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RESETTLEMENT OF POPULATIONS

IT is inevitable that some of the most pressing problems of the post-war world will centre around the question of redistribution of population, for this is not only at the root of matters of over-population and employment but concerns also the question of the place of minorities outside the national major consciousness in many areas. The problems will arise in Europe, in the tropical colonies, in South America, and in the great Dominions. While it is a mere truism to say that the globe still offers considerable areas of under-populated and scantily productive lands, it is obvious that the problem of shifting populations from one area to another involves far more cogent considerations than a mere study of numbers and population density.

The intricacies of the problem of redistributing populations are great and cannot be settled on a narrowly statistical basis. Following on a mere trickle, mainly of adventurers and unwilling deportees in earlier centuries, the nineteenth century was a period of free and unregulated flow of population from Western Europe to the poorly populated regions of North America, Australia, New Zealand, etc., and to a less extent from Mediterranean Europe to South America. The outward flow was actuated partly by economic failure at home, partly by political unrest, and most of all, perhaps, by the brighter hopes of prosperity born of the growing need of the industrialized lands to increase their food imports.

The need for exotic raw materials as well as the hope of establishing new markets for manufactured goods led also to the establishment of sovereign claims to almost all parts of intertropical Africa and other areas in low latitudes. These areas, unlike the temperate lands, afforded little or no outlet for European settlers but raised many thorny problems in control and utilization. The number of Europeans engaged in directing the native cultivator and urging him by one means or another to increased output is small; but the means of controlling these tropical areas and their local inhabitants has fomented serious problems in the redistribution of population and unfortunate interference with tribal life and native culture, to an extent scarcely compatible with high standards of either equity or wisdom. In Africa, outside the tropics, the white man finds land within the margin of his demand for progressive settlement; but the margin is often a fine one and is liable to be transgressed. Both in North and South Africa, the European has to compete with established races admirably suited to the environment.

Racially, this new dominion of the tropics did not involve the destruction of aboriginal inhabitants—as in most expansions to temperate lands—but rather a desire for increased native population to meet labour demands. The large-scale migration was not merely a European exodus. Later, but in a steady flow, the dense agricultural populations of the East sought more productive homes as Indians moved to East Africa and Malaya, Chinese to Malaya, Burma and Pacific islands, and Japanese to Hawaii and North America.

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Attempts in the nineteenth century and earlier to transfer people from high to low latitudes met with little success, and the failure of the experiments was attributed to unsuitable climatic conditions. There were, however, other factors at work; and even in temperate lands the suitability of the climate was not the sole factor in promoting success or apparent success. The twentieth century saw a checking of the growing outward flow of population from Europe, largely due to legislative decisions of various States which affected even more drastically the coloured races. These restrictions were based mainly on economic grounds, but biological and political expediencies were not overlooked. The danger of lowering the high standard of living by the introduction of cheap coloured labour was no doubt as powerful a motive as the inability of the State to absorb into national unity so many alien racial elements, in closing the doors of North America and the Commonwealth of Australia to other than 'white' races. The lodgement of many Italians in the Argentine, and Swiss and Germans in southern Brazil, was in the first case due to political affinity of the Latin outlooks, and the second to political expediency in the avoidance of unsympathetic majorities in more obviously suitable lands. The danger of Brazil's experiment with Japanese colonists is a glaring example of lack of vision in this respect.

The experience of several countries has at least made clear the complexity of the problem, but the expediency of organized migration was never more pressing than it will be in the near future. If it be left to the dictates of political rivalry untempered by an appreciation of the many issues involved, little or no success can be anticipated. There are many aspects of the problem besides the political one. The physical factors for successful settlement are so obvious that they tend to obscure subtler considerations. Surface relief, soil, water supply, routes and transport facilities are clearly of importance. Ways of living, types of houses, clothing and diet, habits in which people are strongly conservative, are largely bound up with climate; but climatic influences resolve themselves largely into the amount of insolation, a function rather of latitude than of climate, and degree of relative humidity. Then again, many of the failures, formerly attributed to the climatic factor, to colonize or even effectively to dominate intertropical areas have been shown to be due to diseases, especially insect-borne diseases, and in measure as the insects can be destroyed or kept at a distance the threat of diseases disappears.

Another and totally different factor arises from the existence or not of the colour bar, coupled with the desire to avoid hybrid races. This feeling differs widely among migrating peoples and is strongest in those with least pigmentation. Another biological factor is of primary importance. There can be no true colonization unless the birth-rate remains high in relation to the death-rate. If the latter increases and the former decreases, the experiment of transferring population is doomed to failure. This important factor is impossible to predict, and seems to vary not only in regard to racial stocks but also in relation

to the actual density of population. Some elements in a population seem to show a lowering of fecundity as density increases. Each land and each racial stock have their optimum densities. This optimum density is determined also by economic factors: the standard of living falls in an area where subsistence farming is carried too far, even though it may be temporarily relieved by industrialization. A potent biological consideration is the competition by widely divergent races. The attempts at Japanese expansion which have occurred during the past forty years is the chief example. Virtually all important outlets have been closed to them, and none will probably be open after the defeat of Japan in the present War. Japanese aims, and to a less extent Chinese aims, involve racial rivalry rather than intertribal competition.

There are, of course, many other economic factors involved, such as location in determining proximity to markets, and the relation of aboriginal to introduced labour. While above and beyond these considerations is the political one, which is concerned with avoidance of the national disunity that arises from the growth of small groups of traditions, cultures and languages distinct from the majority, and the resultant weakening of national consciousness. Considerations such as these are all of importance in deciding the uprooting and replanting of population. Varying weight must be given to the different considerations in every case. Within Europe, where the climatic factor may be less important, the economic and cultural ones are of greater weight. Acre for acre can never denote an equitable exchange, and no measure of even comparative stability can be obtained that does not envisage room for growth of population.

The capacity of the land to bear increased population is of vital importance. Even before an area is fully utilized, impoverishment of value and decrease in productiveness nearly everywhere is a potential and often an actual threat. Somewhat tardily it has been recognized that every productive area has a limit to the demands that can be made on the land; and this limit is not merely one of soil fertility, important as that is, but is intimately bound up with rainfall and its fluctuations from year to year. Deserts advance through human folly rather than by change of climate.

There is another side to this large-scale migration, and that is the effect on the lands of origin. With the exacting demands of the States receiving emigrants as to good physical and moral stock, there is a drain of the best and an increasing pool of the weakest in the homeland. The wider world, where open to colonists, insists that no imperfect stock shall enter. Economically also, the drain, if confined either to agricultural or to industrial population, may have harmful effects on the home country in disturbing the balance between rural and urban life, and checking one or another aspect of production.

In his address as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science delivered at Ohio on September 11, part of which is printed on page 5 of this issue, Dr. Isaiah Bowman dealt with problems of this nature, and showed that the solution

can be found only by the scientific study of environments leading to an understanding of their capacity for population of different degrees of culture and economic development. In practice, most of the areas of settlement of high potential are marginal lands; this intensifies the problem, but makes more insistent a scientific survey of their capacity. Some lands will require considerable capital outlay before they can be regarded as satisfactory homes. The Soviet Union has found that to be true of its subarctic domain and has succeeded in implanting a considerable population in lands formerly regarded as useless.

This scientific study of environment is peculiarly the province of the geographer, who in correlating the complex functions of the many factors involved can give realism to the study of phenomena which in separate isolated studies are liable to become abstractions. A mere descriptive study will not suffice, nor will a purely analytic study help. There must be correlation between the exact physical factors and the variable human factors before any sure ground on which to base predictions is reached. The problems to be solved in transferring populations are concrete ones that need the illumination of the scientific outlook, and cannot equitably or with stability be solved on the grounds of mere political expediency. This applies both to the newer marginal lands and to the older populated lands, even if the weight of the various factors varies in different cases.

CONSTRUCTIVE DEMOCRACY

T V A

Democracy on the March. By David E. Lilienthal. (Penguin Special, S.151.) Pp. 208+15 plates. (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1944.) 9d.

The T.V.A.

Lessons for International Application. By Herman Finer. (Studies and Reports, Series B: Economic Conditions, No. 37.) Pp. viii+289. (Montreal: International Labour Office; London: P. S. King and Staples, Ltd., 1944.) 1.50 dollars; 6s.

THESE two books make an admirable supplement to the account of the Tennessee Valley Authority which Dr. Julian Huxley gave us last year. Their scope is sufficiently indicated by their sub-titles. In the first, Mr. David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, gives us from inside an interpretation of this great experiment in regional planning, as much from the point of view of its significance for the future as from that of narrating its technical and social achievements up to the present. This is the more popular of the two books. It is ably written and well documented, but endeavours to indicate the spirit rather than the technical detail of the achievements in the Tennessee Valley. Mr. Lilienthal is at pains to make plain the factors which have contributed to its success in the face of much strenuous opposition and misrepresentation.

The extent to which he has succeeded in this aim is indicated by the place which the book must assuredly take in the discussion of the machinery of democratic government. It is a major contribution to that debate on the relations between central, regional and local administration which must be faced in

Great Britain if any effective solution is to be found to the problems of reconstruction, town- and country-planning and the location of industry. Mr. Lilienthal indicates at once the way in which the dilemma between planning and freedom may be resolved and in which fresh life may be brought into our democratic institutions by giving local interest and initiative more effective scope.

It is thus as a contribution to constructive thinking about planning, the demonstration that the regional planning of resources in conformity with broad national objectives and policies is possible, with full participation, through decentralization, of the people themselves, that the book has its greatest value. Technical achievements are only incidentally described, but Mr. Lilienthal has fully recognized that the experiment has involved solving the problem of the use of the technical expert in government, and that it is an experiment in government as well as in the development of national resources. His chapters on "Experts and the People", "Decentralization", "Regional Pillars of Decentralization" and "Modern Tools for a Modern Job" are not only lucid expositions of the way in which T.V.A. functions but also a contribution to the literature of scientific administration.

In his chapter "T V A and World Reconstruction", Mr. Lilienthal touches on the other factor which has given the Tennessee Valley Authority its general interest at the present time, and which is the main theme of Dr. Herman Finer's book. If this book is less well documented, it is more fully provided with statistical data, and the factual account of the Authority's achievements is more complete. The emphasis on the administrative machinery is similar: there is the same stress on the balance between a national plan, regional development and local co-operation, on the social as well as the technical objectives, and the establishment of the right relations between knowledge and power.

Five of the fourteen chapters of the book are in fact devoted to staff and administrative problems—the corporate agency and its methods of operation, management and personnel, Federal controls and State relationships, the employee relationship policy and labour, and employee welfare services, with which Dr. Finer has himself been more particularly concerned. Although much of this is relevant rather to American than to British conditions, and regard should be had to the fact that the United States, generally speaking, is a generation or two behind Great Britain in its labour policies, Dr. Finer argues with some reason that T.V.A.'s methods and experience indicate conclusively that public enterprise can attract to, and retain in, its service men and women who will work continuously with devotion and initiative. If they are given work, scientific or administrative, in office, laboratory or field, with a demonstrably high social value; if the work has meaning for them; and if there is security for the continuance of the service and of the livelihood it provides, they may be expected to serve with high, sustained, and increasing efficiency, free from undue envy and acquisitiveness. Nor are Dr. Finer's conditions wholly irrelevant to service in private as well as public enterprise.

The most important chapter in the book, however, is the concluding one, in which Dr. Finer discusses the problem of an international T.V.A. His examination of the functions and operation of the T.V.A. was undertaken, first, to record an experience valuable