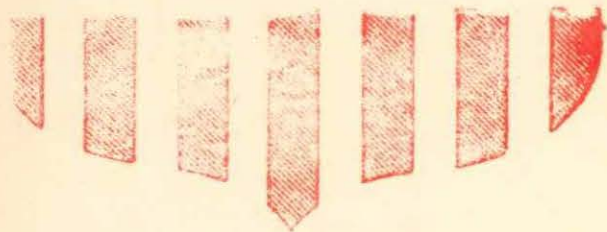


UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



PEACEFUL CHANGE

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

PEACEFUL CHANGE



PROCEDURES, POPULATION, RAW MATERIALS, COLONIES

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TENTH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

PARIS, JUNE 28th - JULY 3rd, 1937

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

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PREFACE

This volume is a record of research on peaceful change, carried out by the International Studies Conference during the years 1935-37, and of the discussion of this problem which took place in Paris in July of the latter year.

The Paris Conference, which met under the Chairmanship of M. Sébastien Charléty, was attended by some 150 scholars and experts nominated by the national committees and institutions for the study of international relations, members of the International Studies Conference. The public inaugural and closing sessions were presided over by M. Albert Sarraut and M. Edouard Herriot respectively. The discussions in plenary and round-table meetings were based on carefully prepared documentation presented by the national committees and institutions and by a number of individual experts.

At similar sessions held in the past, the Members of the International Studies Conference had examined the questions of State Intervention in Economic Life (1931-33) and Collective Security (1933-35)¹. In the course of the discussions of the latter problem in London, it became apparent that no study of collective security could be considered satisfactory unless it was followed by an investigation into the twin problem of meeting claims and aspirations for changes in the *status quo* by providing peaceful procedures. Although some of the juridical aspects of this question had been dealt with in the research and discussion on collective security, there was a strong feeling that it deserved to be studied in all its complexity during a new study cycle. The Members of the Conference accordingly adopted for study during the

¹ See *The State and Economic Life* (Vol. I, 1932, Vol. II, 1934) and *Collective Security*, edited by Maurice Bourquin, (1936), published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris.

For general information about the Conference, see *The International Studies Conference: Origins, Functions, Organization*, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris 1937.

succeeding two-year period the subject of peaceful change, which was tentatively defined in the following terms : peaceful solution of certain international problems : the basic difficulties in, and the procedures for, the peaceful solution of economic, social and territorial problems with special reference to questions of population, migration and colonization, and markets and the distribution of raw materials.

An account of the planning of the work and the methods of study adopted by the Conference during the preparatory period will be found below in the Introductory Report submitted by the General Rapporteur, Professor Maurice Bourquin, to the Paris Session (pp. 24-29). It is interesting to note that for the first time in the history of the Conference a number of international study groups were set up to co-ordinate the work undertaken in various countries on particular items of the research programme, i. e., colonies, population, raw materials and markets, and problems of the Danubian area. Moreover, the work of the national groups and institutions was supplemented by monographs on some of the more complex aspects of the problem, written at the request of these study groups by individual scholars.

In July 1937, the International Studies Conference appointed an Editorial Board to approve a plan of publication of the results of the Conference on peaceful change. This Board, which is composed of Mr. Malcolm W. Davis, Professor Maurice Bourquin and Professor Etienne Dennery, decided to publish at once four of the monographs prepared by individual experts.¹

They also agreed upon the form of the present volume, which differs in some respects from that issued by the Institute after the London Conference on Collective Security. On that occasion, the compilers adopted the principle of selecting for publication significant extracts, both from the preparatory documentation and from the discussions at the Conference itself, and arranging these extracts under headings which corresponded to the chapters of the agenda of the Conference. The Editorial Board considered, however, that in the present case it would be more suitable to publish the full texts of the introductory reports presented by the Rapporteurs and an almost complete record of the discussions in both plenary and round-table sessions. This decision

¹ *The synthetic optimum of population*, by Imre Ferenczi; *Markets and the problem of peaceful change*, by J. B. Condliffe; *International raw materials cartels*, by William Oualid; and *The monetary aspect of the raw materials problem and the revival of international trade*, by Michael A. Heilperin. Published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in 1938.

was prompted by the fact that a large number of the preparatory memoranda on the problem of peaceful change submitted to the Conference had at this time already been published by the national institutions responsible for their production. Their reproduction here in part or as a whole, therefore, seems unnecessary. The Editorial Board also felt that, in view of the topical nature of this subject, as full a record of the discussions as possible should be published. The Board agreed to supplement the present record by three volumes containing surveys of the problems of colonies, population, and raw materials and markets, seen from the point of view of the general problem of peaceful change. These surveys are principally intended to make the work of the Conference on peaceful change available to a wider public and will, therefore, be based mainly on the memoranda submitted to the Conference, and on the views expressed in the course of the session and in recent relevant publications independent of the Conference.

The concluding volume of the series on peaceful change will be an enquiry into the legal aspects of the problem, which, it was generally agreed, called for more thorough treatment than they received in the Paris discussion or in the preliminary documentation. This enquiry is being directed by Professor Maurice Bourquin, General Rapporteur for the Conferences on Collective Security and Peaceful Change, who has secured the collaboration in his task of leading experts who took part in these two Conferences. Each of these experts will contribute a chapter on a subject on which he is an authority. The results of this enquiry will be published by the Institute in 1939.

In the course of the Paris Session, the view was frequently expressed that the possibilities for study offered by the problem of peaceful change had by no means been exhausted, and it was agreed that the study should be continued within more limited terms of reference. The Conference accordingly decided to continue the investigation of the economic aspects of this problem for a further two-year period under the general title of "Economic Policies in Relation to World Peace."

The Institute desires to place on record its gratitude to the Rockefeller Foundation, whose generous financial assistance, both to the Secretariat of the Conference, provided by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and to the national institutions and groups, made possible the conduct of the study of peaceful change on a large scale. Thanks are also due to the Rockefeller Foundation and the European Centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

for their support of the publications programme of the International Studies Conference.

We must also thank Professor Maurice Bourquin, who has served the Conference as General Rapporteur since 1933, first for the study of Collective Security and then for that of Peaceful Change. The masterly skill with which he accomplished the difficult and delicate task of analysing a vast amount of documentation on very controversial topics has earned for him the gratitude of all those who participated in the work of the Conference during these four years.

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