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agriculture expanded in all directions, the desert grew into a great populous area, the centre of the economic life of the entire country and the long-needed link between east and west. The farms, ranches and cities of this extensive region created a new demand. Imports increased rapidly. Railways pushed their way into the most desolate areas, converting them into busy centres and conveying their produce to the ports on the Paraná and Plate for export.

M. Denis' chapter on the railways explains the process in all its interesting detail. Buenos Aires expanded rapidly into a great city, absorbing the produce of the west, and distributing it at home and overseas. Climatic or geological reasons are given to show how it came about that the various lands were taken up, owing to their respective aptitudes, with wheat, maize, flax, cattle, sheep, *quebracho*, and the production of sugar and wine.

If Argentina lives on the Pampa, the Pampa lives on exports. These are paid for, in Europe and America, by manufactures and capital. The period of greatly enhanced agricultural and pastoral activity was directly stimulated by the growth in industrial Europe of dense populations dependent largely on imported food, and enabled to procure it from beyond the ocean by the development of steam navigation on a large scale. Thus Argentina depends on its overseas markets to an extent incomparably greater than the self-sufficing United States of the north. Everything centres in the Pampa or prairie region, lying intermediately between tropical Argentina in the north and the desert tracts of Patagonia in the south. The making of this great area is the equable rainfall, greater in the north-east and decreasing gradually towards the south-west till it reaches the 400 millimetre line of rainfall beyond which the moisture is insufficient to support crops.

Considerations of space forbid enlargement on the chapters relating to the irrigated oases of the north-west, the exploitation of the forests, sheep-rearing in Patagonia, the great river region of the Paraná, the distribution of the various foreign and native races, and much besides. Each chapter would supply material for a book.

M. Denis does not profess to bring his figures up to date, or to indicate with any certainty the final influence of the Great War on the economic evolution of the country. Its two immediate effects, he thinks, have been the stopping of the stream of immigration and the reduced supply of capital from Europe and America. But Argentina has had a favourable balance of trade enabling her to store up an ample reserve of capital in the country, and this has given her a certain financial independence. The demand for her meat and cereals is not likely to die out. M. Denis seems to doubt, however, whether immigration is likely to be resumed on anything like the pre-war scale. The high wages which formerly attracted the immigrant were connected with the high interest on money, or, in other words, with the scarcity of capital, conditions which it seems have given place to others less calculated to invite the enterprise of the outside world.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

The Western Question in Greece and Turkey. BY ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.
(Constable & Co., London. 1922. 18s. net.)

IN this authoritative and most timely volume we are given a broad, and on the whole a just, presentment of the antagonisms, inherent

difficulties, irretrievable mistakes, and mass of human suffering which have caused or accompanied the recent struggle between Turkey and Greece. Impartiality between Turk and Greek is one of the leading characteristics of the survey.

It is needless to recite here the qualifications of the author for the task he has so well accomplished. Suffice to say that Professor Toynbee writes of what he has himself seen and heard in Greece, Constantinople, and Asia Minor during the continuance of the struggle; and having so seen and heard, he has weighed and pondered his matter, and correlated it with past history. His book is filled with facts, each pertinent to his immediate subject. And if at times he seems over-anxious to convince or refute by array of arguments, the tendency but adds to the mass of relevant and instructive facts which he brings together for his reader. For all who desire to form correct views upon the complex problems of the Turko-Greek conflict the volume deserves not merely careful reading but close study.

But having said so much we may say also that some of the views advanced will not meet with unquestioned acceptance. One such opinion, expounded at some length, is that the long-drawn struggle between Greece and Nationalist Turkey is, in its deepest meaning, a clash between Western and Eastern civilisations. To this view Professor Toynbee attaches much importance, and makes it the keynote of his volume.

It may be that his natural tendency is to rationalise any movement or manifestation to its most doubtful and elusive elements—that, in fact, it is the philosophy and not the action of history which attracts him. If so, the tendency carries him far, and often with advantage. But one thinks that in regarding the Turko-Greek struggle as a clash of civilisations the author has been led into the unreal. Rather, one thinks, the roots of the conflict are to be found in the secular hostility of Cross and Crescent and the peculiar racial hatred which circumstances have combined to produce between Turk and Greek.

For some 300 years Russia has been warring against the Turk and remorselessly annexing Ottoman territory—scarcely, can it be said, in an opposition of civilisations. In 1915–18 Great Britain destroyed the Ottoman Empire. Both these Powers represented the Cross against the Crescent in the Moslem view. But both possessed a ponderous might, and a certain innate individual quality in their troops, which caused the Turks to regard defeat as at the hand of Fate. Since 1919 Greece also has represented the Cross, and done so ostentatiously and aggressively. Greece, however, is an insignificant Power, as a State always despised by Turks, despised also in the individual characteristics of her people and troops. That Turkish territory and a Turkish population should be placed under Greek domination only by the word of the Great Powers bore no conceivable resemblance to an operation of Fate. Here, indeed, everything combined to stimulate Turkish resistance and religious and racial hatred. In these facts, and not in the opposition of civilisations, lies, one thinks, the real origin of embittered Turko-Greek hostilities, massacre and counter-massacre.

There is one other important point on which Professor Toynbee's view may be questioned. In his hostile criticism of Western diplomacy during the War he does not give the weight he should to the circumstances in which the various Allied secret agreements relating to

Turkey came about. He looks at these agreements chiefly from the standpoint of how they would subsequently have affected Turkey and, incidentally, Greece. He offers no explanation, makes no examinations of what the agreements were intended to achieve immediately, and did actually achieve. He does not touch upon the influence they exerted over the course of the War—over the Allied conduct of the War—matters surely of supreme importance.

In brief, the agreements were war-measures, dealing with questions of grave urgency. Their primary importance did not lie in the ultimate partition and annexation of Ottoman territory which they contemplated: it lay rather in the fact that they preserved Allied unity, or were payment of the price asked to secure the support of yet another ally, in a conflict the issue of which was entirely uncertain when the agreements were made. In theory they might have been better; they might, indeed, have well been worse; but worst of all, in the attendant circumstances, would have been no agreements of this kind whatever.

In his treatment of post-war Allied diplomacy Professor Toynbee is on sure ground; and rightly gives much attention to the sending of Greek troops to Smyrna under the decision of the Supreme Council. The landing of these troops, on May 15, 1919, was, as he claims, the great and immediate cause of all the trouble that followed. It was, in truth, an irreparable error. Not so much, perhaps, in political theory as in political practice. In theory, indeed, much could be said for it; in practice it utterly ignored the all-important factor of racial character, and therefore the personal element involved between Turk and Greek.

Unfortunately space forbids further comment upon the varied matter contained within the pages of this valuable book. But in conclusion attention may be drawn to the author's analysis of the shortcomings of the modern Greek State and their chief causes. Greece, he holds, in effect, has been spoilt by Western Europe. It has been, if it is not now, an inverted pyramid held in position by the Great Powers, partly for their own political purposes, partly on account of general Western admiration for Ancient Greece in its various aspects. Yet the author is always friendly, as one might expect him to be, towards the Greece which he has made his especial study.

All in all, this book is the best which has appeared upon its particular subject.

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WE cordially welcome the first number of this new American publication, all the more since it arises out of the same movement as our own Institute; the editor is Professor Coolidge, who made so many friends among the British Delegation at the Paris Conference.

¹ Special annual subscription to members of the B.I.I.A., 18s.

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