

These economic restraints brought the final crisis which could be resolved only by American abandonment of China or by war.

The discussion of the events preceding Pearl Harbor reveals the tragic and insoluble problem confronting the United States. Washington knew as a result of "Magic" that an attack was coming, but not where. Even in the last hours, President Roosevelt declined to promise aid to the Dutch and British possessions in the Far East in the event of aggression. But the American people were uninformed about the possible consequences of the breakdown of negotiations. The administration's course, says Mr. Feis, permitted Japan to strike the first blow which lessened the risk of blunder and confusion at the moment, but later caused the American public to believe they had been "led in ignorance."

To this reviewer, *The Road to Pearl Harbor* is the best analysis of the tragedy of Pearl Harbor yet to appear.

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Basic Documents of International Relations. Edited by FREDERICK H. HARTMANN. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 312. \$3.25.)

Professor Hartmann has gathered together fifty of the more important treaties and similar documents covering the period 1814 to 1949. In the first twenty pages, he gives the major sources for the alliance system and samples of those for the alliances preceding World War I. Then comes the Hague Convention of 1907. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the peace settlement of 1919, the "Long Armistice," World War II, and the period of the "Cold War." The editor presents such documents as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Washington Treaty on the Limitation of Naval Armament, the Locarno Pact, the Munich Agreement, the Nazi-Soviet Non-aggression Treaty, the Neutrality Act of 1939, the Atlantic Charter; the reports on the Cairo, Teheran, and Yalta conferences; the UN Charter, the First Report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council, and the Rio and North Atlantic Pacts. There is an editorial introduction to each document. A subject matter classification facilitates topical use.

In such a collection the focus is naturally on Great Power politics, the problems of collective security, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Little attention is given to the traditional topics of the European state system, diplomatic usage, or neutral rights; and for the newer topics of power analysis, ideological conflicts, and propaganda methods, these official documents do not provide much material. The editorial introductions are brief to the point of sketchiness. Many of the

documents have been severely cut. In the case of the Potsdam Agreement, for example, one misses many passages which proved to be important in recent international relations, such as those providing for the "orderly" transfers of German peoples from the East, and the controversial section on German assets in eastern Austria. However, where space is limited, it is impossible to include everything that might seem desirable to some critic. The editor apparently intended in a brief compass to touch only the high spots in official documents relating to the field of international relations since 1814.

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Towards A World Community: Selected Speeches. Third Annual Session, Mount Holyoke Institute on the United Nations, June 25 - July 22, 1950. Edited by EVERETT D. HAWKINS. (Holyoke, Massachusetts: Valley Litho Co. 1950. Pp. vi, 184. \$2.00.)

This volume consists of a selection of twenty-five speeches, including "both American and foreign opinions, of those who supported the United Nations and those who were critical of it, and of official and non-governmental points of view." The aim of the volume was to select also some speeches that were critical of the United Nations. One does not find on the program names of people who are noted for their skepticism toward developing a world community at this time.

An intriguing contrast is obtained by comparing the selected speeches in *Towards A World Community* with some of the selected writings in Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth W. Thompson, *Principles and Problems of International Politics: Selected Readings*. Note the contradictions in these two excerpts: "Men who read history are aware that the age old formula of treaties and alliances, of leagues and power politics has never assured peace" (Paul Shipman Andrews, "Strengthening the United Nations: A More Perfect Union," in *Towards A World Community*, p. 157); and "... the chances of the United Nations as a *pacificator orbis terrarum* will be better, the more it follows diplomatic rather than governmental patterns" (Erich Hula, "Four Years of the United Nations," in *Principles and Problems of International Politics*, p. 129). Consider also the following irreconcilable positions: In a reference to the objectives of Owen Roberts, Clarence Streit, and other advocates of world government, Reinhold Niebuhr writes, "These idealists are ready to bring on another world war in the name of world government. . . . To say that there is no way of guaranteeing the peace of the world constitutionally is not to say that there are other ways of guaranteeing it. There are none. . . . It would be intolerable if we again presented the world with