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He describes the various processes of attracting unsuspecting investors and fleecing them by "making a market," pool operations, and manipulations. He emphasizes the evils of the specialist, the floor trader, the short sellers and the margin operators and makes liberal use of the testimonies brought out by the recent Pecora investigation. He builds a bullet-proof case for the necessity of some kind of government regulation of the exchanges.

He comments upon control systems in Germany and France and analyses the American Securities Exchange Act of 1934. He feels that Congress has not gone nearly so far in the direction of control that it should have gone. "The law itself, as it stands, forbids and requires so little that we may truthfully say there is no body of laws as yet governing the securities markets until the commission considers, adopts and promulgates them." (p. 300).

The book itself is clear, scientific, and easy reading. If one is contemplating the purchase of securities, he would be well advised to study Mr. Flynn's interpretation of the function and results of speculation.

CLAUDE A. BUSS

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THE ORIGINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION. Edited by James T. Shotwell. New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. 2 vols. pp. xxx, 497, xii, 592. \$10.00.

The volumes here under review were published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in its series *The Peace Conference: History and Documents*. The first volume consists primarily in a series of essays written largely by the men who should know more than any others about the Peace Conference origins of Part XIII and the International Labor Organization. The documentary material of this volume presents the comparative

texts of Part XIII in its various stages of development, and the final and official French and English texts of the Labor Section of the Treaty. The second volume is composed of documents of historical value in tracing the development of the idea of an international organization for the protection of workers. It is to be regretted that the verbatim text (now published in French) of the minutes of the Commission on International Labor Legislation are not included. The analytical minutes, already published in the *Official Bulletin* of the International Labor Office and elsewhere, are re-published in Volume II.

The contributors to the first volume include some of the outstanding figures in the field of international labor legislation. H. B. Butler, the present Director of the International Labor Office, and who was present at Paris as a member of the British Delegation, writes of the work of the first Labor Conference at Washington, D.C., in 1919; Sir Malcolm Delevingne, long an official representative of the British government in labor matters, describes the pre-war history of international labor legislation and the immediate preparations for the Washington Conference; Edward J. Phelan, now an Assistant Director of the Labor Office and a member of the British Delegation at Paris, is the heaviest contributor to the work, since he considers the British preparations for the Peace Conference, the work of the Commission on International Labor Legislation in the Peace Conference, the discussion of the labor proposals before the Peace Conference, and the admission of the Central Powers to the Labor Organization. Ernest Mahaim, who has been considered one of the leading advocates of the international protection of labor since late in the last century, examines the historical and social importance of international labor legislation, and Ewald Kuttig, now of the International Labor Office, discusses the German preparations for

and proposals at the Peace Conference. Among the remaining contributors Professor Samuel McCune Lee of Columbia University should be mentioned because of his splendid exposition of the problems of American cooperation with the Labor Organization. Miss Carol Riegelman's essay on time trade-union and socialists is probably the best on this subject.

This work is, no doubt, intended to be definitive on the origins of the Labor Organization, but it is clear that it is first of all directed toward the American audience in view to convincing the American public of the value of the Labor Organization. This is shown, in the first place, by the inclusion of a considerable amount of material on pure American labor philosophy and conditions. Thus Professor Phelan's statement has nothing to do with origins, but it is a remarkable exposition of some of the liberal trends of thought on the labor question. Likewise, the documentary material on American labor legislation and decisions on labor issues is directed chiefly to the American (Volume IV). In the second place, the work is colored by the desire of the editor and his contributors that the Labor Organization be recognized in relation to the League of Nations to a degree that there can be no question as to the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations without joining the League of Nations.

In this connection the attitude of Sir Robert Borden in the Peace Conference is labored to show that Robert was interested only in the status of the Dominions and not members of the League and the Labor Organization. This argument destroys the implication that the signing of the Covenant and the League with a similar phraseology of identity of membership between two institutions of the League

Part XIII in its various stages of development, and the final and official English texts of the Convention of the Treaty. The section is composed of documents of great value in tracing the development of the idea of an international organization for the protection of workers. It is to be regretted that the verbatim text (now published in the minutes of the Conference on International Labor Organization) are not included. The minutes, already published in the *Official Bulletin* of the International Labor Office and elsewhere, are published in Volume II.

Contributors to the first volume include some of the outstanding figures in the field of international labor. H. B. Butler, the present Secretary of the International Labor Office who was present at Paris as a member of the British Delegation, the work of the first Labor Office at Washington, D.C., in 1919. Malcolm Delevingne, long Secretary and representative of the British Delegation in labor matters, describes the early history of international labor legislation and the immediate preparations for the Washington Conference. Edward J. Phelan, now an Assistant Director of the Labor Office and a member of the British Delegation, is the heaviest contributor to the work, since he considers the labor preparations for the Peace Conference, the work of the Commission on International Labor Legislation at the Peace Conference, the discussion of the labor proposals before the Conference, and the admission of the Central Powers to the organization. Ernest Mahaim, who has been considered one of the leading advocates of the international organization of labor since late in the 19th century, examines the historical importance of international labor legislation, and Ewald Kuttig, Secretary of the International Labor Office, discusses the German preparations for

and proposals at the Peace Conference. Among the remaining contributors Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay of Columbia University should be mentioned because of his splendid discussion of the problems of American cooperation with the Labor Organization. Miss Carol Riegelman's essay on wartime trade-union and socialist proposals is probably the best on record on this subject.

This work is, no doubt, intended to be definitive on the origins of the Labor Organization, but it is equally clear that it is first of all directed toward the American audience with a view to convincing the American skeptic of the value of the Labor Organization. This is shown, in the first place, by the inclusion of a considerable amount of material on purely American labor philosophy and industrial conditions. Thus Professor Lindsay's statement has nothing to do with origins, but it is a remarkable account of some of the liberal trends in American thought on the labor question. Likewise, the documentary material on American labor legislation and court decisions on labor issues is of value chiefly to the American (Vol. II, Part IV). In the second place, the entire work is colored by the desire of the editor and his contributors to show that the Labor Organization is autonomous in relation to the League to such a degree that there can be no legal question as to the entrance of a state (such as the United States) into the Organization without joining also the League of Nations.

In this connection the amendment of Sir Robert Borden in the Peace Conference is labored to show that Sir Robert was interested only in the equal status of the Dominions with other members of the League and the Labor Organization. This argument tends to destroy the implication that the drafting of the Covenant and Part XIII with a similar phraseology means identity of membership between these two institutions of the League System

(Vol. I, pp. 210-11, 218-20). The importance of this argument in the contemporary discussion of the basis of the present American membership in the Labor Organization is apparent at a glance. Professor Shotwell himself seems a little over-eager to show the independence of the Organization from the League since he omits any reference to the important role played by the Council of the League in the passage of amendments to Part XIII (Vol. I, p. xxv). The independence of the Organization from the League has become a matter of routine discussion in League and Labor Office legal circles, and this fresh examination is, indeed, to be welcomed. But whether the authors of this work are correct in adopting the historical approach to the drafting of the text rather than the literal meaning of the words is another and not less significant issue.

There is a tremendous body of material now published for the first time in this work. This is because the authors have drawn heavily upon their own experience. They are, in fact, writing a kind of memoir not dissimilar from that written by statesmen and political leaders. As a consequence, it is to be expected that the attitude implied and expressed toward the work of the Peace Conference is not unduly critical. Most of these authors were one aspect of that Conference, and the note of apology is, of course, to be detected. But it may be apology in the best sense of the word. Naturally, also, it would be difficult for the *fouctionnaires* of the Labor Office (Butler and Phelan particularly) to be critical of the foundations upon which their daily work is built. But whatever reservations may be made in the light of the personal character of the work, it is by all odds the most important publication on the origins of the International Labor Organization.

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