

Portions of the final section, on "The Way of Life," might well be assigned as required reading to every student in college courses on Latin America. The difference between the Latin-American and North American background and the outstanding personal characteristics of the Latin American are discussed sympathetically and convincingly. If every businessman and cruise passenger who travelled South would read and take to heart the pages on these subjects, much would be accomplished toward increasing Latin-American liking and respect for the United States. Social organization and labor problems are also dealt with, though all too briefly, and there is a slightly more extended treatment of education and religion and a brief discussion of Latin-American literature.

To cover so many phases of the life of twenty different countries in 365 pages is an almost insuperable task, particularly where so much factual material is presented. It is particularly difficult to deal with the subject matter by topics, as Mr. Schurz does, and at the same time to give the reader a picture of the great differences, in government, in social structure, and in culture, between individual countries. Mr. Schurz avoids the two broad and consequently misleading generalizations to which many less informed authors resort, but his effort to be accurate often involves him in a mass of detail which may well be confusing to the reader who knows little of Latin America to start with. Argentina, Brazil, and Peru hardly emerge from his pages as separate nations, each with its own peculiar social and political problems, unless one makes a special effort to remember what is said about each country from chapter to chapter. This, however, is a problem which confronts anyone who attempts to write about Latin America as a whole.

There is no extended bibliography, but a few of the most important books on each phase of Latin-American life are cited in footnotes in each chapter. These are one of the book's most valuable features. They not only attest the soundness of the research which has gone into its preparation, but give the non-professional reader a helpful guide to much of the best literature in English on Latin-American problems.

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*Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine.* By DEXTER PERKINS.  
(Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941. Pp. x, 455. \$3.50.)

This is unquestionably one of the most important books on American foreign policy which have appeared in recent years. At the present time especially, the publication of a scholarly and readable

study which gives a clear picture of the historical background and present significance of the most important factor in our relations with the other countries of this hemisphere is a real public service. The book is more than a condensation of the more extensive works which have made Professor Perkins the recognized authority on his subject. It is a brilliant, fresh treatment of the Monroe Doctrine from the beginning down to the present day. The underlying theme is not so much the development of the Doctrine itself as its evolution from a simple declaration of policy designed to meet an immediate emergency into one of the permanent bases of American foreign policy. Professor Perkins shows that the significance of the Doctrine was little appreciated even in the United States in the first generation after its enunciation. It was not consistently adhered to by the American government, and it had relatively little effect on the policy of other powers. In Europe, in fact, it was greeted with disapproval and almost with contempt. As time went on it became more and more a part of the political creed of the American people and the growing power of the United States steadily increased its importance as a factor in world politics.

The history of the Monroe Doctrine is closely intertwined with the whole story of our relations with the other American republics, and any author writing on the Doctrine will necessarily find it difficult to decide which parts of the story to tell. Many readers will wish that Professor Perkins could have given a more detailed treatment of the events of the past quarter century. American intervention in the Caribbean is dealt with in some detail down to 1916, but subsequent events in that region are passed over hastily and somewhat superficially. A fuller discussion would have made clearer the gradual change in American policy which was taking place between 1920 and 1930—a change which led up to what Professor Perkins describes as the repudiation of the Roosevelt corollary. It was not only the apparently diminishing danger of European aggression and the hostility of Latin America, but a growing realization of the futility of attempting to help other countries by intervening in their affairs which caused the policy of intervention to be abandoned. The experience from which this realization developed is an important part of the story.

Professor Perkins very properly emphasizes the importance of Mr. Reuben Clark's Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine which was published in 1930. It is difficult, however, to agree with his statement that since the publication of the memorandum "there has been no

scholarly foundation for the proposition that the Monroe Doctrine as officially interpreted either makes necessary or even tolerates interventions in the affairs of the other states of the New World." This is perhaps a fair conclusion to draw from the Clark Memorandum and the instruction which transmitted it to American missions abroad, but was there actually any such fundamental change in American policy? Certainly some at least of the officers working on Latin-American problems in the State Department in 1930 failed to realize that the publication of the memorandum could have such a sweeping result. Would the Monroe Doctrine not be involved, for example, if the United States should intervene diplomatically, or by economic pressure, or otherwise, to thwart the success of a Caribbean revolution obviously instigated and supported by German or Italian interests? It may be argued that the right to resist any such attempt to extend a European German system to this hemisphere, any such interposition for the purpose of controlling the destiny of an American country, rests rather on the right of self-defense than on the Monroe Doctrine. It is difficult however to see the difference between the proposition that considerations of self-defense required the United States to oppose European aggression in the Caribbean and the proposition that considerations of self-defense required the United States to maintain the Monroe Doctrine in that region. It would be unfortunate if efforts to make the Monroe Doctrine pure in the eyes of our Latin-American neighbors should result in its being made innocuous. What is important is to make it clear that the Doctrine will not be used as a cloak for imperialistic ambitions, and that its maintenance is just as important to the other American nations as to the United States.

In the last chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect," there is a level-headed, well-informed discussion of the present situation in Latin America. The author treats rather briefly the events of the past two years, which seem likely to have so important an effect on the Doctrine's evolution, and barely touches upon the problem of the economic defense of the Americas, but this is to be expected in a book which is a history and not a treatise on international relations. Though for this same reason Professor Perkins wisely refrains from prophesy, he makes clear his conviction that the Monroe Doctrine will continue to be a fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the United States.

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