

shattered the delicate economic organization upon which human welfare there depended, thus reducing millions to poverty and even starvation. The Treaty, indeed, sowed dragons' teeth in Europe.

The hope that the League of Nations would mitigate the "Carthaginian peace" has been realized only to a very limited extent. From the outset the absence of the United States has lessened the moral force of the League, and has made difficult of realization one of its cardinal principles—that it should provide a means for organizing not only the moral but the material forces of the family of nations against disturbers of the peace. Thus the League has not been able to guarantee to members like France, which have felt the need of strong material forces for their protection, that the collective force of its members will rally to their support in the hour of danger. Important as the League is as a means of settling disputes, it is by no means the mutual insurance scheme against external aggression intended by its framers. Nor has the League been able to carry successfully special burdens which the Peace Treaties laid upon it, such as the protection of national minorities in the new and enlarged states. Much less has it been able to check the growing economic nationalism of European states which has virtually completed the destruction, begun by the Treaties, of Europe's economic life. The nature of the Peace Settlement perhaps made it inevitable that brute force would be necessary to maintain it. A strong League might have secured peace by a minimum of force, and by mitigating the worst injustices of the settlement might have promoted peace by consent, once men's minds had become accustomed to the new political and economic order. But peace by consent in Europe is perhaps more remote than when the guns ceased over thirteen years ago.

The failure of the League to guarantee peace has been the excuse for the recrudescence of the old régime of arms and alliances. France, Belgium and Poland were early linked in alliances for their mutual protection against their common enemy, Germany. The Little Entente, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, was similarly a product of fear of a common enemy, Hungary. And the French "system of Europe", which unites all these states in military alliances with France, is the final outcome. Common fears and common desires to safeguard the treaty settlement are the psychological foundations of the system, and French military supremacy and loans for arms and military purposes its material foundations. Instead of the League, France and her allies are to-day the real guarantors of the *status quo* in Europe. By the Peace Settlement