

genuine studies in geography as it affects international relations, e.g., "Population Outlets in Overseas Territories" by Isaiah Bowman; and one, to which reference is made in the preceding paragraph, is almost unrelated, except in a remote way, to geography. At least one harassed reviewer wishes that a little less latitude had been given to those invited to take part in the institute.

The contributions in the field of political geography are surprisingly devoid of originality. President Bowman gracefully recapitulates the accepted conclusions of nearly all students of the colonial problem, namely, that colonies are no longer outlets for population pressure and that they are of greater value as sources of nationalistic prestige than as possessions from which economic profit can be derived. Professor Hartshorne surveys the boundary problems of Europe and comes to the sweetly reasonable conclusion that "most of the local difficulties caused by unsatisfactory boundaries can be solved without shifting the line itself a foot. It is necessary only that the boundaries be made less important in the daily economic and social life of the border peoples and that the national minorities be treated without discrimination by their government." Ex-President Beneš can perhaps add a footnote to this when he reaches Chicago.

The remaining major paper, that of Mr. Denis on state intervention in economic life and its international repercussions, is an excellent survey of the now familiar national policies which have contributed to the disruption of international economic relations. The author pleads for a reconsideration of these, not with a view to returning to *laissez faire*, but in the hope that these controls may be utilized for the enlargement, rather than the further restriction, of international intercourse.

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DUNCAN, W. G. K. (Ed.). *Australia's Foreign Policy*. Pp. xii, 218. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, Ltd., 1938. 5s.

Anyone with an interest in Australian foreign relations will find this book, published under the auspices of the Australian

Institute of Political Science, of more than passing value. Five papers given at a meeting of the Institute by persons who have an especial interest in the problems under discussion are brought together in this useful volume. A preface by W. Macmahon Ball provides a statement of the terms of reference to which the remainder of the book is related. The purpose of the book is to discover whether Australia should have a foreign policy and, if so, what that policy ought to be.

It is apparent from the views of the various writers that Australia does not have a foreign policy of her own, and that there is no common agreement as to the nature of a plan of action for the future. Indeed, if one accepts the statements of Mr. Ball, there can be no considered program of foreign relations until certain fundamental conditions of the Australian scene are changed. Mr. Ball believes that before a definite policy can be formulated, there must be available "accurate information about other countries"; there must be an "atmosphere of freedom in which alternative policies can be frankly examined"; and it is necessary to have "an intelligent and civilized spirit of patriotism, a social philosophy which is bent, not on finding occasions for suspecting foreigners, but on increasing the welfare of Australians." These conditions, he states, are not present in the Commonwealth. Mr. Ball points out that 85 per cent of the news of foreign countries comes through England and may therefore be colored to suit British objectives; he attacks the government for the way in which it discourages the discussion of controversial issues; and, which is discouraging, he finds that the masses of the people possess a "marvelous nonchalance" about their future.

At least one of the contributors, the Honorable R. G. Casey, is content with the status quo and indicates that Australia need search no farther than Great Britain for guidance in the conduct of her foreign relations. However, P. D. Phillips, J. G. Crawford, C. Hartley Grattan, and D. A. S. Campbell express doubts that British and Australian interests always coincide. It is pointed out that although Australia continues as a member of the British Com-

monwealth of Nations, certain facts are more pertinent to her than to other members of the Empire. Mr. Phillips believes Australia will be largely concerned with the affairs of the Pacific community, and that this will necessitate a re-evaluation of her attitude toward Japan, China, and the United States. On the other hand, the formulation of an Australian policy for this area is complicated by Australia's ties to Great Britain. This is made quite clear, for example, in Mr. Grattan's discussion of the possibility of Australia's remaining neutral in a large-scale war.

The general features of a foreign policy for Australia are presented by Mr. Campbell. He suggests that this policy be based upon the following essentials: Australia is to maintain her association with the British Empire, is to support sincere attempts to secure international co-operation through the League or some other agency, is to work for freer trade, and is to endeavor to arrive at agreements with a stable China, Japan, Soviet Russia, and the United States with regard to the problems of the Pacific area.

There is very little in this book that makes dull reading. It is to be hoped that the Australian Institute of Political Science will be instrumental in publishing more books on the Commonwealth's problems and institutions.

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CHURCHILL, WINSTON S. *While England Slept*. Pp. xii, 404. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. \$4.00.

In a speech delivered in the British House of Commons on May 22, 1935, Mr. Churchill said, "I do not admire people who are wise after the event. I would rather be impaled on the other horn of the dilemma and be called one of the 'I told you so's.'" This volume is a vindication of the policy advocated over a period of years by one who must be regarded, in spite of the fact that he has not held office for years, as one of England's leading statesmen. It is curious that the deepest impression made by the speeches of Mr. Churchill during six years should be that of remarkable consistency, for his greatest

liability in politics has been the suspicion even amongst his admirers that consistency was not one of his virtues.

The book, then, is a collection of speeches delivered (with one comparatively unimportant exception) in the House of Commons since 1932. Naturally it suffers from the defects and limitations of such a collection. Mr. Churchill is a master of debate, but a sense of incompleteness is inevitable in reading only one side of what may be a many-sided argument. Some of the most effective thrusts of the debater are weakened because one does not know the arguments that evoked them; and one is left wondering, too, as to the replies which the speaker drew from his opponents on certain important issues. Besides, speeches in debate must necessarily make frequent reference to contemporary events which cannot be present in the reader's mind some years later. The attempt to meet this second difficulty by brief chronological summaries of events prefacing most of the speeches is only partially successful.

The book, however, is a brilliant example of Parliamentary oratory and debate in the best British tradition. All Mr. Churchill's gifts of literary style are present here—the massive argument, the incisive statement, the telling and sometimes unforgettable sentence. Of these, only three out of many may be quoted: "We can lay down the proposition that the Angel of Peace is unsnubbable" (this in reference to Lord Halifax's visit to Berlin); and "What is there ridiculous about collective security? The only thing that is ridiculous about it is that we have not got it." And this in 1936: "But do not let us be a rabble flying before forces we dare not resist. Let us negotiate from strength and not from weakness; from unity and not from division and isolation; let us seek to do justice because we have power." Passages of eloquence also tempt to quotation, but exigencies of space make it necessary to resist the temptation.

It is, however, the substance of Mr. Churchill's policy that will interest most readers and which is most important for the student of today and the historian of tomorrow. These speeches are the record