

DEEP FAULT IN THE GREAT RANGES HO! VINCENT MASSEY

Statesmanship In Saddle at Geneva

FORMER MINISTER TO WASHINGTON SPEAKS TO 1,000; CRITICIZES EARLY INDECISION IN SINO-JAPANESE CRISIS

"STATESMANSHIP at Geneva has again asserted itself," declared Hon. Vincent Massey last night, as he launched the plea: "Let us not lose faith in the League of Nations."

The former Canadian Minister to Washington addressed the Border Cities branch of the League of Nations Society in the Prince Edward Hotel.

Indecision and faltering, which had marked the course of the League Council for many months in dealing with the Sino-Japanese crisis, has given way to a reassertion of the League's authority, as evidenced in the Assembly declaration last Friday, reserving the right to outlaw any treaties in the Orient which violate existing covenants, he explained.

Criticizes Fumbling

After sharp criticism of the League Council's uncertainty in the early stages of the Oriental dispute, and remarking that the chief effect of the League's ultimatum to Japan to withdraw its troops from Manchuria was to untie a previously divided Japan behind the military party, when Japan called Geneva's "bluff," Mr. Massey concluded:

"The League represents the greatest effort to replace in international life the law of the jungle with decency and order. Let us hope with an unbroken confidence that those ideals will remain unswayed and inviolate, and like truth itself, will ultimately prevail."

A crowd estimated at 1,000 packed the ballroom and balcony to hear Mr. Massey. Many others could not be accommodated.

Text of Speech

Mr. Massey spoke as follows: "I appreciate the privilege of foregrounding again with an audience in Windsor. The last occasion on which I had such a pleasure was in 1927. We were celebrating then the 60th anniversary of Confederation. This was a significant event in our history because it marked not only 60 years of national unity, but it marked the completion of our nationhood. The year 1927 had some significance in another respect because five years ago, we seemed to be in the full tide of economic progress which nothing could arrest; prosperity seemed to be assured."

"We now meet in a different atmosphere—different in two senses. First, there is the obvious contrast marked by the universal depression in which Canada, like all other nations, has been caught. We now know that the old prosperity was ill-founded."

"What we thought was the glow of health on the face of society, five years ago, was really the flush of fever. Civilization has seldom met with a disillusionment so universal and so fundamental. An English economist said not long ago that the present depression was different from any similar periods through which we have passed in recent years. The only depression which bears any resemblance to the present one, so he said, was one which lasted for 100 years and was called the Dark Ages. Let us hope on this occasion an economist was found jesting."

"The atmosphere of today is different from that of five years ago. In another and perhaps less obvious respect. Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven, as I have suggested, is a convenient date to mark the end of our national youth. We are a nation in the fullest sense of the word and I need not remind you of the pages which make up this chapter of achievement. We have acquired in Canada a national mind. That chapter is now finished but perhaps today the importance of a new chapter is emphasized as never before. We meet another chapter by which we will achieve an international mind as well. Here, I need not remind you of the contradictory between these two ideas of a national sense and an international outlook. The two things are, of course, complementary. One should follow the other. If we have become a self-respecting nation we are the better equipped to play our part in the world and it is more necessary that we should do so. And conversely, of today demand such participation. This is no academic subject. I need not point out that the world has now become such an interdependent unit that nations and less can we live to ourselves alone."

"We have not only to realize our interdependence on the outside world but we are forced to practice it. Our trade and all that goes to make up our national life demand an international sense. We have achieved our nationhood, it is true, but a nationhood unaided, after all, is as useless as a ship kept in the harbor."

"Our position in the world is not unimportant. For one thing we live in an age when the small nation is coming into its own. Before the Great War, the voice of state was potent in direct proportion to the armaments behind it. This may be said in some measure to be true, but the Dominions which like ourselves, have grown to full nationality within the British Empire, have now an added weight in the world affairs through their British connection. I need not remind you too how greatly the constitution of the League of Nations has enhanced the status and power of the small nation in the international world."

"Today in Geneva, in dealing with the vexed question of the Far East, the smaller states have a share out of all proportion to their size or their economic stake in the issue. There is reason to believe that the new Commission of nineteen which is appointed to deal with the Eastern crisis, represented a victory of the smaller nations in the Assembly—a sort of 'ginger group' who were important of the action of the larger powers. Their caution no doubt was due in a large measure to the tempering effect of responsibility."

"It is a source of great satisfaction to see Canada play its full part in this world Parliament. We are in a singularly happy position in international life. I think it can be said with accuracy that Canada possesses

analogy between the two sets of circumstances is fairly close. There was no League of Nations then to express world opinion. The only check on Japan came through the ambitions of rival powers—notably Russia—which made use of the troubled waters to fish as best they could, and the immediate consequence was another war, this time between Russia and Japan. Japanese conquest in this instance was followed by concession grabbing on the part of other powers, which led to a second war, whose justification lay in what Japan had done for herself.

Impossible Now

"Now, however, the mobilization of world opinion through the League, and the resulting focus of attention on the Eastern theatre, make the situation impossible. Again I think it is fair to say that in the first few weeks of this conflict, in the East, the League operated as a unit, and that on both parties to the dispute. It was only after a period of two months or so that the resort to force became less than a last resort. As I shall try to show later, was in part a result of the non-to happy handling of the situation by the Council of the League, and the consequent temporary loss of its prestige. Even if, as most of us think, force has taken the place of reason and the efforts of the League have been unavailing, it would be a pity to let the very existence of this international body, the parties in this unhappy issue are forced continually to explain and defend before a world tribunal the policy which whatever action they take. An aggressor is put inevitably on the defensive."

The Real Tragedy

"The tragedy of the Eastern question is, of course, just this, that the Japanese, who have been the aggressors of the League itself, chose to disregard its good offices in those troubles in Manchuria which it might have helped to avert. This has deeply offended the Chinese, who have replied in terms of irritating pin pricks through constant banditry and sabotage."

"The arguments on both sides in Manchuria have been lamentably one-sided. The Japanese, on the one hand, and the Chinese, on the other, have both been equally wrong. The inevitable growth of emotional feeling made pacific settlement more and more difficult. Had machinery been set up to deal with this, similar to our International Joint Commission, which settles issues on our North American boundary line as they arise, what a vast amount of bitterness and misery might have been averted. But such an institution could only function in Manchuria after certain fundamental questions had been settled. That, of course, must now be the aim."

Local Episode

"Japan has seen fit to regard her issue with China in the last six months, as a local episode, a domestic matter. They have said 'don't bother us, we will deal with the Chinese, because we know them.' As a matter of fact, even a brief sojourn in the Orient will show the visitor that neither Chinese nor Japanese seem to understand each other at all. It is perhaps natural that we should be more or less similar in mentality. They are not so. They are strikingly unlike us. They are a people of a different order, in their virtues as well as in their faults. The Japanese are highly disciplined and self-restrained. They regard themselves in action more easily than in words, which leads them to resort to action where negotiation might be wiser. They act naturally under authority, even autocratic control. On the other hand, the Chinese are easy-going, a good-humored people, democratic to the point of resentment, government, excellent diplomats, to the point of preferring the words to deeds. If the Japanese love of action leads to excesses now and then, Chinese diplomacy too often expresses itself in evasion and veiling."

Third Party Needed

"Such differences of character and temperament make the interposition of a third party essential. It is difficult for the Chinese not to fall into the error of placing an undue faith in what the League could accomplish. In the expectation of the Council, the world now holds that the Chinese demand a private war which is not a matter for public concern. Even had China not invoked Article XI of the Covenant of the League, the Council could have taken action itself in a matter of such gravity. Japan's policy would have occasioned no surprise in the 19th century in the absence of such international machinery as we have created since the war. A generation ago nations had to act in terms of self-help. But we are living in the 20th century and this new era has accepted the doctrine of collective responsibility in international affairs and the League is the most impressive symbol of that revolutionary point of view."

Reviews Work

"What has the League done? What concrete action has it taken? Its function during the four months seemed to be confined to inquiry and admonition, neither of them having proved in this instance a very effective means of stopping the dispute. There was one exception to this policy and that is in the famous order issued on October 24th, instructing the League to withdraw its troops from a treaty zone by a certain day. This order I think has considerable importance, not that it achieved its expected result, far from it, but the fact that it represents a serious error in technique on the part of the Council. It would seem to be a matter of common sense that when you are dealing with two persons in a quarrel and desire to bring them to an agreement, you should make up your mind whether you wish to proceed through a process of conciliation and mediation or through the application of force."

Proper Technique

"If you choose the first course it is extremely important that you should not offend either disputant; you should make an appeal to reason and carry each party with you as far as you can. Your only hope of arriving at a settlement through this process is to be in touch with the atmosphere of the situation, to avoid such publicity as would cause embarrassment and to deal with the situation as far

Young Folk Moderate

"I was conscious when I was in the East of the fact that the younger generation of Japan seemed to have a more moderate view in foreign policy than their seniors, just as even in Manchuria and Shanghai are having

Take Position Seriously

"There are, perhaps, two reasons, therefore, why we should take our membership in the League most seriously. One is that our voice in the League, since 1914, only too well how we may be involved in the repetition of distant events, and should therefore take our position seriously. Secondly, we must not overlook the contribution in an active sense, which we can make to the settlement of the difficulties which these events present. Perhaps this is peculiarly true of questions in the Far East. It was a Canadian voice that led to the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and the substitution for it of a collective treaty which is one of the greatest forces for peace in the East today. Let us take our membership in the League, therefore seriously, as a luxury, a sort of stage property to embellish our international status, but as a very stern responsibility. We may well remember, too, that our voice in the League will be effective in proportion to the right feeling and clear thinking which the men and women of Canada bring to the perplexing subjects with which it has to deal."

Meeting Crisis

"The League of Nations is now meeting the greatest crisis which it has met since its foundation 12 years ago. It is confronted not only with the aggravated crisis in the Far East, but also with the gravest issue with which it has yet been faced and which puts its constitution and the conception behind it to a searching test. On the settlement of this crisis the future of the League will inevitably turn. The Assembly has been summoned for the first time to deal, in an emergency, with an international dispute and this, after six months of effort in which little seems to have been accomplished. And while conversations proceed in Geneva, men oppose one another under arms in Shanghai. Why should this be? Criticisms are easy. It has unfortunately become fashionable to regard the performance of the League in this Eastern imbroglio as that of a futile and well-intentioned body which has spent six laborious months in the painful and widely advertised accomplishment of nothing at all. I don't think that's fair. Such a harsh judgment probably marks a reaction from the sentimental approval which the League has frequently received."

Eulogy Unwise

"Extreme eulogy in any circumstances is always as unwise as unthinking criticism. One should, of course, never accept the imbrication of any human agency as infallible simply because it stands for a noble ideal. Idealism and mistaken judgment have, alas, been the companions of the League since its birth. Let us try to take the balanced view."

Really Fever

"What we thought was the glow of health on the face of society, five years ago, was really the flush of fever. Civilization has seldom met with a disillusionment so universal and so fundamental. An English economist said not long ago that the present depression was different from any similar periods through which we have passed in recent years. The only depression which bears any resemblance to the present one, so he said, was one which lasted for 100 years and was called the Dark Ages. Let us hope on this occasion an economist was found jesting."

Now a Nation

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Interdependence

"We have not only to realize our interdependence on the outside world but we are forced to practice it. Our trade and all that goes to make up our national life demand an international sense. We have achieved our nationhood, it is true, but a nationhood unaided, after all, is as useless as a ship kept in the harbor."

Wield Power

"Today in Geneva, in dealing with the vexed question of the Far East, the smaller states have a share out of all proportion to their size or their economic stake in the issue. There is reason to believe that the new Commission of nineteen which is appointed to deal with the Eastern crisis, represented a victory of the smaller nations in the Assembly—a sort of 'ginger group' who were important of the action of the larger powers. Their caution no doubt was due in a large measure to the tempering effect of responsibility."

Recalls 1895 War

"But let us not discount the importance of the League, even in this present Eastern crisis. It has had no small influence on the general situation. What would have happened if the present crisis had occurred forty years ago instead of now? We know what would have happened, because in 1895 a war did break out between China and Japan, not that time over Manchuria, but over Korea, and the

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Distance Difficulty

"Much of the difficulty was due to the distance involved. I have already ventured the suggestion that had the Council of the League, or a committee of its members, been able to visit the eastern powers the compliment of holding their meetings on this important issue last autumn in Tokyo, and Mukden, and Peking, might have been a better chance of arriving at a sound judgment and of gaining the confidence of the governments involved. Geneva and Paris, after all, some 8,000 miles away from those Oriental communities and when an exchange of views on higher ground is effected through cables which must be put into cipher and then decoded and translated, and passed through half a dozen hands, it is apt to have left nothing but the bare bones of the matter. Personal touch and a knowledge of the atmosphere which cannot be transmitted by mechanical means, are, in such cases, essential to success."

Policy Confused

"The Council of the League last autumn seems to have suffered from a confusion of policy. Was this to be conciliation or coercion? In any event, the League's policy was found ineffective, the Council swung to the other extreme and issued a peremptory order without the force to make it effective. This made it difficult to withdraw its troops, in the classic language of poker was a bluff and the bluff was called. Furthermore, Japan, in her own defence, took a course of offensive at the action of the Council and opinion in Japan, however divided, it may have been before, was completely changed. The League of Nations as an unlicensed intruder."

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"There was perhaps another consequence of the League's assumption of authority there was no power to make it effective. This made it difficult for the Chinese not to fall into the error of placing an undue faith in what the League could accomplish. In the expectation of the Council, the world now holds that the Chinese demand a private war which is not a matter for public concern. Even had China not invoked Article XI of the Covenant of the League, the Council could have taken action itself in a matter of such gravity. Japan's policy would have occasioned no surprise in the 19th century in the absence of such international machinery as we have created since the war. A generation ago nations had to act in terms of self-help. But we are living in the 20th century and this new era has accepted the doctrine of collective responsibility in international affairs and the League is the most impressive symbol of that revolutionary point of view."

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