

# THE CAUSES OF WAR

## Economic, Industrial, Racial, Religious, Scientific, and Political

---

*by*

SIR ARTHUR SALTER  
SIR J. ARTHUR THOMSON  
G. A. JOHNSTON  
ALFRED ZIMMERN  
C. F. ANDREWS  
FREDERICK J. LIBBY  
HENRY A. ATKINSON  
WICKHAM STEED

*And Others*

*With Introduction by*  
**RUTH CRANSTON**  
Secretary of the Commission

*Edited by*  
**ARTHUR PORKITT**  
Chairman of the Publications Committee

---

*Published by*  
**The Federation of International Fellowships**  
Maitri, Kilpauk, Madras  
*By special permission of*  
**Messrs. Macmillan Company, London**

# THE CAUSES OF WAR

ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL, RACIAL, RELIGIOUS,  
SCIENTIFIC, AND POLITICAL.

BY \*

SIR ARTHUR SALTER - SIR J. ARTHUR THOMSON  
G. A. JOHNSTON - ALFRED ZIMMERN  
C. F. ANDREWS - FREDRICK J. LIBBY  
HENRY A. ATKINSON - WICKHAM STEED  
AND OTHERS

AS RAPPORTEURS OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF  
COMMISSION I. OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE THROUGH RELIGION—  
AS SUBMITTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
FOR PRESENTATION TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE

WITH INTRODUCTION BY  
RUTH CRANSTON  
SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION

EDITED BY  
ARTHUR PORRITT  
CHAIRMAN OF THE PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

MADRAS  
THE HOGARTH PRESS  
1934

Published by  
The Federation of International Fellowships.  
Maitri, Kilpauk, Madras  
By special permission of  
Messrs. Macmillan Company, London.

COPYRIGHT, 1932,  
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

All rights reserved—no part of this book  
may be reproduced in any form without  
permission in writing from the publisher,  
except by a reviewer who wishes to quote  
brief passages in connection with a review  
written for inclusion in magazine or  
newspaper.

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
MEMBERS OF COMMISSION . . . . .	I
PREFACE TO THE INDIAN EDITION . . . . .	III
INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIAN EDITION . . . . .	V
WHO'S WHO? . . . . .	VII
INTRODUCTION . . . . . <i>Ruth Cranston</i> . . . . .	ix
SUMMARY . . . . .	xv
I. THE ECONOMIC CAUSES . . . . .	
OF WAR . . . . . <i>Sir Arthur Salter</i> . . . . .	1
II. INDUSTRIAL AND LABOUR INFLUENCES . . . . .	
INFLUENCES . . . . . <i>G. A. Johnston</i> . . . . .	26
III. RACIAL INFLUENCES . . . . . <i>C. F. Andrews</i> . . . . .	
C. F. Andrews . . . . .	63
IV. RELIGION AS A CAUSE . . . . .	
OF WAR . . . . . <i>Henry A. Atkinson</i> . . . . .	114
THE HINDU-MUSLIM SITUATION IN INDIA . . . . .	
A. Yusuf Ali . . . . .	119
V. SCIENCE AND WAR . . . . . <i>Sir J. Arthur Thomson</i> . . . . .	
Sir J. Arthur Thomson . . . . .	126
VI. THE CULTURAL CAUSES . . . . .	
OF WAR . . . . . <i>Alfred Zimmern</i> . . . . .	131
VII. THE PRESS AND WORLD PEACE . . . . .	
Frederic J. Libby . . . . .	145
VIII. THE POLITICAL CAUSES . . . . .	
OF WAR . . . . . <i>Wickham Steed</i> . . . . .	163

## CONTENTS

### SUPPLEMENTARY

I. NATIONAL MONOPOLIES OF RAW MATERIALS.	<i>Jacob Viner</i>	185
II. TARIFFS	<i>Andre Siegfried</i>	203
III. MIGRATION	<i>Moritz Bonn</i>	212
IV. ECONOMIC OCCASIONS OF CONFLICT IN THE FAR EAST.	<i>W. J. Hinton</i>	225
INDEX.		233

## INDEX

- Africa, partition of, 9  
 Alexander, Dr. Will, 108  
 America (United States), racial problems in, 86  
 America, United States of, 35, 53  
 American Civil War, 32  
 Arnold, Matthew, 132  
 Asiatic Exclusion Act, 1924, 105  
 Australia, 35  
 Bakeless, John, *The Economic Causes of Modern War*, 29  
*Berliner Tageblatt*, the, 153  
 Black Death, the, 31  
 Bonn, Dr. Moritz, 12, 104, 105, 212-224  
 Briand, M. Aristide, 182  
 British rubber control, 192  
 Browning, Robert, 132  
 Canada, 35  
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 150  
*Causes of War and the New Revolution*, 28.  
 Central Africa, a focus of racial evils, 84  
 Children's Bureau of U.S. Department of Labour, 47  
 China, 9, 35, 36, 42, 97, 227  
 China, race friction in, 77  
 Collins, Ross A., 155  
*Cologne Gazette*, the, 153  
 Colour Bar Act (South Africa), Control over Press in Europe, 158  
 Credit, currency and capital problems, 18  
 Dilbruch, Herr, 193  
 Diplomacy in relation to competition, 20  
 Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, 175  
 Duranty, Walter, 149  
 Dynastic causes of war, 1, 3, Eastern Siberia, 226  
 Economic imperialism, 101  
*Economic Tendencies affecting the Peace of the World*, by Professors Bonn and Siegfried, 12, 22  
 Encirclement of Germany, myth of, 165  
 English-speaking Union, The 151  
 Equality of cultures, principle of, 142  
 European and Bantu Joint Council (Johannesburg), 108  
 Europe, danger spots of, 3  
 Fear, as a cause of war, 166  
 Forced labour, 138  
 Foreign residence, 97  
 Free Trade, 14, 204, 205  
 Freeman, R. Austin, on mechanism, 38  
 French Revolution, 32

- French syndicalist thinkers, 49
- General Disarmament Conference, 177, 179.
- General Strike, the theory of, 49.
- Geneva Protocol, 175, 177
- Gibson, Mr. Hugh, 152, 158
- Havas Agency, the, 153
- Historical instances of Industrial and Labour causes of war, 30
- Immigration regulations, 55
- India, racial problems in, 80, 93
- Industry, decentralization of, 59
- Institute of Pacific Relations (Honolulu), 109
- Interchurch World Movement, 51
- Intermarriage, 91, 92, 93, 95
- Internal social trouble and its political reactions, 22
- International Court of Justice, the, 74
- International Cultural Minimum, 140
- International courtesy, 96
- International Federation of Journalists, 150
- Inter-racial Committee (Georgia, U.S.A.), 108
- James, William, 161
- Japan, 4, 35, 36, 225
- Japan, growing pressure of population, 34
- Japan, racial feeling in, 78, 79
- Japanese "Exclusion Clause", 217
- Joint Council to promote understanding between white and coloured people in Great Britain, 108
- Jones, Dr. Rheinallt, 108
- Kantorowicz, Professor Hermann, 165
- Kellogg, Mr., 167
- Krueger, Ohm, 218
- Ku-Klux-Klan, 95
- Labour, regimentation of, 40
- Lambeth Conference (1930), 110
- La Nacion* (Buenos Aires), 153
- La Nacion* (Santiago), 153
- League Covenant, 5, 6, 167, 174, 175, 178, 181
- League of Nations, the, 11, 62, 74, 106, 174, 175, 200, 201
- Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, 29
- Leisure, absence of, 50
- Living, standard of, 54
- Locarno Settlement, the, 172
- Madariaga, Don Salvador de, 182, 183
- Manchuria, 35, 36, 225, 226
- Marx, Karl, 169
- Missionaries and racial friction, 103
- Mongolia, 225
- Morley, John, *Essay on Compromise*, 152
- Morning Post*, the, 153
- New York Times*, 149, 153,
- New York World*, the, 146
- New Zealand, 35
- Okhotsk fisheries, 226
- Oxford Fellowship, 76
- Pact of Paris, the, 5, 6, 167, 172, 178
- Peace Treaties, 4
- Peasants' Revolt, the, 31
- Petit Parisien*, the, 153
- Pigou, Professor A. C., 28
- Polak, Mr. Henry, 108
- Political causes of war, 3, 163.

- Political Economy of War, The*, 28  
 Population, density of, 214  
 Population problems, 16  
 Population, rates of increase, 224.  
 Preparatory Disarmament Commission, 177  
 Press representatives in Washington, 153  
 Production and consumption, lack of balance of, 43  
 Protectionist policy and war, 204, 206
- Race friction in different areas, 76, 77  
 Race segregation, 69, 70, 71, 72  
 Racial equality (League Covenant), 80  
 Racial intermarriage,—70, 71, 76, 81  
 Racial justice, a threefold approach to, 107  
 Ratcliffe, S. K., 147  
 Raw material problems, 19  
 Real wages, index numbers of, 54  
 Religious causes of war, 1, 114-119  
 Religious imperialism, 103  
 Renan, Ernest, 132  
 Rusian Red Army, 180
- Sakhalien oil-fields, 226  
 Shearer incident, the, 156  
 Siegfried, Andre, 12, 203  
 Smuts, General, 86, 87  
 South Africa, racial problems in, 83  
 Spanish-American War, 146  
 State- aided dumping, 15
- State of Labourers, the 31,  
 Stefani Agency, 153  
 Stresemann, Dr.; 176
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 82, 111, 120  
 Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union, the, 153  
 Theunis, M., 24  
 Thirty Years' War, the, 31  
*Times The*, 146; 153  
 Transportation problems, 19  
 Turner, Tell A., *Causes of War and the New Revolution*, 28
- Uniform world standard of life, a 56  
 U.S.S.R., absence of race prejudice, 89, 225
- Wages, desire for higher, 53  
 Wages, real, in various countries, 54  
 Wallace and Edminster (*International Control of Raw Materials*), 194  
 War guilt, 164, 165  
 "White Australia" policy, 80, 93  
 Wilkinson, H.L., *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, 214  
 Wilson, President Woodrow, 174  
 Wolff Bureau, 153  
 Work, bad conditions of 48  
 World Economic Conference (1927), 200
- Younghusband, Sir Francis, 108
- Zionist Colonies, 117