

# POPULATION AND PEACE

A SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION  
ON CLAIMS FOR RELIEF FROM POPULATION PRESSURE

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

PEACEFUL CHANGE



# POPULATION AND PEACE

A Survey of International Opinion  
on Claims for Relief from Population Pressure

*by*

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## FOREWORD

This volume is issued by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation as one of a series of studies on Peaceful Change carried out by the International Studies Conference<sup>a</sup> in the course of an enquiry into 'the basic difficulties in, and the procedures for, the peaceful solution of economic, social and territorial problems, with special reference to questions of : (i) population, migration and colonisation; and (ii) markets and the distribution of raw materials'. It is published in pursuance of a recommendation made by an Editorial Board appointed by the Conference and composed of Professor Maurice Bourquin, General Rapporteur on the Conference's study, Mr. Malcolm W. Davis and Professor Etienne Denney. The first volume in the series, issued in 1938,<sup>b</sup> contains a record of discussions on "peaceful change" which took place at a session of the International Studies Conference held in Paris in the summer of 1937, together with introductory reports giving synoptic statements of material previously assembled by the Conference.

The Editorial Board decided to issue, side by side with this general record, special surveys of certain aspects of the problem of peaceful change to which the Conference had devoted particular attention, *viz* : colonial questions, raw materials and markets, and population problems.

<sup>a</sup> 'The International Studies Conference is a permanent organ of co-operation, liaison and co-ordination for national institutions engaged in the scientific study of international affairs. Its principal objects are to develop a system of technical collaboration among its affiliated institutions and to organise collective research on specific problems in international relations. The constituent members of the Conference are linked together through an international machinery of which the principal elements are periodical plenary sessions, an executive committee, and the administrative services of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation' (*The International Studies Conference : Origins, Functions, Organisation* (Paris : International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation), 1937, *q. v.* for general information on the activities, methods of work, publications and membership of the Conference).

<sup>b</sup> *Peaceful Change : Procedures, Population Pressure, the Colonial Question, Raw Materials and Markets* : Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference, Paris, June 28th - July 3rd, 1937 (Paris : International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation), 1938.

The present volume is one of these surveys; it is devoted to demographic questions.

In the course of its study of these questions, the Conference assembled a great mass of material, including a large number of mimeographed documents and several comprehensive publications. It would have been physically impossible to reproduce the whole of this abundant material. The Board decided, however, that its essence could be presented in a form that would be convenient to the reader, without detracting too seriously from the value of the original documents, by issuing these special surveys, the preparation of which would be entrusted to individual authors who would be invited to assume responsibility for presenting a conspectus of the main currents of contemporary opinion on the principal elements of the problem expressed in the material of the Conference and, whenever useful, in other relevant sources of information. It was thought that this method, which facilitates a freedom of selection and arrangement less appropriate in formal records of international scientific conferences, achieves the practical end of providing, in conformity with one of the fundamental aims of the International Studies Conference, 'a publication capable of exercising some influence on public opinion', by making available the results of scientific and technical investigations, not only to the narrower circles of specialists, but also to the general reader interested in topical international issues.<sup>a</sup>

The compilation of a survey of opinion on some of the demographic aspects of the problem of "peaceful change" examined by the International Studies Conference was entrusted to Dr. F. Chalmers Wright, formerly Secretary of the International Studies Conference. In the course of his work, Dr. Chalmers Wright had the advantage of obtaining expert advice and guidance from Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders, Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, who, as one of the authorities who took part in the Conference's enquiry, made a number of suggestions which were taken into account by the author of the survey.

Companion surveys of opinion on the colonial problem and on raw materials and markets, as well as a volume on peaceful change procedures, are in course of preparation.

<sup>a</sup> Any expressions of opinion contained in these surveys are those of their authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Conference.

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## PREFACE

In the summer of 1937, an international conference of specialists in the study of contemporary international affairs brought to an end a joint enquiry into the question of "peaceful change" upon which its members had been engaged since 1935. The study had ranged over a diversity of current problems deemed to be at the root of certain demands for adjustment in the *status quo* of international relations. Among these problems, "overpopulation" had been regarded as one of the principal sources of grievance of several "discontented" Powers; an enquiry into the basis of claims for relief from pressure of population could not but occupy, therefore, a position of prominence in the conference's investigations. Which are the demographically "dissatisfied" nations? What is the substance of their grievances? Can their claims and aspirations be satisfied peacefully? And what international changes are involved in the solution of their population problems by non-violent means? To use a convenient neologism, what, in a word, is the nature of the problem of international "decrowding"?

\* \* \*

The preparation of the present volume was undertaken in the spring of 1938 at the request of the Editorial Board of the International Studies Conference, whose intentions are stated in the Foreword. Its object is to provide, in a form accessible to the general reader, a synthetic statement of the main currents of expert opinion on a problem which, although it has already given rise to an ample literature, is frequently distorted in political discussion by partisan bias or by an imperfect acquaintance with the facts.

While the task of extracting the essence of many hundreds of pertinent passages in a large number of sources has been laborious, the compiler's own contribution to the survey has been confined to a discharge of the modest functions of selection, compression and

articulation. So far as possible, the text has been composed with the experts' own words, their authorship being clearly indicated in each instance (with an apology to the reader for the typographical necessity of relegating to an index at the end of the volume bibliographical references which would have overloaded the footnotes), so that the reader may see for himself precisely where the compiler's pen has been exchanged for scissors and paste. While the compiler's freedom of choice has necessarily been exercised to an extent which might have been inexpedient in the preparation of an official record of an international conference, a careful attempt has nevertheless been made to introduce into the survey every competent argument and responsible opinion which seems to have been brought to the conference's notice. In the absence, however, of any known process of total individual detachment from the conflict of multi-national interpretations of contemporary politics, it is not suggested that he has succeeded in wholly divesting himself from national partisanship or in repressing the expression of subjective reactions to current political events. Certainly no claim is made to have achieved the measure of intellectual disinterestedness and of international abstraction which was manifested in their loftier moments by many of the eminent authorities whose views are surveyed in this volume; but it does not seem likely that any normally biased layman would read through the original documentation of the conference without reaching the comforting conclusion that demographic considerations impinge on some of the least objective elements of national policies and sensibilities and that vitally important population phenomena still lie in a deep outer penumbra of common human prejudice beyond the focal range within which the dispassionate scientist can gaze serenely on current affairs.

It is due to the specialists on whose original work the survey is founded to point out to the reader that responsibility for the line of argument on which their opinions have been threaded lies solely with the compiler and that the passages chosen for reproduction may not always reflect, when divorced from their context, the thoughts which their authors have more amply expressed in the documents themselves. On the other hand, it is due to the reader to warn him that an effort to minimise instances of accidental misrepresentation has led here and there to more copious citation than the requirements of the argument rendered strictly necessary; but, wherever possible, the distracting effect of over-prolonged discussion of special points on the

reader's visual attention has been mitigated by recourse to the typographical expedients of footnotes and smaller type which he may generally disregard without much loss of continuity in the argument.

The ordinary reader for whose use this survey is primarily destined is invited to bear in mind that the treatment of the problem which forms the central theme of the volume is by no means exhaustive and that there are other relevant factors which, though they have been neglected in these pages, cannot be ignored in any formulation of a rational demographic policy. In the first place, in the course of its study, the conference was led to shift its attention from one aspect of the problem to another in response to swift changes in the international political scene during the progress of its enquiry; in the process of adapting its programme to the exigencies of external events, the conference had to break off its study inconclusively at several points which could not subsequently be knit together into a coherent pattern of consecutive thought. It was inevitable, also, that, in a study of limited duration, the conference should have laid more emphasis on some elements of the problem than on others. Hence the material produced by the conference is in some respects discontinuous. Through the use of complementary sources of information, an attempt has been made in this volume to bridge one or two of the principal gaps; but it has not been possible in the time available for the preparation of the survey to undertake any systematic research into aspects of the problem which were not considered by the conference. It is, therefore, essentially as an interpretation of the conference's own study that this volume is issued. In one respect, however, the survey protrudes beyond this boundary. Since the termination of the conference's study in the summer of 1937, not only has new knowledge come to light on important aspects of the questions discussed in these pages, but the central theme of "peaceful change" upon which the conference grafted its enquiry into demographic problems has also been the subject of much subsequent discussion and speculation. These recent developments could not be wholly ignored; nor could they be taken so fully into account as they may deserve without straying extravagantly outside the field of the conference's own enquiry. A partial reconciliation of these divergent considerations has been effected by preserving the summer of 1937 as the *terminus ad quem* for the main trend of the argument and by advancing into periods more proximate to the date of this publication

wherever more recent information and events seem to impair seriously the validity of the conference's findings.

\* \* \*

The writer wishes to express his sense of obligation to the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, M. Henri Bonnet, under whose inspiring guidance he was privileged for a number of years to gain some insight into the practice of international administration and to whose long experience of international affairs he has had recourse in establishing the general framework of the survey and in overcoming certain difficulties of presentation; to the Director of the Migration Section of the International Labour Office and his collaborators, who have given him the benefit of far more specialised knowledge than he has been able to utilise; to the Librarians of the International Labour Office and of the Royal Institute of International affairs, who have kindly facilitated his work; and to members of the staff of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, for their technical assistance at various stages of the work.

No layman could have embarked unaided upon the preparation of a survey of contemporary opinion on so complex a question as "overpopulation". If the present volume succeeds at all in presenting a connected summary of the International Studies Conference's many-sided enquiry, the result is due in large measure to the opportunities which the writer has had of seeking the authoritative guidance of the Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders. The writer wishes also to acknowledge gratefully his debt to Professor Carr-Saunders for having consented to read through a draft of the survey and for a number of criticisms, comments and suggestions which, though they could not be specifically indicated in each instance in the text, have determined both the form and the matter of much of the survey which is now submitted to the reader.

F. C. W.

Paris, December Fourth, 1938.

## **INTRODUCTORY**

*The sources of the passages quoted in the text of the Survey (reference numbers in small type) and in the footnotes (reference numbers in italics) are indexed at the end of the volume.*

*References to footnotes are indicated alphabetically.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

### List of Sources cited in the Survey

*The italicised figures in the page-indexing are page references to the sources of the passages in the Survey; in the case of secondary sources, the italicised figures are page references to the corresponding primary sources.*

I. I. I. C. = International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation

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