

known and believed that it was an unjust war. For none the less their country would have been in danger. The standard, if you like, is a bad one. We may begin to say so when we cease to apply it ourselves in our own case. But the standard is there and is accepted.

Moreover, in fact, the German people did not know nor believe that their cause was a bad one, and they did not know that it was being cruelly fought (as it was). They believed up to the last that they were fighting a war of defence. For the crime of fighting for their country under such conditions it is proposed to penalize generation after generation, to make them the permanent tribute-payers of the world. What kind of a justice is this? The payment by Germany of the damage wrought in occupied territory is clearly reasonable. There is a sound principle there. It is a general one, and should run "wherever territory has been occupied by an enemy, the enemy shall provide reparation for the injury done." But the attempt to lay the whole cost of the war on the beaten enemy is another matter. The principle is a new one and a bad one, due mainly to German action in the past. At the treaty of Portsmouth, President Roosevelt induced Japan to renounce all claim for a war indemnity on Russia. That would be a better precedent for the Allied Governments to follow than the precedent of 1871. There is no knowing where this taking of war indemnities may not lead nations. It is a way of avoiding the natural nemesis of war—pauperization. It is a way of making war seem to "pay." And once it were established as a practice (supposing it could be established) we should be approaching the point at which some nation would say: "Let us go to war in order to get the indemnity!"

And mark! The same people who want to exact "more than Germany can pay" are the people who will oppose every form and measure of disarmament. Yet the financial relief of disarmament would be great out of all proportion to any relief an indemnity could give. And disarmament would be the real insurance against future wars. This whole idea of punishment is a red herring across the track of real progress. What we want is not punishment for the past, but security for the future. That security can only be had along the lines of the fourteen points. And punishment, so far from helping, may hinder it. For it is essential that the new order shall start on a basis of mutual confidence and mutual coöperation between all nations. That, and that only, can be a real guarantee against a repetition of the horrors from which we have just emerged. What we need is the "objective" view, the view of cause and effect. Our subjective indignation does not help us, and may easily ruin us. Our duty is not to gratify feelings, whether of justice or revenge, but to build a new world in which our children may be safe and free.

Winston Churchill and Women Electors

THE following account of a "lively meeting" at Dundee is taken from the *Yorkshire Post* (Leeds) of December 6.

At Dundee last evening Mr. Winston Churchill addressed two meetings, one a gathering of women voters, and the other a meeting of discharged sailors and soldiers. The women's assemblage was in the Kinnaird Hall, which was packed with about 2,500 women. The chairwoman was the wife of a local doctor.

Mr. Churchill was enthusiastically received on rising to speak. He said that now the war has been won the task at home is nothing less than to make a new Britain worthy of the victory which has been gained (cheers). "I see this meeting, the like of which has never yet been seen in the annals of Dundee, and I am certain that all those forces which have won the war are united and resolute to proceed hand in hand—Unionist, Liberal, Radical, Labor men, and women—towards the great task of reconstruction which awaits us (cheers). Women have won their right to

have a voice in this election." Mr. Churchill then dwelt on the many activities which women engaged in during the war, and said, "If the war had gone on the women would have got into the trenches. I am sure of it. I saw some of them very near" (cheers).

Suddenly at this stage half a dozen women rose in different parts of the hall, and shouted questions at Mr. Churchill. "Experience teaches fools," ejaculated one of the interrupters, amidst an outburst of approving cheers of those by whom she was surrounded. "That is why I ask you to profit by my experience," retorted Mr. Churchill. Thereupon a woman in the gallery rose, shook her fists, and gesticulated wildly, but nobody seemed able to gather what it was all about.

When matters cooled down somewhat Mr. Churchill developed his argument about the necessity of improvements in housing, land, food, manufacture, transport power, and public health.

The heckling period arrived, and the women fired at Mr. Churchill scores of questions with a volubility, persistence, and skill which far outdistanced anything of the kind their menfolk had been accustomed to indulge in at election times in Scotland. They wanted to know about many things that transpired during the war, and what is going to happen now peace has arrived. The right honorable gentleman was evidently not quite equal on all occasions to give a direct answer to the myriads of interrogations which were poured in to him without respite. "I am only a man, not an encyclopædia," plaintively replied Mr. Churchill when a demand was made that an answer should be given instantaneously to some of the most intricate questions. The subject of pensions and dependents' allowances loomed large, and the soldiers' wives obviously did not regard Mr. Churchill's answers to their questions as entirely satisfying. At their request the right honorable gentleman undertook to meet them next week, and discuss the whole situation with them as regards pensions. Towards the close of the meeting there were continuous shrill shouts from all parts of the hall.

A resolution in favor of the candidate was carried by an overwhelming majority, and amidst much confusion. Mr. Churchill finally advised the ladies to stand together, fight together, and win together.

THE annual Lyons fair, organized in 1916 under the direction of Senator Herriot, mayor of Lyons, is commended in the *Information Leaflet* of the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris as "an international market necessary for France in order that it may free itself of German control, to root out German products, to develop inter-Allied commerce and stimulate the national industries of the Allied countries, and, finally, to facilitate exportation." Manufacturers in neutral countries are also encouraged to exhibit. Only samples of goods are exhibited. The first Lyons fair, in spite of its hasty organization and the effect of war conditions, assembled 1342 exhibitors who transacted a business amounting to 95,000,000 francs. At the third fair, in March of the present year, there were 3182 exhibitors, wholesale buyers were present from all over the world, and the business transacted was valued at 750,000,000 francs. The fourth fair will be held March 1-15, 1919. American manufacturers and exporters are being urged to participate.

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Notes

AN explanation of the feeling in Portugal which led to the assassination of the President, Dr. Sidonio Paes, was offered by Dr. Alphonso Costa, former Portuguese President, in a recent interview in *Le Matin* (Paris). At the time of Dr. Paes's *coup d'état* Dr. Costa was imprisoned, and several prominent Portuguese Republicans were exiled, one of the latter being Senhor de Mattos, the man chiefly responsible for the presence of a Portuguese army in Flanders. Dr. Costa stated that 5,000 other citizens of Portugal, among them José da Castro, former Premier, had been imprisoned without trial, and had been beaten and grossly ill-treated in order to force from them so-called revelations; and that political prisoners had been executed while in prison, or had been transferred to other prisons. The former presidents of both Chambers, some former ministers, senators and deputies, and many officers who had fought on the French front are still in prison, according to Dr. Costa's statement, and so many sailors have been deported to Africa that the Portuguese navy seriously lacks men. The situation was so much worse than he had indicated, said Dr. Costa, that recent events were "not to be wondered at."

IN the opinion of Senator Tittoni, former Italian Foreign Minister and Ambassador to France, Italy's claims must widen and keep pace with the claims of France and Great Britain. Assuming the attainment of Italian aims in the Adriatic, Signor Tittoni, in an address in the Senate, declared that if Great Britain and France acquired territory and influence in Asia Minor, Italy must do the same, although if the other Powers acquired nothing Italy would make no demands. Signor Tittoni described this principle not as imperialism, but as "distributive justice." Since Italy, he said, had shared the risks and sufferings of the war, it should share equally in the benefits of peace; and Asia Minor alone could supply raw materials such as coal, petroleum, and iron for Italian industry. If France and Great Britain retained the German colonies in Africa, Italy should "obtain compensation" in Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea. Premier Orlando, commenting upon Signor Tittoni's address, observed that the Senator had rendered a great service to the country by raising these questions.

A PROPOSAL brought forward in the Swiss Parliament on December 6, calling upon the Federal Council to lay before the Parliament the full texts of all treaties or other international agreements entered into since August, 1914, was rejected by a vote of 43 to 66. The affirmative votes were given by the French and Italian-speaking deputies and the Socialists. President Calonder stated that the Federal Council was prepared to furnish full information to deputies or committees, that treaties would always be submitted and that, if permanent, they ought to be published, but that it would not be wise to make public the agreements made under war conditions.

THE State Department has made public an outline, said to have been published recently in Germany, of the projected Constitution to be submitted to the German National Assembly. What group or party is responsible for the document is not indicated. In substance the suggested Constitution provides for an elected President "whose powers will be about half-way between the constitutional rights of the American President and those of the King of England"; a Cabinet formed by the President which will be strictly parliamentary, "thus differing from the American system"; an upper House of Representatives of the various federated republics, corresponding roughly to the Senate of the United States, and with powers "more legislative than executive." No mention is made of a lower house. The "Federal Government will be strongly centralized without abridging the sovereignty of the States, which will retain control of

certain cultural, economic, and social fields. Railroads, the military establishment, customs, posts, telegraphs, and taxation will be Federal. There will be approximately fourteen or fifteen republics in the federation."

ON September 26 a press dispatch to Norwegian papers from Tromsø, in extreme northern Norway, reported the arrival at that port of a British expedition and the hoisting of the British flag over Spitzbergen. The German properties there, including a wireless station, were destroyed. It is interesting to note that Spitzbergen is still a sort of "No Man's Land." A conference to determine the status of the region was held at Christiania in 1914, eight nations participating, but on account of the interruption caused by the war nothing was done. Recently the question has again been raised in Norway, where it is argued that, if Spitzbergen were under the Norwegian flag, there would be no ground for annexation by Great Britain. The Storthing, which meets in January, is being urged to submit a proposal on the subject to the peace conference. The importance of Spitzbergen is mainly due to its immense deposits of coal and iron, the latter being among the richest in Europe.

THE representative of the British press in Mesopotamia, Mr. Scotland Liddell, in a recent despatch from Bagdad to the *London Times*, reports that Arab opinion is in favor of continued British occupation, "backed up by armed force," of Mesopotamia; that British control is essential to preserve order in a country menaced by tribes "semi-civilized, turbulent, avaricious, and well-armed"; and that such control would open to the Arabs new possibilities of commercial development. Only through British occupation, writes Mr. Liddell, "can the inhabitants of the country be given the desired degree of liberty to administer themselves under British advice, by means of representative institutions suited to the country."

THE findings and recommendations of the commission which for two years has been studying the industrial conditions of India have been published as a single report, which recommends various governmental changes to meet the economic needs of the country. The commission proposes that Imperial and provincial departments of industry and an Imperial industrial service be created. The Imperial department would be responsible for the industrial policy of the Government and the carrying out of a uniform programme of industrial development throughout the country, while the actual administrative work would devolve upon the local Governments and their industrial departments. The Imperial industrial service would be designed to substitute intelligent for haphazard and casual methods of recruiting labor. The commission recommends the establishment of universal primary education under the direction of the central and local authorities, and technical education in industrial schools and universities to be developed and controlled by the departments of industry. It also proposes, for the increased efficiency of labor, comprehensive improvements in housing conditions, and systematic efforts to eliminate preventable diseases, such as hookworm and malaria.

NOW that President Wilson's fourteen points have become the orthodox doctrine of the Allied Governments, it is worth noting that some of their most important provisions were anticipated in the programme of a society formed in England at the beginning of the war. The policy of this society was summed up in five cardinal points: (1) no transference of any province from one government to another without the consent of the population of the province; (2) democratic control of foreign policy, and no secret treaties; (3) the ending of balance-of-power alliances and the setting up of an international council; (4) a drastic reduction of armaments all round; and (5) no economic war after the military operations have ceased. The name of the society which has thus seen most of the civilized world professing acceptance of its creed is the Union for Democratic Control.