THOMAS S. DUNHAM DIES

Member Thomas Selden Dunham was killed in an automobile accident on Friday night, 19 May, on Taughannock Boulevard, near Ithaca.

Dunham attended the Arnold School, Pittsburgh, 1930-35. He worked for one year in a large grocery store before he entered Cornell as a freshman under the auspices of the Association in the autumn of 1936. He became a member of the Association at the 1937 Convention. For two years he was a member of the Permanent Finance Committee, and this year he was Cornell Branch Treasurer. Dunham was a junior in the Administrative Engineering course and was the holder of one of the full-tuition McMullen Scholarships.

A brief service was held in Ithaca before the body was moved to Pittsburgh for burial on the 23rd, Dunham’s twenty-second birthday. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Dunham, of Pittsburgh, and by his sister Rhoda, a sophomore at Cornell University.

PEMBERTON CUP AWARDED

Robert M. Gorrell was recently chosen by the members of the Cornell Branch as the winner of the Pemberton Cup for the year 1938-1939. Formal presentation of the Cup was made at the annual Public Speaking Banquet, held May 31.

To encourage public speaking at the Cornell Branch, the late Dr. A. J. Wurts had the Pemberton Cup designed, and it was presented to the Branch. The man adjudged the beginning of a new era at the 1938-1939 Campaign, interrupted 1916-1919, on account of the war, contains his name engraved on the cup. D. S. Wegg for the academic year 1911-12 heads the list which, interrupted 1916-1919, on account of the war, contains the following names: J. B. Tucker, W. H. Maguire, L. G. Nightingale, S. S. Walcott, C. N. Whitman, J. E. Meehan, R. R. Irvine, Cabot Coville, T. J. McFadden, E. M. Johnson, J. W. Thompson, H. C. Mansfield, H. G. Hayes, K. A. H. Murray, C. H. Yarrow, Morgan Sibbett, H. C. Scarlett, C. M. Gilbert, R. M. Roberts, F. D. Wormuth, Goldwin Smith, Christopher Morley, George Manner, and R. M. Gorrell.

ROBERTS TO HARVARD

Member Richard M. Roberts has been appointed to the staff of the Division of Chemistry at Harvard University to do experimental work under Prof. G. B. Kistiakowsky on the heats of organic reactions. Doctor Roberts received his doctor’s degree in physical chemistry at Cornell in the summer of 1938. He was in France for several months during the autumn and has been at Northwestern University since December.

MUNICH—AND AFTER

By GEORGE MANNER

Austin Kiplinger’s Squander of Power and Charles Tomlinson’s A Letter from England, in the November 1938 and January 1939 Telluride News Letter, took issue with the problems left unsettled at Munich on September 30, 1938. Both communications seemed agreed that a union of democracies, with Great Britain and the United States as its backbone, should be formed to prevent further expansion of the totalitarian states implicit in the Munich Peace, then styled a ‘betrayal’. Both communications, it is submitted, assume that a coalition of democracies can stop revolutions which in their origin and import are social and economic rather than merely political or ideological. Such revolutions have their inevitable repercussions in the international field, but these should not lead to a misconstruing of Munich and the events after it.

Munich and Versailles

Munich in one way was the result of Versailles. One dictate matched by another. But Munich presents also some important differences. It inaugurated the end of the 1918-1938 military and political domination of one group of powers which used the late League of Nations as its chief instrument of accomplishing their own ends. In this sense only, Munich was and remains the first essential step toward a more general European peace. Munich is also a milestone in the economic and national development of Europe. Economically it marks the end of a period of French control in the Danubian basin largely for political purposes, and foreshadows the beginning of a new economic order there. In the field of nationalities Munich gave the final blow to the already moribund post-war system of minorities protection, a system almost wholly ineffective in so far as the prevention or cure of the grievances of national minorities is concerned, and at the same time destructive of the foundations of the new states created at Versailles on the principle of nationality. Munich marks perhaps the turning point in the history of the nation-state. Though at present that form of political organization of Europe’s peoples seems entrenched strongly, a necessary economic collaboration between European states initiated long before Munich, but indirectly reaffirmed there, has been and is undermining this phenomenon haunting our modern world.

But Munich was not the result pure and simple of Versailles. Though it climaxed the post-war attempts to perpetuate the policy pronounced at Versailles, (the short-sighted attempt to prevent the natural social, political and economic development of Europe by the drawing of politico-national frontiers), it continued also the pre-war tendency toward a compact economic area based (Continued on Page 5)
DEEP SPRINGS NOTES

By Ned Bedell

Amid the usual uproarious confusion of noisy farewells and loud warnings to “wait 'till you’re out of the valley!”, the school year at Deep Springs came to a close at noon on May 26. Nearly all Student Body members left immediately for summer vacations at home. Those who stayed at the ranch to milk the cows and make the hay for the first half of the summer are Dave Spalding, Jim Olin, and Dick Brodhead. Gustafson, Mason, and Turner make up the summer crew for the second half.

The Board of Trustees met for their spring meeting at Deep Springs over the week-end of May 13. In attendance were Trustees Waldo, Biersach, Cadman, Noon, and Thornhill, and Telluride Association President Bailey. An invitation to the Association to hold its 1940 convention at Deep Springs was extended by the Board.

This year’s spring vacation trip was one of the most successful in recent years. Fourteen hundred miles were covered in five days’ driving time with no greater mishap than a broken spring on the pickup, which, however, was ingeniously and quickly repaired by the garage boys. Overnight stops were made at Morro Bay, Oakland, Yosemite National Park, and Fresno in that order. Two-and-a-half days were spent in the San Francisco Bay Area sightseeing, attending the Golden Gate Exposition, and renewing acquaintances at the University of California and Mills College. Four days were spent camping on the floor of Yosemite Valley. The snow remaining in the mountains above the valley proved little hindrance to Deep Springs hikers, and trips were made to Glacier Point by the Cloud’s Rest trail, to the top of Yosemite, Vernal, and Nevada Falls, up Tenaya and Illilouette Canyons, and to numerous points in the valley itself. Dips in the Merced River and other mountain streams were found by several to be refreshing and invigorating. Evening dancing at Yosemite Lodge was also enjoyed by the hardier members of the group. Beaver Pass, the increasingly popular ski resort in the park, and Mariposa Grove were visited on the trip out of the park. Fifteen Student Body members and faculty member Hayes made the trip.

Most of the spring farm work has been completed, and preparations are already under way for the first cutting of hay which will begin around June 12. A plethora of water from Wyman and Crooked Creeks has been sufficient to keep two irrigators constantly busy, with the result that the alfalfa, corn, oats, and potatoes on the ranch are doing extremely well. Ranch Manager MacKenzie has under consideration the purchase of a hay loader as a step toward the reduction of the large and expensive summer haying crews which have been necessitated in the last few years by the great increase in the amount of hay harvested. The spring roundup is scheduled to start the first week of June; at that time several hundred head of Deep Springs cattle will be driven up Wyman Canyon into the White Mountain Forest Reserve above Roberts for the summer. Two hundred head of cattle from the Deep Springs herd have been driven to the Long Valley pasture north of Bishop for summering. Due to high prices, no speculative steers have been bought this year to turn into this pasture.

Election of fall-term officers closed an active year for the Student Body organization. The new officers are: President, Spalding; Labor Commissioner, Beal; Trustee, Tetreault; Advisory Committee, Sullivan, Brodhead, Gustafson; Applications Committee Chairman (elective for first time), Lawrence; Budget Committee Chairman (also elective for first time), Gustafson; Secretary, Green; Treasurer, Beal; Assistant Treasurer, Olin; Parliamentarian, Sullivan; Sergeant-of-Arms, Rondstedt. Important legislative action of the Student Body for the spring semester includes an extensive reorganization of committee structure and procedure; a recommendation made to the Administration and accepted by it that individuals or groups of students be permitted by the Administration and the Student Body to take trips to town when such trips are found necessary in cases of extreme staleness; formulation of a Student Body income plan whereby the Student Body will receive a stated sum yearly (three hundred dollars next year) from the Institution to be used for projects, equipment, or whatever the Student Body deems necessary and desirable; and the acceptance of the sole administrative responsibility for the funds of the Dairy, Poultry, and Hog accounts. The lawn system installed by the Student Body last fall on either side of the front porch of the Main Building has operated successfully this spring, and the new lawn has grown so rapidly that it has been necessary to cut it several times already.

Besides Dean Kington and Executive Secretary Kelly, the Faculty for next year will consist of Dr. Robert Gorrell of the Cornell Branch and Mr. Leo Lavalsetti of the California Institute of Technology. Courses will probably be given in the history of philosophy, citizenship, English composition, English literature, elementary and advanced German, elementary and advanced French, geology, physics, calculus, sociology, advanced economics, and English history.

The new men invited to Deep Springs for next year are: John Anderson, Pittsburgh; John Anderson, Minneapolis; Adrian Duncan, New York City; Joel Hayden, Jr., Hudson, Ohio; Donald Hazlett, Woodstock, Ill.; Ted Kirkham, Kansas City; Bertil Peterson, Kenosha, Wis.; David Richardson, San Francisco; and Dewitt Stillman, Kenilworth, Ill. These nine men and a possible tenth one will combine with five third-year men and eight second-year men to make up the largest Student Body in attendance at Deep Springs for many years.

The school calendar has been altered somewhat for next year to provide for a vacation of a month at Christmas instead of the usual two weeks. School starts on the 31st of August, and the start of the Christmas vacation on December 18 marks the end of the first term. The second semester runs from January 15 to June 1.

The annual last-day picnic was held again this year at Molini’s Pond in Fishlake Valley.
RECEIVED FOR ASSOCIATION FILES:
Some photographs sent by Arthur Jobson were recently added to the Association files in Ithaca. Included were: two views of the hoisting engine (1912) and a picture of the coal-supply barge (1913) of the Bear Lake operations in Idaho by the Telluride Power Company; a picture of the Casper Diesel Engine; and a picture of the office and showroom at Casper, taken in 1916 when Mr. F. N. Nunn was in charge.

Also received were two studies by Member R. C. Williams, which were published through a grant made by the 1938 Convention of Telluride Association: Spectrophotometric Determinations of Stellar Temperatures, II; The Absolute Color Temperatures of Seven Standard Stars and Spectrophotometric Determinations of Stellar Temperatures, III; A Comparison of Relative Color Temperatures. These are Publications of the Observatory of the University of Michigan, Vol. VII, Nos. 6 and 7 respectively.

“Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft,” by H. C. Lea, and arranged and edited by Prof. A. C. Howland, was reviewed in the New York Times Book Review Section, May 7. Prof. George Lincoln Burr wrote the introduction, and he spent the last two years of his life at the University aiding in the preparation of the manuscript for the publication of this book.

ATKINSON IN EUROPE
On May 2, Harold Atkinson sailed from New York for a 6-months European tour. Atkinson will be studying the plans for city beautification in several European capitals. He will emphasize in his studies the use of statues, monuments and open places in city planning and beautification.

Atkinson has been in London for the past few weeks, and from there will go to the Scandinavian countries. He expects to attend the meetings of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, which will be held in Stockholm from July 8 to 15. Before returning late in the fall, Atkinson hopes to spend some time in Denmark, the Netherlands, France, and Italy.

ANDERSON AT PRINCETON
Member Robert W. Anderson, now doing graduate work at Princeton, has been awarded a pre-Doctoral Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council. This award pays $1800. for one year. Anderson proposes to study the problems of administration of federal unemployment relief, primarily those involved in the relations between federal, state, and local governments.

BACON VISITS ITHACA
Reginald R. Bacon, Major of U. S. Infantry, with Mrs. Bacon and daughter Florence called briefly at the Cornell Branch on May 20th. Major Bacon is a nephew of Alumnus E. P. Bacon and is well known to many Telluriders.

NEWELL TO BOSTON
Alumnus John M. Newell will next year be in the Allergy Laboratory of the Massachusetts General Hospital with the title of Research Fellow, in Harvard University. Doctor Newell has for three years been working as biochemist with the Biochemical Research Foundation of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia.

GIFTS TO BRANCH RECORD COLLECTION
Contributions of phonograph recordings this year have resulted in an increase of over 25% in the size of the Branch collection. The following have been received as gifts since January:

- “Classical Symphony” and Incidental Music from “Love for Three Oranges,” by Prokofieff—presented by Prof. and Mrs. Adams.
- Sibelius’ Violin Concerto in D Minor—presented by Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Smith.
- The Overture to “Die Meistersinger” and Prelude to “Parsifal,” by Wagner, Mozart’s Symphony No. 40 in G Minor, and Schubert’s Unfinished Symphony—presented by Robert Huffcut, who added to the collection by saving newspaper coupons.
- Sibelius’ Symphony No. 2—presented by Members of the Branch.
- “Daphnis et Chloe” and “Pavane pour un enfant défunt” by Ravel, and Beethoven’s “Prometheus” Overture—presented by Walter Balderston.
- Upon the receipt of $15.00 from Prof. Mosely and $15.00 from Prof. Laube, to be spent for recordings, a committee was appointed which has prepared a long term program for record purchases with any gifts which might be received in the future. By following this purchasing program, it is hoped that the collection will be rounded out and increased systematically.

The collection has been completely catalogued this year, and with the additions which have been received, the Branch is looking forward to more use and enjoyment of the recordings it possesses.

1939 CONVENTION
The 1939 Convention of Telluride Association will convene Monday morning, June 19, at 10 a.m. Indications are that about 45 of the 70 members will attend in person.

BAILEY AT DEEPS PINGS
President Parker Bailey attended the May meeting of the Deep Springs trustees, held from May 12 to 14 at Deep Springs. Among the principal topics discussed was the election of a trustee to succeed Mr. O. B. Suhr.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR MEMORIAL FUND
The George Lincoln Burr Memorial Fund stands at $379. The Endowment Committee hopes to have a considerably larger sum to present at Convention and urges all those who have not contributed to do so as soon as possible. The following have contributed to the Fund:

CORNELL BRANCH ENTERTAINMENT

Walter Barlow gave a piano recital Sunday evening April 16. Approximately thirty guests attended. The evening of May 7 Walter Cerf read the first chapter of a book he is writing entitled America Discovers Me. Telluride papers were read by John Edgerton and Ward Goodenough Sunday evening May 14. A general discussion of Telluride purpose and plan followed the reading of the papers.

Professor and Mrs. Percy W. Bridgman were our guests for four weeks while Professor Bridgman was delivering the Baker Lectures. Dr. Bridgman is Professor of Physics at Harvard, and he lectured here on the "Properties of Matter Under High Pressures." Roscoe Pound delivered the Irvine Lecture at the Cornell Law School, and he and Mrs. Pound were our guests during their stay in Ithaca. Charles H. McIlwain, Eaton Professor of Government at Harvard, was our guest for two weeks. Professor McIlwain was the Messenger Lecturer, and he spoke on the topic "Some Aspects of Constitutionalism."

Other guests of the Branch during April and May included: Dr. A. G. Price, Master of St. Marks College, University of Adelaide, Australia; Mr. Elliot Griffis of New York; Dr. Arthur Burkhard of Yarmouth Port, Mass.; and Mr. and Mrs. George Walton.

The Branch entertained 11 Cornell Day guests over the weekend of May 6, all were applicants for either Deep Springs or Telluride Association. McRea Parker, G. A. Worn and Harold Cole, all of whom drove sub-fresh to Ithaca, visited at the house.

The annual House Party was held over Spring Day weekend from May 25 to 28. The chaperones were Prof. and Mrs. Philip E. Mosely and Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Collingwood. Festivities began with the formal dance on Thursday evening. Over 200 guests attended the affair, and it was judged by many to be one of the most successful dances in recent years. Friday evening many of the members attended the Navy Day Ball. Saturday supper was a beer picnic at Ellis Hollow, and all had a fine time.

ADDRESS CHANGES


Davidson, Hermann, 151 Broad St., Providence, R. I.

Edmister, Wayne C., 2227 East 10th St., Chicago, Ill.

Fairchild, T. E., Grady & Fairchild, 208-7 Raulf Bldg., Portage, Wis.

Hoffer, E. W., 903 First Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.

Leigh, R. W., 3133 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.

Mosely, Prof. Philip E., 103 College Ave., Ithaca, N. Y.

Pollock, Gordon, 6655 Alta Loma Terrace, Los Angeles, California.

Railey, Isham, 635 41st Ave., San Francisco, Calif.

Stewart, George S., 516 Harrison Ave., Panama City, Florida.

Valantine, V. H., 229 S. Ave. 60, Los Angeles, Calif.

Wormuth, Francis, 620 N. College Ave., Bloomington, Indiana.


BIOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Engaged

Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Bateman announce the marriage of their daughter, Grace H. Jones, to Earl Henley Jr., TA member and resident at Cornell Branch. Both Miss Jones and Henley are attending the Cornell Law School.

Married

Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Fairchild announce the birth of Edward Thomas Fairchild, March 27, 1939.

Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Edmister announce the birth of Wayne Alvin Edmister, February 1, 1939.

Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Gilbert announce the birth of Jane Gilbert, November 27, 1938.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sheridan announce the birth of Susan Sheridan.

DO YOU REMEMBER - - -

The Malad Census for May 18, 1918, indicates the following personnel: W. D. McClellan, Supt.; Samuel Robinson, Instruction; Peter Dietzel, Oscar Larson, W. S. Corrick, Earl Wight, Lynn Borlase, and G. A. Worn, Operators; Charles Jacobs, Cook; and G. G. Pickren, Teamster.

On March 9, 1915, the Bliss Branch Class Schedule indicates nine class periods: Algebra I, Fruit, Schotte, Warneke, and Meehan; German I, Fournier, Fruit, Warneke, and Wight; German II, Carbaugh and Schotte; Geometry, Fournier and Carbaugh; Algebra, Ross; German, Ross; English, Carbaugh, Fruit, Ross, Warneke, and Wight; English, Fournier, Lathrop, Meehan, and Schotte; Algebra, Wight. The News Letter discretely refrains from publishing the grades.

The Harlequin was the only TA Branch publication with the conscious aim of being funny. It was published twice monthly by the Beaver Branch during 1915 and 1916. The 1916 Staff was composed of W. P. Jones, J. E. Meehan, P. L. Clark, J. T. Draper, Ray Fruit, and C. O. Jandl. Sample poem, wrenched from the Muse by the late Louis Lathrop, is entitled: Such as Sit in Darkness and in the Shadow of Death, being Bound by Affliction and Iron.

C —— D——, one of our stars,
Has shoes of iron with which he mars
The furniture and furnishings,
The floors, the stairs, and other things,
And makes us think old Boscoe's loose
When he clatters with those iron shoes.

At seven in the morning cool,
We hear a noise just like a mule
Kicking down his stable door
And busting up a fence or more:
It is C———, looking fine,
Announcing to us, breakfast time.
on economic cooperation primarily between Central and Eastern Europe. Years before Munich the so-called German Drang nach Osten—a pseudo-truth hiding reality in political entanglements—had manifested itself in economic penetration of the European East. But prevailing political conceptions and the animosity engendered by apparently conflicting national interests both on the Continent and across the Channel had consciously opposed this necessary trend. Though Munich removed some of the most important political frontiers under a show of force and with the sham battle-cry of self-determination, the most significant thing about Munich is that telephone call from an Eastern European capital to Munich by German minister of economics Funk, inquiring how things went. When he heard that all was well, he is reported to have exclaimed, “Fine! Now I can do business.” And so he did.

Hitler’s Speech

This urge “to do business” may be plainly seen also in Chancellor Hitler’s speech of January 30, 1939. Though clad in forms suited to the occasion and doing justice to domestic shibboleths and current diplomatic phraseology, it was in substance wholly economic and social. Economic, because of the necessity of a highly industrialized Germany to engage in export trade of barter and to penetrate the European East if it desires to build up its internal economic life on a sound basis; social, because the configuration of Europe’s life has by now assumed a form somewhat resembling the predictions of some of the forgotten Utopians and of a discredited Marx. Though class is not exactly pitted against class at this present moment, democracies and dictatorships alike cater to the largest class, the ‘working people,’ presumably to espouse their cause and rights. It is irrelevant that they do not perform fully just now. It is significant, however, that the January 30 speech paraphrases the outward “Proletarians of the world unite!” into “Working members of all nations unite!” Both slogans are born out of the power of the mass and both appeal to it as the constant of politics. And both slogans, allegedly, are directed against ‘exploiters’. Does it mean that both dictatorship and democracy must seek the support of the broadest class, the broadest strata of any society, in short, of the people? If so, then surely any form of government must realize the interconnectedness of the social and economic interests of the people, transcending class and nation-state, and furnishing the only secure basis for internal government and international cooperation.

Europe in Process of Change

Europe, I think, has unconsciously realized this, but consciously reacted to it in opposing ways. Because the past fifty years or so of economic and social development in Europe might be summed up in the formulae “Share the wealth” and “Equal opportunity for all,” nation has refused to share with nation, and class with class, each intent on the preservation of mistaken national interests and artificial social barriers. Inside every nation the pendulum has swung to what one mistakenly calls ‘the right’; among nations national economic interests have buttressed themselves behind political and tariff frontiers. Similar developments in the economic sphere of the North American continent sent the United States into independence, economic expansion, and Civil War, in order to create an economic unit. Inside the United States the millennium has, of course, not been reached. But Europe has lagged behind both inside and out. Munich, however, may well have been the unilateral economic declaration of independence of an embryonic United Europe and the inauguration of a socially equalitarian future federation of European states.

Economic Consequences of Munich

Recent events, the almost inevitable consequences of Munich, fit into and corroborate the picture drawn above. Only the most important of these can be enumerated here. Soon after Munich the economic ties between the states east of the Rhine were strengthened, partly because of economic necessity and partly for defense by the weaker states. Holland, for instance, negotiated in February a new commercial agreement with Germany whereby the latter secured a 3:1 favorable export balance. This bargain probably did more damage to English interests narrowly conceived than the occupation of a truncated Czechoslovakia on the Ides of March. It was because of this and similar German trade agreements that England in February proposed to Germany joined exploitation of Europe’s East, based on a 40:60 profit sharing system dependent on fair competition and operating as an all-inclusive two-nation syndicate. Germany, however, preferred this time to sow the harvest alone, and the establishment of the Bohemian-Moravian protectorate furnished conclusive proof of its intention to pursue its pre-war policy of creating central-eastern economic unit protected by a German peace. The day after the march into Czechoslovakia some leading German papers frankly acknowledged this as a significant departure from the ideal of the homogenous nation-state. This state received its first decisive blow by that event. It can no longer be said now that the national-socialist state is both national and socialist. It is the latter, to be sure, but it was the former only up to March 15, 1939. Germany, in short, has begun to effectuate the realization of the former League or French schemes of an economically united Danubian basin. In the midst of England’s recent forging of military alliances of the old style, the new system of states allied by political, economic and propaganda pressure received another member, Yugoslavia, which joined the axis on April 21, 1939. Hungary at present is independent only in name; in fact it is a German protectorate. Lithuania invited itself into the magic circle after it lost Memel on March 22 and Madrid’s capitulation on March 28 sealed Spain’s fate. The fall of Albania on Good Friday, April 7, 1939, added de jure what de facto had already been one of the axis states. And Italy is condemned, as an axis member, to play the brilliant second.

Hitler Spurns Roosevelt

When the Western powers became appalled at the toll which they invited at Munich, President Roosevelt launched on April 14, 1939, his proposal for another conference to settle outstanding problems. But Herr Hitler’s speech two weeks later, in the form of a somewhat amused answer to President Roosevelt’s ‘unrealistic’ peace appeal, refused to court another Munich, which was now stamped ‘interference by the Western powers’ and an attempt to recreate ‘collective insecurity’ pregnant with the danger of war. This speech, nevertheless, introduced also the present state of comparative
calm in the European pattern of shifting and conflicting national interests and politics, a calm perhaps already indicated in Hitler’s short New Year’s remarks which seemed to hint that the year 1939 should be dedicated primarily to a consolidation and building out of the economic and political gains of the past year. But it may be readily assumed that this process will not be peaceful in the ordinary sense of this word, because it has not yet reached its final stage. Romania, Poland, Bulgaria still remain outside the pale of the new European economic and political setup. Switzerland and Holland have not yet succumbed to economic pressure, to the unceasing propaganda, or to the clamor of arms. Danzig still remains formally chained to Poland (and the defunct League) and the Polish corridor still separates Germany’s East. How long settlement of these questions can be delayed, or how long the states east of the Rhine now actually independent can hold out, is only a question of time and—of the attitude of Russia. The same may be said with reference to Germany’s supposed Ukrainian scheme: the creation of a nominally independent Ukrainian state under German protection, involving the diminution of Poland by the separation of her 6 million Ukrainian subjects and their lands, and joining them with the 30,000,000 Soviet Ukrainians and their land.

Russian Participation

Russian support is necessary at present to any European economic system or proposed federation of states which desires to rest on a basis more permanent and secure than that of mere temporary superiority of arms. Neither Germany nor France and England can neglect Russia just now. Russia’s hesitancy to join the proposed Anglo-French-Russian military alliance may be more readily explicable by her unwillingness to line up in an old-fashioned system of alliances than by the mere inability of diplomats to find a suitable phrase for such a scheme. Russia, at any rate, seems to prefer a system of collective guarantees which would include as much of Europe as possible. And Germany at present can offer more in that direction than either England or France. The only serious obstacle to a German-Russian rapprochement lies in their apparently diverging ideologies; economically and politically mutual aid would be of immeasurable value to either of the two.

Effect of Russo-German Understanding

If Russo-German rapprochement were to become a political reality, it would mean the end of any attempt to block the path taken by Germany down the Danube and the beginning of a natural economic and political era in Europe. It would end also the method whereby the links of this new chain of allied states have been welded together by substituting peaceful cooperation and voluntary union for pacific conquest and forced absorption. Either method, however objectionable the one or preferable the other, would lead to the same result—economic unification and political federation of the Europe east of the Rhine, a result which in the course of past history has rarely been achieved without a show of force. But because post-war European politics centered around a too-heavily armed ‘security’ and ‘maintenance of the status quo’ program, engendered primarily by France’s understandable psychosis of fear, the method used by Germany was the only available method to continue the economic consolidation of Europe which the World War interrupted and which the period of League and non-League conferences between 1918-1938 persistently tried to obstruct. Mere persuasion, as Hitler rightly pointed out in his speech of April 28, had failed completely to produce any tangible results in the economic or political field.

Beginning Second Major Stage

Munich, therefore, may be looked upon as the second major stage in Europe’s natural economic and political development, and the so-called ‘betrayal’ or ‘surrender’ of Czechoslovakia by France and England in September constituted the withdrawal, not interference, of the Western powers from the central and eastern European field. The fact that these latter parts of Europe mutually complement each other in their economic setup and needs should hasten the process of drawing them together if and when normal conditions are restored. So much is sure now: Europe cannot be stable unless its main stabilizing factor, Germany, shares in taking the lead. Germany’s territorial size and geographical location, the number and characteristics of its people, should convince even the most doubtful or antagonistic of the fact that Europe’s problems can never be settled without it. Either Germany must be permitted to lead the task of reconstruction or, if it is to be excluded, it must be destroyed completely. Any attempt at exclusion to be brought about in some other and less radical form must, in the language of the Paris-Sovir of April 18, 1939, ‘poison the existence of millions of people’ in Europe.

United States of Europe?

Current political events and ideologies seem to deny almost completely this interpretation of Munich. But current events and ideologies can easily mislead in times of such turbulent transitions as the present era in Europe. If the interpretation adopted here is correct then we may look upon Germany at present, so far as its international role is concerned, as nothing less than a willing tool of the political and economic forces striving for a United States of Europe. Though no one can, of course, predict what institutional and organizational forms these underlying forces will assume when they find their new level of stabilization, this will hardly resemble the pattern of a past which has produced only strife and disharmony in Europe. If the writer’s observations in Europe are correct, its peoples are quite ready to adopt any new European organization which holds out a promise of economic and political peace and success. Munich has demonstrated a general will for a general peace more than any other recent event. The months after Munich have confirmed both the will and the need for peace. A union of democracies, unless it can espouse unification of Europe even under German leadership, cannot achieve this peace because it cannot sidetrack, let alone stem, the forces which for more than fifty years have irresistibly guided Europe in this direction.

Cornell Branch report-card, for first terms only (Second-term grades are usually about two points higher)

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The table shows the grades for various terms, with a notable increase in the second term, indicating improvements.