against the attacks of the Bolsheviks than we have against Soviet Russia. They further claim that money borrowed by the Czar was used to oppress the Russian revolutionists and the Russian people in general.

(c) PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE, 1933. The Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo in December, 1933, has helped to strengthen the spirit of Pan-Americanism and to expel from the minds of Latin Americans the idea that the United States is trying to practice the principle of *Pax Americana*. Among its achievements was the *rapprochement* between Argentina and the United States. The foreign relations between these two countries had been strained over the questions of armed intervention and tariffs. Now the United States undertook to ratify the Argentine anti-war pact of 1933; several South American states followed suit. A more significant achievement was the declaration of the United States Secretary of State Hull "that the United States Government is opposed as much as any other to interference with the freedom, sovereignty, or other internal affairs or process of other nations. No government need fear intervention on the part of the United States under the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration." This statement definitely destroyed the power the United States usurped by virtue of her self-declared *Theodore Roosevelt Corollary*, which gave the United States the authority to intercede in Latin American countries and virtually convert those states into protectorates. It is the removal of his cousin's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine that represents Franklin D. Roosevelt's contribution toward developing Latin American good-will toward the United States. The Conference's proposal to reduce high customs duties through the negotiation of bilateral and multilateral reciprocity treaties should also further this spirit of Pan-Americanism. Since the unconditional most-favored-nation clause continues to exist, such reciprocity advantages will automatically extend to these favored nations as well. It is significant that on December 15th the United States and Colombia signed a reciprocity tariff agreement,—the first one the United States has successfully negotiated since 1902. The Conference also concluded that the American nations shall make no distinction based on sex in their laws and practices relating to nationality, and recommended that the American republics grant equal civil and political rights to women at the earliest possible moment.

#### Domestic Affairs, 1934

The year 1934 opened with many of the hardships of the economic depression still in evidence. The regular session of the Seventy-third Congress met on January 3, 1934, and ended its labors



on June 16, 1934, leaving behind a record of activity hardly approached by any peacetime Congress of this generation. Roosevelt's "New Deal" continued with more visible achievements than in 1933, winning the applause of the entire world.

(a) GOLD RESERVE ACT, JANUARY 30, 1934. Roosevelt was authorized to revalue the dollar at 50 to 60% of its existing statutory gold equivalent. A stabilization fund of \$2,000,000,000 was thus created as a result of the devaluation of the dollar to help finance his "New Deal." In addition, \$2,500,000,000 in Treasury notes were printed for circulation, without collateral, to further augment the government's finances. The act was intended to increase still further the prices of commodities by controlled inflation.

(b) FARM MORTGAGE REFINANCING ACT, JANUARY 31, 1934. In addition to existing financing facilities, this act created the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, with a capital of \$200,000,000 to aid in the refinancing of farm debts. Farmers were particularly impoverished by the economic depression. This act helped them save their farms from passing into the possession of their creditors by foreclosure.

(c) CIVIL WORKS EMERGENCY RELIEF ACT, FEBRUARY 15, 1934. Under the authority of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, additional appropriations of \$950,000,000 were made available for the continuation of the civil works program and for direct relief purposes. This was a further effort to curb the increase of unemployment and the misery that attends it.

(d) CROP LOAN ACT, FEBRUARY 23, 1934. The governor of the Farm Credit Administration was authorized to make loans to farmers during 1934 for crop production and harvesting. On March 10, appropriations of \$40,000,000 were made to execute this act. To an extent not exceeding \$1,000,000, the Farm Credit Administration was also authorized to make loans for feed and livestock in drought and storm-stricken areas.

(e) EMERGENCY AIR MAIL ACT, MARCH 27, 1934. The Postmaster General was given full authority to conduct directly the air-mail service by giving him authority to receive the necessary equipment from the War Department. It was the scandals connected with the awarding of the mail contracts to private corporations and the excessive rates that they charged that caused Roosevelt to cancel these contracts and to transfer the transportation of mail to the Postmaster General's Department.

(f) INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION ACT, MARCH 28, 1934. Over the President's veto, Congress restored the 15% pay cut of Federal employees. In the previous year, Roosevelt had ordered the reduction of salaries as a means of helping to balance the Federal budget. Congress did not agree with him that the salary reduction was necessary for the year 1934.

(g) JONES-CONNALLY FARM RELIEF ACT, April 7, 1934. Six additional basic commodities—cattle, peanuts, rye, barley, flax and grain sorghums, were included within the benefits of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. To finance surplus reduction and production adjustments with respect to these commodities, \$200,000,000 was appropriated to the department of the Secretary of Agriculture. These products were thereby included in the Allotment Plan. Thus many more farmers could be helped.

(h) JOHNSON DEBT DEFAULT ACT, APRIL 13, 1934. Financial transactions with foreign governments who are in default in the payment of their obligations to the United States government were prohibited by virtue of this act. Congress and Roosevelt felt that foreign countries who do not believe that they ought to pay their liberally reduced War debts to the United States did not deserve to receive further financial aid from our government or our citizens. It was discovered, too, that much of the revenue of these governments was invested in armaments.

(i) BANKHEAD COTTON CONTROL ACT, APRIL 21, 1934. To balance the production and consumption of cotton within the Allotment Plan, a tax of 50% of the average central market price per pound was levied upon lint cotton in excess of 10,000,000 bales for the year 1934-5. The minimum tax levied was 5 cents a pound. Cotton was one of the earliest products to be subjected to the Allotment Plan, in which the cotton mill processors paid a tax, which was passed on to the consumer of cotton goods, so that the cotton farmer could receive a larger price for his raw cotton, if he reduced his acreage.

(j) JONES-COSTIGAN SUGAR ACT, MAY 9, 1934. Sugar beets and sugar cane were included in the Agricultural Adjustment Act by this measure. Thus the Allotment Plan was applied to these products, too. The Government intended to expend over \$1,095,005,010 by the end of the year 1934 in benefit payments to the farmers.

(k) SIX FEDERAL CRIME CONTROL ACTS, MAY 18, 1934. These acts gave the Federal government authority to punish: (1) those who interfere with Federal agents in the enforcement of the law; (2) extortionists; (3) kidnappers; (4) witnesses who leave the jurisdiction of the court to avoid giving testimony; and (5) Federal bank criminals. It was the wave of lawlessness that swept over the country that Roosevelt wanted to check. This desire caused him to have these laws enacted.

(l) Vocational Education Act, May 21, 1934. The Federal government granted \$3,000,000 annually for three years to further agricultural, home economics, trade and industrial education in the states. It was the belief of Roosevelt that what our country

needed was citizens trained to earn a livelihood rather than citizens who have only a general education. The latter are so numerous that they find it difficult to gain employment.

(m) COTTON-CATTLE-DAIRY RELIEF RESOLUTION, MAY 25, 1934. Appropriations of \$150,000,000 were made by Congress to control cattle diseases, to purchase dairy products and cattle for relief, to buy and distribute cattle in the drought-stricken areas, and to carry out the Jones-Connally Farm Relief Act. The general purpose of this resolution was to offer relief to the cattle farmers and especially the farmers who were suffering in the drought-stricken areas.

(n) ARMS SALE RESOLUTION, MAY 28, 1934. This resolution enabled Roosevelt to declare an embargo on the export of munitions to the Chaco belligerents. The League Commission had revealed the fact that the munition manufacturers were responsible in part for causing the Chaco war to continue. Roosevelt's declaration of the embargo was part of a universal embargo which it was hoped would terminate the war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

(o) SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT, JUNE 6, 1934. It was expected that the abuses attending stock market dealings and their effects on general business conditions would be eliminated by this act. It provided for the regulation of securities exchanges operating in interstate and foreign commerce and through the mails, and the prevention of inequitable and unfair practices on such exchanges and markets. Roosevelt was determined to prevent the recurrence of the Stock Market Crash, which precipitated the economic depression in the United States.

(p) CHINCH BUG RESOLUTION, JUNE 7, 1934. The chinch bugs had been ravaging the cornfields of the West thus adding to the economic miseries of the farmers. Appropriations of \$1,000,000 were made to the Secretary of Agriculture to help eradicate this pest.

(q) MAIL PACT OF JUNE 12, 1934. The failure of the government transportation of air mail caused Roosevelt to award one year contracts to the lowest private bidder under definite restrictions. This was an admission of failure on the part of the government to operate the air lines successfully, but it spared the people the continued abuses under the former private air-mail contracts.

(r) FARM MORTGAGE FORECLOSURE ACT, JUNE 12, 1934. This act enabled farmers who had lost their farms by foreclosure to regain possession of them by government loans.

(s) RECIPROCAL TARIFF ACT, JUNE 12, 1934. This act authorized the President to negotiate trade agreements with foreign governments for a period of three years without the traditional advice and consent of the Senate. He might raise or lower our tariff rates as much as 50% in these negotiations in order to achieve definite trade advantages. This act was designed to revive our foreign trade.

(t) **SILVER PURCHASE ACT, JUNE 16, 1934.** This act provided that the silver and gold in the monetary stocks of the United States be increased so that one-fourth of the monetary value of such stocks would be in silver, at a price not in excess of fifty cents a fine ounce. This act was intended to aid the silver industry and to inflate somewhat the prices of all commodities.

#### **Foreign Affairs, 1934**

Roosevelt's reputation as one of our greatest presidents rests upon the efficacy of his "New Deal" and upon his foreign policy of anti-imperialism. The latter was demonstrated in the previous year, but it is our new relations with the Philippines and Cuba which definitely established this new foreign policy.

(a) **TYDINGS-MCDUFFIE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE ACT, MARCH 24, 1934.** This act provided for the absolute independence of the Philippine Islands to go into effect ten years after its ratification by the Philippine legislature. It was contemplated, however, that the United States was to retain her naval bases on the islands, and was to negotiate with foreign powers to neutralize them perpetually.

(b) **CUBAN TREATY, MAY 31, 1934.** This treaty abrogated the Treaty of Relations of May 22, 1903, between the United States and Cuba, which contained the Platt Amendment. The latter gave the United States the right to intervene for the protection of Cuba's independence and financial integrity, a right which it had exercised on five occasions to the great dislike of the Cubans. The United States retained her naval and coaling stations, however, pending further negotiations.

(c) **TARIFF TREATIES, 1934.** In the fall of the year 1934 the United States concluded reciprocal tariff treaties with Cuba and Haiti. Negotiations for similar treaties were conducted with Brazil, Belgium, Colombia, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

#### **Criticisms of the New Deal**

The Republican party and proponents of traditional American liberty criticized President Roosevelt's plan of American economic recovery after two years of experimentation with the New Deal. They contended that the United States would return to "rugged individualism" and abandon the New Deal because: (1) its underlying principles are contrary to traditional American principles of liberty, (2) the tax burden was unbearable if not confiscatory, (3) the foreign trade program of reciprocal tariffs doomed those American merchants affected by it, (4) the increased Federal expenditures

raised the national debt to \$27,005,438,125 by June 15, 1934, (5) the new railway policy indicated a strong possibility of government ownership, and (6) the processing tax caused an appreciable reduction in the consumption of those commodities affected by it.

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## CHAPTER XXIII

### CONTEMPORARY WORLD CULTURE

#### Natural Sciences

The 20th century is already an unparalleled one in the history of mankind. Science progresses beyond its achievements of the 19th century and brings in its wake a series of greater comforts for man, such as the robot and television, but also a corresponding series of miseries, such as greater unemployment and greater inequality in the distribution of wealth. Capitalism and its hand-maid, the Industrial Revolution, run amuck, giving to the very wealthy undue political, economic, and social power. The iniquities that grow out of Applied Science, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution have given rise to an emotional and intellectual restlessness, and an insecurity and anxiety about the future which take the form of political and economic experiments in Communism, Fascism and Nazism, expressionism in the creative arts, and a religious revival or a religious disillusionment. Just as the 19th century was characterized by interest in applied science and its material comforts, so the hope is that the 20th century will be distinguished by interest in the social sciences and social justice. Our century holds much in store for the progress of the sciences of sociology, economics and political theory. The natural sciences, however, still command the attention of human intelligence. Their recent achievements have equalled, if not excelled, the successes of previous centuries.

#### Astronomy

The astronomer of the post-War period has not seriously disturbed our knowledge of the universe. The Earth is the fourth smallest planet in our solar system. There are now nine planets, Pluto having been discovered in 1930. Our solar system, too, occupies an insignificant place in the entire universe with its many other systems of heavenly bodies. This is what the astronomer's 100-inch telescope reveals. We can only speculate what astronomical discoveries will be made when the 200-inch telescope, which is being constructed, is in operation.

#### Geography

In 1909 Peary reached the North Pole. Two years later Amundsen arrived at the South Pole. In 1926 Bennett and Byrd avoided much of the difficulties of snow, ice, and cold weather, usual

accompaniments of such expeditions, by flying to the North Pole. One-quarter of a century of effort to reach the Poles was thus concluded with success. Just what practical value these new territories will have to mankind remains to be seen. Nevertheless, it is true that the entire earth's surface is known to man today.

### Physics

The electron theory governs 20th century physics. The atomic theory of the composition of matter was abandoned when Lorentz in 1892 propounded the electron theory. It declares that matter is composed of positive and negative electrons, identical in all elements. In 1895 Röntgen observed the X-rays which emanate from a vacuum tube and penetrate opaque objects. In 1896 Becquerel discovered that uranium emits radiation that penetrates opaque objects further than X-rays. In 1898 Mme. Curie discovered the element radium, which is much more radioactive than uranium. Rutherford and Soddy propounded the Disintegration Theory, in which they coördinated the findings of their fellow-scientists and declared that the negative electrons emanate from and revolve about the proton or positive electron in all matter at a velocity varying with the radioactivity of the substance. Radium is the most radioactive substance known to man. The 20th century will undoubtedly teach us how to harness this radioactive energy. Geologists have been alarming us about the rapid exhaustion of our present sources of mechanical energy, such as coal, oil and gas, and the ultimate doom of our civilization unless new energies are found. Physicists assure us that there need be no such fear since they will soon be able to disintegrate the atom into protons and electrons and utilize this stored-up energy for our mechanized society.

RELATIVITY. Basing his findings on the work of Michelson and Morley, Einstein propounded his Special Theory of Relativity in 1905, his General Theory of Relativity in 1917, and his Unitary Field Theory in 1931. These complicated theories may have revolutionized Newtonian physics, but the every-day life of man has not been materially changed thereby.

### Medicine

Pasteur and Koch are to be remembered as the fathers of preventive medicine. Their studies and those of others in the germ theory of disease and the use of germicides have made their names immortal. The dreaded plagues of diphtheria, cholera, typhoid, tetanus, malaria, and yellow fever, which have decimated the population of the earth for centuries, have been conquered by their contributions to bacteriology. The recent distinctive contributions of medical science are the hormone and vitamin therapies. Hormones are secretions of the various ductless glands of the body, such as the pancreas, the thyroid, and the suprarenal glands, which are essential

to the maintenance of good health. Extracts of these glands are administered when patients suffer from ailments caused by an absence of the proper amount of these hormones. Cretinism has been treated successfully with thyroid extracts (Kendall 1919, Harington 1926). Adrenalin has been extracted from the suprarenal glands and is used as a heart stimulant. Similarly, the parathyroid and the pituitary gland extracts have proved to be of medicinal value (1925). The greatest success in hormone therapy is the discovery by Banting and Best (1921) of the extract of insulin from the pancreas for the treatment of diabetes. Equally remarkable has been the isolation of several vitamins in food and the determination of their therapeutic values. Rickets, scurvy and beriberi have been successfully treated by the administration of foods rich in specific vitamins.

#### **Mechanical Inventions**

The period since the War has to its credit a number of significant inventions, or the industrial application of them, which are affecting ways of living. It inherited the great electrical inventions of Edison, but among the many distinctly post-War contrivances, or the industrial application of them, we have the Diesel crude-oil engine; the talking motion pictures (1926); the standardized inexpensive automobile; commercial aeronautics; the pioneer trans-Atlantic aeronautics of Read (1919), Lindbergh (1927), and others; the round-the-world Zeppelin flight (1929); the ten mile altitude flight by Piccard (1932); the Sperry nautical gyro-compass (1911); the Sperry-gyro-pilot (1922); the "cracking" process to increase the amount of gasoline obtained from crude oil (1913); televox; cellophane; and the Haber method of making synthetic nitrates for fertilizers and explosives.

#### **Psychology**

The post-War period of history has greatly revolutionized our understanding of human behavior. Heretofore, anatomical and psychological heredity were considered the primary determinants of our personalities. John B. Watson founded the behavioristic school of psychology in 1913 which emphasized environment rather than heredity as the important factor which influences our personalities. It contends that wealth, social position, religion, and politics are more significant determinants than inheritance. Behaviorism seems to have eclipsed Freudianism and psychoanalysis, heretofore dominant schools of psychology. This is significant because behaviorism supplies Socialist and Communist thinkers with the necessary psychology to propound their economic and materialistic theories of to-day.



## Fine Arts and Literature

It is the creator of the aesthetic arts who is reflecting the pulsating, critical, and cynical *tempo* of our post-War life. Already the school of expressionism has shown great influence in the fine arts.

### Painting

Expressionism in painting is the abandonment of photographic or realistic reproduction, being, instead, the painter's representation in color of his spiritual, emotional and interpretive reaction. Its early proponents were Paul Cezanne, Vincent van Gogh and Paul Gauguin, and later Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. Cubism and futurism with their emphasis on motion, mechanics, and energy were those deviations of expressionism which particularly emphasized the Power Age of 20th century Europe and the United States. The deviations of expressionism which are distinctly post-War are dadaism, constructionism, vorticism, and surrealism. Dadaism emphasizes artistic free thinking rather than logic, and evidences disgust with the realities of life. Constructionism is greatly influenced by the mechanistic manifestations of our Machine Age. The proponents of vorticism, which arose about 1913 in England, seek to create new realities rather than to copy life. Their studies are confined to machinery and mechanical devices. They paint overbearing forms of machinery which are possible only out of the artist's "vortex." Surrealism, which began in 1925, is the most conspicuous movement in post-war painting. It is a reaction against the precision of the realists and even of the cubists and futurists. Its attention is directed to the obscure workings of the mind. Its followers specialize in studies of dreams, madness, melancholy and the like. The Mexican painters, Diego Orozco and Diego Rivera strike the most recent note in painting. They employ some of the devices of the various post-War schools of painting in the execution of their murals as propaganda for the cause of Communism.

### Music

In music, too, expressionism takes root. Arnold Schonberg, Igor Stravinsky, and Paul Hindemuth are its leading pioneers and exponents. Expressionism in music is characterized by rhythmical energy and power, swift motion, discord, and the elimination of orthodox melody and harmony. The new music reflects the hardness, matter-of-factness, and bitterness of a disillusioned generation, disgruntled with old standards and disciplines, and engaged in a hectic quest for new life. The popularity of jazz may be particularly accounted for by the post-War frivolity, jadedness and recklessness.

### Architecture

The post-War school of architecture is called the International School. It puts a greater emphasis on utilitarianism than on ex-

pressionism. It is characterized by the functionalism of our age and an emotional reaction of the modern utilitarian architect to it. Solidarity, simplicity, speed, and usefulness are evidenced in this new architecture. The skyscraper and the apartment house are significant examples of it. The American architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, is to be remembered as the founder of this school.

### Literature

It is the literary artist, particularly, who has taken up the cudgels in behalf of the new order of society. Largely because of the fluency of his medium he has been most successful in impressing mankind with his message. The trend in contemporary literature is definitely expressionistic, thus constituting a definite departure from the conventional treatment of conventional topics. Behaviorism, Freudianism, and psychoanalysis have aided these writers in expressing their own intellectual and emotional reactions and those of others to the social, economic and political problems of contemporary life.

Religion, war, pacifism, and poverty are analyzed by H. G. Wells. The evils of the capitalistic order are depicted by George Kaiser and Thomas Mann. Stefan Zweig and Henri Barbusse attack militarism and war. Anatole France and Romain Rolland are to be remembered as proponents of pacifism and socialism.

Sinclair Lewis, iconoclast of democratic idols, employs his biographical novels as media for reflecting the *tempo* of post-War, bourgeois, American life. Franz Werfel is an apostle of the *Weltschmerz* and of the aimlessness that characterizes the human driftwood of the post-War era. The endless refrain of his writings is an emphasis on the purposelessness of human existence, on the *Quo Vadis* query that has always set philosophical speculation agog, but the solution of which has always remained elusively beyond their reach. Somerset Maugham, artist of the shifting moods and vagaries of human relations, has employed his terse, vivid style to portray the vigorous spirit of our daily life.

The interpretation and critical insight into the trend of human affairs, evinced by the renowned British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, have helped him catch both the undercurrent and overtones of world history. His genius lies in the fact that his profound critical faculties have enabled him to resolve and analyze into their constituent elements the politico-socio-economic factors of the past that have given direction to the turbulent present.

D. H. Lawrence, sensuous impressionist and Freudian archpriest of sex, carved a niche for himself in literature with his vivisection of the human soul. Notable among similar artists who attained literary eminence are James Joyce with his epoch-making "Ulysses," a type of achievement as yet unparalleled in literature; and John

Dos Passos, whose "The 42nd Parallel" is couched in the vernacular and is woven of the stuff of sordid post-War characters that strut through his pages, a standing challenge to the mock heroes of pre-War patriotism. By the quality and versatility of his technique he has reflected every force that gives our modern life the quality distinctly its own—the press, the movies, the skyscraper, Big Business and the like.

With assiduous care, Marcel Proust, mystic and impressionist, like so many of his contemporaries, dissected the souls of his characters. Thus he paved the way for that significant swing-about in 20th century literary art that places its emphasis on character development and portraiture, and strips the novel of the confusing tangle of plots and sub-plots, which are of lesser importance than character exposition.

### Religion

The World War with all its horrors and carnage has caused mankind to be more introspective concerning God, sectarianism, and ethics. Some people have become more devoted to God, whereas formerly they ignored or denied His existence; others have become religiously indifferent, cynical, agnostic or atheistic. Many of the High Church Protestant sects have gained adherents, while many Low Church Protestant sects have lost worshippers, who have abandoned sectarianism. Roman Catholicism has definitely made many converts. State churches have been disestablished in many countries, e.g., the Orthodox Church in Russia; the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Spain; and the Mohammedan Church in Turkey. Yet, Italy and Austria have reestablished the Roman Catholic Church; Japan has increased government authority over the Shinto religion; and Germany has reestablished the Lutheran Church.

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